



**ONTARIO  
FEDERATION OF  
LABOUR**

**FÉDÉRATION  
DU TRAVAIL DE  
L'ONTARIO**

ONTARIO FEDERATION  
**OF LABOUR  
CONVENTION**

NOVEMBER 20-24, 2023

# ENOUGH IS ENOUGH: WORKERS STRIKE BACK 2023 ACTION PLAN 17<sup>TH</sup> BIENNIAL CONVENTION

AS AMENDED AT THE 2023 OFL CONVENTION

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# ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

## **ACTION PLAN //**

**AS AMENDED AT THE  
2023 OFL CONVENTION**

The Ontario Federation of Labour represents 54 unions and one million workers. It is Canada's largest provincial labour federation.

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# PREAMBLE

Our convention is taking place in difficult times. From the scourge of war to the existential threat posed by climate change to a years-long cost-of-living crisis, workers across Ontario, and indeed around the world, are grappling with issues that touch all aspects of our lives.

Is this the best we can expect, or is a better world possible?

Will we always have to struggle to make ends meet? Or can we look forward to a time when all of us have decent lives?

## **If things could be better, how do we make it happen?**

In Ontario, working people are asking the same questions. And so are we, every day of this convention.

## **We know that Ontario's labour movement is at a crossroads.**

After more than five years of Doug Ford's unrelenting attacks on workers and their families, we've learned a few lessons about how to fight back—and how to win.

We've also deepened our appreciation for all the things our movement has fought for over the years, especially now that everything is at risk.

As we face almost three more years of Ford, the question we need to ask ourselves is this:

Will it be enough to continue fighting one defensive battle after another, each affiliate leading its own fight, largely isolated from one another, in response to the attacks that we all know are coming?

Or is it time to do something different, to lay the groundwork for the kind of united movement that can take our fight on the offensive, and begin to impose the priorities of working people on Ford and his government, instead of the other way around?

This action plan takes the second of these two paths.

But our plan won't work unless it's taken up by all of us, by leaders and rank-and-file members alike, and unless we aim to implement it everywhere: in our workplaces, in our communities, in the streets, and at Queen's Park.

This isn't just a document that we discuss for a few hours, vote on, and then forget about after we leave the Convention.

## **This document must be the roadmap that guides all of our actions in the next few years.**

It must inspire us about the possibility of defeating Ford's agenda—not just in 2026, when the next provincial election is scheduled, but well before that, just like we did with Bill 28 and the Greenbelt.

We need more victories like these, and this action plan sets out a vision to win them.

The stakes couldn't be higher. It's not just Ford we're facing down, but every right-wing, populist figure that's trying to exploit the pain and anger of working-class communities. We're fighting an agenda that pits workers against each other, attacks all democratic institutions, and advances a far right vision of the world.

As you read through these pages, think about how these actions could help you and your co-workers be better organized to take on the boss at work, to fight for—and win—all the things our communities need and deserve, and to defeat Ford's divisive and destructive agenda, once and for all, and the broader threats posed by the far right.

In order to achieve all of that, this action plan has identified four broad goals, which inform each of the 60 actions that are part of it:

**GOAL #1:** To organize stronger solidarity networks across the province, inspired by our commitment to Equity, bringing labour and community together, that can respond more effectively to Ford's attacks (and to Poilievre, the rise of hate and the far right, etc.), whenever they come, but that can also provide real support for struggles already underway, especially strikes and other labour disputes;

**GOAL #2:** To rebuild labour's capacity to organize and mobilize both union and non-union workers all over Ontario, with an emphasis on organizing workers in their workplaces and bringing new workers into unions, and helping them develop into rank-and-file leaders;

**GOAL #3:** To prepare for another "Bill 28 moment," when labour will have to confront the Ford government again, but with the goal of being ready to go beyond the threat of a general strike, should it be required, and actually carry it out until we win our demands; and

**GOAL #4:** To lay the foundation for defeating Ford in June 2026, which means building support for labour's demands well before the election and, at the same time, fighting for an Ontario New Democratic Party (ONDP) where workers from all communities, backgrounds, and struggles feel welcome and at home.

None of these goals can be achieved on their own. Instead, we must see them as part of a comprehensive plan—each goal complements and supports the other.

**In other words, we need to achieve all of them, if we want to achieve just one.**

Likewise, the specific actions set out in the Action Plan are not merely a random list of discrete tasks. Instead, we must see them as the necessary tactics that support a unifying strategy aimed at achieving all our goals.





Each action makes possible the others that follow. We build from one struggle to the next, generating momentum in everything we do.

Just over one year ago, we got a glimpse of the real power our movement possesses. In just four days, we defeated landmark legislation—Bill 28—by demonstrating a credible threat to take mass, sustained collective action together.

Imagine an action plan that builds on this power, that gets us ready for another such moment, but on terms and conditions of our own choosing.

Imagine an action plan that sees the strike, not as a tactic of last resort, but as the most powerful weapon in the labour movement's arsenal—and one that we're not afraid to use.

In the last year, and especially during the red hot labour summer, we have seen the potential of what our movement can win when workers strike back.

### **Imagine what we could do if we all did it together.**

That's what this action plan aims to do: to create those possibilities for our movement to be in a position to use its most powerful weapons, and to win, once and for all, the things that are long overdue to the working people of Ontario.

Are you with us?

#### **ACTION #1:**

Ensure that the principles, commitments, and demands of the OFL's 2023 "Enough is Enough – Workers Strike Back" vision document form the basis of this action plan and any subsequent work the OFL pursues.

#### **ACTION #2:**

Commit to an organizing and mobilizing strategy that recognizes the power of the strike as a tactic, whether exercised as a strike mandate vote, strike preparation, or an actual strike, and that aims to coordinate strike activity among affiliates, especially where bargaining timelines may align, and while fully respecting affiliate autonomy.

# POLITICAL TERRAIN

At the start of any fight—an election campaign, a strike, or even a football match, for example—each contending side surveys the landscape to identify any obstacles that could prevent them from winning, and develops a plan to overcome them.

Each side also looks for any advantages they might possess, and builds their fightback accordingly.

In our fight to defeat Ford's agenda, and win our vision for working people in Ontario, we likewise need to know what we're up against, as well as what would make our movement as powerful as possible.

It's about figuring out the balance of forces, and how we can tip them in our favour.

**At the end of 2023, the political terrain in Ontario is characterized by both challenges and opportunities.**

We need to be sober—the challenges are many.

First and foremost, Ontario workers—like working people all over the world—are feeling the pain of a worsening cost-of-living crisis, which has been years in the making. Wages have been frozen or stagnant, while basic living costs are through the roof. From rent and housing to groceries and gas, everything costs more, while workers are earning less.

Ford has made the crisis worse with his unrelenting attacks on working people. He cancelled the planned minimum wage increase to \$15 an hour, then froze it for two years. He eliminated paid sick days. He held down public sector wages with Bill 124. He continues to attack and undermine public services. All these moves make life more expensive for working people.

And we know that these attacks have had a disproportionate impact on women, Indigenous people, racialized communities, 2SLGBTQIA+ people, people with a disability, injured and ill workers, migrant workers, people without status, and all Equity-deserving groups.

A consequence of these attacks is that rising anger among workers can fuel a polarization of our politics. On one side is the politics of solidarity, where workers feel confident to fight back together. On the other side is the politics of division, where workers fight each other, instead of our real enemies.



### **ACTION #3:**

Develop campaign content that documents and generalizes the Ford government's record in office and emphasizes the devastating impact on working people in Ontario; counter this record with a bold and accessible vision of labour's demands and demonstrate how they would improve the lives of working people and make it more affordable.

One alarming sign of this polarization is the rise of hate: against immigrants and refugees; against racialized communities and religious groups; and against Trans kids and the 2SLGBTQIA+ community at large.

The recent surge in Islamophobia and antisemitism, alongside protests attacking inclusive sex-ed curricula in schools, are among the most recent examples.

### **ACTION #4:**

**Re-affirm labour's commitment to Equity and the demands of Equity-deserving communities, by centering their needs and concerns in all our work, in our organizing and mobilizing strategies, and in our day-to-day practices.**

In the absence of a clear, bold, and progressive vision for how to make life better for all of us, we face the very real danger that the legitimate anger that workers feel could end up fuelling the right—and even the far right—instead of our own forces.

At the federal level, this polarization is driving support for Pierre Poilievre and an emboldened and right-ward-moving Conservative Party. Poilievre and the Conservatives are deliberately targeting workers and exploiting their anger, pain, and frustration—but to funnel it towards more and more extreme right-wing positions.

And the polls are showing that it's working, including among large swathes of union members. The numbers should be a wake-up call to all of us: how do we re-engage and reconnect with our members, so that they see our movement as the best way to improve their lives, not a vote for Poilievre, Ford, and any other right-wing populists?

### **ACTION #5:**

**Connect Doug Ford's Conservatives record with Pierre Poilievre and the federal Conservatives, who are advocating the same destructive policies as Ford has since 2018, but at the federal level and on a wider scale.**

At the global level, workers everywhere are facing an accelerating climate crisis, while right-wing leaders deny its reality and counterpose saving the planet to making life more affordable. Meanwhile, the effects of climate change are happening right now and in our own backyards, from out-of-control wildfires that have destroyed entire communities, to unprecedented weather events, including hurricanes that have swept homes into the ocean.



## **ACTION #6:**

**Commit to raising the profile of climate change in existing campaigns of the labour movement, including at the bargaining table, and demonstrate the connection between long-standing labour movement demands and the fight for climate justice.**

And to make matters worse, all of these things are happening at once, as if everything is spinning out of control. It's easy to get a sense of being overwhelmed and wanting to focus on your own issue, if anything at all.

It's against this backdrop that we have to come to terms with almost three more years of Ford, and possibly with a Conservative majority government led by Poilievre at the federal level.

In Ontario, we can reasonably expect that Ford's attacks, despite the setbacks he's faced, will only get worse. His government has just over two-and-a-half years to ram through its agenda, and the worst of it will come sooner rather than later.

**With a provincial election scheduled for June 4, 2026, Ford will no doubt carry out his most aggressive and far-reaching attacks well before an election year. So we need to brace ourselves for what's coming in the next 12 to 24 months.**

But as bleak as this landscape looks, there are just as many opportunities for our movement, and reasons to be optimistic that we can win what Ontario workers need and deserve.

We need to remind ourselves that, despite the viciousness of Ford's attacks, our movement has held its own, and even won some significant victories in the face of difficult odds. From the defeat of Bill 28 in November 2022 to Ford's reversal on the Greenbelt in recent months, we've seen moments where our priorities prevail.

We've also managed to score some legal victories in the courts: from TTC workers' winning back their right to strike, to a broad coalition of both public and private sector unions' successfully challenging the constitutionality of Bill 124.

**These wins are not enough, but they're a start—and they represent a hit to Ford's popularity.**

Just over a year into Ford's second mandate, Ford is the most unpopular premier in all of Canada, and his numbers in Ontario—and among all voting groups—continue to sag. Even among his base, and those who voted Conservative in the last election, there is growing anger at the impact of his government's actions, from emergency room closures in communities all over Ontario, to his Greenbelt give-away to his donor and developer buddies.

It's also the case that, regardless of their voting intentions, the vast majority of Ontarians support our core demands: for well-funded public services, for better wages and good jobs, for rent control and affordable housing, for real relief from the cost-of-living crisis, and so on.

“**Ontarians support our core demands: for well-funded public services, for better wages and good jobs, for rent control and affordable housing, for real relief from the cost-of-living crisis, and so on.**”

Ontario workers also widely support unions, and many of them want to be in one. The recent successes at unionizing Starbucks, for example, among other workplaces, show the organizing possibilities in sectors that once felt out of reach, but where workers are now clamouring to protect themselves and get their fair share of the record profits they produce.

### **ACTION #7:**

**Develop an internal OFL mechanism among affiliates to coordinate unionization efforts, especially in sectors with little or no union density, and help transform cold union-drive leads into hot union-drive leads.**

Polls also show support for strikes is at a record high, as more and more workers feel confident to take on their boss at work and withdraw their labour to win wage increases that keep up with inflation.

**Even workers without the right to strike have shown widespread support for those who do, as we saw from the outpouring of solidarity from all workers across Ontario for education workers last year.**

That growing confidence was visible in the red hot labour summer we just witnessed, and the redder, hotter labour fall that followed it. Strike numbers are way up in 2023, and the trend looks set to continue, not just in Ontario, but also across Canada. And when workers win on the picket line, it does more than improve their wages and conditions—it shows them the power of collective action and brings them closer to the politics of solidarity.

More crucially, it can inspire other workers to join the fight and cements their commitment to unions and the goals of the broader labour movement.

Beyond the workplace, we have also seen signs that workers, both union and non-union alike, will join the broader fight against Ford's agenda, wherever we give the lead.

From the modest success of 2022's province-wide actions on May Day to the bigger demonstrations against Ford on June 3 the following year, which included a protest of 10,000 people in Toronto, there are promising signs we can turn the growing anger

among workers into a united movement that lays the blame where it's deserved: at the feet of Ford's rotten government, and their rich corporate backers.

### **ACTION #8:**

**Build on the successes of the 2021 "Our future, our fight" campaign and integrate its ongoing initiatives into the 2023 "Workers strike back – Enough Is Enough" campaign.**

### **ACTION #9:**

**Commit to expanding the labour movement's collaboration with community organizations—such as the Ontario Health Coalition, the Equal Pay Coalition, the Ontario Network of Injured Workers, and Justice for Workers—in the development of broad-based campaigns on province-wide issues that target the Ford government, allocating resources accordingly.**



## **ACTION #10:**

**Commit to expanding the labour movement's collaboration with communities of faith and their representative organizations in the development of broad-based campaigns on province-wide and Equity-related issues, allocating resources accordingly.**

More recently, at the opening of the recent legislative session, thousands from across Ontario descended on Queen's Park, as part of a province-wide day of action organized by the Ontario Health Coalition, to defend public health care in our province.

And despite Ford's re-election in June 2022, the ONDP remains the Official Opposition, while the Ontario Liberals struggle to achieve official party status. And since the election, there have been promising signs of the ONDP's re-orientation to the labour movement and a much more visible commitment to fight for the demands of working people in Ontario.

But we can't take anything for granted. A newly elected Liberal leader will likely give the party a bump in the polls. And the ONDP is facing serious and legitimate criticism from its members and supporters in recent weeks, following Sarah Jama's removal from Caucus.

We need to create space for that criticism to be heard—and understood—and create a path for the party to repair and restore itself.

**As our own history shows us, when labour is strong, the ONDP is at its best. We need to be better to help the party be better.**

Each of these opportunities should give us hope about what our movement could achieve in the coming months and year—but only if we fight for real unity and inclusion—and build our confidence that we can win our demands, even before the next provincial election.

But we need an action plan that both recognizes these possibilities and demonstrates the ambition and audacity to make the most of them. We need a bold vision to inspire our movement, as well as those workers and communities who are not yet part of it.

It won't be easy, but we have reasons to be hopeful. Our successes in recent years, despite the unfavourable circumstances we've faced, are the key to winning more victories.

We just need to learn those lessons, and build our fightback on what we know works.

# LESSONS FROM 2022

Two dates from 2022 are of particular significance for Ontario's labour movement: June 2 and November 7.

Together, they demonstrate critical lessons in our fight against Ford's agenda, and point the way forward as we seek to expand and escalate that fight.

And they form the basis on which this action plan is built.

The first date—June 2, 2022—was the Ontario provincial election, which saw Ford's government re-elected with a slightly larger majority than in 2018.

June 2 is of importance for the labour movement for many reasons.

The most obvious reason is that it determined Ontario's government for the next four years and the kind of policy and legislation it would pursue. This is why the election, and the months of campaigning that led to it, was a central focus of the OFL's 2021 Action Plan: We had to fight for the best possible outcome in order to protect working people in Ontario and everything our movement has fought for over the years.

It was why we endorsed—and fought to elect—the ONDP.

Without a doubt, we fell far short of our goal: to replace Ford with a solid ONDP majority. But the work we did during the election campaign, including the months of organizing and mobilizing beforehand, nevertheless had a positive impact for our movement, and helped shape the political terrain on which we now continue the fight against Ford.

The most significant impact was that the ONDP retained its status as the Official Opposition, despite losing a number of seats, including in once-solid NDP ridings. The widely predicted Liberal surge failed to appear, and the Ontario Liberals finished in third place without reaching official party status.

**More importantly, a number of ONDP seats that pollsters and pundits widely predicted to go to the Liberals were saved by the intervention of focused and sustained campaigning by trade unionists who knocked on doors, made phone calls, distributed leaflets on street corners, and pulled the vote on Election Day.**

On this level, the labour movement's collective efforts, while falling short of our overall goal, no doubt helped prevent a much worse outcome, and positioned ourselves to continue the fight against Ford in his second term.

It's also fair to say that the months-long mobilization for a workers-first agenda in Ontario, which the OFL launched in late January 2022 and that culminated on May 1 in the first province-wide in-person demonstrations against Ford's agenda since the start of the pandemic, made a modest but not insignificant contribution to framing the



working-class issues that were central to the election.

The most significant lesson of the election, however, was the contrast between the highly visible anger we all witnessed on the doorsteps during the campaign and the record-low turnout on Election Day: just 43.5% of eligible voters—the lowest voter turnout in Ontario history.

**Even worse than the turnout was the portion of the vote Ford's Conservatives received from the electorate: just 18% support from eligible voters in Ontario was enough to give Ford a second majority.**

Although many workers and their families felt widespread anger at the impact of Ford's first term, including those who voted for him in 2018 and expressed a sense of betrayal, that anger didn't translate into votes for the ONDP. In fact, millions felt so angry—and disappointed and demoralized—that they decided not to vote at all.

As the votes were counted on the evening of June 2, we learned that there was nothing automatic about workers' rising anger at Ford being expressed at the ballot box. That anger didn't lead to better or different voting; it led to a large-scale disillusionment in voting altogether.

In the lead-up to the election, we anticipated the need to connect to this anger through a province-wide mobilization that would pull disaffected workers into common activity with the labour movement, and build support for the ONDP as the alternative to Ford along the way.

But we needed much more time to do this work: to sink roots in workplaces and communities, to build trust through common activity, to have the required one-on-one conversations that reveal what workers are really angry about and what they need to make things better, and to win the argument that voting can be an effective action if we combine it with ongoing campaigns to fight for our demands in between elections.

But the runway wasn't long enough. We needed to begin developing and implementing our election strategy years, not months, before June 2, 2022.

### **ACTION #11:**

**Incorporate into the 2023 Action Plan an electoral strategy for the June 4, 2026 provincial election, which builds on the Plan's broader organizing and mobilizing initiatives—which identifies just three priority action items for consideration at our 2025 OFL Convention—and lays the foundation for a more focused and robust election campaign in 2026.**

### **ACTION #12:**

**Make the focus of our electoral strategy building working-class support in every region of the province on the merits of the issues themselves, and as a means to push all parties to adopt our agenda and demands.**

Fast forward from June 2 to November 7, 2022—the second date that is of particular importance to Ontario's labour movement.

**We need an action plan that deliberately and strategically builds our collective capacity—sustained and coordinated mass labour action.**

November 7 was the date that a united labour movement in Ontario, including public and private sector unions alike, was set to announce its unanimous decision to launch an indefinite province-wide general strike in opposition to Ford's draconian Bill 28 and in support of 55,000 striking education workers across the province, whose right to strike Ford had attacked.

But just hours before, Ford pre-empted labour's announcement with a surprise early-morning press conference where he revealed his government's plans to repeal Bill 28 in its entirety—a stunning and humiliating defeat for Ford and his landmark anti-labour law.

Only four days earlier, Ford's government had arrogantly rammed through Bill 28, the so-called "Keeping Students in Class Act," in an unprecedented marathon session that trampled on any semblance of a democratic process.

**The lessons from this date are many, not least of which is the power that a united labour movement wields when it demonstrates its sincere intention to take sustained collective action; just the threat, not the action itself, was enough to stop Ford.**

### **ACTION #13:**

**Develop an accessible digital (video) and print educational tool for workers (union and non-union alike) that documents the history of the education workers' strike and the labour movement's defeat of Bill 28 and generalizes its key lessons, and disseminate it widely through affiliates and allies.**

Just as significant as the decision to take this action was what led to it: a record-breaking strike mobilization by the Ontario School Board Council of Unions (OSBCU), which was years in the making, and the corresponding solidarity campaign that emerged in the wider public, among community organizations, and with other affiliates.

The OSBCU's mobilization, especially its massive strike mandate vote and record-breaking turnout, resonated widely with the public, which began to show support for education workers in the emerging solidarity campaign. Polls reflected this support, too, as union and non-union workers alike connected their own experiences struggling with the cost-of-living crisis to the education workers' demands for a livable wage and decent work.

**The anger that was visible among workers in the lead-up to the June 2 election, but which didn't express itself at the ballot box, was beginning to find expression in the growing movement to support education workers.**

The turning point was Doug Ford and Education Minister Stephen Lecce's introduction of Bill 28—a blatant attack on education workers' right to strike, even before they had the chance to exercise it, and an unprecedented attack on the broader labour movement in Ontario.

In the week following the introduction of Bill 28, public support swelled for education workers, and along with it, anger at the Ford government—in an emergency demonstration of 4,000 people that marched from the Ministry of Labour to Queen's Park, among other actions and supports initiated by the OFL; in solidarity rallies in dozens of locations all over Ontario; and in the visible and vocal support of parents, students, education workers, and the wider public.

Where labour and community organizations alike gave a lead to fight Ford's agenda, and made it easy and accessible for workers to join it, workers followed suit. And the results were spectacular—at that time, the total defeat of Bill 28 represented the most significant setback the Ford government had faced since first being elected in 2018, and a major blow to its agenda just six months after its re-election.

The impact of labour's mobilization in October and November last year continues to be discussed widely, not just among Ontario workers, but right across the country.

And its most crucial lessons must be at the heart of the 2023 Action Plan: that a united labour movement wields the power it needs to defeat Ford, but only if it's willing to plan for it and act on it; and that workers will join the fight against Ford if we meaningfully connect to their anger, build their trust, and lead a fight that responds to their needs and demands in the here and now.

Almost a year after the repeal of Bill 28, Ford suffered another unprecedented defeat: his equally stunning reversal on the Greenbelt, which cost him up to three Cabinet ministers, three staff resignations, and a significant hit in the polls. And the scandal shows no sign of quitting, as more corruption and graft are uncovered.

Although the labour movement didn't lead the fight against Ford's Greenbelt plans, a similar dynamic was at play: the rising anger at Ford among workers and the wider public began to find expression in the movement to defend the Greenbelt and protect it from Ford's developer buddies.

**Just as important as the victory itself is a lesson that labour has been generalizing since the defeat of Bill 28: we don't have to wait for an election to defeat Ford's agenda.**

Indeed, as we have seen in Quebec and elsewhere, a movement can do more than impose defeats on a government before the next election; they can also provoke an early election and dispose of regressive and anti-worker governments ahead of schedule.

The Quebec Student Strike in 2012 did just this, sparking a crisis of confidence in the Liberal government of the day and forcing it to call an early election, which it lost. Its successor went on to implement the bulk of the striking students' demands.

The Quebec Common Front is a more recent example, which appears to be aiming at the same kind of united fight-back.

Why couldn't labour do something like that in Ontario?

#### **ACTION #14:**

**Develop a campaign strategy that anticipates and prepares for the possibility of success during the remaining years of Ford's term and that doesn't delay the fightback against Ford's agenda until the June 4, 2026 election.**

In order to avoid a repeat of June 2 last year, however, we need to plan for more dates like November 7. But instead of scrambling to respond to an agenda that Ford tries to impose on Ontario's workers, we need to organize in a way that allows us to impose our agenda on him.

In other words, we need an action plan that deliberately and strategically builds our collective capacity to move towards using such a tool—sustained and coordinated mass labour action—and that doesn't simply rely on it as a weapon of last resort.

**As we saw from the record-breaking rise and fall of Bill 28, Ford is fully aware of the power that a united labour movement wields. We should be, too, and plan to act accordingly.**

# BUILDING CAPACITY

Building capacity is a goal in and of itself. Anytime we engage, organize, and mobilize our members, and build leaders in our workplaces and communities, our movements are always stronger.

Building capacity is also a campaign strategy, to achieve all the other goals our movement shares. It's the process of winning hearts and minds, so our entire movement not only supports our goals, but also understands why they matter and feels motivated to fight for them.

Capacity is the wind in our sails. The greater our capacity, the farther and faster our movement can go.

As we indicated in the Preamble, the four broad goals of this action plan are variations of building capacity, in every place that our movement organizes. And each of them requires a series of specific actions to make them concrete.

The good news is that we've already begun to build these networks more systematically, through the ongoing support that the OFL provides to affiliates during bargaining, strikes, and other labour disputes, and through the workplace-based and community-based initiatives of the OFL's Enough Is Enough campaign.

But we need to expand these dramatically, and allocate time and resources to develop and support them.

## **ACTION #15:**

**Revamp and relaunch the OFL's Enough Is Enough campaign, with an emphasis on organizing workplace-based and community-based activity that creates opportunities for union and non-union workers to organize and mobilize at the local level around the campaign's key demands and in a way that aligns with ongoing campaigns led by affiliates.**

As we learned from the June 3, 2023 Enough Is Enough actions, the process of mobilization is essentially one of organization—building new networks, and strengthening existing ones, as we approach a common goal. But those networks are helpful in organizing solidarity for other struggles and fights along the way, especially strikes.

Anytime workers go on strike, they need support both inside and outside the union: they need to build their own members' confidence to take strike action and lead effective pickets, and they need to build public support for the strike, among other workers and in the wider community.



In this sense, a strike is like a campaign, and our movement has learned many lessons throughout its history about how to wage them effectively. We need to find a way to share those skills and insights more widely, so affiliates or locals that take strike action for the first time don't have to reinvent the wheel.

#### **ACTION #16:**

**Develop a strike solidarity toolkit for affiliates on strike or in a lock-out and for labour and community allies, which provides organizing and mobilizing resources to support the labour action at the local and community levels, including picket line support (e.g., how to organize an effective solidarity rally); community-based phone zaps and email campaigns that target employers and decision-makers; solidarity petitions and campaign posters and leaflets that demonstrate public support; etc.**

#### **ACTION #17:**

**Develop a training series for affiliates and Labour Councils that generalizes best practices for organizing public demonstrations (rallies, marches, vigils, pickets, counter-protests, etc.), with an emphasis on safety, effective messaging and public engagement, and building capacity in workplaces and communities.**

In addition to building solidarity networks that can better generate support for strikes and other labour disputes, the Action Plan must pay particular attention to the urgency of building and expanding similar networks that focus on countering hate, in our workplaces and in our communities.

#### **ACTION #18:**

**Continue to develop rapid response networks, in partnership with the Canadian Labour Congress, composed of affiliates, members, Labour Councils, and community allies that are able to mobilize effectively on short notice and on a range of issues, especially in response to anti-equity or anti-human rights protests and actions, wherever they take place.**

Beyond these immediate steps, we need more long-term planning to create opportunities for workers to learn from each other, discover the history and best lessons of our movement, and put them into practice for the struggles that face workers in the here and now.





### **ACTION #19:**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide skills-building conference in the spring of 2024 called “Building Power at Work” for union members and Labour Councils, with the following goals:

- a) Train 1,000 rank-and-file leaders for workplace organizing;
- b) Maximize the participation of women, racialized workers, and members of other Equity-deserving groups;
- c) Develop skills related to campaigns, bargaining, and strikes;
- d) Build and expand rapid-response solidarity networks;
- e) Include content on strengthening Labour Councils.

### **ACTION #20:**

Dedicate a significant portion of the conference to anti-hate organizing in the workplace and in the wider community, with an eye to developing rapid response anti-hate networks across the province.

All skills-building training should include opportunities for workers to put those skills into practice, develop them further, and achieve a shared goal together.

### **ACTION #21:**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide Enough Is Enough day of action in the fall of 2024, with local actions in every region of the province, centered around key demands of the Enough Is Enough campaign.

What workers learn at “Building Power at Work” could then be applied to a province-wide mobilization a few months later that raises the profile of Enough Is Enough, at the same time as building working-class support for our demands in every part of the province.



How we do that matters. The issues we raise, and the solutions we propose, must resonate with workers' real-lived experiences. We want the campaign to connect in a meaningful way.

**ACTION #22:**

**Design the actions, events, and timeline of “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” in a way that allows affiliates to participate on their own terms and that resonate with their members' needs and concerns, especially around issues-based campaigns and other initiatives where there is shared interest and support throughout the labour movement.**

And we need to be systematic about how we do this. We need to engage, talk to, and learn from workers themselves—as many as we possibly can.

**ACTION #23:**

**Launch a province-wide online survey of affiliates, in the weeks following the OFL Convention, to engage 50,000 members on the issues that matter most to them and to identify the varying levels of support among them for the vision that inspires the “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” campaign.**

And once we know what issues matter most to workers, and how workers are talking about them, we need to make the pathway to activity as easy as possible. We want workers to get involved where they live and work, to see this fight as part of their everyday lives.

**ACTION #24:**

**Develop a series of campaign activities and escalating actions that affiliates, members, Labour Councils, and allies could help organize, lead, and/or participate in at the local level, while connecting to the broader campaign regionally and province-wide.**

In many cases, there is already important work underway in our communities that addresses these issues, from the fight for affordable housing, to defence campaigns of the environment, to decent work movements. Enough Is Enough could be—and should be—a vehicle to bring all of us together.

### **ACTION #25:**

**Aim to build “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” as a united working-class movement that connects all struggles and campaigns across Ontario, including those in broader social movements and in local communities.**

This means paying special attention to workers and groups that may not be directly represented by OFL affiliates and create opportunities for them to participate in the campaign: injured and ill workers, people with a disability, retirees, gig workers, migrant workers, international students, and others.

One example is the urgent fight to raise social assistance rates well above the poverty line: as a first step, doubling income provided by the Ontario Disability Support Program and Ontario Works. This demand is already embedded in Enough Is Enough, but we need to raise its profile even more.

As we’ve argued elsewhere, Equity must be at the heart of our approach, and we need to go out of our way to connect with workers who haven’t always been able to participate and eliminate any barriers to their involvement.

And our approach must build the confidence of every single worker we engage—to help them see themselves as leaders and as agents of change.

### **ACTION #26:**

**Customize “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” in a way that meaningfully and sensitively engages communities that have historically been excluded or marginalized in broader labour movement organizing and ensure that campaign materials are available in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, French, Punjabi, Somali, Spanish, Tamil, and Urdu.**

### **ACTION #27:**

**Introduce the “Race-Class Narrative” into all campaign messaging as a means to neutralize the use of dog-whistle racism by political leaders, pundits, and the media, and to build a deeper sense of multi-racial solidarity among all Ontario workers and their communities.**

### **ACTION #28:**

**Organize “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” around the following best practices and tried-and-true organizing methods:**

- a) The same principles of Equity, inclusion, and anti-oppression that we campaign for at work must inform all our organizing practices and how we engage and mobilize each other. We must intentionally create space for new leadership to emerge, develop, and lead.
- b) We all learn by doing. When people have the chance to participate in something, to experience it for themselves, the lessons they learn are more lasting and meaningful, and more likely to lead to action.



- c) The system tells us over and over again that change isn't possible. This is one reason we lack confidence in ourselves and fail to recognize our potential power. Collective organizing is more than getting things done. It's about building our confidence to do more than we thought possible.
- d) Our members and our allies have rich insights, experiences, and knowledge to share. We need to ensure we hear them, understand them, and incorporate them into our campaign. When we all have a sense of ownership of the struggle, we fight harder to win.
- e) We need coordination and unity, but also tactical flexibility. Our movement will be stronger if it expresses the richness and diversity of every region of the province, and if affiliates, members, community allies, and neighbours can tailor the campaign to the issues and concerns that matter most to them.
- f) Our vision of the labour movement is a broad and inclusive one: not just workers in unions, but all workers, regardless of their union membership, affiliation, or status. Non-union workers are usually part of highly organized networks of activists and community members, and we need to connect with them and learn from them as equals.

In addition to the OFL's flagship campaign, Enough Is Enough, which aims to bring a broad range of mainly cost-of-living issues together under a single banner, we need to develop stand-alone campaigns that focus on particular issues.

Climate justice is among the most important and urgent issues workers are grappling with, and one that the labour movement must be prepared to tackle head on. That means developing an approach that unites our affiliates and ensures that labour plays a central role in wider environmental campaigns.

#### **ACTION #29:**

Launch an ongoing climate justice education series called "Climate justice at work" that focuses on three broad areas: making the real culprits of climate change pay for the solutions we need; turning low-carbon jobs into good jobs as part of a more inclusive and Equity-driven approach to a "just transition"; and reframing long-standing labour movement demands, including on Equity, in ways that align with climate justice demands.



For example, the demand to support the electrification of public transit combines labour’s long-standing support for high quality and accessible public transit for workers in their communities with an approach that dramatically reduces the carbon footprint of a public service.

Another example is the fight for pay equity: this central demand of the labour movement aligns with efforts to make low-carbon jobs—many of them held by women in the caring sectors—into good jobs, with decent pay and benefits, good working conditions, access to a union, access to Paid Sick Days, and so on.

#### **ACTION #30:**

**Design “Climate justice at work” in ways that allow affiliates to connect more meaningfully and frequently to ongoing campaigns, initiatives, and days of action in the broader climate justice movement.**

Health and safety is another critical issue for workers, and often at the heart of workplace-based complaints. It is an area of long-standing concern for the labour movement, and one where our proactive interventions have transformed working conditions for millions of workers.

Like we do in all our campaign work, we should connect with, involve, and learn from the people most affected by these issues, and ensure their real-lived experiences inform the demands we raise and the campaigns we lead.

#### **ACTION #31:**

**Develop a comprehensive lobbying and campaign strategy that targets the Workplace Safety and Insurance Board (WSIB) and aims to change policies and practices that continue to harm injured and ill workers.**

#### **ACTION #32:**

**Deepen labour’s connection with those impacted by workplace illnesses, injuries, and deaths, including family members impacted.**

#### **ACTION #33:**

**Host joint training sessions on the Westray Law with Labour Councils, the Workers Health and Safety Centre, and affiliates.**

Another critical area of work for the labour movement is bringing more workers into unions. At this particular moment, our challenge is meeting the growing demand among non-union workers to be part of a unionized workforce.

But we also need to deepen and expand that sentiment, by clearly explaining what unions do and how they improve the lives of all workers, their families, and their communities. And we need to reach workers in every community, especially where union density is lowest and where precarious work is widespread.

#### **ACTION #34:**

**Launch a province-wide ad campaign about the benefits of unions and union membership, including traditional print media in regional transit networks and, as above, with translated versions for representative linguistic communities.**

The fight to defend public services has been a central focus of the labour movement, long before Ford's election, but even more so after it. This issue forms one of five central demands of Enough Is Enough, and should complement work by affiliates that is already underway—especially in education and health care.

#### **ACTION #35:**

**Collaborate with education and health care affiliates to develop a province-wide campaign to defend public services, oppose privatization, and restore provincial funding and that would engage members of affiliates in other sectors, as well as the wider public.**

This campaign should include content that draws attention to the disproportionate harms experienced by women workers, racialized workers, and other Equity-deserving groups as a result of Ford's privatization efforts and the systematic attack on all public services.

These actions are based on the labour movement's unwavering commitment to the principles of public health care, education, and other public services—which should be publicly organized, funded, and delivered.

#### **ACTION 36:**

**Develop content for the campaign based on demands about public services in Enough Is Enough, but also align it with the specific demands of affiliates.**





Related to public services are the public insurance programs that protect workers when they lose their jobs and that allow them to live in dignity when they retire, among other crucial protections. But workers don't always see the benefits of these programs, especially at times when they're not immediately relying on them.

#### **ACTION #37:**

**Develop content about pensions, Employment Insurance, and other public insurance programs and frame them as cost-of-living issues as part of the OFL's Enough Is Enough campaign.**

Equity must inform everything we do, especially in all our campaign work. In other words, there must be an Equity lens for all our demands and organizing practices.

Equity issues must also have their own focused stand-alone campaigns, which provide additional focus and emphasis.

#### **ACTION #38:**

**Develop content for Enough Is Enough and other OFL campaigns in regular consultation with all OFL Equity Committees, including plans for implementation among Equity-deserving communities and groups.**

#### **ACTION #39:**

**Lobby all levels of government to declare gender-based and intimate partner violence an epidemic; to fund related programs, services, and supports; and to draw on the expertise of health care professionals, Indigenous communities, and women's and community organizations regarding the declaration's implementation.**

#### **ACTION #40:**

**Lobby the provincial and federal governments to establish an alert system—the “Red Dress Alert”—for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirited people.**

#### **ACTION #41:**

**Continue to support efforts to compel all levels of government to align legislation with the aims and goals of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), including at the municipal level.**

In addition to actions like these, our movement's commitment to the fight for Indigenous sovereignty and for real reconciliation must inform other areas of work—in all climate justice struggles, for example. Whether campaigns for clean water and air, the defence of traditional territory, or



the implementation of UNDRIP, our work must align these goals with the broader aims of the labour movement.

Likewise, climate justice and other struggles must center the fight against all forms of racism and discrimination, including systemic anti-Black racism, and ensure that those communities disproportionately impacted by climate change, environmental racism, and environmental disasters are at the heart of the movements to counter them.

International solidarity is a component of Equity work, even if campaigns are not explicitly organized in these terms. In recent weeks, the emergence of a renewed anti-war and solidarity movement, in response to the worsening situation in Israel-Palestine, has demonstrated the critical role that labour has to play.

That includes engaging our own members about specific questions and debates as they relate to international solidarity and the relationships between workers in Ontario and workers around the world. It also includes how we participate in international solidarity movements in our workplaces and communities.

#### **ACTION #42:**

**Develop a union education series about specific international issues, in consultation with leading solidarity organizations and campaigns, with the aim of developing capacity among affiliate members.**

#### **ACTION #43:**

**Develop a robust campaign to defend union members and all workers who face reprisals (discipline, suspension, termination, etc.) for engaging in international solidarity campaigns and/or showing support for them; likewise, oppose any and all attacks on civil liberties (freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc.), including state-led or -sanctioned repression, intimidation, surveillance, etc.**

How we engage in this kind of work matters; we can play a role within the labour movement in terms of building and organizing support for broader, community-led campaigns; and we can participate in those campaigns as a partner, in ways that demonstrate the social weight of the labour movement.

#### **ACTION #44:**

**Play a leadership role at the local, provincial, and pan-Canadian levels in organizing labour support for peace, anti-war, and solidarity movements; where possible, join and support broad-based coalitions to this end.**



#### **ACTION #45:**

Deepen the relationship between the labour movement in Ontario and trade unionists and workers in other parts of the world, where they are resisting war, occupation, attacks on labour and human rights, etc., and commit to building capacity to support their specific calls for solidarity.

**Beyond supporting the goals of international solidarity, these approaches also have a strategic impetus: they help us deepen our relationship with a range of communities and build unity across the Ontario working class, in all of its richness and diversity.**

In all our campaign and organizing work, we must keep in mind that it's an important part of our overall electoral strategy for the 2026 provincial election (and the 2025 federal election, which precedes it). What we do to generate support for our demands in advance of the election, including building local and regional networks along the way, makes it easier to translate that support into votes during an election period.

We simply can't do all that work in the few months leading to Election Day. We need more time to sink roots, build trust, and win hearts and minds.

And we need to train ourselves for that work, in the same way that the Action Plan has proposed to build power at work.

#### **ACTION #46:**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide skills-building conference in the winter or spring of 2025 called "Organizing for Power" for union members, Labour Councils, and community activists, with the following goals:

- a) Train 2,000 labour/community activists for election readiness;
- b) Maximize the participation of women, racialized workers, and members of other Equity-deserving groups;
- c) Develop skills related to mass mobilization and elections;
- d) Build labour and community coalitions based on electoral ridings;
- e) Provide education on key election issues.

#### **ACTION #47:**

Plan, organize, and host regional trainings for union members, Labour Councils, and community activists, based on the content of the "Organizing



**The more planning we do to nail down our own actions and events, the more prepared we'll be to respond to changing circumstances—including political crises—as they emerge.**

for Power” conference, and aiming towards a province-wide day of action on Labour Day 2025.

The content of these trainings must include both the “what” and the “how” of a practical mobilization campaign: what are the key issues that workers are angry about, and how do we engage and involve workers about them?

#### **ACTION #48:**

**Design a workplace-based education campaign that takes on the claims of Ford and Poilievre, helps workers understand what really causes inflation and the cost-of-living crisis, among other issues, and promotes labour’s demands to make life more affordable.**

#### **ACTION #49:**

**Plan, organize, and host a province-wide day of action on Labour Day 2025 in as many locations as possible around the province, and based on an electoral strategy for the federal election, to launch a campaign vision for workers in advance of Election Day.**

Like the Enough Is Enough day of action proposed for the fall of 2024, this one has two goals: to apply and develop the skills that workers acquire in the conference that precedes it, and to shape the broader political terrain in every part of the province—i.e., building working-class support for our demands, but as part of a more focused electoral strategy.

#### **ACTION #50:**

**Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support pro-labour candidates in the federal election, whenever it is called; and encourage OFL affiliates to endorse federal New Democratic Party (NDP) candidates in the election.**

Likewise, this action plan proposes a similar strategy for the 2026 provincial election, and we can’t wait until the 2025 OFL Convention to discuss it. We need to build it into all the work we’re doing now, so we have the runway we need to win on June 4, 2026.

If we start building now, the 2025 Action Plan will have two years of momentum behind it, and its focus could be on ramping up a years-long campaign towards the final months of mobilizing before the June election.

#### **ACTION #51:**

**Launch a province-wide speaking tour of OFL leadership called “The Ontario We Need” (TOWN—just a placeholder name until we get to 2025) to promote labour’s vision and**

demands in advance of the 2026 provincial election and to build local and regional networks of activists and campaigners, culminating in a province-wide day of action on May 2, 2026.

**ACTION #52:**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide day of action on May Day 2026 (to be held on Saturday, May 2, 2026) in as many locations as possible around the province, and based on an electoral strategy for the provincial election, to shape the political terrain of the campaign in advance of Election Day.

**ACTION #53:**

Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support ONDP candidates in the June 4, 2026 provincial election, pending the party's endorsement of labour's demands and vision for Ontario at that time; and encourage OFL affiliates to endorse ONDP candidates in the election.

The outcome of the provincial election will affect the political terrain for the municipal elections that follow in October 2026, just as the 2025 federal election (if that's when it happens) will affect the terrain for the provincial election in June 2026.

**ACTION #54:**

Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support pro-labour candidates in the October 26, 2026 municipal election.

Another crucial component of the Action Plan, especially its electoral strategy, is to make the ONDP into the party that workers need and deserve. The capacity we build for working-class demands in all parts of the province will also have an impact on the party and the direction it takes both leading to and during an election.

**ACTION #55:**

Re-assert the role of the labour movement in shaping and directing the ONDP to act and lead as the "party of labour" in Ontario, especially at moments when its actions or policies contravene the core principles of our movement.

**ACTION #56:**

Develop a campaign strategy that includes all 124 ridings in Ontario, that assesses the relative strength of the labour movement and the density of union members in each one, and



that accordingly mobilizes strategically and collaboratively—well before the June 4, 2026 provincial election.

These are ambitious plans, and will require coordination among affiliates and allies right across the province. That means we all need to implement this plan together, and understand what exactly that looks like in our workplaces and communities at the local level.

#### **ACTION #57:**

**Organize local and regional report-back meetings in early 2024 by delegates to affiliates and Labour Councils, promoting the 2023 OFL Action Plan, key decisions at the 2023 Convention, and immediate next steps.**

#### **ACTION #58:**

**Organize a regional speaking tour of the new OFL leadership, following the 2023 Convention, that would visit all regions of the province in the first months of 2024, connect with local affiliates and Labour Councils, and promote the “Building Power at Work” conference in the spring, among other key initiatives.**

These kinds of report-back meetings will be even more crucial in the wake of the 2025 Convention, given the relatively short timeline between then and the 2026 provincial election.

#### **ACTION #59:**

**Organize local and regional report-back meetings in early 2026 by delegates to affiliates and Labour Councils, promoting the 2025 OFL Action Plan, key decisions at the 2025 Convention, and immediate next steps.**

Much of the Action Plan so far organizes actions and activity around dates and events that are more or less fixed, which allows for a degree of predictability. But as we know from all our organizing efforts, the best laid plans don't always align with the realities of the world around us. When something unpredictable happens—for example, Ford's decision to throw down the gauntlet by introducing Bill 28—our movement must be ready to adapt accordingly and, in some cases, develop an entirely new plan.

This action plan attempts to give us the flexibility to do both: plan and organize over the long term, but with the ability to adapt and re-organize quickly in response to sudden turns of events.

Another way to do that is to anticipate such moments, and then take steps to be ready for them, if they happen. Sometimes we have the power to precipitate events that put the government on the defensive, like our movement did when it set in motion a plan to launch an indefinite general strike in Ontario in November 2022.

#### **ACTION #60:**

**Organize and host a series of strategic discussions among affiliate leadership about how to organize and coordinate its activity in a way that moves the labour movement out of defensive struggle and puts it on the offensive against Ford (i.e., how could it provoke another “Bill 28” moment with Ford?).**

The more planning we do to nail down our own actions and events, the more prepared we'll be to respond to changing circumstances—including political crises—as they emerge.

# ACTIONS AND TIMELINE

Our movement has limited time and limited resources, so we need a clear and focused timeline that accounts for immovable milestone events in the years ahead (e.g., the 2025 federal election and the 2026 provincial election) and plans for them accordingly.

This timeline aims to give us the time and organization we need to achieve each of our goals: to be able to respond to issues as they come up, when they come up, but in a more coordinated way that also supports our long-term organizing and mobilizing strategy.

Each individual action does what is required at that particular moment, but it also builds labour's capacity towards a major confrontation with the Ford government, if that becomes necessary, and towards the level of support and organization required among workers to win in June 2026 (and hopefully in October 2025, too).

This timeline is just the broad strokes of what we can anticipate in the next few years. More detailed actions and initiatives can be added to this framework, especially as we craft a more polished version of the Action Plan that integrates resolutions supported by delegates to the 2023 OFL Convention.

In summary, this Action Plan aims to provide:

- › A long-term strategy to defeat Ford in 2026 (and Poilievre in 2025)
- › Dedicated time for our own actions and events, but also the flexibility to respond to issues as they arise
- › Actions that build our members' skills, confidence, and power in their workplaces and communities
- › A focus on Equity in everything we do and in stand-alone Equity initiatives
- › Mobilizations that align with and support bargaining timelines
- › A general sense of how and when to implement each action

## MILESTONE EVENTS

### 2023

- › November 20-24: OFL Convention

### 2025

- › October 20: Federal election (tentative date)
- › November 17-21: OFL Convention

### 2026

- › June 4: Ontario election (tentative date)
- › October 26: Municipal elections (tentative date)

## AT A GLANCE: EVENTS

2024



### JANUARY

- › Convention report-back meetings
- › Promotions begin for “Building Power at Work” conference



### WINTER/SPRING

- › OFL regional speaking tour of new leadership



### SPRING

- › “Building Power at Work” conference in Toronto
- › June 1: Day of action for injured and ill workers



### SPRING/SUMMER

- › Promotions begin for province-wide Enough Is Enough day of action in fall



### FALL

- › Province-wide Enough Is Enough day of action

2025



### WINTER/SPRING

- › Promotions begin for “Organizing for Power” conference



### SPRING

- › “Organizing for Power” conference in Toronto



### SPRING/SUMMER

- › “Organizing for Power” regional trainings and mobilization



### SEPTEMBER 1

- › Province-wide pre-election day of action on Labour Day



### OCTOBER 20 (tentative date)

- › Federal election

2026



### JANUARY

- › Convention report-back meetings



### WINTER/SPRING

- › Province-wide “The Ontario We Need” speaking tour and mobilization



### MAY 2

- › Province-wide “The Ontario We Need” day of action on May Day



### JUNE 4 (tentative date)

- › Provincial election



### OCTOBER 26 (tentative date)

- › Municipal elections

# AT A GLANCE: ACTIONS

## **ACTION #1**

Ensure that the principles, commitments, and demands of the OFL's 2023 "Enough is Enough – Workers Strike Back" vision document form the basis of this action plan and any subsequent work the OFL pursues.

## **ACTION #2**

Commit to an organizing and mobilizing strategy that recognizes the power of the strike as a tactic, whether exercised as a strike mandate vote, strike preparation, or an actual strike, and that aims to coordinate strike activity among affiliates, especially where bargaining timelines may align, and while fully respecting affiliate autonomy.

## **ACTION #3**

Develop campaign content that documents and generalizes the Ford government's record in office and emphasizes the devastating impact on working people in Ontario; counter this record with a bold and accessible vision of labour's demands and demonstrate how they would improve the lives of working people and make it more affordable.

## **ACTION #4**

Re-affirm labour's commitment to Equity and the demands of Equity-deserving communities, by centering their needs and concerns in all our work, in our organizing and mobilizing strategies, and in our day-to-day practices.

## **ACTION #5**

Connect Doug Ford's Conservatives record with Pierre Poilievre and the federal Conservatives, who are advocating the same destructive policies as Ford has since 2018, but at the federal level and on a wider scale.

## **ACTION #6**

Commit to raising the profile of climate change in existing campaigns of the labour movement, including at the bargaining table, and demonstrate the connection between long-standing labour movement demands and the fight for climate justice.

## **ACTION #7**

Develop an internal OFL mechanism among affiliates to coordinate unionization efforts, especially in sectors with little or no union density, and help transform cold union-drive leads into hot union-drive leads.

## **ACTION #8**

Build on the successes of the 2021 "Our future, our fight" campaign and integrate its ongoing initiatives into the 2023 "Workers strike back – Enough Is Enough" campaign.

## **ACTION #9**

Commit to expanding the labour movement's collaboration with community organizations—such as the Ontario Health Coalition, the Equal Pay Coalition, the Ontario Network of Injured Workers, and Justice for Workers—in the development of broad-based campaigns on province-wide issues that target the Ford government, allocating resources accordingly.

## **ACTION #10**

Commit to expanding the labour movement's collaboration with communities of faith and their representative organizations in the development of broad-based campaigns on province-wide and Equity-related issues, allocating resources accordingly.

## **ACTION #11**

Incorporate into the 2023 Action Plan an electoral strategy for the June 4, 2026 provincial election, which builds on the Plan's broader organizing and mobilizing initiatives—which identifies just three priority action items for consideration at our 2025 OFL Convention—and lays the foundation for a more focused and robust election campaign in 2026.

## **ACTION #12**

Make the focus of our electoral strategy building working-class support in every region of the province on the merits of the issues themselves, and as a means to push all parties to adopt our agenda and demands.

## **ACTION #13**

Develop an accessible digital (video) and print educational tool for workers (union and non-union alike) that documents the history of the education workers' strike and the labour movement's defeat of Bill 28 and generalizes its key lessons, and disseminate it widely through affiliates and allies.

## **ACTION #14**

Develop a campaign strategy that anticipates and prepares for the possibility of success during the remaining years of Ford's term and that doesn't delay the fightback against Ford's agenda until the June 4, 2026 election.



### **ACTION #15**

Revamp and relaunch the OFL's Enough Is Enough campaign, with an emphasis on organizing workplace-based and community-based activity that creates opportunities for union and non-union workers to organize and mobilize at the local level around the campaign's key demands and in a way that aligns with ongoing campaigns led by affiliates.

### **ACTION #16**

Develop a strike solidarity toolkit for affiliates on strike or in a lock-out and for labour and community allies, which provides organizing and mobilizing resources to support the labour action at the local and community levels, including picket line support (e.g., how to organize an effective solidarity rally); community-based phone zaps and email campaigns that target employers and decision-makers; solidarity petitions and campaign posters and leaflets that demonstrate public support; etc.

### **ACTION #17**

Develop a training series for affiliates and Labour Councils that generalizes best practices for organizing public demonstrations (rallies, marches, vigils, pickets, counter-protests, etc.), with an emphasis on safety, effective messaging and public engagement, and building capacity in workplaces and communities.

### **ACTION #18**

Continue to develop rapid response networks, in partnership with the Canadian Labour Congress, composed of affiliates, members, Labour Councils, and community allies that are able to mobilize effectively on short notice and on a range of issues, especially in response to anti-Equity or anti-human rights protests and actions, wherever they take place.

### **ACTION #19**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide skills-building conference in the spring of 2024 called "Building Power at Work" for union members and Labour Councils, with the following goals:

Train 1,000 rank-and-file leaders for workplace organizing;

Maximize the participation of women, racialized workers, and members of other Equity-deserving groups;

Develop skills related to campaigns, bargaining, and strikes;

Build and expand rapid-response solidarity networks;

Include content on strengthening Labour Councils.



### **ACTION #20**

Dedicate a significant portion of the conference to anti-hate organizing in the workplace and in the wider community, with an eye to developing rapid response anti-hate networks across the province.

### **ACTION #21**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide Enough Is Enough day of action in the fall of 2024, with local actions in every region of the province, centered around key demands of the Enough Is Enough campaign.

### **ACTION #22**

Design the actions, events, and timeline of "Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough" in a way that allows affiliates to participate on their own terms and that resonate with their members' needs and concerns, especially around issues-based campaigns and other initiatives where there is shared interest and support throughout the labour movement.

### **ACTION #23**

Launch a province-wide online survey of affiliates, in the weeks following the OFL Convention, to engage 50,000 members on the issues that matter most to them and to identify the varying levels of support among them for the vision that inspires the "Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough" campaign.

**ACTION #24**

Develop a series of campaign activities and escalating actions that affiliates, members, Labour Councils, and allies could help organize, lead, and/or participate in at the local level, while connecting to the broader campaign regionally and province-wide.

**ACTION #25**

Aim to build “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” as a united working-class movement that connects all struggles and campaigns across Ontario, including those in broader social movements and in local communities.

**ACTION #26**

Customize “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” in a way that meaningfully and sensitively engages communities that have historically been excluded or marginalized in broader labour movement organizing and ensure that campaign materials are available in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, French, Punjabi, Somali, Spanish, Tamil, and Urdu.

**ACTION #27**

Introduce the “Race-Class Narrative” into all campaign messaging as a means to neutralize the use of dog-whistle racism by political leaders, pundits, and the media, and to build a deeper sense of multi-racial solidarity among all Ontario workers and their communities.

**ACTION #28**

Organize “Workers Strike Back – Enough Is Enough” around the following best practices and tried-and-true organizing methods:

The same principles of Equity, inclusion, and anti-oppression that we campaign for at work must inform all our organizing practices and how we engage and mobilize each other. We must intentionally create space for new leadership to emerge, develop, and lead.

We all learn by doing. When people have the chance to participate in something, to experience it for themselves, the lessons they learn are more lasting and meaningful, and more likely to lead to action.

The system tells us over and over again that change isn’t possible. This is one reason we lack confidence in ourselves and fail to recognize our potential power. Collective organizing is more than getting things done. It’s about building our confidence to do more than we thought possible.

Our members and our allies have rich insights, experiences, and knowledge to share. We need to ensure we hear them, understand them, and incorporate them into our campaign. When we all

have a sense of ownership of the struggle, we fight harder to win.

We need coordination and unity, but also tactical flexibility. Our movement will be stronger if it expresses the richness and diversity of every region of the province, and if affiliates, members, community allies, and neighbours can tailor the campaign to the issues and concerns that matter most to them.

Our vision of the labour movement is a broad and inclusive one: not just workers in unions, but all workers, regardless of their union membership, affiliation, or status. Non-union workers are usually part of highly organized networks of activists and community members, and we need to connect with them and learn from them as equals.

**ACTION #29**

Launch an ongoing climate justice education series called “Climate justice at work” that focuses on three broad areas: making the real culprits of climate change pay for the solutions we need; turning low-carbon jobs into good jobs as part of a more inclusive and Equity-driven approach to a “just transition”; and reframing long-standing labour movement demands, including on Equity, in ways that align with climate justice demands.

**ACTION #30**

Design “Climate justice at work” in ways that allow affiliates to connect more meaningfully and frequently to ongoing campaigns, initiatives, and days of action in the broader climate justice movement.

**ACTION #31**

Develop a comprehensive lobbying and campaign strategy that targets the Workplace Safety and Insurance Board (WSIB) and aims to change policies and practices that continue to harm injured and ill workers.

**ACTION #32**

Deepen labour’s connection with those impacted by workplace illnesses, injuries, and deaths, including family members impacted.

**ACTION #33**

Host joint training sessions on the Westray Law with Labour Councils, the Workers Health and Safety Centre, and affiliates.

**ACTION #34**

Launch a province-wide ad campaign about the benefits of unions and union membership, including traditional print media in regional transit networks and, as above, with translated versions for representative linguistic communities.

### **ACTION #35**

Collaborate with education and health care affiliates to develop a province-wide campaign to defend public services, oppose privatization, and restore provincial funding and that would engage members of affiliates in other sectors, as well as the wider public.

### **ACTION #36**

Develop content for the campaign based on demands about public services in Enough Is Enough, but also align it with the specific demands of affiliates.

### **ACTION #37**

Develop content about pensions, Employment Insurance, and other public insurance programs and frame them as cost-of-living issues as part of the OFL's Enough Is Enough campaign.

### **ACTION #38**

Develop content for Enough Is Enough and other OFL campaigns in regular consultation with all OFL Equity Committees, including plans for implementation among Equity-deserving communities and groups.

### **ACTION #39**

Lobby all levels of government to declare gender-based and intimate partner violence an epidemic; to fund related programs, services, and supports; and to draw on the expertise of health care professionals, Indigenous communities, and women's and community organizations regarding the declaration's implementation.

### **ACTION #40**

Lobby the provincial and federal governments to establish an alert system—the “Red Dress Alert”—for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirited people.

### **ACTION #41**

Continue to support efforts to compel all levels of government to align legislation with the aims and goals of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), including at the municipal level.

### **ACTION #42**

Develop a union education series about specific international issues, in consultation with leading solidarity organizations and campaigns, with the aim of developing capacity among affiliate members.

### **ACTION #43**

Develop a robust campaign to defend union members and all workers who face reprisals (discipline, suspension, termination, etc.) for engaging in international solidarity campaigns and/or showing support for them; likewise,



oppose any and all attacks on civil liberties (freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc.), including state-led or -sanctioned repression, intimidation, surveillance, etc.

### **ACTION #44**

Play a leadership role at the local, provincial, and pan-Canadian levels in organizing labour support for peace, anti-war, and solidarity movements; where possible, join and support broad-based coalitions to this end.

### **ACTION #45**

Deepen the relationship between the labour movement in Ontario and trade unionists and workers in other parts of the world, where they are resisting war, occupation, attacks on labour and human rights, etc., and commit to building capacity to support their specific calls for solidarity.

### **ACTION #46**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide skills-building conference in the winter or spring of 2025 called “Organizing for Power” for union members, Labour Councils, and community activists, with the following goals:

Train 2,000 labour/community activists for election readiness;

Maximize the participation of women, racialized workers, and members of other Equity-deserving groups;

Develop skills related to mass mobilization and elections;



Build labour and community coalitions based on electoral ridings;

Provide education on key election issues.

#### **ACTION #47**

Plan, organize, and host regional trainings for union members, Labour Councils, and community activists, based on the content of the “Organizing for Power” conference, and aiming towards a province-wide day of action on Labour Day 2025.

#### **ACTION #48**

Design a workplace-based education campaign that takes on the claims of Ford and Poilievre, helps workers understand what really causes inflation and the cost-of-living crisis, among other issues, and promotes labour's demands to make life more affordable.

#### **ACTION #49**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide day of action on Labour Day 2025 in as many locations as possible around the province, and based on an electoral strategy for the federal election, to launch a campaign vision for workers in advance of Election Day.

#### **ACTION #50**

Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support pro-labour candidates in the federal election, whenever it is called; and encourage OFL affiliates to endorse federal New Democratic Party (NDP) candidates in the election.

#### **ACTION #51**

Launch a province-wide speaking tour of OFL leadership called “The Ontario We Need” (TOWN—just a placeholder name until we get to 2025) to promote labour’s vision and demands in advance of the 2026 provincial election and to build local and regional networks of activists and campaigners, culminating in a province-wide day of action on May 2, 2026.

#### **ACTION #52**

Plan, organize, and host a province-wide day of action on May Day 2026 (to be held on Saturday, May 2, 2026) in as many locations as possible around the province, and based on an electoral strategy for the provincial election, to shape the political terrain of the campaign in advance of Election Day.

#### **ACTION #53**

Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support ONDP candidates in the June 4, 2026 provincial

election, pending the party’s endorsement of labour’s demands and vision for Ontario at that time; and encourage OFL affiliates to endorse ONDP candidates in the election.

#### **ACTION #54**

Coordinate with the Canadian Labour Congress to organize and mobilize union members, Labour Councils, and community activists to support pro-labour candidates in the October 26, 2026 municipal election.

#### **ACTION #55**

Re-assert the role of the labour movement in shaping and directing the ONDP to act and lead as the “party of labour” in Ontario, especially at moments when its actions or policies contravene the core principles of our movement.

#### **ACTION #56**

Develop a campaign strategy that includes all 124 ridings in Ontario, that assesses the relative strength of the labour movement and the density of union members in each one, and that accordingly mobilizes strategically and collaboratively—well before the June 4, 2026 provincial election.

#### **ACTION #57**

Organize local and regional report-back meetings in early 2024 by delegates to affiliates and Labour Councils, promoting the 2023 OFL Action Plan, key decisions at the 2023 Convention, and immediate next steps.

#### **ACTION #58**

Organize a regional speaking tour of the new OFL leadership, following the 2023 Convention, that would visit all regions of the province in the first months of 2024, connect with local affiliates and Labour Councils, and promote the “Building Power at Work” conference in the spring, among other key initiatives.

#### **ACTION #59**

Organize local and regional report-back meetings in early 2026 by delegates to affiliates and Labour Councils, promoting the 2025 OFL Action Plan, key decisions at the 2025 Convention, and immediate next steps.

#### **ACTION #60**

Organize and host a series of strategic discussions among affiliate leadership about how to organize and coordinate its activity in a way that moves the labour movement out of defensive struggle and puts it on the offensive against Ford (i.e., how could it provoke another “Bill 28” moment with Ford?).



# CONCLUSION

The world feels like a scary place right now. If you're on your own, it's easy to feel helpless and hopeless.

But things are a lot less scary when you're part of a movement or can organize with others. That's what it means (or should mean) when you're in a union. That's what it means to be part of a fighting Ontario labour movement.

After the Convention, we need to make it a priority to share and promote this action plan. When we involve other workers in our plans, we aim to build their confidence, like we do for each other, and show that a better world is possible and, more importantly, that there's something we can do about it.

**We want to give people a sense of their own power.**

**We want to give people a sense of hope.**

Even in difficult circumstances these last few years, workers have held their own. We've even won some significant battles. What we've done once or twice we can do again many times over.

Ford has been weakened by his rotten and corrupt government. Working people are looking for something better, but they're not always sure about the next steps.

If we don't rise to the occasion and provide a bold and progressive alternative, we'll be ceding the ground to forces on the right, like Poilievre, and even to the far right.

**At a moment like this, the choice is a stark one: either the politics of solidarity or the politics of division.**

We can't afford to lose this fight. Too much is at stake.

Let's be buoyed by the victories we've won, though they are still too few, and by the possibility that our movement could win everything we need.

And let's be clear: We want to win everything. Working people in Ontario, and around the world, deserve nothing less.



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# **ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR**

**The Ontario Federation of Labour represents  
54 unions and one million workers.**

**It is Canada's largest provincial  
labour federation.**