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# CANADIAN PROGRESSIVES ON THE MARCH

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The Story of the Rise of the C.C.F.

By M. J. COLDWELL, M.P.

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REGINA MANIFESTO

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POST-WAR PROGRAM, C. C. F.

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L. I. D.  
PAMPHLET  
SERIES  
LEAGUE FOR  
INDUSTRIAL  
DEMOCRACY  
112 EAST 19th STREET  
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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The Story of the Rise of the C.C.F.

By M. J. COLDWELL, M.P.

President of Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada  
Leader of C.C.F. in Canadian House of Commons

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REGINA MANIFESTO

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POST-WAR PROGRAM, C. C. F.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

15 Cents



M. J. COLDWELL, M. P.

## FOREWORD

On Saturday noon, January 15, 1944, five hundred men and women prominent in the labor movement of New York met at a luncheon in the room of the Hotel Commodore to pay tribute to M. J. Coldwell, M.P., President of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada, leader of the C.C.F. in the Canadian House of Commons, former President of the Canadian Federation of Teachers and one of the outstanding Canadian statesmen of the day.

For months before Mr. Coldwell's visit to the United States, newspapers and magazines had been carrying stories concerning the recent progress in Canada of the C.C.F., the young and vigorous farmer-labor-progressive party of our Canadian neighbor which, through democratic means, was striving for the immediate improvement of the condition of the plain people of Canada, and for the attainment of a cooperative system of industrial society.

These articles about the C.C.F. pointed to the fact that, in the Ontario elections of the Fall of 1943, the C.C.F. had increased its popular vote five fold from 78,000 in 1937 to 400,000, and had increased its membership in the Provincial legislature from 0 to 34, becoming the Chief Opposition party in that Province, and, but for a few hundred votes, Ontario's governing party.\* It had captured all the industrial centers in Ontario; had received 100,000 farm votes in a province where the farmers had held a record for conservatism; had become the chief Opposition party in 4 Canadian Provinces; had won, the week before the Ontario elections, two new parliamentary seats in by-elections, and had so grown in popular favor that the Gallup polls taken in the fall of 1943 indicated that not far from 30 per cent of the people of Canada favored the C.C.F.\*\*

The League for Industrial Democracy, composed of men and women profoundly interested in all progressive and democratic movements on the political, economic and cultural fronts, had, for

\* The Liberal party in this election reduced its representation from 64 members of the legislature to 15, while the Conservative party elected 38 representatives, and was called upon to form the Government.

\*\* See J. King Gordon on 'C.C.F. Awakening in the North,' *Assembly*, November, 1943; William Henry Chamberlin on "Canada Turns Left," in *Harpers*, December, 1943; articles in *Time*, and in *The Third Freedom: Freedom From Want*, L.I.D. pamphlet, pp. 78-81.

several years ago, and, in this significant trend in Canadian political life, the League had at its conference one of the founders of the movement, Professor Frank H. Underhill, a foremost Canadian social prophet, and, J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., and, at its 1943 conference, Professor Frank H. Underhill, a foremost Canadian historian. It was thus fitting that the League in the light of recent developments, should endeavor to hear from the C.C.F.'s leading figure, M. J. Coldwell, something of the present aims and achievements of this remarkable movement. Thus followed the outstanding luncheon in Mr. Coldwell's honor in New York, presided over by Dr. George S. Counts of Teachers' College, Columbia, and sponsored by numerous labor and progressive groups and a host of distinguished citizens.

We are happy to print Mr. Coldwell's masterly address on that occasion and the two most historic pronouncements of the C.C.F. — the Regina Manifesto of 1933 and the Post War Program of 1942.

These statements will give a clear introductory conception of the movement. For further information, the reader is advised to secure copies of the recent book by David Lewis and Frank H. Scott, on *Make This Your Canada*, published by the C.C.F., 56 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada and to be obtained there or at the office of the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

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# Canadian Progressives on the March

## The Story of the Rise of the C. C. F.

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I was very glad indeed to accept the invitation from the League for Industrial Democracy, through Dr. Harry W. Laidler, to address this distinguished gathering today.

### *Progressive Trends in British Dominions*

Canada and the United States are near and good neighbors, sharing the major portion of a great and rich continent. In the main, we speak the same language and derive our social and political institutions from the same sources, although there are some striking differences between us. In my country, under the Parliamentary system of democratic and responsible Government, it seems somewhat easier for a new movement to gain support and achieve nation-wide influence and power than it appears to be in your country. That was demonstrated, too, in Great Britain during the early years of the present century in the rise of the Labor party; several times since in the success of similar parties in Australia and New Zealand, and more recently in Canada in the movement for which I speak today. All these political parties are alike in that they are people's movements accepting, as the basis of their philosophies and programs, the fundamental principles of democratic socialism and maintaining contact with each other. In all these countries before the War there was a trend towards the social ownership and control of the principal economic functions together with a wide-spread demand for a wide extension of social security measures for the people. In the latter respect, New Zealand has made the most striking and beneficial advances, its Labor Government having been elected and re-elected to power with substantial majorities and without interruption at three successive general elections. In spite of the almost universal unpopularity of

wartime Governments, it was re-elected again in the autumn of 1943. Australia's Labor Government, too, won the election again in August, 1943, with an overwhelming majority. But for the unavoidable coalition in Great Britain, it is certain that the Labor party would have greatly improved its position and, perhaps, have carried the country. *I mention this to show that Canada, free, independent and self-governing, is demonstrating her adherence to a well-defined British Commonwealth trend through the rise to nation-wide influence of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.* While our nearest English-speaking neighbor, the United States, seems, as yet, little influenced by a similar trend; the trend to which I referred a moment ago as a British Commonwealth trend is, indeed, a world trend. I believe, however, that the success of the C.C.F. in Canada would encourage the organization of a similar Movement in your country.

### *The World Wide Trend*

No one who knows anything about the underground movements in the occupied countries of Europe, or the views of, at least, some of those directing affairs in China or the philosophy of Nehru and the younger Congress leaders in India, can doubt that the world-wide trend is in the direction of socialism in varying degrees of development. When this war ends, all the oppressed peoples will demand the right to choose their own democratic leaders and to determine their own destinies. We shall be wise if we recognize that *now* and plan accordingly. Our hope, too, is that the association of Russia with the Western democracies in war will make Russia more democratic politically and the western democracies more socialistic economically. If such a synthesis can be realized, orderly, democratic and rapid social and economic advances can be made universally. Much, too, I add, may depend upon the extent to which your great country can find the ways and means of participating in the world-wide trend. For this is no ordinary war fought to maintain Empires or to extend commercial domination. It is in very truth a phase, perhaps a final phase, in a world-wide revolution, as profound in its consequences as the great upheavals in Europe which marked the breakdown of feudalism and the rise



of modern capitalism. No one who fails to understand this truth can appreciate the significance of the world-shaking events in which we are engulfed. It is fitting, therefore, that progressive people should forge the political instruments necessary to give effect to new ideas, new policies and new programs, to meet the needs of a new social and economic age.

Canada is a young country. As, in the United States, opportunities for the progressive expansion of capitalist enterprise lasted longer than in most European countries. Right up to the first World War and, indeed, until 1929, our economy responded moderately well to the unplanned methods of a so-called private enterprise. It was still possible for a few to rise from poverty to comparative wealth. This retarded the growth of progressive movements although there were warning voices crying in the wilderness. The experiences of the Great War, giving a demonstration of what might be done through even rough and ready planning for a national purpose, caused a substantial growth in the number of Canadians who looked towards various socialist solutions as means to the achievement of social progress. Our Western farmers began to demand publicly-controlled marketing organizations and, eventually, organized great producers' co-operatives which have met with considerable success and are now being paralleled by substantial consumer co-operative societies. Labor, too, has found that, unorganized, it was at the mercy of powerful corporations and capitalistic enterprises. Local labor and farmer's political associations came into existence here and there and had temporary successes, but the crash of 1929 found the nation in every way unprepared to meet it.

### *The Birth of the C.C.F.*

Meantime, in Parliament, a small but very able group of Western farmers had been co-operating with a smaller labor group. In 1932, under the chairmanship of the late J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., they met to consider ways and means of extending throughout the country the co-operation they had found possible and useful in Parliament.

Thus it was that in August, 1932, representatives of a number

of labor and farmer political groups met to consider united action, and the C.C.F. was born. The name "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation" was adopted because it accurately portrayed the aims of the movement. The name "Labor Party" seemed too exclusive on account of the dominant role played by the working farmers: "Farmer-Labor" was rejected because it seemed to exclude the small but influential group of middle-class intellectuals and business men who were destined to give such valuable aid to the new party. Today the name and the initials "C.C.F." are a distinct asset to us.

At the outset there were unavoidable divisions of opinion. These brought joy to our opponents but their rejoicing was short-lived for, quite soon, a real core of agreement was reached. The unity which emerged from a recognition of differences at the outset, resulted in a real dynamic unity instead of a make-believe purely artificial front. As a consequence, the political program of the C.C.F. was formulated not by doctrinaire theory but out of the needs of the Canadian people. The result was a native democratic people's program and a political movement controlled and financed by the people.

#### *For Progress Through Democratic Means*

I will not recount the early struggles of the movement, the self-sacrifice and missionary spirit that went into it. On the one hand, we were denounced by a powerful capitalist press as communists in disguise, while, on the other hand, the Communist party loudly denounced us in terms of which they are pastmasters. But we have veered neither in one direction nor the other. Today the communists who sought to destroy us because we are democratic and opposed to a totalitarian dictatorship, have formed a new party which they call "Labor-Progressive" and have sought to affiliate with us. But, consistently, our Annual Conventions and recently our party gatherings have unanimously and decisively rejected any and every form of co-operation with them. Between us there is more than one fundamental difference. We believe, therefore, that any attempt to unite groups that differ fundamentally can only bring disaster to democratic movements. That, I think, has been

demonstrated many times in countries where Communist parties have succeeded in boring from within. Their contortions before and during this war have been amazing. The statement of Earl Browder at the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York City, on January 11, 1944, is an example of communist inconsistency. He is reported to have said that the party will abstain from nominating political candidates and will co-operate with the so-called free enterprise system. I believe that much of our success throughout the country is due to the forthrightness of our statements and the consistency of our attitude.

During the Winter of 1932-1933 the Provisional Council, assisted by leading members of a University group known as the League for Social Reconstruction, drafted a Party Manifesto based on the Provisional Program adopted a year earlier. This is known as the Regina Manifesto, which was characterized by an outstanding British Commonwealth statesman as the finest modern political document in the English language. The document expressed in the clearest terms our aim and purpose. It declared that the C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange, will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profit.

#### *The Goal: Economic Planning for Abundance*

Our aim, then, is to replace the present capitalist system, with its injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which exploitation of one group by another will be eliminated and in which economic planning for abundance will supersede unregulated private enterprise. *The social order which we desire is not one in which individuality will be crushed by regimentation, but one in which the proper collective organization of our economy will make possible a greater opportunity for individual initiative, more leisure and a richer life for our citizens.* We believe firmly that this can be evolved through appropriate political action through the election of a Government inspired by these ideals and supported by a majority of the people. We do *not* believe in change by violence.

### *The C.C.F. As a Political Power*

In Canada both the old parties, Conservative and Liberal, have been and are merely instruments of capitalist interests which finance their campaigns and control their policies. Their purpose is to divide the people and serve the economic interests that control them. The C.C.F. has not only exposed this unreality but in some Provinces and urban centers has forced them to unite against us. *In just over ten years we have become the major political issue in our country.* We are today the official opposition in several of our Provincial Legislatures, including that of our largest Province, Ontario. Here in this industrial Province Labor was convinced by bitter experience and by the activities of the C.C.F. Parliamentary Group that direct political action was essential. Thus, in 1943, many local labor unions decided to affiliate with us. Then, in September, 1943, the Canadian Congress of Labor recommended its local unions to affiliate with us. Unfortunately, inadequate funds prevented our taking full advantage of this favorable situation and our opponents are amply financed by the corporations, some of which are subsidiaries of parent companies in your country. Significant, too, is the fact that had the civilians voted in Ontario in August, 1943, in the same proportions as did the soldiers who were permitted to vote in Canada, the C.C.F. would have been the Government of Ontario. As it was the C.C.F. representation in the Provincial legislature increased from 0 to 34, the latter being but 4 short of the number of seats won by the Conservative party which formed the Government. In a recent by-election at Red Deer, Alberta, the three Military polls all gave majorities to our candidates. Word reaching me from Overseas reports great gains in strength for the C.C.F. among all the Armed Forces. Perhaps I should say that in our Military Camps Overseas, as in the British Army, discussion of current political and economic matters is widespread. Many of our men have made up their minds as to what they are fighting *for* as well as what they are fighting *against*. Many of them have a firm determination that they will not return again to the chaos and suffering of the pre-war years. Had provision been made for the taking of the soldiers' vote Overseas, particularly in Britain, the recent elections held in Canada would have been more

conclusively C.C.F. Should a general election for Parliament occur soon, we anticipate a heavy Military vote in our favor. Gallup polls have shown our strength throughout the country. While there is a variation of a few points from time to time, a recent poll gave us a larger percentage of the popular following in Canada than any other Party. In other words, it is not beyond a possibility, if not a probability, that the General Election due before the middle of 1945, will put us in power in Canada, and what is *more* we are preparing plans to meet such a national challenge. Editorials in the daily, weekly and financial press bitterly attacking us are potent evidence that the vested interests are thoroughly alarmed at the prospects. Because this is so obvious, the common man in greater numbers joins our ranks. Parties like individuals are known by the company they keep. Only big business is clamoring for a return to what they are pleased to miscall free enterprise. We know that planning production for a national purpose, war, has enabled us to treble our national income at a time when hundreds of thousands of our ablest young men and women are in the Armed Forces and out of actual economic production. Before the war thousands of these young men rode the rods while thousands of Canadians were on relief. Our Government rejected every demand for adequate amelioration on the plea that money was not available. While we all support the huge expenditures for war and destruction, we aver that a properly planned economic structure would enable us to provide opportunities for peacetime production and the distribution of goods and services.

### *Social Planning for Social Ends*

And Canada is a country rich in resources, many of which have been scarcely tapped. True, there has been colossal waste in the exploitation of our forests, our natural gas and some other resources. The C.C.F. does not intend to allow any corporation, native or foreign, to rob our nation or posterity. Only national planning, however, can safeguard and develop our great heritage. For much of it is already controlled by powerful private and monopolistic corporations. This is particularly true of oil, nickel, chemicals and aluminum, but public opinion has forced Govern-

ments to establish publicly owned corporations to operate national air and radio services, although sections of the press and private interests seek constantly to undermine them.

The C.C.F., however, does not believe that everything should be owned and operated by the State. Indeed we distinguish clearly between two kinds of property: that upon which the life and general welfare of the community depends and which ought to be socially owned, and that which ministers to the welfare of the individual and family and does not interfere with the general economic plan which ought to be individually owned. Thus we say that banks, investment trusts, nation-wide monopolistic enterprises like oil, packing plants, transportation should be nationally owned, while others like telephone, hydro-electric power might be Provincially owned. Others again ought to be municipal enterprises, while many industries and distributive services should be co-operatively owned. Thus it is that there are fields where private enterprise could perform a useful function. What these fields should be can, I think, be readily decided. If private business does not exploit the public or is not likely to become a dangerous vested interest or is being efficiently operated under proper working conditions and will play its part in assisting the national economic plan, there is no reason why its ownership and operation should not continue in private hands. In other words—we do not intend to socialize merely for the sake of socializing, but in order to secure efficiency and the greater satisfaction of social needs. For example, unlike Britain, land is not a monopoly in our country nor have we developed large scale corporation farming such as you have in some parts of the United States; hence we believe that our agriculture ought to be carried on on the basis of the personal ownership of the family farm. So we place security of tenure for the farmer in the forefront of our program and intend to legislate to prevent his dispossession and the rise of a tenant farmer problem due to the concentration of lands in the possession of mortgage trusts and financial or other corporations.

As can be readily understood from what I have said, we believe that political democracy must be accompanied by economic democracy if freedom is to be real. True we want to see technicians,

labor and other groups adequately represented on all our industrial planning boards with all the accompanying rights to organize collectively and to establish industrial self-government through labor management committees. In addition there must be a legal code guaranteeing protection against the hazards of illness, old age and so on. In other words—proper social security for the people.

### *The Need for a World Order*

So far I have dealt with domestic issues. This War more than the last, has made Canada conscious of her place and obligations as a member of the community of nations. For reasons I mentioned at the outset of this address, the C.C.F. believes in maintaining close co-operation with the peoples of the British Commonwealth. We are not Imperialists. We want to co-operate with progressive people everywhere in ending exploitation and in raising the standards of life throughout the world. We will support every policy which will enable the people of India and the colored races everywhere to attain their rightful places as free men and equal before God and man. This means, of course, that in the community of nations we will lend our aid to the elimination of exploitation everywhere. Only a free and economically secure world can be a peaceful world. No world and no nation can be secure as long as any part of it is denied the right to live in dignity and freedom.

It follows that we are firmly of the opinion that national reconstruction and progress in Canada can only attain its full significance when it becomes a part of a world order in which all peoples will have the opportunity for an abundant and creative life. Peace, let us remember, is not only the absence of war. To endure, it must be based on universal security and be rooted in economic, political and cultural equality. In such a world education must be widespread and free. It should be the privilege of the educated to devise ways and means of making possible the preparation of people everywhere to assume the rights and obligations of full democratic citizenship.

Canada, therefore, desires the closest relationship with the United States and with the Nations of the British Commonwealth, for we have a common cultural heritage. But she also desires to

assist in the formulation of plans for a new world association of nations. The C.C.F. would like to see our country join the Pan-American Union as one regional organization of nations making for the larger world unity and also because we believe that progressive forces are stirring among large masses of our Latin-American neighbors. Progress, like peace, is indivisible and we can find mutual assistance in co-operation. We desire, then, to assist in building a world-wide association of nations so that we may achieve international justice and a permanent system of collective security; membership in which would be open to all nations willing to accept its obligations and submit to its authority. We shall not be satisfied, however, with any organizations which might be dominated by three or four great powers. As a small nation which has made a substantial contribution to the defeat of the aggressors, Canada on behalf of herself and other smaller powers seeks the recognition that is properly hers and theirs.

I do not propose to outline in any detail what our country has done. True, had we organized thoroughly our economic and other resources when war broke out, had we taken a firm stand against the control of our economy by the representatives of big business, we could have done much better.

The London Economist in dealing with our huge war budget and high taxation, on May 23, 1943, said—"It is right that due honor should be paid to the realities of steel and muscle behind these monetary figures. If Canada is prevented by the smallness of her population from taking rank with the big powers, she has in the last three years made a place for herself in a category all of her own. Relative to her resources, her effort is second to none."

### *A Challenge to United States Progressives*

Looking at what our nation has done in war, Canadians are confident they can do as well in peace, provided that the world moves forward too. My plea, therefore, to this great audience, leaders of progressive thought in this, the most populous and wealthy city in the world, is to find the ways and means in your great country to join with and indeed lead the democratic and progressive forces of the world. It seems to me that if you fail in this, the United



States, perchance North America, may become the lonely, isolated tariff-barricaded and last remaining citadel of an outworn economic system. In 1776 you led the progressive forces of mankind. Because of it you had the sympathy and warm support of many across the seas. From your example then sprang the political revolutions in France, Great Britain and in many other lands. Now millions of workers, farmers, peasants and plain people seek to make real the political democracy we have by achieving the economic democracy we lack. For, unless mankind achieves both, the fight for the Four Freedoms will have been in vain.

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## REGINA MANIFESTO

ADOPTED AT FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD AT REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN, JULY, 1933

The C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits:

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interest and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction, and that whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The C.C.F. aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalistic domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor and socialist organizations, financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

#### 1. — PLANNING

*The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.*

The first step in this direction will be the setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The C.C.F. will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interest, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

## 2. — SOCIALIZATION OF FINANCE

*Socialization of all financial machinery — banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.*

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step to the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system thus established must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desired purposes as determined by the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies, which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings and which, under their present competitive organization, charge needlessly high premiums for the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

## 3. — SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

*Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.*

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources must be developed by the same methods. Such a program means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operated on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition or the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first

in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractices are particularly prominent, must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control, we do not propose any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war, human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it, conscription of wealth would be more justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a C.C.F. government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a deadweight burden of unremunerative debt which represents claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly-owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government to-day. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

#### 4. — AGRICULTURE

*Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.*

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance, ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, de-

pend upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the staple commodities at satisfactory prices or equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture to-day is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: (1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade; (2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general; (3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations which absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true, for example, of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry, and milling).

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this fall being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this, the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose, therefore:

(1) The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of employment as laid down elsewhere and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign exchange policies.

(2) Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada, the position of the farmer may be much improved by:

- (a) The extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and
- (b) The extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

Both of the foregoing to have suitable encouragement and assistance.

(3) The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization, and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

(4) The substitution for the present system of foreign trade, of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

## 5. — EXTERNAL TRADE

*The regulation in accordance with the National plan of external trade through import and export boards.*

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards, and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producers and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation and marketing of farm products and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

## 6. — CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS

*The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co-operative institutions.*

In agriculture, as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive a larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provision of adequate credit facilities.

## 7. — LABOR CODE

*A National Labor Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.*

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progressive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to every-

one who is willing to work. A labor code must be developed which will include state regulation of all wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex; measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through unemployment insurance; social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age; limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and professions; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labor code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labor legislation under the B.N.A. Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the B.N.A. Act be amended to make such a national labor code possible.

## 8. — SOCIALIZED HEALTH SERVICES

*Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.*

With the advance of medical science the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services to-day. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness, should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

## 9. — BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

*The amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.*

We propose that the necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed to-day is the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolutions of the Fathers of Confederation should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, but has failed even in this function, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interest, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

## 10. — EXTERNAL RELATIONS

*A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.*

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. We propose, therefore, to do everything in our power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. We would extend our diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centers of world interest. But we believe that genuine international co-operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries, and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present condition of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new



economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be 'entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

## II. — TAXATION AND PUBLIC FINANCE

*A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry; the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.*

In the type of economy that we envisage, the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential, during the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means for providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased Social Services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes, the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenues, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equitable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable effect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The C.C.F. proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Bureau and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all Public Works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit as suggested, based upon the national wealth of Canada.

## 12. — FREEDOM

*Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 71 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the*

*present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality, or religious or political beliefs.*

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centers in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government, must be wiped off the statute books and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic, political and religious liberty for all.

### 13. — SOCIAL JUSTICE

*The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.*

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accord with a modern concept of human relationships. This new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behavior. For this reason its planning and control can not be left in the hands of those steeped in an outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers, whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of the new social order.

### 14. — AN EMERGENCY PROGRAMME

*The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a program of pub-*

*lic spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.*

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused, create a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and force upon the Dominion government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief, at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power, a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching programme of public expenditure on housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our national resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## FOR VICTORY AND RECONSTRUCTION

ADOPTION AT SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

HELD AT TORONTO, ONTARIO, JULY, 1942

The C.C.F. believes that war planning and post-war policies are not separate problems, but two parts of the same fight for victory. We are building the post-war world now, by the way we organize for war.

We can achieve a successful war effort only by mobilizing every resource of human and material power regardless of property rights and privileges, and by bringing all the groups in the community into full partnership in the conduct of the war.

Thus, the complete use of our resources in accordance with a democratic national plan is essential to win the war; and these same factors will also be essential for a new era of abundance when peace comes. Every step we take now to improve our war organization under democratic control is a step also in the building of peace for democratic ends.

Moreover, to strengthen the spirit and determination of the peoples fighting for freedom and to weaken the will to resistance in enemy countries, the United Nations should make a clear and immediate declaration of their resolve to implement, in any future world-settlement, certain known requirements of international security, as outlined below. We must make it clear that the present struggle against international Fascism is part of the people's revolution to usher in a new era of brotherhood and security for all the peoples of the world.

The C.C.F. therefore presents the following program to the Canadian people as the only policy which will enable Canada to make her maximum contribution to victory and which will, at the same time, lay the foundation for a just and enduring peace.

### WAR POLICY

Canada's war policy should be based on the following objectives: (1) mobilization for total war, (2) democratic control of industry, (3) adequate assistance for agriculture and fisheries, (4) social justice, (5) a democratic military policy.

#### 1. MOBILIZATION FOR TOTAL WAR

The C.C.F. proposes the following measures:

**INDUSTRY:** Public ownership or, where this is not feasible in war-time, at least complete government control of all war industries, so that each plant becomes a unit in the national plan for maximum production.

The establishment of industrial planning councils, composed of technicians and representatives of management and trade unions, to co-ordinate industrial production and to increase the efficiency of plant operations by utilizing the knowledge and experience of the workers.

The extension of the rationing system, as shortages in consumer goods develop through the transfer of industry from non-essential to war production.

**WAR FINANCE:** Nationalization of financial institutions so that there may be full national control of credit and investment, thus helping to avoid inflation and the accumulation of interest-bearing debt.

A 100% tax on all profits in excess of 4% on capital invested.

Compulsory interest-free loans on large accumulations of wealth.

A fixed ceiling on income, above which the tax is 100%, to secure greater equality of sacrifice.

**MANPOWER:** A carefully planned use of our manpower to secure the maximum production of urgently needed war materials and food-stuffs, the effective defence of Canada and the greatest possible contribution abroad to the cause of the United Nations. To introduce conscription of men for overseas unless wealth and industry are also fully mobilized would not achieve a balanced use of our resources, though the mobilization of all resources is essential for a total war effort.

Regulations for conscription of men should at all times respect the convictions of those who have conscientious objections to military service, and provide for the most effective use of their services in alternative work which they are willing to undertake.

## 2. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The elimination of present monopoly controls of industry, under which workers and farmers are treated as cogs instead of partners. To secure efficiency and inspire confidence, all sections of the Canadian people must share in the direction of the war effort. This means proper representation upon the appropriate war boards from labor, farmer and consumer organizations.

Replacement of dollar-a-year men by national administrators paid only by the state.

The enactment of legislation which will compel the recognition of bona fide trade unions, enforce collective bargaining, establish fair wage levels, abolish the inequalities at present perpetuated by orders-in-council, protect the workers against victimization and discrimination, and generally establish organized labor as a partner in industry with a proper share in its control and management.

The Dominion employment services to be made the sole employment agency, except where, under a collective agreement, labor is supplied by a bona fide trade union.

### 3. AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

On many occasions the C.C.F. has laid down a policy for agriculture, advocating debt adjustment and security of tenure, crop insurance, marketing boards for primary products, a guaranteed minimum price and other measures for the preservation and development of this basic industry. The necessity for these measures is reaffirmed, and the continued failure of Canadian Governments to deal adequately with the needs of the farmer cannot be too strongly condemned.

The neglected position of agriculture and the urgency of the war situation make it imperative that a constructive plan for agricultural development be undertaken immediately as an essential requisite for total war. The C.C.F., in addition to its earlier demands, particularly urges at this time:

Revision of the price ceiling policy to provide prices for agricultural products which will place farmers on a parity with other workers.

Provision for adequate machinery and supplies for agricultural operations.

The ensuring of sufficient manpower to maintain the necessary production.

The public ownership and operation of all monopolistic processing and distributing industries.

Similarly the Fishing industry in Canada requires a national policy of protection and development. Exploitation by packing companies, trawling companies, supply houses and private credit organizations must cease. The federal government, in co-operation with provincial authorities, should encourage credit unions, promote the establishment of publicly-owned or co-operative fish packing and processing plants and should guarantee adequate prices for the fisherman's products.

### 4. SOCIAL JUSTICE

Inequalities of wealth and opportunity continue to divide our people and weaken morale. The first need, in war as in peace, is to safeguard the welfare of the Canadian family. To secure this end, the following measures are intended as initial steps towards a general system of social insurance to provide each citizen against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, disability and old age:

A floor below which no person's income is allowed to fall.

More adequate allowances for men in uniform and their dependents.

Increased old age pensions starting at 60.

Pensions for unemployables.

Improved nutrition standards, family and mothers' allowances.

A comprehensive scheme of child care and nursery schools, espe-

cially for children of mothers in industry.

National health insurance, including hospitalization and maternity benefits.

#### 5. DEMOCRATIC MILITARY POLICY

Canada as a self-governing country must share in making the war policies of the United States. She should secure representation on joint councils where her interests are affected, particularly with regard to the disposition and transportation of her armed forces.

There must be elimination of all class and race distinctions in the armed forces, promotion from the ranks according to merit without favoritism, and better educational facilities for the armed forces to make real the democratic objectives of this war.

No persons serving in the armed forces shall suffer economically from such service. On demobilization they must be provided with such education and training as will fit them for the occupations for which they are best suited and maintained at a decent standard of living until established in such occupations.

\* \* \*

This is the C.C.F. programme for a total war policy. Any further delay in applying such a policy is a grave danger to victory and a threat to the future welfare of Canada. The C.C.F. calls upon the people of Canada for support in carrying this program into effect. Unless measures such as these are implemented immediately, Canada will fail to make her due contribution in this hour of grave peril for the cause of democracy throughout the world.

#### POST-WAR CANADA

Canada's productive capacity for war purposes has astonished many people. From being a country with many unemployed, idle factories and wasting resources, we have become a country of full employment, greatly increased production and a rising national income. When turned to peacetime uses and with private privilege eliminated, this same productive capacity can provide a full life for all our citizens. Never again should we allow the pretence of poverty or lack of money to stand in the way of social reconstruction.

This increased production in Canada was possible because the necessities of war have compelled certain measures of planning. When peace comes there must be no going back to the old ways of doing business. A return to pre-war capitalism means a return to pre-war poverty. The C.C.F., using the experience in planning gained during the war, will retain all the economic controls and social agencies necessary for the maintenance of full employment and for the transition to the co-operative commonwealth in Canada.

To ensure the minimum dislocation in changing from a war to a peace economy, the C.C.F. calls for the immediate establishment of a

Post-War Planning Commission, truly representative of all classes of the community. The existing Cabinet Committee on Reconstruction is unrepresentative in personnel, and devoid of any positive policy for democratic reconstruction.

Among the major plans to be introduced as soon as war ends are these:

1. **A FAR-REACHING PROGRAM FOR CONSERVING AND DEVELOPING OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES:** The whole of Canada's vast Northland calls for a national policy of planned development, in which the Indian and Eskimo must be assisted to take their share as full citizens. Extensive schemes for developing our mineral resources, electric power and waterways, and for the electrification of rural areas, should be undertaken. Our forests need protection from private exploitation and government neglect. Unexplored areas should be mapped and surveyed. Soil surveys must be carried on and the new industrial uses for agricultural products extended through scientific research and social planning.

2. **THE REHOUSING OF CANADA:** We must rebuild our cities and undertake regional planning on a wide scale. Slums must disappear. The creative contributions of Canadian artists must be utilized in beautifying town and country life.

3. **RURAL REHABILITATION:** This must be undertaken on a nation-wide scale. The C.C.F. accepts the family farm as the basis of rural life. Living standards for farmers must rise with those in the rest of the community. The development of co-operative farm communities, as part of the comprehensive scheme of economic security and social betterment, would lay a foundation on which farm families could build a full and creative life. Our aim should be to restore to the soil the fertility of which it has been robbed by uneconomic usage, and to make life on the farm as rich and satisfying as modern amenities make possible.

4. **A NATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM:** The initial measures of social security outlined above as part of our war policy must be extended after the war into a great national system covering all Canadians. Every citizen of the country is entitled, as of right, to the protection of society, regardless of his race or creed. Only a nation-wide compulsory system can provide a satisfying standard of social insurance. Where constitutional difficulties are met, they should be overcome by a new distribution of legislative powers.

5. **A NEW PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION:** Free education is the mainspring of democracy. Full equality of opportunity must be provided in all parts of the Dominion to prepare young Canadians to assume the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship. This objective requires Dominion scholarships and generous Dominion Government grants to provinces for technical and general education, for adult education, library, theatre, music and other cultural activities.



No plans for post-war reconstruction are of any value unless they are based on an acceptance of these first steps towards the new era in Canada. And none of these objectives can be attained unless we make full use of the productive resources of the country. We must not be misled by vague promises of a "new world order" by people who were satisfied with the old. We believe a new world can be created, but only if we win the victory over privilege and monopoly at home as well as over the enemies of democracy abroad.

## WORLD RECONSTRUCTION

National reconstruction in Canada will attain its full significance only when it becomes part of the building of a democratic world order in which all peoples will have the opportunity for an abundant and a creative life. Peace is not merely the absence of war,—to endure it must be based on universal security and be rooted in a dynamic faith born of economic, political and cultural freedom. To this end, economic imperialism must be abandoned and all available knowledge and resources utilized for the common good.

We urge the establishment now of two International Commissions, to deal with the immediate problems arising after the war and to lay the foundations of an enduring peace.

1. A Council to plan the rehabilitation of peoples and areas devastated by war.

The first needs after the war will be the feeding of destitute peoples. For this and other purposes of immediate post-war rehabilitation, the existing inter-Allied co-operative arrangements for the pooling of shipping, food and raw materials should be maintained.

2. A Commission to formulate plans and machinery for the new world association of nations. While at first the Commission must necessarily be limited to the representatives of all the United Nations, its constitution should be such as to admit other nations as they free themselves from the yoke of fascism. Through the world association of nations a permanent system of collective security must be built, open to all nations willing to accept its obligations and submit to its authority. National sovereignty must be subordinated to the authority of the collective system, which shall be administered by democratic machinery in which all the member nations shall participate.

This Commission must plan the preservation of peace based on economic justice, and to this end:

All economic resources must be co-ordinated and used to establish adequate living standards throughout the world, thus eliminating the basic causes of war: economic exploitation, insecurity and poverty.

Such measures are in themselves the best guarantee of peace, and their attainment will require international machinery endowed with the necessary powers. The international authority must also be enabled

to settle disputes and to enforce its decisions; this requires the abolition of national armaments and their pooling in an international police force.

All subject peoples must attain self-government.

Minorities must be protected, without distinction of race, creed or color.

These measures must be rooted in the essential principle that the only lasting basis for peace is an ever-expanding economic democracy founded on the social ownership of the means of production and directed by world planning towards an international commonwealth.

### TOWARDS THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

The depression of the thirties proved our capitalist economy quite incapable of solving the problem of distribution and providing our people with a decent standard of living. Three years of war have proved it equally incapable of planning production to meet the overriding needs of war. So glaring is this incompetence that even a capitalist government is driven to institute many controls. It does so reluctantly, piecemeal, ineffectively, and, moreover, it puts these controls in the hands of big business itself. The indictment of capitalism made in our Regina Manifesto of 1933 is even more apparent to-day; and the remedy more urgently needed:

“The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability. . . . Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority. . . .

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, *in which economic planning will supercede unregulated private enterprise and competition and in which genuine democratic self-government based upon economic equality, will be possible.*”

If Victory is to be attained, we must mobilize all our resources to the best advantage; we must also preserve the health and morale of our people. To do so requires the kind of social planning on a democratic basis which has ever been the central aim of the C.C.F.

Our policies for winning this war and our post-war policies are but two parts of the same struggle for progress and against oppression. To solve our present problems effectively is to lay the foundation for a finer and fuller life than Canada has ever known.

To this task the C.C.F. rededicates itself. It calls upon the Canadian people for their full support, in order to establish in Canada the co-operative Commonwealth which alone can lead to victory and a better world.

# Join the League for

# Democracy

The League for Industrial Democracy is a membership society engaged in education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic, political and cultural life. To this end, the League issues pamphlets, conducts research, lecture and information services, organizes city and college chapters and sponsors conferences, forums, luncheon discussions and radio talks.

Membership in the L.I.D. is open to those who agree with the League's democratic purposes. Members receive the pamphlets published during the year by the League, the L.I.D. *News-Bulletin*, issued quarterly, and notices of all of the League's important gatherings. They select the League's Board of Directors. In cities where League chapters exist, members are also entitled, without extra dues, to membership in the local chapters.

The yearly L.I.D. dues are: Active members, \$3; Contributing members, \$5; Sustaining members, \$10 to \$25; Life members, \$100.

The League welcomes contributions from its well-wishers. All contributions are deductible from taxable income by ruling of the United States Treasury Dept.

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**HARRY W. LAIDLER**

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