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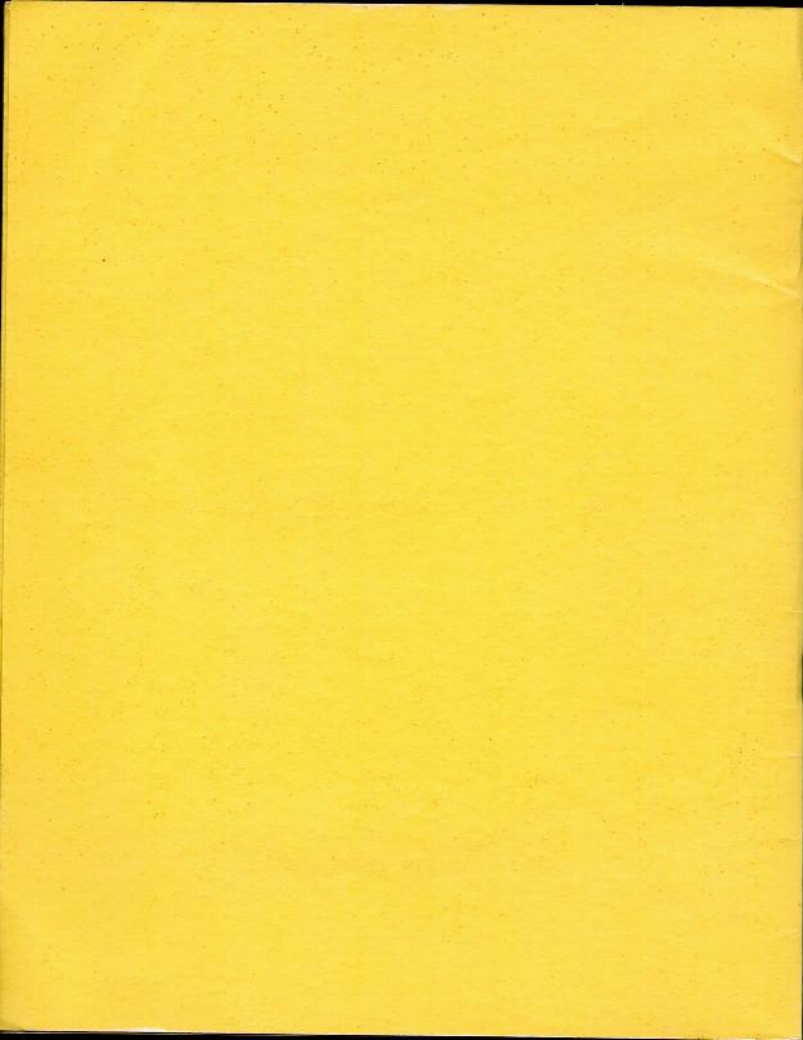
AND FALL


OF A GOOD IDEA



CCF - NDP MANIFESTOES
1932 to 1969

With an introduction by Michael S. Cross





THE DECLINE AND FALL OF A GOOD IDEA

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1932 to 1969

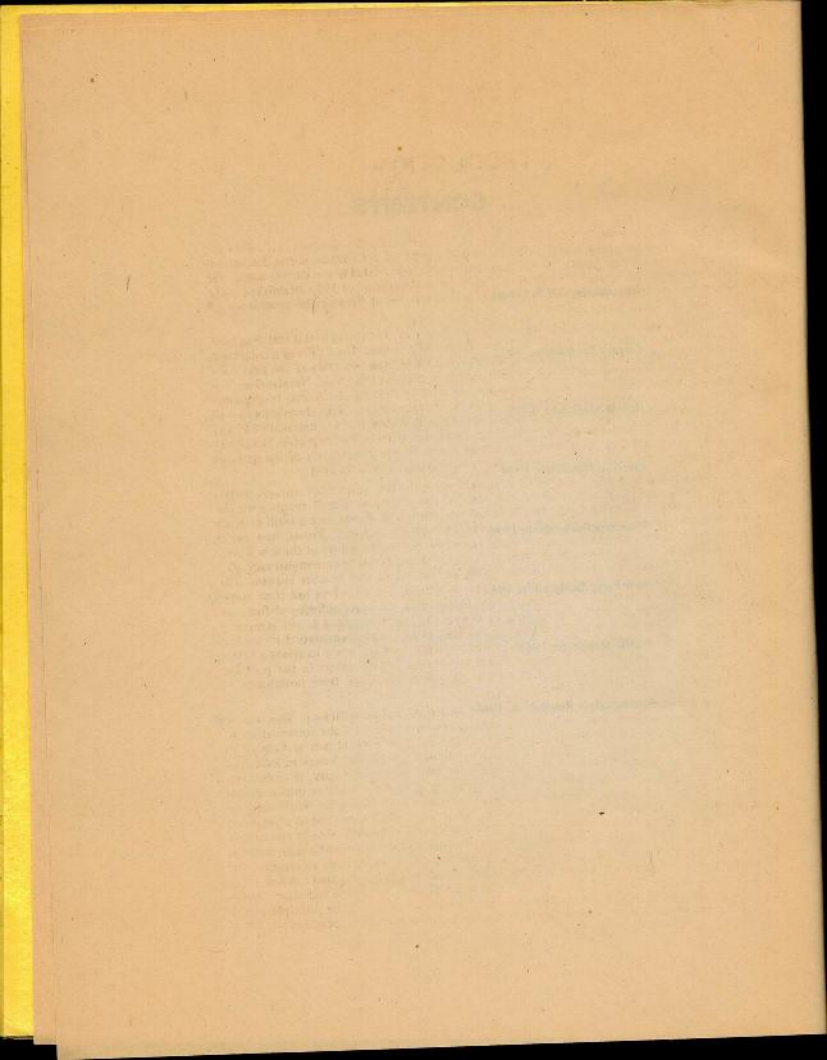
With an introduction by Michael S. Cross

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CONTENTS

Introduction (M.S. Cross)	5
Calgary Programme, 1932	18
Regina Manifesto, 1933	19
Election Manifesto, 1944	24
Winnipeg Declaration, 1956	30
New Party Declaration, 1961	33
Waffle Manifesto, 1969	43
Marshmallow Resolution, 1969	46



INTRODUCTION

"No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism . . .". This apparently uncompromising declaration heralded the birth of a Canadian social democratic movement. As well as lumbering the new party with a remarkably ponderous name—the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—the "Regina Manifesto" of 1933 established party policy for the next quarter century. And, in the process, it became the touchstone of Canadian socialist thought.

This collection is concerned with the development of that thought as it was expressed in the policies of the national CCF and New Democratic parties. The CCF was a federation of organizations and provincial parties, and enjoyed its greatest successes at the provincial level, a tradition maintained by the western provincial parties of the NDP. Nevertheless, it is obviously easier to illustrate social democratic policies by looking at national programmes rather than the disparate platforms of the provincial organizations. And, despite its title of "federation" and its pride in its democratic structures, it is clear that the national CCF, and even more the NDP, has been the focus of left thought in Canada. The expertise, the ability to deal with a wide range of issues, have been there. So the programmes of the national party represent the most important expression of social democratic thought.

Small socialist parties had existed in Canada since the late nineteenth century, parties usually patterned on British or American models. But a conjunction of events gave the movement new force after 1917. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia sent a thrill of hope through leftists everywhere; if socialism could triumph in backward Russia, how much greater were the possibilities in industrialized countries. Before the nature of the new Soviet regime became clear, all varieties of leftists—from social democrats to communist radicals—could identify with its success. The Great War itself had helped give another impetus. The war exposed some of the excesses of Canadian capitalism; while workers had their wages controlled in the interests of the war effort, profiteering businessmen enjoyed financial windfalls. Government repression of radicals during the war also helped to stir sympathy and anger. On the other hand, government propaganda had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. Convinced that it was indeed a war for democracy and a war to create a better world, many Canadian working people began to demand improvements in the post-war social and economic environment. This reform impulse would range from prohibition to votes for women to labour radicalism.

Union organization after the war increased in tempo and in militancy. This was especially true in western Canada, where workers were impatient with the conservatism of their established eastern leadership. In 1919, radical western workers met at Calgary to establish the One Big Union, influenced by the syndicalist ideas of the American Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW, the Wobblies, represented an exemplary, if embattled, force in U.S. labour, a movement dedicated to drawing all workers together into a revolutionary force which would sweep away American capitalism. The Wobblies would soon be crushed under employer and police repression, but in early 1919 they formed a powerful model for Canadian workers. The founding of the OBU at Calgary had decidedly revolutionary overtones. The conference called for release of all political prisoners in Canada, removal of Allied troops from Russia (where they were still engaged in an attempt to suppress the revolution), a six hour work day in Canada—and threatened a general strike unless these demands were met. They sent fraternal greetings to the Soviet government and other revolutionary movements in the world. And the Calgary unionists accepted the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary element in the transition to socialism.

The same spirit of radical unrest which created the One Big Union led to the Winnipeg General Strike in May, 1919. Refusal of employers to bargain with union councils, the common bargaining agents of locals in the building and metal trades in Winnipeg, touched off a general strike by over thirty thousand workers. For over a month the workers remained united, taking over effective control of the city. Essential services were carefully maintained by the strikers: everywhere in the city where milk and bread wagons made their deliveries, where public utilities continued to operate, were the signs declaring that this activity went on "By Permission of the Strike Committee".

The purposes of the Winnipeg General Strike have stirred a good deal of controversy. The government of the time and the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, organized to oppose the strike, charged that the Central Strike Committee was a "soviet", that the general strike itself was a revolutionary act. Most historians, liberals or social democrats, have been quick to dispute such calumnies. The standard interpretations are those of D.C. Masters in *The Winnipeg General Strike* and K.W. McNaught in his biography of J.S. Woodsworth, both of whom argue vigorously that the strike was in no way revolutionary, but simply a "legitimate" act of collective bargaining.¹ This was undoubtedly as much a reflection of the left's search for respectability in the 1950's and 1960's as it was of the facts of the strike. As revolutionary responses have become more acceptable, some historians have shown a willingness to interpret the strike in a more radical fashion. Norman Penner's recent collection, *Winnipeg, 1919*, is an illustration of this trend. A collection of writings and speeches by the strikers themselves, it emphasizes the radical strike leaders, those who espoused a radical interpretation of their actions. Probably both views have a measure of validity: in a movement as large as the General Strike, a wide variety of motivations and purposes was inevitable. But surely, especially in the North American context, adopting a general strike tactic, asserting worker control over an entire city, was a desperate and radical act, a challenge to the existing system which, if not revolutionary, was an expression of profound alienation from the liberal-democratic capitalist ethic.

The government crushed the Winnipeg General Strike, a suppression which culminated in "Bloody Saturday", June 21, 1919, when Mounties on horseback rode down and shot strikers on Main Street. But the strike lived on as one of the most important benchmarks in radical history. And it lived on in Winnipeg. The city's north end, a cluster of working class ethnic ghettos, would become the cradle of Canadian socialism. So much so that one commentator, raised in the north end, claimed that until he was eighteen he thought there were only two parties in Canada—the CCF and the Communists.

Unrest carried over into the federal election of 1921. The second largest bloc of votes in parliament was captured by the Progressive Party, a farmer's protest movement. Although it was a measure of discontent, especially in rural areas, the Progressive movement was a confused and ineffective grab-bag of a party. A smattering of genuine radicals sat uneasily with the bulk of the group, who were simply disgruntled liberals and conservatives. In short order the party began to disintegrate and would be all but dead by the time of the next election in 1925. Not all of the Progressives, however, would simply fade back into the old parties. For the election of 1921 had produced another pole.

Two labour members had been returned to parliament in that year: J.S. Woodsworth, former Methodist minister and Winnipeg strike leader, and William Irvine of Calgary. They were a potent team in the Commons, however small in numbers. As Irvine proudly told the

1. D.C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, (Toronto, 1950); K.W. McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth*, (Toronto, 1959).

House, "The Honourable Member for Centre Winnipeg [Woodsworth] is the leader of the labour group—and I am the group". So effective were they in articulating a radical critique of the Liberal government that they attracted to them a handful of left-wing Progressives. The result was a small farmer-labour caucus which pressed progressive policies on the government throughout the 1920's. During the relative quiescence of the prosperous twenties, they kept alive a social-democratic alternative.

In 1930, the group began to formalize its organization, setting the stage for the creation of a new political party. The formally organized farmer-labour caucus took its tone from Woodsworth. It was a social democratic tone. Woodsworth's version of socialism rejected Marxism and modelled itself on British patterns—the Christian Socialists of the nineteenth century, the intellectual Fabian Society and the Labour Party of the twentieth. It was a moderate, pacifist, religiously-motivated socialism, one that Woodsworth felt was more appropriate to Canadian conditions than was Communism. Needless to say, such an approach won Woodsworth abuse from both right and left. After he spoke to students at the University of Toronto in 1929, the local newspapers launched a fierce assault on this dangerous "Red". The Toronto **Telegram** warned anxious parents: "Petting is no longer the chief menace in the university." Meanwhile, the Communist paper, **The Worker**, was publishing an article on Woodsworth under the title, "Pacifist Flunkey of the Ruling Class".

The depression, beginning in 1929, rallied new support to Woodsworth. With massive unemployment and widespread misery, the laissez-faire state was being challenged on all sides. Farmers who had turned to Progressivism when struck by a post-war slump now turned again to political action under the ship of depression and drought. Labour, too, became more susceptible to radical ideas. During the prosperity of the twenties, union membership had declined, so that by 1930 less than 15 per cent of the urban working force was unionized. Most workers, then, were defenceless against the onslaught of the depression. Among both groups, farmers and labour, there would be many willing to listen to radical answers to the puzzling crisis of the depression.

A final necessary element for a successful new movement was intellectual support. That was provided early in 1932, with the formation of the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR). The LSR was formed by university professors from McGill and Toronto, and was quite consciously modelled on the Fabian Society, the "think-tank" which had profoundly shaped left wing thought in Britain. Led by historian Frank Underhill of Toronto and poet-lawyer Frank Scott of McGill, the LSR organized research and writing on Canadian political, economic and social questions; in the process, it added respectability to the political left, and provided valuable publicity through the magazine, the **Canadian Forum**, with which many of its members were associated. It also foreshadowed the cautious course the left would take. Rather than a full socialist programme, the LSR manifesto called for "a social order in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and service will be the common good rather than private profit." Who could be offended by that?

These elements began to coalesce on May 26, 1932. In William Irvine's office in the Parliament Buildings a meeting was held at which it was agreed to broaden out the organization of the farmer-labour caucus to create a national movement. The opportunity for further action came with a pending meeting of the small labour parties of the western provinces and the United Farmers of Alberta, an agrarian protest movement which had governed Alberta since 1921. In August, 1932, a diverse group of radicals gathered at Calgary to plan strategy. Represented were the various western farmer and labour parties, the UFA, the federal parliamentary caucus, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the LSR. The convention adopted a suitably ponderous name, the "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer, Labor, Socialist)", and chose J.S. Woods-

worth as head of its Dominion Council.

The Calgary Programme is the first document reprinted below. The platform is a mixed bag of ideologies and pragmatic compromises, as indeed the very name of the organization, "Farmer, Labor, Socialist", would predict. There were wide divergences of opinion among the delegates over how radical a set of policies ought to be adopted. The resolutions committee of the conference had originally introduced a fourteen point programme, whose preamble had declared unequivocally that "the present economic crisis is due to the inherent unsoundness of the capitalist system . . .". The convention, in boiling down the resolutions to eight planks, softened the preamble to resemble the LSR's homilies about cooperation. One is compelled to believe that the stress on the concept of the "Co-operative Commonwealth" is another indication of this softening to achieve consensus. What, if anything, was meant by the term was left carefully unresolved.

The tensions within the social democratic movement, the tensions which recently have bubbled over in the Waffle crisis, were apparently present from the beginning.² These differences sprang from the polyglot nature of the movement. It was an attempt to build a national political force by binding together all of those discontented with the functioning of the contemporary social and economic system. (Western CCFers at times in the 1930's even talked of union with Social Credit.) The result was an uneasy alliance of people who ranged from communists to the most conventional disgruntled liberals. Viewed in the simplest terms, the movement was polarized between two broad currents, urban and rural. An urban social democratic tradition was derived both from British and American influences and from the realities of the industrial capitalist environment of twentieth century Canada. It operated on several levels. Some intellectuals and some immigrant heirs of European socialism brought to the CCF well-considered radical philosophies, philosophies informed by the practice of British and European political movements and by Marxism. On another level, there was the gut socialism of many workers, who sought a fundamental alteration of a system they knew, from bitter experience, was wrong. Agrarian protest, on the other hand, derived from different roots and had different purposes. Drawn from more pragmatic American examples, it tended to seek only amelioration of immediate economic problems. And how could it be otherwise? Farmers were, after all, petit bourgeois, land-owning capitalists; they needed few changes in the social system, they sought only such changes as would bring more secure incomes from their farms.³

Overlaid on this broad polarization was the element of leadership. Urban CCFers were, frequently, more radical than rural CCFers. But the radicalism of the urban party was seriously compromised by the influence of the leaders of organized labour and by the intellectuals of the LSR group. Union leaders, with some notable exceptions, were as pragmatic as farm leaders, concerned with immediate economic gains, and suspicious of broad radical programmes. And the LSR spokesmen, as both their writings and their later careers testified, were more liberal than socialist despite their sometimes daring rhetoric. To balance

2. This seems to be the thrust of recent interpretations, both on the left and the right: for a "liberal" interpretation, Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-61*, (Toronto, 1969); and left-wing criticisms in Gary Teeple, (ed.), *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, (Toronto, 1972). Greater emphasis on the movement aspect in the early CCF would be placed by: Gad Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics*, (Toronto, 1968); and Leo Zakuta, *A Protest Movement Became: A Study of Change in the CCF*, (Toronto, 1964).

3. This is implicit in Walter Young's interpretation in *The Anatomy of a Party*. For the damaging effects of the split in one province, see: Gerald L. Caplan, *The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism*, (Toronto, 1973).

off these ambiguous influences, the CCF would all too often have to find the lowest common denominator in its political philosophy.

The Calgary convention was followed by a winter of organization. In August, 1933, the new party's first national convention was held at Regina. The chief work of that convention would be to adopt a manifesto, the second of our documents. The Regina Manifesto was drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of the LSR leader, Professor Frank Underhill. Given Underhill's peripatetic political career, from Liberal to Progressive to CCFer to Liberal, a career marked more by rhetorical flourish than by doctrinal depth, it is hard to know how much weight to put on the radical tone of its wording. But, even with this caution, the Manifesto remains an impressive statement of social democratic aims.

The label is important. The document was thoroughly social democratic. "We do not believe in change by violence," it insisted. This was both a statement of political philosophy and an expression of strategy. There was always more of the schoolhouse than the underground cell to CCF meetings. With a charmingly naive quality, CCFers believed wholeheartedly in the power of education; the people had only to be shown the proper paths and they would follow the road to the Co-operative Commonwealth. The cynicism of those, such as the Communists, who believed the people were more thoroughly conditioned than that, that revolution would be necessary to achieve real change, such cynicism was not only repugnant to most CCFers but nearly incomprehensible. This dispute over tactics also illustrated fundamentally different assessments of the power and tenacity of the capitalist state. Revolutionaries believed in the essential malevolence of the capitalist order, that even if the people embraced socialism en masse, the capitalists would not step down from power until compelled physically to do so. For the CCF, however, the mystique of parliamentarism was overpowering. Despite their denunciation of the influence of capitalists on the old parties, CCFers made a separation between the governmental forms and the capitalist system. Somehow, they believed, the liberal state would operate to allow socialism; the people would be educated, they would vote in socialism, and the capitalist order would simply step aside, in the true parliamentary tradition.

The programme was social democratic, too, in its emphasis upon liberal social values. The preamble carefully pointed out that collectivization of the economy would not endanger individual, ethnic or religious rights in Canada. This was not simply a political statement to quiet fears of soviet-style tyranny, but a genuine expression of the civil libertarian element which has been so much a part of the social democratic tradition in Canada. More directly political was Section four of the Manifesto, guaranteeing individual ownership of farms. Despite the apparent inconsistency between a capitalist farm economy and a collectivized urban economy, such a plank was essential to win the support of individualistic farmers.

Other elements of the CCF amalgam peeped through the various sections. In an age of "participatory democracy" and "people power", the faith of depression socialists in technocrats seems curious. The CCF proposed placing vast powers in the hands of boards of experts, power to plan the economy, to run nationalized industries, to organize a system of criminal justice. Complementary to this faith in experts was a belief in big government. The constitution would be amended to transfer powers from the provinces to the federal government, so that the central authority could effectively plan the economy. One is struck, as well, by the absence of any reference to the special interests of Quebec. Throughout its life, the CCF had no power base in French Canada, and no programme which might appeal to Québécois.

The populist tradition of belief in a finance-capital conspiracy was still strong in the

1930's. The rise of Social Credit, which swept the Alberta provincial election in 1935, was a powerful indication of this. So too was Section two of the Regina Manifesto, with its strident call for nationalization of the banks and insurance companies. Section eleven re-emphasized this. The proposal for the issuance of credit "based upon the National Wealth of Canada" sounded rather like Social Credit funny-money. Nor did the similarities between these two protest movements, one left and one right, end there. On the issue of experts, somewhat similar faith prevailed. It was the Social Credit leader, William Aberhart, who summed up the era's bemusement with technocratic expertise. Social Credit, he told his audiences, was like electricity: you didn't have to understand it to enjoy its benefits. Just vote in Social Credit, they would hire the experts, and the economic benefits would start to flow.

Whatever reservations a socialist might have about the Manifesto, it was clearly a major advance in Canadian radicalism. For the first time, a national political party of some real substance, with some plausible hope of attracting a mass following, had been formed. Social democratic philosophy had been codified in a realistic and compelling way. A parliamentary party of some strength had come to grips with the problems of modern Canada and, in however cautious a way, had committed itself to fundamental change of Canadian society.

But that left-wing thrust would be difficult to maintain as the new party went out onto the hustings. Early successes in Saskatchewan put before the CCF the problem of education vs. electoral strategy, of movement vs. party. The issue would be fought out within all of the provincial parties where the possibility of gaining power existed—in Saskatchewan, Ontario, British Columbia. And it was very much a source of tension in the national party. Although the CCF was the most open and democratic of Canadian political parties, perhaps inevitably a party bureaucracy soon developed and decision making rapidly devolved to a few professionals in Ottawa. The polarities of the social democratic party were amply illustrated at Ottawa. On the one hand was the revered leader, Woodsworth, who tended to the "educational-movement" side of the debate. On the other side was David Lewis.

Lewis became national secretary of the party in 1936. He was representative of many of the elements which gave the CCF its strength: immigrants, especially Jewish immigrants; scholars; those prepared to make financial sacrifices to further social democracy. A brilliant student, Lewis was a Rhodes Scholar and a prominent figure at Oxford. Back in Canada, he turned from the lucrative potential of a law practice to work, at a modest salary, for the CCF. But he was no ivory-tower idealist. Perhaps from personality, perhaps simply from the grim reality of operating a poverty-stricken party on a day-to-day basis, Lewis came to represent the practical, political pole of the party spectrum. Power, for him, was the name of the game. "When, in Heaven's name," he wrote a colleague in 1940, "are we going to learn that working-class politics and the struggle for power are not a Sunday-school class where the purity of godliness and the infallibility of the Bible must be held up without fear of consequences."

The party often had little time to settle these questions, however, because of internal dissension over other issues, and because of a sometimes fanatical fight against communism. The farm and labour elements of the party co-existed uneasily, a tension made worse by the sniping of left-wing elements against both—but especially against the influence of organized labour. In Ontario, many of the rural supporters inherited from the collapse of the United Farmers of Ontario were lost because farmers felt labour had too big a say in party affairs. This would be a continuing theme within the movement. When the CCF made a clear commitment to labour in Ontario in 1945, and subsequently lost both the provincial and federal elections, a motion was introduced (but defeated) at the provincial convention to expel David Lewis, and the provincial leader E.B. Jolliffe, from the party. A gut feeling that

labour leadership was too pragmatic in its interests and therefore detrimental to party principles, would be one of the key elements of the Waffle revolt of the 1960's as well.

The other side of that coin was the apparent danger on the left. Throughout the 1930's and 1940's, anti-communism was a consistent dogma in the CCF leadership. The virulence of this opposition at times was more extreme than that of the right wing parties.⁴ CCF leaders, in part, saw the Communist Party as a rival for the support of the discontented in Canada. For Woodsworth and Lewis, as well as other major figures, it was also an expression of their repugnance for "undemocratic" and "violent" methods. Their parliamentary and libertarian instincts were stronger than their anti-capitalist ones. Finally, to fail to attack communism with vigour was political suicide, in their view. As it was, the old line parties were more than ready to tar the CCF as communistic; the only real response possible was for the CCF to prove its credentials by red-baiting with the best of them. Equally important was the need to fight the Communist Party within the trade union movement. Assuming, as most CCF leaders did, that the unions were the most significant source of both votes and funds, the CCF could not afford to allow the unions to fall into communist hands. So strongly was this felt that, especially in the forties, the interests of the workers sometimes seemed to be forgotten in the all-out effort to purge communists from union ranks.

The fight in the 1930's centred on keeping communists out of the CCF, and on resisting Communist Party pressures to create "United Front" movements against fascism, against militarism, and in support of the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War. During the 1940's, the union movement was the focus of the battle. The struggle was most bitter in British Columbia. There an entrenched Communist Party made inroads into a more radical CCF. It was from British Columbia that suggestions came in 1943 for study of possible co-operation with the communists, and as late as 1954 the hierarchy disciplined a former B.C. house member, Rod Young, for pro-communist leanings. In Ontario, Bob Carlin, leader of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was expelled from the party for pro-communism, and two Manitoba M.L.A.'s, Berry Richards and D.L. Johnson were suspended by the CCF in 1945 for having close relations with the Labour Progressive Party, as the communists then called themselves.

This anti-communist fervour is important on several levels. It indicates some of the genuine problems a left party had in Canada. Being smeared as soft on communism could be enormously damaging; it was a crucial factor in the CCF defeats in Ontario in 1945, when business launched a huge and expensive campaign to link the CCF with the communists. This real electoral threat may account for some of the frenzy with which CCF spokesmen denounced the Red menace. But there was more substance to the campaign, as well. The anti-communism of CCF leaders was genuine. It was an indication of how moderate most of them were in fact. Their vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, even at their most radical, was of a society not very different from the one in which they already lived. Social legislation, guarantees of civil rights, some government ownership, economic planning: these would restrain the excesses of contemporary capitalism, and share out some of its profits to those who were not currently getting a fair share. In the process, social structures and life styles would not necessarily change very much. The CCF was not concerned with seeing the emergence of any Leninist "new soviet man".

Pragmatism grew ever stronger in the party. Despite its radical pacifist past, the CCF endorsed Canada's entry into World War II, in the process repudiating its leader, Woods-

4. The anti-communist struggle is discussed in chapter 9 of Young and in Irving Abella, **Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour, 1935-1956**, (Toronto, 1973). Both are anti-communist writers.

worth. For most CCFers, this was probably simply a reflex nationalist response—the country was going to war, and they would support it. But David Lewis, for one, admitted political motives, as well. The CCF would be totally isolated from the Canadian people if it opposed the war, he felt, and therefore politics dictated support of the war declaration.

The political wisdom of a pro-war posture soon became clear. The CCF soared to unparalleled heights of popularity. Wartime controls and economic planning made CCF proposals seem less farfetched. The CCF was able to make considerable yardage with the obvious observation that if the economy could be mobilized so effectively for war, why could it not be mobilized for peace, to assure no further depressions need happen. And, as in the First War, the democratic propaganda mounted to stir the population to greater effort tended to make many think of alternatives to the existing social and economic system. Governments always run great risks in describing their wars as struggles for democracy and a better world; some of the population is sure to take such claims seriously.

By 1943, the CCF had edged ahead of the Liberals and Conservatives in national opinion polls. The following year, the first socialist government was elected in Saskatchewan. It was in this heady atmosphere that the CCF adopted a new national programme, the Montreal election manifesto of 1944—the third document in this collection. The contrasts with Regina are clear. One is bemused to compare Section ten of the Regina Manifesto, with its stern injunction, "Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism", with the loyal tone of the preamble to the 1944 document: "The first duty of a CCF government will be to mobilize all the resources of Canada in support of the armed forces of the United Nations [the Allies]."

The tone of the Montreal manifesto is clear enough, and specific contrasts with Regina can be left to the reader. One section requires comment, however. The hottest debate in the back rooms and in the convention itself took place over Section six, "Social Ownership". To quiet fears that the CCF would go on an orgy of nationalization if elected, Section six made clear that the party only planned to nationalize dangerous monopolies. "The socialization of large-scale enterprise, however, does not mean taking over every private business." This clause was a considerable watering-down of an original draft which made clear only small businesses would be safe from nationalization, and even those only temporarily. David Lewis and the national council of the party altered this to the more moderate plank finally adopted. The debate on the resolution was revealing. Colin Cameron, a left-wing M.L.A. from British Columbia, argued for total socialization of the economy. Lewis, in return, insisted that while he agreed with the sentiment, it was not politically sound. The CCF had to try to win middle class votes if it was to come to power. The people wanted to hear a moderate programme. The people wanted an *expansion* of capitalism—wider spread ownership of homes and farms and small businesses—not its destruction. Populism, not socialism, was the popular line. And if that was what the people wanted to hear, the CCF was prepared to say it.

Despite the moderation of its line, the CCF did not fare well. In Ontario, it fell back from a position of challenge for control of the provincial government. Federally, the party won a disappointing 28 seats in 1945. It was a combination of factors which had produced this setback. Business-financed campaigns, linking the socialists to the communists, had been effective in frightening voters. In Ontario, bungling tactics by the provincial party had had damaging effects.⁵ On the federal level, Mackenzie King had outflanked the CCF. A programme of social welfare policies, headlined by the Baby Bonus, seemed to promise a better

5. See Caplan, *Dilemma of Canadian Socialism*.

post-war deal, without the risks of the CCF. King wooed a good deal of labour support with these policies, and with the warning that a split in votes between the CCF and the Liberals would allow reactionary Conservatives to gain control of the government.

The setbacks of 1945 generated a good deal of soul searching within the CCF. The left criticized the leadership for selling out socialist principles and for developing a false interpretation of the Canadian public; the party, they insisted, could only hope to prosper by sticking to its principles and educating the voters. The party establishment tended to believe that better organization was the answer to all problems. This was a vestige of thirties technocracy. As with the economy, what electoral success required was the application of expertise. Unfortunately the expertise was unsuccessful.

The federal elections after 1945 saw a continuing decline in CCF fortunes. From 28 seats and 15.6 per cent of the vote in 1945, the party fell to 23 seats and 11.3 per cent of the vote in 1953. And those seats were narrowly confined—11 in Saskatchewan, 7 in British Columbia, 3 in Manitoba, 1 each in Ontario and Nova Scotia. It was obvious to party leaders that an attractive new programme would have to be devised, to replace the outdated Regina Manifesto, now seen as an electoral liability. After several false starts, a committee was created under the leadership of, who else, David Lewis. The result of their work was the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles, adopted in 1956—the fourth document in our collection.

New concerns were inevitably mirrored in the Winnipeg Declaration, changing its character from the Regina Manifesto, concerns such as foreign aid, technological change, and so on. Other differences were more important, however. The very title indicated a moderating tone. A "Declaration of Principles" sounds much less militant than a "Manifesto". The Winnipeg document was more cautious in structure as well as in content; learning from the old parties, the CCF dropped the socialist tendency to produce elaborate and detailed programmes and built a general, often vague, platform at Winnipeg.

A striking departure in the Winnipeg Declaration, and in CCF concerns of the period, was the emphasis upon external affairs. It was a new world they faced after the war, a world in which it was no longer possible to think of Canada in isolation, as pacifists often had in the 1930's. Nor was there the need for total preoccupation with Canadian problems that had prevailed at the time of the Regina Manifesto. The country was prosperous, rather than sunk in depression. Capitalism was relatively genteel now, unlike the naked exploitative business climate of the thirties. Workers had a measure of protection, in unions and in the welfare state erected since the war by the Liberals. So it was possible, as well as desirable, to focus on Canada's responsibilities in the world—the year of the Winnipeg Declaration was, after all, the year of the Canadian initiative in the Suez crisis, for which Lester Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize.

Nevertheless, it is possible to see in the CCF's deep interest in foreign affairs a failure to come to grips with domestic problems. A party created in the deprivation of the depression found it difficult to develop a rationale in a society of abundance. For some it was simple; the old warhorse, William Irvine, felt in 1956 that there was no need to replace the Regina Manifesto for "we were born in the manger of poverty and the old capitalists are still the same." Few of the CCF leaders accepted that complacent posture, however. They did not believe the problems were the same, and they were sure the Canadian public shared that opinion. In the absence of any obvious approach to the new environment, turning their eyes to the outside world was a natural response. There, in the image of Canada the peacekeeping third power, the old CCF moral fervour could have free rein.

The Winnipeg Declaration did not set the country on fire. The indecisive election of 1957 saw the CCF vote continue to decline, although the party increased its number of seats to 25. The following year the Diefenbaker sweep almost obliterated the CCF; it won only 9.5 per cent of the vote and 8 seats, and the national leader, M.J. Coldwell, lost his own riding.

Electoral setbacks added urgency to a process already underway. That was the search for a new and stronger relationship with organized labour. The CCF had never been primarily an agrarian party, despite its strength in rural Saskatchewan; elsewhere in the country it had been, from the beginning, an industrial, urban party. The decline of farmers as a significant proportion of the population and the parallel growth of organized labour made this all the more true by the 1950's. For a leadership chiefly concerned with electoral success, gaining the votes and the money of the unions was a key concern. Labour's own reorganization made it a logical time to pursue a new relationship. In 1956, the rival national labour bodies, the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour joined in the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC).

A movement to create a new party, with direct backing by the CLC, began in 1957. It proceeded on several levels. In the backrooms, CCF and CLC leaders hammered out the terms of agreement. Publicly, discussion and seminars considered the proposition, just as if it were an open question. "New Party" clubs were set up to prepare the way organizationally. Indeed, the organization had its first success even before the founding convention. In a by-election in 1960, Walter Pitman won the Peterborough seat in the Commons as a "New Party" candidate.

The founding convention was held in Ottawa in 1961, in an atmosphere of some tension. Not all CCFers were happy with the labour merger and the inevitable moderation of the party line. Tension was even obvious between the party bureaucrats led by David Lewis and the parliamentary caucus. Since Coldwell's defeat in 1958, the house leader had been Hazen Argue of Saskatchewan. His style, and that of his small caucus, was obstreperous and apparently radical, well out of phase with the moderate image being projected by the merger leaders. So unhappy was the parliamentary group with the new party idea that it seriously considered refusing to seat Pitman as a caucus member after his election in 1960. To continue the fight, Argue decided to stand for the leadership of the new party against the establishment's chosen candidate, Premier Tommy Douglas of Saskatchewan.

The party bureaucrats and their labour supporters were able to steamroller any opposition at the Ottawa convention, however. About the only surprise was a rare expression of independence by the delegates who rejected the preferred name of the body, the New Party, and voted to call it the New Democratic Party. For the rest, the script went as written by the brass. The programme was adopted with a minimum of struggle and Douglas was chosen leader. It was a bewildering display of political professionalism for many old CCFers. With all the razzle-dazzle of American conventions, the new order was smoothly ushered in. All radical expressions were sternly discouraged; this was a TV convention and the leadership wanted to project the hollow image suitable for that medium. It was all summed up in the performance of one unhappy delegate who pushed his way to a floor microphone to wail, "What's wrong here? The CCF is not a dirty word, you know."

But it was, indeed, at the Ottawa convention. It was not a single continuous flow from the CCF to the NDP, but an important break. The CCF had never been a socialist party in the orthodox sense but rather a moderately left-wing social democratic movement. The NDP was created as a liberal party. This meant not only a shift to the right in policy, but a fundamentally different political orientation. In essence, the difference was this: however

moderate, the CCF had been disenchanted with the existing society, and it had sought to change the groundrules on which that society operated; the NDP, however, accepted the fundamentals of existing society, and proposed only to make it operate somewhat more humanely and more efficiently. The long battle between the movement and the party, between education and electoralism, seemed to have been finally resolved in favour of the latter.

The ringing phrases of the Regina Manifesto had disappeared. The eradication of capitalism was replaced as a goal by a greater degree of economic planning. A cautious mention of the possibility of some nationalization was buried in the document. The emphasis now was on ameliorative social policies—pensions, medicare, a labour code. Protection of consumers gained new importance; in 1933, the concern had been to insure people *could be* consumers. There was a significant shift in constitutional approaches, as well. In this determined drive to create a more politically successful party, the leadership hoped to build a truly national force. This meant, pre-eminently, establishing a base in Quebec. The plank on “Co-operative Federalism” was designed to do this, recognizing the existence of two “nations” in Canada, and therefore of the special status of Quebec.

One area of continuity was the continuing faith in the expert. Economic planning, the NDP clearly believed, would be the panacea, removing the necessity for radical measures such as nationalization. The federal programme of 1961 was, in fact, a veritable technocrat's dream. It proposed the creation of at least 15 new boards, councils, commissions and departments. There was considerable weight to the charge levelled by political opponents that the NDP had a Big Brother complex.

The results of this fundamental shift towards liberalism were mixed. The NDP attracted, initially, a good many small-l liberals and, of course, trade union leaders. The unionists stayed, many of the liberals did not. Despite the spirit reflected in the new name, the NDP did not succeed in becoming the sort of alliance of deprived minorities and middle class liberals represented by the U.S. Democratic Party (which had surely been as much the model as was the British Labour Party). In its first election, in 1962, the NDP increased its share of the vote from 1958, and elected 19 members—building back to the former CCF strength of pre-1958. To many, it seemed a lot of effort to stand still. Through the elections of the 1960's, the NDP would gradually build its vote, but its total of seats would not change a great deal.

The party lacked much spark or distinctiveness in this decade. Its policies may have been different, but its public image was much the same. In part, this sprang from Douglas' leadership. Although, after his long rule in Saskatchewan, he was very much a man of the middle, he still came on like a particularly jolly Baptist minister. The NDP, to outsiders, still oozed righteousness and evangelical zeal, although it had much less to be righteous about than the CCF. The increased role of organized labour added a tougher-minded pragmatism to party meetings, often expressed in open contempt for ideologues and socialists. But, the NDP discovered to its sorrow, the union leaders could not deliver the vote. The NDP did not do appreciably better in union households at election time than the CCF had done. On the positive side, however, trade union money certainly made the NDP more financially solvent than the CCF ever had been.

Seeing its way through the sixties, the NDP was rudely awakened by the emergence of an issue it had raised, in a moderate way, in the 1961 platform: foreign ownership of Canadian industry. As well as the reality of growing American control of the Canadian economy, the problem was highlighted by a best-selling critique, George Grant's *Lament for a Nation*, and by a study sponsored by the federal government, the *Report of the Task*

Force on Foreign Ownership, the Watkins Report.

In the spring of 1969, a group of NDPers, alarmed by the threat of foreign ownership and dissatisfied with the general drift of the party, began to meet to draw up a policy paper for the national convention of the NDP later that year. The moving forces were Jim Laxer, a young academic, and Mel Watkins, who had been radicalized by working on the government task force. The document they prepared, and the party establishment's response to it, make up the last two papers in this collection.

The Waffle Manifesto declared itself, in a style not heard for a long time in the NDP, to be a socialist document. The resonance of the Regina Manifesto was in every line. The basic concern, of course, was different, because the society was different. The Regina Manifesto dealt with scarcity, the Waffle Manifesto with abundance; the 1933 protest was against an economic order both misguided and in collapse, the 1969 assault was against an economic order which was vigorous, but equally misguided by imperialism. The similarities were more striking than the differences however, especially in the basic thrust of the two programmes. Both thundered socialist rhetoric. Both were, in fact, social democratic. The key yardstick remained nationalization. The Waffle Manifesto did not propose a revolutionary surge of nationalization. It was, in the Manifesto's striking phrase, "the commanding heights of the economy" which would be nationalized, to break foreign control and allow rational planning. One could certainly argue that the Waffle bark was worse than its bite, that socialist rhetoric camouflaged a fairly orthodox social democratic platform.

Their opponents expressed a more apocalyptic interpretation of the Wafflers' initiative. The party establishment's response was the so-called "Marshmallow Resolution". It was moved by the leading representatives of the power groups in the party, David Lewis, the supreme bureaucrat, and Dennis McDermott, the union spokesman from the United Auto Workers. It was a response expressing greater vigour and greater willingness to use the word "socialism" than had yet been heard in the NDP. The Waffle had succeeded at least in nudging consciences, if not in changing policies. But again what the rhetoric meant was considerably less than appeared on the surface. The Marshmallow seemed generally in tune with the concerns of the Waffle Manifesto. This was, its sponsors made clear, nothing more than a smokescreen. The party, while defeating the Waffle Manifesto at the Winnipeg convention of 1969, would move left on some policies, and especially on foreign ownership, and would find a place for a number of Wafflers on the national council of the NDP. But the parliamentary party would continue to take a moderate line and the next convention in 1971 would take a noticeable step back to the right.

The Waffle played out its role as a genuine alternative within the Party at that convention in Ottawa in the spring of 1971.⁶ Jim Laxer took David Lewis to four ballots before losing the leadership. But the Waffle was resoundingly beaten on all policy questions and in voting for party positions. Its continued criticism of the party leadership could have only one result. In the spring of 1972, the Waffle was purged from the provincial party in its power base of Ontario. Elsewhere, it would be impotent. In Saskatchewan, the other province where the Waffle was a factor, it was isolated and ignored until the Waffle voluntarily withdrew from the NDP in October, 1973.⁷

In its endless search for respectability and electoral success, Canadian social democracy

6. Michael Cross, "Third Class on the Titanic: The NDP Convention", *Canadian Forum*, (April-May, 1971).

7. Recent directions of Waffle thought are illustrated in Robert M. Laxer, (ed.), *(Canada) Ltd.: The Political Economy of Dependency*, (Toronto, 1973).

has ended as a tail of the Liberal Party in Parliament. Whatever its failings, the Regina Manifesto had a sense of what its proper business was: changing society. That sense was soon lost. Social democrats came to define their purpose largely in electoral terms. The classic formulation was given by a spokesman for the right-wing element in the NDP at the 1971 convention: "Our business, as New Democrats, is to win power for our ideas." The problem, as the history of the CCF-NDP illustrates, is what happens to the ideas in the search for power. The desire for power is not in itself perverse; that, presumably, is what any political movement is about. The sticking point, rather, is the price to be paid for power.

The major interpretive question in regard to social democratic history in Canada since 1933 revolves around the price. How much of what happened to CCF ideas was due to the lust for power, at nearly any price, and how much was due to other factors—changing economic conditions, for example? How much was due to the inevitable hardening of the intellectual arteries of any movement which lasts for long? How much was due to the original decision to repudiate the one fully-developed leftist philosophy, Marxism?

One could make the case that electoralism was simply one example of a more generalized problem—poverty of thought. Certainly electoralism itself was an ill-considered policy, which cost the party a good deal of vigour and the adherence of hard-working leftists, while producing few measurable rewards. The roots of the intellectual malaise go deeper, however. In romanticizing the Regina Manifesto, leftists have often tended to over-emphasize the quality of thought which went into it. The intellectual braintrust of the early CCF, the League for Social Reconstruction, modelled itself on the British Fabian Society. But it in fact never did the sort of research, no matter the philosophical study, which marked Fabianism. If there was no Sidney Webb in the early CCF, there was certainly no Lenin. Taking their cue from Woodsworth, CCFers tended to substitute pious platitudes for developed policies, goodhearted sentiments for serious thought.

This could not be good enough. Without a full-scale critique of capitalism, and the peculiar forms it took historically in Canada, a party born to combat the depression could not adjust once the depression ended. Electoralism, viewed in that light, was largely a response to the fact that social democrats could develop no more meaningful rationale. The party existed because, since 1933, it *had* existed. Social democracy had imploded into skewed versions of Descartes: "I exist, therefore I am; I do not think, therefore I am." Few seemed to notice that the founding ideas had lost their content, that the policies were increasingly bare bones. The virtue of the Waffle was that, briefly, it forced some thought about fundamentals.⁸ That the initiative was not followed up is the contemporary tragedy of social democracy.

The interpretive question ultimately turns into another: social democracy, 1933 style, was undoubtedly a good idea, but was it ever an idea with any realistic possibilities? Perhaps the chief significance of the history of the CCF-NDP is in helping us assess those possibilities, and why they were not realized, in helping us develop a realistic political posture for the 1970's. It may not be true that those who forget their history are condemned to relive it. But the history of Canadian social democracy at the very least warns of some of the potholes along the road to socialism.

Michael S. Cross
Nov. 16, 1973

8. Young Marxists and Wafflers are turning to developing a reasoned critique of Canadian capitalism: Temple, *Capitalism and the National Question*. Laxer, (Canada) Ltd.

CALGARY PROGRAMME

CALGARY PROGRAMME, 1932

What is the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation?

- 1 A Federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange, will be the supplying of human needs instead of the making of profits.
- 2 The object of the Federation shall be to promote co-operation between the member organizations and to correlate their political activities.
- 3 We endorse the general viewpoint and program involved in the socialization of our economic life, as these have already been outlined and accepted by the Labor, Farmer and Socialist groups affiliating.
- 4 Organization:
 - a) A Provincial Council in each Province composed of representatives of each member organization.
 - b) A Dominion Council composed of a President and a Secretary appointed by the Annual Convention, and a delegate appointed by each member organization.
- 5 We recommend that an annual affiliation fee of twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) be paid by each member organization and that a national appeal be made for voluntary subscriptions.
- 6 The name of the Federation shall be "The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer, Labor, Socialist)."

Provisional Program of the Federation

- 1 The establishment of a planned system of social economy

for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services.

- 2 Socialization of the banking, credit and financial system of the country, together with the social ownership, development, operation and control of utilities and natural resources.
- 3 Security of tenure for the farmer on his use-land and for the worker in his own home. ("Use-land—land used for productive purposes: by implication no such guarantee is given to the land speculator.)
- 4 The retention and extension of all existing social legislation and facilities, with adequate provision for insurance against crop failure, illness, accident, old age and unemployment during the transition to the socialist state.
- 5 Equal economic and social opportunity without distinction of sex, nationality or religion.
- 6 Encouragement of all co-operative enterprises which are steps to the attainment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.
- 7 Socialization of all health services.
- 8 Federal Government should accept responsibility for unemployment and tender suitable work or adequate maintenance.

Note: The above program was adopted provisionally by the Calgary Conference in August 1932, pending the first Annual Convention of the Federation to be held in Regina in July 1933. At this forthcoming Convention, to be attended by representatives of all member organizations, consideration of the program will be one of the chief tasks of the delegates.

REGINA MANIFESTO

REGINA MANIFESTO

(Programme of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, adopted at First National Convention held at Regina, Sask., July 1933)

The CCF 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 interests 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 CCF aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist 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 CCF will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, 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 in 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 programme 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 of 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 CCF 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 today. 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, depends 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 today 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 who 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 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:

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

Both of the foregoing to have suitable state 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 stranglehold 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 producer 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 everyone who is willing to work. A labor code must be developed which will include state regulation of 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 employment 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 profession; 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 BNA Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the BNA 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 today. 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 BNA 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 BNA 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 today 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 Resolution 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 interests, 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 centres 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 conditions 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.

11 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 of 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 revenue, 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 CCF 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 Board 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 98 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 those political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres 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 book 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, to 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 accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. The new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behaviour. For this reason its planning and control cannot be left in the hands of those steeped in the 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 a 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 as a programme of public 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, creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and forces 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 have intouched the

cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural 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 CCF 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.

ELECTION MANIFESTO

CCF FEDERAL ELECTION MANIFESTO

Adopted by the Eighth National Convention
Montreal, November 29, 30, December 1, 1944

The war against Fascism is part of the people's struggle to achieve a new era of brotherhood and security for all peoples of the world. The war must be prosecuted to a successful conclusion. The first duty of a CCF government will be to mobilize all the resources of Canada in support of the armed forces of the United Nations.

The CCF believes that war planning and post-war policies are not separate problems, but two parts of the same fight for victory. The aim of the CCF is to build that new society which will make the fruits of democratic victory available in the fullest measure to all our people.

The end of the war will bring great opportunities to Canada. The choice which the people make in the coming federal election will determine whether we shall go forward to a new period of national development and social progress or return to the poverty, waste and stagnation of the pre-war system. This is the fundamental issue.

The CCF is determined that Canada shall go forward to a new life and not back to the old evils. Only the program set out below can lay the basis for a life of abundance and freedom for all.

The CCF seeks a mandate in this election to put this program into effect during its first term of office. At the end of that term, it will place its record of achievement before the people and ask for a new mandate for a further advance toward the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Aims

The objective of a CCF Government will be the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth in Canada, which alone can achieve:

- 1) Useful jobs and the highest possible standard of living for all.
- 2) Social security for every citizen.
- 3) Health, education and good homes for everyone in town and country.
- 4) Civil and religious freedom.
- 5) Equal opportunity for every Canadian to develop his personality and talents to the full.
- 6) The fullest co-operation with all peace-loving peoples to secure lasting peace and the raising of living standards everywhere.

The CCF believes that the pursuit of these aims, with due regard for the rights of minorities and for the proper functions of the provinces, will overcome all sectional differences.

The CCF appeals to all the Canadian people - of whatever province, race or religion - to unite for these common aims. We must not allow false issues to divide our people. We must not allow unprincipled politicians to exploit grievances of the past to destroy our unity in the future. If we do, all of us will lose; only the reactionary interests will gain. The task of reconstructing Canada after victory will require the united efforts of all our people.

The Central Problem

No system of social security can last, and no rising standard of living is possible, unless we make full use of our resources to produce the goods and services which our people need, and to distribute this wealth fairly. Only such measures can remove the glaring inequalities that still exist and that condemn too many of our people to poverty even in time of full employment.

Jobs and an adequate income for all: this must be the central aim. To achieve this aim we shall have to find jobs for no less than a million and a half more people than are now employed in civilian production.

Can "private enterprise" provide these jobs? It did not do so before the war; hundreds of thousands of Canadians were unemployed and on relief in the hungry thirties. It cannot do so after the war; a recent authoritative survey showed that the 2400 largest manufacturing concerns in Canada intend to employ 11 per cent fewer workers after the war than they did in 1943, even assuming large export markets and drastic tax concessions to business. This is a clear admission by private enterprise itself that there is not the slightest prospect of its meeting the needs of post-war Canada.

Thus full employment will not be possible if we leave post-war reconstruction to "private enterprise". Indeed, only disaster would follow from its so-called plans.

Because of the planlessness of capitalism and the restrictive power of private monopolies, we would again have economic depression, unemployment, a drop in the national income, and a demand from big business to cut social security payments. This is the dilemma facing all other political parties in Canada, which have tried to imitate parts of the CCF social security program without planning to provide the economic base which alone can support such a program. Only large-scale public investment and expenditure, under social ownership or control, and carried out in accordance with a national economic plan, will meet our needs.

The Program

The CCF therefore presents the following program, to be implemented in co-operation with the provinces, in the belief that it alone can meet our post-war problems and lay the basis for a just social order.

1 Re-establishment of Service Men and Women

Canada has an obligation to the men and women in the armed and auxiliary services and in the merchant marine, which must be fulfilled completely and generously without consideration of cost. The dependents of those who die by reason of service must be provided for in decency and comfort. Pensions and other benefits should be awarded and administered in full recognition of the high service which our fighting Canadians have rendered to us and to our country.

Productive work and an adequate income must be our first objective. Re-establishment should be directed to remove, as far as possible, the physical and economic handicaps imposed by service and to enable all to regain a useful and secure status in civilian life. The grants, gratuities and credits unanimously voted by Parliament will merely help to tide over a brief

period of readjustment. They will not solve the central problem of useful jobs.

The CCF therefore insists that the re-establishment of service men and women can succeed only in a full employment economy. Nothing less than the planned utilization of all our resources will give them the opportunity they want and so richly deserve.

The CCF will assist ex-service men and women to gain a firm foothold in expanding productive enterprise with the following measures:

- Until satisfactory re-establishment is assured, post-discharge pay at a scale sufficient to ensure adequate standards of health and comfort; in the vast majority of cases this will have to be higher than present rates of service pay and allowances;
- Complete reform of pensions administration to eliminate red tape and delays and to make the needs of service personnel and their dependents the first concern in all cases;
- Pensions for dependents, established at a scale that assures them a decent standard of living and full educational opportunities for children;
- Adequate pensions and care for all disabilities arising out of service anywhere. In no case should the onus of proving that a disability is associated with war service be on the claimant for a war pension, and he should always be given the benefit of the doubt;
- For all those who have served in an actual theatre of war, the lifetime right to medical examinations, treatment, hospitalization, and maintenance when required, whether illness is directly traceable to war service or not;
- Extension of the same pension and medical benefits to veterans of other wars;
- Educational and training facilities, with adequate living allowances, available to all;
- Financial aid on a scale and with plans that will ensure the success of those qualified to engage in farming, fishing, or other chosen enterprises, on an individual or co-operative basis;
- Veteran participation on all re-establishment and pension boards.

2 Reconversion of War Plant

Conversion and operation, under public or co-operative ownership, of government-owned war plants and equipment, as an aid in maintaining full employment and in the production of needed civilian goods.

Provision for selling surplus war assets such as trucks, clothing, etc. direct to individuals for their own use.

3 Social Projects

A large-scale program of public investment, in co-operation with the provinces and municipalities, to aid in maintaining full employment. Such a program should include:

- Housing, slum clearance, community and regional planning, for town and country;
- The building of schools, community centres, playgrounds and hospitals;
- Soil, water and forest conservation and development projects;
- The development of Canada's northland;
- Extensive utilization of mineral and oil resources;
- Expanded development of electric power, irrigation and water resources;
- Electrification of rural areas;

- Development of industrial uses for agricultural products;
- A planned program of scientific research;
- Expansion of transportation and communication facilities, including such fields as civil aviation and radio;
- Assistance to Canadian cultural and artistic activities.

4 Planning and Investment Boards

Establishment of a representative National Planning Commission and a National Investment Board, responsible to Parliament through an appropriate Minister, to direct investment into the most socially useful channels and to plan the maximum use of Canada's resources in the interest of all the people. The National Planning Commission will work in conjunction with provincial and regional planning authorities.

5 Socialization of Finance

Social ownership of the banks and other important financial institutions as a necessary condition of economic planning and for increased security of the people's savings. Only this will make possible a planned monetary and credit policy designed to aid in the provision of adequate purchasing power and in the achievement of full employment and economic expansion.

6 Social Ownership

The socialization and democratic control, under either public or co-operative ownership, of industries which are monopolistic in character, or which are being operated to the detriment of the Canadian people, in order to free the Canadian economy from the domination and restrictive practices of monopoly control and to make possible national planning for maximum production.

The capitalist system has always produced inequalities of income and opportunity, insecurity for most of the people, economic crises and disastrous conflicts between various classes and groups in the community. All this has been intensified by the development of large-scale production under the control of private monopolies.

Private monopoly control of key industries restricts production and employment. It prevents the full use and development of our natural resources for the public good. Already it stands in the way of any effective program of full employment.

These are the facts which make a wide degree of social ownership essential for the welfare of our people and for the preservation of our democracy.

The socialization of large-scale enterprise, however, does not mean taking over every private business. Where private business shows no signs of becoming a monopoly, operates efficiently under decent working conditions, and does not operate to the detriment of the Canadian people, it will be given every opportunity to function, to earn a fair rate of return and to make its contribution to the nation's wealth.

Moreover, from the start the CCF has undertaken to pay fair compensation, but it will not burden future generations with the cost of watered stocks and inflated assets.

The transition from private to social ownership will be made without dislocation of any of the managerial, technical and labor personnel willing to serve under the new conditions. Equal opportunity for advancement and promotion will be afforded to all on the basis of merit and without regard to political or religious views or racial origin. Indeed, since a socialized enterprise serves the public good rather than private profit, it offers new responsibilities and new opportunities for service. In addition, the participation of trade unions as well as

managerial and technical staff on planning boards and production committees will free and encourage individual initiative and expand industrial democracy beyond anything we have ever known.

The CCF has always stood for the private ownership of the family farm, family home, and other personal property. It will build an economic system which will protect farmers and workers in this ownership and avoid the evictions, foreclosures and losses which they suffer under capitalism. In fact, the CCF will make it possible for the people to acquire all the personal property necessary for a high standard of living.

7 Farming

The future prosperity of the Canadian people requires the fullest development of Canadian agriculture. In the past the Canadian farmer has not received a fair share of the national income. Agriculture, in the main, has accumulated huge deficits because farmers have received less than their cost of production.

No modern industrial nation can afford poverty in any section of its people. The farmer is a consumer, as well as a producer. Farm people are entitled to the same standards of health, housing, nutrition and education as other sections of the Canadian people.

Though the war has brought temporary alleviation to the farmer's position in some ways, notably through higher prices and increased demand for his products, basically there has been no permanent change in agriculture's relation to the rest of the Canadian economy.

The labor shortage has accelerated the trend toward power farming and has actually increased our capacity to produce. This means, first, that we can produce plenty of food to meet the needs of the Canadian people in accordance with modern nutritional standards. We can also produce our share of the food needed by other countries as set out at the Hot Springs Food Conference. Second, we can produce the agricultural raw materials for new industries (chemistry). Third, the expansion of productive capacity emphasizes the need for democratic planning by farmers' organizations in collaboration with government; and war experience has shown that agricultural production can be planned. Fourth, now more than ever there is urgent need for conservation and restoration of soils.

The CCF therefore proposes:

- Prices for farm products that will guarantee the farmer his proper share of the national income;
- Legislation to protect the farmer's equity in his land, home and machinery;
- Encouragement and assistance to returned men and others who wish to farm co-operatively;
- Public ownership of plants manufacturing farm implements and supplies and, where expansion of the industry is necessary, the conversion of government-owned war plant for the purpose;
- Assistance in the establishment of co-operatives for the distribution of farm machinery and supplies;
- Co-operative or public ownership of the major processing and wholesale distributing facilities for farm products;
- Adequate storage and refrigeration facilities and the application of the "ever normal granary" principle to major staples;
- Extensive development of the industrial utilization of farm products;
- A comprehensive crop insurance scheme at premiums no greater than the minimum cost of service;
- The provision of farm credit at the cost of service;
- The establishment of Marketing Boards, representative of

producer and consumer, for the orderly grading and marketing of farm products;

- The establishment of Export and Import Boards for the regulation and encouragement of Canada's foreign trade in agricultural as well as other commodities;
- An extensive program of soil surveys, re-settlement, water conservation, irrigation and rural electrification;
- Adequate provision in the general educational program for technical training in agriculture and scholarships to agricultural colleges;
- Revision of income tax legislation to allow farmers to average out the incomes of good and bad years, and simplification of farmers' income tax returns.

8 Fishing

Appropriate legislation, in co-operation with the provinces, to achieve:

- A guaranteed minimum price to the fisherman to assure him a decent standard of living;
- Protection of the fisherman's equity in his boat and gear;
- Establishment of co-operative or publicly-owned fish packing, processing and quick-freezing plants, and wholesale distributing facilities;
- The provision of credit to fishermen at the cost of service;
- Marketing Boards, representative of producer and consumer, for the improved grading and marketing of fish products;
- Export and Import Boards for the regulation and encouragement of Canada's foreign trade in fish as in other commodities;
- An extensive program of scientific development and conservation of Canadian fisheries.

9 Labour

The primary need of every worker is secure, useful employment at decent wages. This the CCF will achieve through its program of national economic planning and the fullest possible development of all our resources.

During the reconversion period, for workers who are temporarily unemployed due to necessary retooling and readjustment, the Government will supplement unemployment insurance benefits with lay-off pay at a scale sufficient to maintain purchasing power and ensure adequate standards of health and comfort.

As a first measure the CCF will establish a Federal Labour Code to set national minimum standards, while leaving to the provinces the power to set higher standards. Such a code will cover the fields of:

- Maximum hours of labour;
- Minimum wages adequate to give the worker his full share of the fruits of his labour;
- Equal pay for equal work, and equality of treatment for men and women workers in all matters under this code;
- Minimum age of employment and vacations with pay;
- Minimum industrial standards for the protection of working conditions;
- Genuine, nation-wide and compulsory collective bargaining legislation, giving union security in all public as well as private enterprise, and outlawing company unions.

In addition the CCF will institute:

- The fullest development of union-management production committees and industry-wide production councils;
- Adequate labour representation on all planning and control boards and in the management of socialized industries;

- Replacement of Selective Service by an expanded and efficient Dominion Employment Service; provision for vocational guidance and retraining for workers displaced from their jobs by re-conversion or technological developments;
- Federal legislation to implement I.L.O. and other international conventions and treaties establishing labour standards.

10 Co-operatives

Federal legislation, to supplement existing provincial laws, enabling co-operative enterprise to expand into new fields, to undertake national and international trading, and to co-ordinate its activities across the country;

Assistance to promote an extensive program of education on co-operation as a means of achieving democratic self-help and self-government;

The promotion of co-operative ownership, wherever possible, as a desirable form of social ownership.

11 Social Security

A comprehensive and integrated social security and social insurance system, the benefits of which shall be extended to all citizens, Indians and Eskimos, as a fundamental human right, and free from humiliating means tests. This system shall provide:

- Adequate old age pensions for all at age 60;
- Generous pensions to widowed mothers;
- Children's allowances for every child under 16 as a supplement to adequate wages;
- Cash benefits for temporary disability, and pensions for permanent disability;
- A comprehensive scheme of child care and nursery schools;
- Maternity benefits and pre-natal and post-natal care for all mothers;
- Out-of-work benefits for all workers, including those not now covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act, to provide them with an adequate income during temporary unemployment and particularly during the reconversion period;
- A floor under wages, salaries and farm income.

Opponents of adequate social security still raise the question, "Where is the money coming from?". The CCF insists that this false cry must never again be permitted to block the road to progress. If we succeed in maintaining full employment and a high national income—as we can through the economic program of the CCF—then the financial means will be readily available for a comprehensive system of social security, and for health, housing, education and other services, and the cost will be far less than that of war.

12 Health and Nutrition

The CCF will establish a socialized health service, aimed at providing a national standard of health care in every part of Canada. It will provide all citizens with complete preventive and remedial services. Its major aim will be achievement of positive health and not only the curing of obvious disease.

General administration of the scheme will be under the direction of provincial commissions and district and local boards working in co-operation with a Federal Health Commission. The commissions will comprise representatives of the local district boards, representatives of citizen organizations (such as labour unions, farmer associations, welfare organizations and the like) and representatives of the professional groups rendering the services.

Technical administration will be in the hands of committees representing the various professions and specialties in the

Health services.

The essential steps in the establishment of a comprehensive health service will be:

- Provision of full medical and dental care for all citizens, under practitioners of their choice where practicable;
- Establishment of health centres in rural as well as urban communities, to bring medical care within the reach of all and to assist in the application of public health measures;
- Regular periodic check-ups of all citizens, particularly school and pre-school children;
- Intensification of all measures for checking communicable diseases, especially tuberculosis and venereal disease;
- A comprehensive program of mental hygiene;
- Provision of special pre-natal and maternity care;
- Expansion of hospital and sanatorium facilities;
- Establishment of convalescent hospitals and rehabilitation centres and services;
- A program of financial assistance to train an adequate number of doctors, dentists, and nurses, and special assistance for post-graduate studies in all fields;
- An extensive program of research in health and medicine;
- An extensive program of popular education in health and nutrition;
- A national food policy, based on modern nutritional standards and aimed at making available to every citizen an adequate and balanced diet.

13 Housing and Community Planning

Establishment of a permanent Dominion Housing Authority, to work in co-operation with the provinces and municipalities in the preparation and launching of a comprehensive program of housing and community planning.

Provision by the Dominion of funds to finance the construction of one million dwelling units within ten years. Co-operation between the Dominion, the provinces and municipalities to carry out this program by:

- Low interest loans, to reduce cost of financing, and with the maximum period of amortization to encourage home ownership;
- Large-scale construction, under public or co-operative auspices, of low rental housing in town and country, with consequent reduction of construction costs;
- Elimination of slums and sub-standard dwellings, both urban and rural;
- Subsidies, where necessary, to provincial, municipal or co-operative housing undertakings.

Conversion of suitable war plants, under public ownership, to the production of building materials and household appliances;

Research into and development of new materials and new methods in the construction industry.

14 Education

The CCF believes that we must give education a high priority in our reconstruction program. The purpose of our educational system should be to discover and develop the natural capacities of each individual and to provide those of special ability with every opportunity to continue their studies through school and university at public expense. We must establish and maintain a high minimum standard throughout the country, and relate the entire educational program to our economic, social and cultural development. Finally, we must seek to develop in all Canadians a consciousness of their responsibilities as citizens of Canada and of the world.

A CCF Federal Government will not interfere with pro-

vincial jurisdiction over education. But it will collaborate with the provinces and make available ample funds to:

- Build, equip and maintain the necessary schools and colleges;
- Provide scholarship grants to students, in accordance with their ability, for training and higher education;
- Set up in each province a special fund to raise educational standards and expand educational opportunities in rural and poor communities;
- Raise teachers' salaries, by the establishment of salary schedules at a level consistent with the social importance of the teaching profession;
- Broaden opportunities for higher education not only through a scholarship system but also through provision of more adequate financial assistance designed ultimately to establish free tuition in Canadian universities;
- Encourage adult educational programs on the broadest scale, for the purpose of providing every citizen with an opportunity of developing his capacities and talents;
- Establish a National Library and assist the growth of local libraries;
- Promote the arts and crafts and artistic expression in every form, by financial assistance to set up Community Centres, by a system of scholarships, by grants to voluntary art institutions and associations, symphony orchestras, choral societies, travelling art exhibitions, and the like;
- Press for the establishment of an International Education Organization along the lines of the International Labour Organization, and give it strong and active support.

15 Youth

Young men and women are fighting and dying in this war. Young people are also the most helpless victims of depression and want. When victory is achieved, we must fulfil our obligation to Canada's youth, the real future of our country.

The whole program of the CCF will open to our young people new horizons and unprecedented opportunities to develop their talents. The task of rebuilding our society on new foundations, of developing a new and higher set of values and human objectives, is one which cannot be achieved without the spirit and enthusiasm of youth. The Co-operative Commonwealth is youth's great opportunity.

To the young people of Canada the CCF pledges:

- Free and full educational opportunities in schools and universities;
- A comprehensive program of vocational training and guidance;
- A varied program of recreational activities, provided in co-operation with the provinces and local communities;
- Useful work with opportunity for progress and promotion;
- Encouragement and assistance to the development of creative talents in the arts and literature;
- The right to vote at the age of eighteen.

16 Taxation

A complete revision of the system of taxation, to ensure an equitable distribution of the burden of taxation and specifically to raise the income tax exemptions to \$1,000 for single persons and \$2,000 for married persons.

Progressive removal of sales and excise taxes, except those on luxury goods.

17 National Unity and the Constitution

In order to enable our country to solve the grave problems which will confront us after the war, and particularly to

achieve full employment and a national system of social security, the CCF will take immediate and effective action to amend the British North America Act.

The CCF again pledges itself to protect the existing minority rights set out in the BNA Act. Further, as additional steps in the development of full Canadian nationhood, the CCF proposes the appointment of a Canadian as Governor-General, the adoption of a distinctive national flag and national anthem and the necessary legal provision for Canadian citizenship.

Subject to full safeguards for existing minority rights, the CCF will amend the BNA Act:

- To incorporate in the constitution a Bill of Rights protecting minority rights, civil and religious liberties, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly; establishing equal treatment before the law to all citizens, irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs; and providing the necessary democratic powers to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms. Such a Bill of Rights should be amendable only with the consent of all the provinces.
- To abolish appeals to the Privy Council.
- To abolish the Senate.
- To give to the Canadian people the right to amend their own constitution.
- To give the federal Parliament the necessary powers:
 1. To establish minimum standards in the fields of collective bargaining, wages and hours and social security.
 2. To implement international treaties and conventions.
 3. To regulate trade and commerce, particularly inter-provincial marketing.

18 International Trade

The CCF will:

- Establish Import and Export Boards, to regulate and expand our foreign trade, to eliminate the exploitation of both producer and consumer and to make possible the establishment of stable prices for export commodities;
- Enter into long-term agreements of bulk purchase and sale with other countries to provide stability of trade and a lowering of consumer prices, and to remove the barriers to international trade;
- Promote world monetary and investment policies to provide for the expansion of purchasing power and production on an international scale and to help raise living standards everywhere.

19 International Relations

This Second World War has now entered upon its final phase. The time approaches when the collective power of the United Nations will have crushed the last remnants of the Axis forces, and will have made possible a new start for humanity toward a world order based on economic security and social justice. The CCF pays its tribute of homage and gratitude to the men and women in the armies of the United Nations who have borne the brunt of this struggle, and to the civilian workers of every kind who are helping to make victory possible.

As the conclusion of the war approaches, a proper policy toward liberated countries becomes increasingly urgent. The CCF believes that the United Nations policy should ensure the punishment of fascist rulers and all collaborators, and provide co-operation with democratic people's movements rather than with discredited monarchs and reactionary forces.

Equally is it urgent to agree upon a proper program for the

treatment of ex-enemy countries after victory. Such a program should have a two-fold objective. It should aim at the complete destruction of fascist military and political organizations, the punishment of war criminals, just restitution to devastated countries, and appropriate measures to destroy the power of the reactionary interests of Germany and Japan again to threaten the peace of the world. At the same time the United Nations should assist in the rebuilding of trades unions, co-operatives and all other democratic people's organizations so that ultimately these countries may be included in the world society on an equal basis with other states.

Future wars cannot be avoided without the establishment of government on the international level, democratically representative of all the peoples, great and small, and endowed with the paramount powers necessary to maintain the peace and to provide economic justice and equality of opportunity among the peoples of the world.

The CCF welcomes, as a promise for the future, the great measure of co-operation which has been achieved by the United Nations during this war and the real advances which have been made toward the formation of a new world organization.

Canada must actively assist in all further discussions preparatory to the setting up of such an organization. Canada must also be ready to take her part in it and to contribute her proper share to any security measures designed to maintain world peace.

The new world organization must have the power to stop aggression. It must be based on the democratic representation of all peace-loving nations, although special responsibilities may be delegated to certain powers. It must make every effort to build world economic planning and co-operation for the welfare of all peoples as the foundation of lasting peace. All member states, both great and small, should be bound by its decisions. To avoid the evils of secret diplomacy, full publicity should be given to its proceedings.

Canada should also play her full part in all the functional international organizations now existing, such as the I.L.O., UNRRA, the World Court and the Food Organization; and support every effort to develop similar organizations for international economic co-operation. Such bodies should be coordinated as integral parts of the world organization.

Canada's geographical position requires that she should extend, by every appropriate means, her co-operative relations and arrangements with her southern neighbor, the United States, and her northern neighbor, the USSR. She should also seek membership in the Pan-American Union.

Canada should promote voluntary co-operation between the nations of the British Commonwealth aimed at mutual economic and social advancement and the achievement of an international order based on the foregoing principles.

WINNIPEG MANIFESTO

1956 WINNIPEG DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION (PART I SOCIAL DEMOCRATIQUE DU CANADA)

The aim of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is the establishment in Canada by democratic means of a co-operative commonwealth in which the supplying of human needs and enrichment of human life shall be the primary purpose of our society. Private profit and corporate power must be subordinated to social planning designed to achieve equality of opportunity and the highest possible living standards for all Canadians.

This is, and always has been, the aim of the CCF. The Regina Manifesto, proclaimed by the founders of the movement in 1933, has had a profound influence on Canada's social system. Many of the improvements it recommended have been wrung out of unwilling governments by the growing strength of our movement and the growing political maturity of the Canadian people. Canada is a better place than it was a generation ago, not least because of the cry for justice sounded in the Regina Manifesto and the devoted efforts of CCF members and supporters since that time.

Canada Still Ridden by Inequalities

In spite of great economic expansion, large sections of our people do not benefit adequately from the increased wealth produced. Greater wealth and economic power continue to be concentrated in the hands of a relatively few private corporations. The gap between those at the bottom and those at the top of the economic scale has widened.

Thousands still live in want and insecurity. Slums and in-

adequate housing condemn many Canadian families to a cheerless life. Older citizens exist on pensions far too low for health and dignity. Many too young to qualify for pensions are rejected as too old for employment, and face the future without hope. Many in serious ill-health cannot afford the hospital and medical care they need. Educational institutions have been starved for funds and, even in days of prosperity, only a small proportion of young men and women who could benefit from technical and higher education can afford it.

In short, Canada is still characterized by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity and by the domination of one group over another. The growing concentration of corporate wealth has resulted in a virtual economic dictatorship by a privileged few. This threatens our political democracy which will attain its full meaning only when our people have a voice in the management of their economic affairs and effective control over the means by which they live.

The Folly of Wasted Resources

Furthermore, even during a time of high employment, Canada's productive capacity is not fully utilized. Its use is governed by the dictates of private economic power and by considerations of private profit. Similarly, the scramble for profit has wasted and despoiled our rich resources of soil, water, forest and minerals.

This lack of social planning results in a waste of our human as well as our natural resources. Our human resources are

wasted through social and economic conditions which stunt human growth, through unemployment and through our failure to provide adequate education.

The Challenge of New Horizons

The CCF believes that Canada needs a program for the wise development and conservation of its natural resources. Our industry can and should be so operated as to enable our people to use fully their talents and skills. Such an economy will yield the maximum opportunities for individual development and the maximum of goods and services for the satisfaction of human needs at home and abroad.

Unprecedented scientific and technological advances have brought us to the threshold of a second industrial revolution. Opportunities for enriching the standard of life in Canada and elsewhere are greater than ever. However, unless careful study is given to the many problems which will arise and unless there is intelligent planning to meet them, the evils of the past will be multiplied in the future. The technological changes will produce even greater concentrations of wealth and power and will cause widespread distress through unemployment and the displacement of population.

The challenge facing Canadians today is whether future development will continue to perpetuate the inequalities of the past or whether it will be based on principles of social justice.

Capitalism Basically Immoral

Economic expansion accompanied by widespread suffering and injustice is not desirable social progress. A society motivated by the drive for private gain and special privilege is basically immoral.

The CCF reaffirms its belief that our society must have a moral purpose and must build a new relationship among men—a relationship based on mutual respect and on equality of opportunity. In such a society everyone will have a sense of worth and belonging, and will be enabled to develop his capacities to the full.

Social Planning For a Just Society

Such a society cannot be built without the application of social planning. Investment of available funds must be channelled into socially desirable projects; financial and credit resources must be used to help maintain full employment and to control inflation and deflation.

In the co-operative commonwealth there will be an important role for public, private and co-operative enterprise working together in the people's interest.

The CCF has always recognized public ownership as the most effective means of breaking the stranglehold of private monopolies on the life of the nation and of facilitating the social planning necessary for economic security and advance. The CCF will, therefore, extend public ownership wherever it is necessary for the achievement of these objectives.

At the same time, the CCF also recognizes that in many fields there will be need for private enterprise which can make a useful contribution to the development of our economy. The co-operative commonwealth will, therefore, provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly-owned industry.

The CCF will protect and make more widespread the ownership of family farms by those who till them, of homes by those who live in them, and of all personal possessions necessary for the well-being of the Canadian people.

In many fields the best means of ensuring justice to producers and consumers is the co-operative form of ownership. In such fields, every assistance will be given to form co-operatives and credit unions and to strengthen those already in existence.

Building a Living Democracy

The CCF welcomes the growth of labour unions, farm and other organizations of the people. Through them, and through associations for the promotion of art and culture, the fabric of a living democracy is being created in Canada. These organizations must have the fullest opportunity for further growth and participation in building our nation's future.

In the present world struggle for men's minds and loyalties, democratic nations have a greater responsibility than ever to erase every obstacle to freedom and every vestige of racial, religious or political discrimination. Legislation alone cannot do this, but effective legislation is a necessary safeguard for basic rights and a sound foundation for further social and educational progress.

Therefore, the CCF proposes the enactment of a Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and of expression, the right of lawful assembly, association and organization, equal treatment before the law, freedom to worship according to one's own conscience and the enjoyment of all rights without distinction of race, sex, religion or language.

Basis for Peace

The solution of the problems facing Canada depends, in large part, on removing the international dangers which threaten the future of all mankind. Therefore no task is more urgent than that of building peace and of forging international policies which will banish from the earth the oppressive fear of nuclear destruction. Only if there is a determined will to peace and only if every part of the world is free from the fear of aggression and domination, can progress be made toward a lasting settlement of outstanding differences.

Throughout the years the CCF has maintained that there has been too much reliance on defence expenditures to meet the threat of communist expansion. One of the urgent needs for building a peaceful world and for extending the influence and power of democracy is generous support of international agencies to provide assistance to under-developed countries on a vast scale.

The hungry, oppressed and underprivileged of the world must know democracy not as a smug slogan but as a dynamic way of life which sees the world as one whole, and which recognizes the right of every nation to independence and of every people to the highest available standard of living.

Support of UN

The CCF reaffirms full support for the United Nations and its development into an effective organization of international co-operation and government. The world must achieve a large measure of international disarmament control and inspection to enable the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The CCF believes in full international co-operation which alone can bring lasting peace. The practices of imperialism, whether of the old style or the new totalitarian brand, must disappear. The CCF strives for a world society based on the rule of law and on freedom, on the right to independence of all peoples, on greater equality among nations and on genuine universal brotherhood.

Confidence in Canada

The CCF has confidence in Canada and its people who have come from many lands in search of freedom, security and opportunity. It is proud of our country's origins in the British and French traditions which have produced our present parliamentary and judicial systems.

The CCF believes in Canada's federal system. Properly applied in a spirit of national unity, it can safeguard our national well-being and at the same time protect the traditions and constitutional rights of the provinces. Within the framework of the federal system the CCF will equalize opportunities for the citizens of every province in Canada. True national unity will be achieved only when every person from the Atlantic to the Pacific is able to enjoy an adequate standard of living.

Socialism on the March

In less than a generation since the CCF was formed, democratic socialism has achieved a place in the world which its founders could hardly have envisaged. Many labour and socialist parties have administered or participated in the governments of their countries. As one of these democratic socialist parties, the CCF recognizes that the great issue of our time is whether mankind shall move toward totalitarian oppression or toward a wider democracy within nations and among nations.

The CCF will not rest content until every person in this land and in all other lands is able to enjoy equality and freedom, a sense of human dignity, and an opportunity to live a rich and meaningful life as a citizen of a free and peaceful world. This is the Co-operative Commonwealth which the CCF invites the people of Canada to build with imagination and pride.

NEW PARTY DECLARATION

A NEW PARTY

Canada is a land of abundant resources—moral, cultural and material. Yet unemployment, waste, political corruption and commercialization of taste and values continue and have even increased. The reason is not that Canadians do not want a better society, but because economic development is still un-planned, unstable and operated chiefly for the benefit of the few owners of great corporations.

Moreover, we face new challenges everywhere. Our relations with North and South America, with the Commonwealth and Europe, with new states in Asia and Africa, as well as our defence policies, have to be re-assessed in the light of new factors. Our contribution to world peace must be more positive and more original. The partnership between English and French-speaking Canadians must be made more meaningful and valuable to both, and the civil rights of all Canadians fully protected. To meet these challenges we must infuse a new spirit of social purpose and world responsibility into our national policies. New ways are needed.

For these great tasks this New Democratic party has been founded. It seeks to unite for democratic political action all Canadians who put human rights and human dignity above the mere pursuit of wealth, and public welfare before corporate power. Democratically organized and financed, prepared to apply new methods of social and economic planning, the New Democratic party will translate into practical federal and provincial programs the idealism and democratic faith that are now so frustrated. It adopts and will carry forward to new levels of achievement the best objectives of the farmer and

labour, co-operative and social democratic movements for which so many progressive Canadians have striven in the past.

This is why the New Democratic party has been founded and why it invites all Canadians to join its ranks. For these reasons it pledges itself to the carrying out of the following program.

1 Planning for Abundance

A Job for Everyone

The New Democratic party is the party of full employment. Only a program of economic planning can ensure a general condition of full employment. A New Democratic government will develop such a program. It can, therefore, guarantee jobs for all members of the labour force willing and able to work.

Even under full employment there will, of course, be temporary dislocation and this will be dealt with by a Guaranteed Employment Act. This Act will enable jobless Canadians to claim a job as a social right by applying to the public local employment office. It will in effect replace the major purposes of the present inadequate unemployment insurance legislation. It will provide that where moving or retraining a worker is the best way to provide a job, the government will cover the full cost including payment of fair wages during the training or moving.

Both in overall planning and in the Guaranteed Employment Act, the New Democratic government will give priority

to providing much needed social capital—houses, schools, hospitals, roads, parks and other recreational facilities. Furthermore, it will undertake to create new means for the production of industrial power, to conserve our natural resources, to build an integrated transport system, to assist municipalities with their plans for development and to establish new industries. Some of these projects will be maintained in process at strategic points to be speeded up if the employment situation so requires.

A Dynamic Future

A New Democratic government will accept the challenge of being the architect of Canada's economic future. It will plan for continuous growth, for a dynamic, expanding economy. Yet growth by itself is not enough; it must have a social purpose. The New Democratic government will harness this growth:

- a) to achieve and maintain full employment of manpower and resources, natural and developed;
- b) to allocate these resources in a just and rational manner among the various public and private uses to which they might be put;
- c) to distribute the wealth produced by Canadians in such a way as will assure to all a decent standard of living, and allow every individual the opportunity to achieve his best.

It is here that the New Democratic party differs fundamentally from the other parties. They have been forced by events into increasing intervention in the economy, but their tinkering has been reluctant. They still believe in the discredited 19th century superstition that a host of unrelated, unplanned private decisions will somehow "work out" in the public interest.

That this is not so is tragically clear. The Canadian people have paid dearly for lack of planning. Senseless waste, needless hardship, chronic unemployment have been its results. All this in the midst of glaring need for social projects—schools, hospitals, public works and decent housing—to enrich the lives of a people willing and able to produce them.

Old party governments suffer from yet another superstition: they continue to speak piously of "free enterprise". In its name they have weakened the economic strength of Canada and her people. The truth is that the economy is effectively in the hands of corporate giants, and true freedom of enterprise has been stifled. The New Democratic government will expand opportunities for genuine private initiative by providing stable economic growth and by curbing corporate control.

At the same time, New Democrats believe that direct public accountability and control in some areas of the economy are, by their nature, more suitable and desirable. The New Democratic government will expand public and co-operative ownership for such purposes as the operation of utilities, the development of resources, the elimination of monopoly concentrations of power, and the operation of major enterprises immediately and directly affecting the entire nation.

Planning in Action

The New Democratic government will spell out its plans clearly; objectives at each stage and the proposed means of reaching them will be detailed and explicit. They will be responsive to changing needs and public wishes.

All major economic groups will be consulted in the planning process. Their participation will be enlisted through an Economic Advisory Council representing agriculture, other primary producers, commerce, industry, labour and

consumers.

The plans will be laid before Parliament. Canadians will be able to evaluate, criticize, and add their voices. Private groups and individuals will be in a position to adapt their own plans to those of the government.

Planning will be democratic. The Cabinet, responsible to the people through Parliament, will be the ultimate planning authority. A Committee of Ministers of the major economic departments will act for the Cabinet in developing the plans and co-ordinating the programs and policies of all departments and agencies. The plans will be put into effect through radically new uses of traditional instruments like the national budget and the Bank of Canada, and through new bodies such as an Investment Board.

Planning cannot be fully effective in Canada unless there is wide co-operation between the federal and provincial governments. Such co-operative planning is the best way to offset unbalanced centralization and to encourage provincial participation, and is the surest guarantee of provincial rights.

Therefore, the New Democratic government will establish a permanent Federal-Provincial Planning and Development Council. Its purpose will be to make recommendations to governmental authorities which will assure the co-ordination and consistency of their economic plans and policies. It will be a link between the federal government and the provinces in economic matters. Co-operative planning which respects federal and provincial spheres of action must replace one-sided decisions in such matters as the division of tax fields, the determination of equalization grants, and the establishment of joint programs.

Investment and the Public Interest

A rational and dynamic policy is central to New Democratic planning.

Under corporation control of investment, Canada has experienced over-investment and inflation followed by under-investment and unemployment in a succession of humps and hollows. All the while the allocation of investment funds has been unrelated to overall social needs.

The New Democratic party believes that the investment of capital must be directed to serve public need, such as the location of industry with a recognition of social as well as economic considerations. To this end it will establish a federal Investment Board. By planning and regulating investment, including that derived from company reserves, the Investment Board will promote steady economic growth and full employment without inflation. It will also maintain a reasonable balance between public and private needs in the division of investment funds.

A Canadian Development Fund will be set up to give Canadians a greater opportunity to invest in the future of their own country. It will mobilize and channel the funds of insurance, trust and similar companies, and will be available to individuals with small amounts to invest. It will have at its disposal some of the proceeds of the proposed new taxation measures.

Realistic monetary and credit policies are essential to economic growth, and must be adjusted to meet investment requirements. The Bank of Canada and other government agencies will be required to act in accordance with established government policy.

Control by Canadians

New Democratic investment policy seeks to break monopoly control over Canadian industry and resources.

Modern corporate expansion is financed mainly out of huge corporation reserves. As no one but the corporation has any control over these investment reserves and the uses to which they are put, the hold on the nation's economy by a few becomes greater each year.

If this private control over investment were confined entirely within our own borders, the situation would be alarming enough. But the truth is that most large corporations in Canada are themselves controlled from other countries, chiefly from the United States. Through their huge reserves, accumulated in Canada, these foreign corporations are able to extend their economic control by using our own money. This threatens the right of Canadians to direct their own economic activity; if permitted to go unchecked, it will endanger Canada's political independence.

The old parties have talked about this problem a great deal, but they have done nothing about it. The solutions they propose will solve nothing; control will still remain in foreign hands. The only adequate solution is that provided by the investment and taxation policies of the New Democratic party. These will enable the government to direct an increasing proportion of the investment reserves of corporations, both foreign and domestic, in accordance with Canadian economic objectives.

In addition legislation will be introduced to make all companies operating in Canada more effectively Canadian by insistence on a minimum percentage of their capital and membership of their boards of directors being held by Canadians resident in Canada. The federal New Democratic government, and where possible the provincial governments, will negotiate over a period of years the selective repatriation of Canada's resources and industries. The processing of Canadian natural resources on Canadian territory will be encouraged. Foreign owned or controlled companies will be compelled to conform to the laws affecting Canadian companies and be subject to the policies of the Canadian government and not to the policies of their foreign counterparts.

Progressive Taxes

The New Democratic government's taxation policy will be a basic part of its planning. It will divert funds from private to public investment, redistribute the national income on a fair basis and help to regulate the pace of economic activity.

A large part of the accumulated investment funds of private companies must flow into the public treasury, there to be used to realize public economic objectives. This will be accomplished through:

- a) an increase in the corporation tax rate, especially on undistributed profits;
- b) reduction in excessive depreciation and depletion allowances;
- c) limitations on the deductions now allowed for advertising and sales promotion;
- d) a tax on capital gains;
- e) increased succession duties.

The present tax structure will be reformed by such steps as:

- a) reduction in the tax burden on lower income groups;
- b) abolition of the special privileges which now go to the recipients of corporation dividends;
- c) stricter control of expense accounts and similar allowances, to eliminate tax-dodging;
- d) removal of the federal sales tax and special excise tax from the necessities of life.

The Consumer

Everyone in Canada is a consumer. The New Democratic party truly represents the consumers and will see to it that their ideas are incorporated in its economic and social programs. The price of what we eat, or wear, the rent we pay, the quality of the goods we buy are all vital elements in our welfare. We work to live and what we are able to consume is the measure of our ability as producers and is the final economic test of our policies.

The New Democratic government will protect the Canadian consumer against unscrupulous promotion techniques, misleading advertising, poor quality and overpriced goods, and will also protect the consumer by regulating the level of prices throughout the economy. Regulations governing quality, content description, packaging, advertising and sales promotion will be strengthened and fully enforced.

Where food and drugs are concerned, safeguarding the public interest is particularly important. The New Democratic government will take energetic measures to prevent the drug industry from exploiting the public and will revise patent laws wherever necessary. These measures will include licensing manufacturers and, where necessary, producing essential drugs under public auspices. The sale of drugs under their generic or chemical names will be encouraged, since they cost the consumer much less than the same drugs under their brand names.

Along with provinces and consumer organizations, the New Democratic government will encourage consumer research and education. A member of the Cabinet, assisted by a research organization, will be charged with the responsibility of representing this consumer point of view on all issues.

The New Democratic government will fix limits on interest rates charged on consumer credit.

Credit unions and co-operative organizations will be fostered, as a bulwark of consumer self-help.

Keeping the Wheels Turning

Since economic progress rests ultimately on power and transportation, the New Democratic government will plan and develop rational and balanced energy and transportation systems.

A federal Energy Commission will be established. It will enlist the co-operation of the provinces in building a co-ordinated program for developing and distributing all forms of energy resources—coal, oil, natural gas, electricity and nuclear power. Present programs to harness the atom for additional power will be stepped up.

To achieve the most efficient use of each type of transportation, the New Democratic government will develop a federal transportation policy, again working in concert with the provinces.

A federal Transportation Authority will seek to establish a planned transportation system in which each type of service will be used for the purpose for which it is best suited. The various transportation facilities—rail, air, water, road and pipeline—will be co-ordinated on the basis of the allocation of costs, revenues and services according to regions and types of carrier. Destructive and wasteful duplication will give way to co-ordination.

The resulting economies will help to keep rates down, and to provide security of employment at fair wages. In any reorganization of the industry, the rights of workers to employment and the welfare of their communities will be prime considerations. There will be no elimination of work until suitable

new jobs with equal standards of living are available elsewhere.

Expanded Trade

Expansion of our trade with any and all countries willing to trade on a fair and equitable basis will benefit both ourselves and them. Careful planning is needed to adjust our production to the trade requirements of a fully employed economy. Tariffs are out-moded, patchwork attempts to protect domestic industry; they restrict trade while giving less and less protection to the home industry. Their growth is an inevitable result of an economy that tolerates unemployment. Only through a positive approach can Canada enjoy the benefits of expanded trade without hardship to specific groups and communities.

New Democratic planning for full employment will give Canada that new approach. In the planned, orderly growth and strengthening of the economy, adjustments to meet trade needs will be made more easily. The New Democratic government will make such adjustments in ways which will see workers absorbed into new jobs, and industrial production diverted to communities affected. For suitable commodities federal marketing or purchasing boards will be established.

Active association will be sought with the European common market and free trade areas. At the same time, a concerted program to foster trade with the Caribbean and Latin America will be pushed, and the possibility of hemisphere trading arrangements will be explored. Low interest rates and long-term credits to the Americas and the new nations of Africa and Asia will be used to promote Canada's trade.

Many of our industries must specialize their production in terms of world markets if they are to flourish. The New Democratic government will seek means to assist them achieve a stable flow of trade at fair prices. It will negotiate with other trading nations to develop common programs of production and marketing in specific industries.

In planning Canada's trade, the New Democratic government will work with international economic agencies to promote higher living standards everywhere and to expand world trade and balanced economic development. It will press for the establishment of an International Trade Organization.

Area Re-development

The New Democratic government will plan the development of renewed economic strength in those areas of our country which have not shared in Canada's growth. New Democratic transportation policy will take into account the special circumstances of those areas, and wherever possible, government purchases will be channelled to them.

Special attention will be given to a location-of-industry policy, similar to successful programs in Britain, Sweden and other countries. This policy will include tax concessions and other assistance to private industry, as well as public investment.

A program of long-range, basic public works, supported by federal grants, will be undertaken in the Atlantic region. The harnessing of tidal power in the Bay of Fundy, in concert with planned economic development in the area, is an example of the regional development programs that will be undertaken. A Capital Projects Commission will be established to co-ordinate this program.

Sharing the Benefits of Automation

Nothing demonstrates the need for planning more than automation and other technological advances. Without planning,

the new technology will result in human misery and waste of resources on a stupendous scale; wisely planned, it will make possible an unprecedented increase in standards of living.

The New Democratic government will assure the Canadian people that the benefits of the age of automation will be shared by all, through higher incomes and growing opportunities for constructive use of leisure time. Vigorous measures will be taken to protect the public against monopoly control of automated industries. In addition, Canada will be able to take a larger share of responsibility for world development, to help all mankind share in the new abundance.

The New Democratic government will initiate research into the impact and application of automation. When automation is introduced in an industry, the interests of the workers and their communities will be safeguarded. Special programs will be undertaken to re-train and relocate displaced workers and to establish new industry in communities where obsolete plants must be closed.

Planned Immigration

The New Democratic government, with its program to build a strong economy, will encourage immigration to Canada. More people are needed to help this country realize its full potential. Their arrival will be related realistically to the expanding opportunities, training, and housing which New Democratic planning will provide. They will be protected against unscrupulous exploitation by employers and others.

Racial discrimination will be eliminated from the Immigration Act, regulations and practices, and fair consideration of all applications for admission will be assured.

Proper services will be set up to assist new Canadians in establishing themselves in the community, and provision will be made for the teaching of our two official languages.

New Hope for the Farmer

The family farm is the basic unit of agricultural production and a desirable institution of our society. New Democratic objectives for agriculture are maximum food production for Canada and a hungry world, and effective marketing machinery to ensure fair and reasonable farm income.

The New Democratic government will free the farmer from the effects of the cost-price squeeze. It will lower farm production costs by ending monopoly control over farm machinery, fertilizers, chemicals and other supplies. Co-operatives will be encouraged and assisted to meet needs in these fields and, where necessary, public ownership will be developed.

Long-term loans at low interest will be available for farm improvement and to help young farmers to acquire the land and modern machinery necessary for a successful farm career.

To offset the adverse effects of vertical integration of farm processes by private companies, assistance will be given to farmers to build co-operatives for processing and marketing their own farm produce. This assistance will include provision of credit on favourable terms.

The New Democratic government will assure producers of sufficient marketing power by:

- development of federal producer marketing boards to co-ordinate the work of provincial marketing boards;
- encouragement of co-operative and publicly sponsored facilities for storing, processing and distributing farm products;
- development of programs to increase domestic levels of consumption;
- distribution of surplus food to the needy of other lands in

such a way as to avoid economic dislocation, and support for the establishment of a World Food Bank;

- e) vigorous and imaginative efforts to sell surplus products such as wheat, including the acceptance of part payment in sterling or currencies of other countries, long-term commodity agreements, credit arrangements, barter and other bi-lateral trade agreements;
- f) giving the Wheat Board permanent status.

The New Democratic government will institute a parity price policy to provide levels of farm income consistent with the rest of the economy. It will do this through a system of guaranteed prices based on total farm costs supplemented by deficiency and other compensatory payments where necessary.

New Democratic policy will include a comprehensive system of crop insurance and a program of resource conservation and development. This will encompass more effective use of land and shifts in production to meet changing market demands.

Adequate social and community services are vitally important to rural living. The co-operation of provincial and municipal governments will be sought to extend and improve health services, transportation, electric power and communications in rural areas. Particular attention will be given, in co-operation with the provinces, to extending vocational training for rural youth, including education in modern farming methods.

Co-operatives and Credit Unions

Co-operative societies and credit unions, democratically controlled and supported by millions of Canadians, are important forms of social ownership. They have demonstrated in convincing fashion that they can perform an essential and useful function in the economic life of our country. They benefit both producers and consumers.

Co-operative organizations of farmers and fishermen have helped provide income security for these major producer groups. They have contributed substantially to the social advance of those areas where they are strong.

Consumer co-operatives have combined efficient service and competitive prices with leverage against exploitation by privately-owned monopolies and chain organizations.

Credit unions meet the very real financial needs of both rural and urban Canadians. For these reasons the extension of co-operatives and credit union organizations must be a major objective of the New Democratic party. To achieve this a federal Department of Co-operatives will be established; a federal Co-operative Associations Act and a federal Co-operative Credit Act will be passed. The department will work in closest liaison with the co-operative movement and provincial departments of co-operatives wherever they exist.

Small Business

Operating on limited capital resources, small business enterprises are increasingly vulnerable to economic downturns and depressions. Therefore, the continuous economic growth which will result from New Democratic economic planning will be of particular benefit to them, enabling them to enjoy real economic security. In addition, the New Democratic policy of curbing excessive promotion and misleading advertising will help to protect them against unfair competition.

A new division of the Department of Trade and Commerce will be established, with field offices to serve small business. It will keep businessmen informed of economic trends and new developments in technology, provide technical assistance and advice and simplify government forms required from small businesses.

The activities of the Industrial Development Bank will be expanded to help small businesses in merchandising and service fields, as well as in manufacturing, to secure capital for sound expansion, renovation and new equipment at low interest rates and on long repayment terms. Particular attention will be given to ways and means of assisting small business in getting adequate working capital.

A Sound Fishing Industry

The New Democratic government will seek the enlargement of domestic and foreign markets for Canadian fish products, through promotion of consumption and negotiating abroad. An expanding research program will be undertaken to conserve and increase the fisherman's harvest, improve its marketability, and diversify the use of fisheries by-products.

Marketing through co-operatives will be encouraged and, where necessary, government marketing boards established. The means will be provided for a system of guaranteed forward prices to assure income security to the fisherman.

A fisheries marketing board will be created to secure the most favourable terms for Canadian fish products in world markets. Regional boards will be set up to examine all aspects of the industry and make appropriate recommendations.

Substantial government assistance will be made available in the form of working capital and loans for capital expenditures to expand co-operative plants and modernize processing methods. This assistance will, in part, be directed towards providing off-shore fleets with large trawlers and other necessary equipment to permit a better competitive status with foreign industries making use of Canadian off-shore waters.

In co-operation with the provinces, a program of technical training will be carried out, to ensure a higher degree of efficiency in the industry and better opportunity for small fishing concerns.

A Canadian Coast Guard system will be established in all maritime regions.

2 Security and Freedom

The New Democratic government will establish a comprehensive, far-reaching and systematic program of social security—a program to ensure a standard of living which will enable every Canadian to live in health and self-respect.

Canada's present approach to social security is inadequate and unrealistic: a patchwork of legislation which provides neither proper minimum standards nor adequate coverage for all those who need it. Entire groups of needy people—the sick, the blind, the aged—have little or no security. These people need protection, and the New Democratic party is determined to provide it. In doing so it will act in accordance with the principles set forth in the section in this program entitled Co-operative Federalism.

A Health Plan for Canada

Believing that a country's most precious possession is the health of its citizens, the New Democratic government will introduce a National Health Plan, providing benefits to those who need them without regard to their ability to pay.

The plan will cover a full range of services: medical, surgical, dental and optical treatment, as well as prescribed drugs and appliances. It will be built on the present hospital insurance program and, like it, will be evolved and administered in co-operation with provincial governments. The medical,

dental, nursing and other professions concerned will be consulted at all stages, and their co-operation will be sought.

The New Democratic government will immediately plan to meet the serious shortage of health personnel who are essential to the success of a National Health Plan. It will co-operate with the provinces to overcome this shortage by providing financial assistance for scholarships, new and expanded teaching centres, and post-graduate and research facilities.

Federal Retirement Plan

The New Democratic government will introduce a new and realistic Retirement Plan to provide for Canada's older citizens. It will be a two-stage plan, consisting of contributory and non-contributory features:

- a) the present Old Age pension will be increased to \$75 per month as the basic pension, available to everyone at the age of 65, with no means test;
- b) a contributory plan will be set up to provide retirement benefits above this minimum.

The objective will be to provide all elderly people with an income amounting to at least half the income they averaged during their best earning years. A reasonable maximum will be set on the amount of pension. The Retirement Plan will provide for adjustments to take into account increased productivity and rising costs.

The Retirement Plan will be completely portable—it will belong to the individual no matter where he works or how often he changes jobs.

Private plans will provide supplementary retirement benefits for those who wish them. They will, of course, have certain standards to meet, including that of portability.

Sickness, Survivor and Other Benefits

When the breadwinner of a family dies or is not working because of sickness, the needs of the family for which he provides must still be met.

The New Democratic government will introduce a program available both to employees and the self-employed, providing income during illness or accident which is not covered by Workmen's Compensation. The program will include maternity benefits.

Benefits will be paid to dependent survivors on the death of the breadwinner, and the government will sponsor a term life insurance plan through the Annuities Branch, on a voluntary basis, for supplementary coverage.

The Unemployment Insurance Act will be overhauled to provide increased benefits and coverage.

The New Democratic government will review veterans' benefits, and make improvements taking into account changing costs and needs.

It will increase family allowance payments to restore the buying power they carried when first introduced, and it will extend them to cover children beyond the age of 16 who remain in school.

It will increase pensions to blind people to \$75 a month, and make adjustments to disability pensions.

All these plans will provide for automatic adjustments in payments as productivity or living costs rise.

Man Against Disease

Man's imagination has been stirred by the first steps in the conquest of space. Surely at least as worthy a challenge to our ingenuity is the conquest of disease. The prevention and cure of cancer, heart ailments, arthritis, mental illness and other

crippling or killing diseases together with the provision of adequate rehabilitation facilities are rewarding goals for Canada.

Under the New Democratic government, Canada will be in the vanguard of the world-wide offensive against disease. The New Democratic government will establish a Canadian Medical Research Centre for a wide range of medical research and will staff it with the most able people available.

Money will be provided to undertake long-range laboratory and field projects, to stimulate medical research across the country, and co-ordinate the work now being done by voluntary as well as university and state organizations. The Centre will exchange staff, technical data and research findings with other countries through the World Health Organization, UNESCO and national medical research organizations.

The Centre will also provide in-service training for promising graduates, in order to ensure the continued availability of competent research personnel. This training program will be financed from a Federal Fellowship Fund, and will be carried out in consultation with the provinces.

Canada Labour Standards

The New Democratic government will seek the co-operation of the provinces in achieving country-wide minimum labour standards. The New Democratic objective is a National Labour Code covering all categories of workers, enacted jointly by the federal parliament and provincial legislatures, to establish:

- a) an adequate minimum wage;
- b) a five-day, 40-hour work week;
- c) at least two weeks of vacation with pay each year;
- d) eight statutory holidays with pay each year;
- e) occupational, health and safety codes;
- f) improved and strengthened collective bargaining laws designed to guarantee all basic democratic rights to the working people of Canada, and to encourage interprovincial or countrywide bargaining where appropriate;
- g) full protection of the right of association and union security;
- h) a fair remuneration code to provide for equal pay for comparable work performed by either sex.

The New Democratic government will amend the Criminal Code to establish the right to picket.

The freedom of all public servants to choose their own associations will be recognized, and they will be given the right to bargain collectively.

The New Democratic government will ratify all conventions adopted by the International Labour Organization of the United Nations. It will put into effect immediately those within the jurisdiction of the federal government, and will urge provincial legislatures to follow suit within their jurisdictions. Furthermore, it will seek the agreement of the provinces in bringing under federal jurisdiction the power to ratify and put into effect all internationally-set labour standards.

Homes for Our Families

Many thousands of Canadian families are without proper housing, and still more thousands pay more than they can afford to house themselves. Particularly hard hit are pensioners and low income families whose other needs are neglected because of the high cost of shelter.

The New Democratic government will establish a federal Housing Authority to deal with this problem. In close co-operation and consultation with provincial and municipal governments, it will undertake the planning and construction of a wide range of rural and urban housing accommodation.

town and community planning, urban re-development, the eradication of slum areas, and the preservation and extension of green belts, parks and recreation centres.

The concern of the New Democratic government will extend beyond the mere provision of shelter, though that will have a high priority. Its objectives will be to help create an attractive neighbourhood and community into which the individual home may fit, and to impart variety and adaptability to modern population centres.

The Housing Authority, including the existing Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, will administer and greatly extend the services provided under the existing National Housing Act. Increased financial assistance will be made available to provinces and municipalities for the large-scale construction of low rental accommodation, subsidized where necessary. In addition, the range of dwellings available for low down payments will be increased. Mortgage money will be provided at not more than three per cent.

The Housing Authority will promote the establishment of regional planning departments, to ensure the best possible use of land for all kinds of development. It will maintain high quality construction standards in public housing, and will eliminate land speculation and profiteering.

Education and the Arts

The New Democratic party believes that education is a matter of basic human rights; every young person is entitled to an opportunity to develop his talents to the full.

Education is also a matter of sound economics. The best investment we can make is investment in our young people. The greatest single factor making for increasing economic productivity and strength is human knowledge and skill. We need these not only to build the good society at home, but to carry out our international obligations abroad.

New Democrats recognize that the provinces have an inalienable constitutional right to control all phases of educational policy within their respective boundaries. At the same time, the provinces cannot carry out their responsibilities in this field without adequate means.

In order to ensure that provinces and municipalities are able to fulfil their obligations in the field of education, the New Democratic government will make necessary financial arrangements with the provinces to permit them to provide:

- free education at all levels to all those who can benefit from it;
- scholarships and bursaries and living allowances to assist students;
- capital for school and university expansion;
- adequate training facilities and salaries for teachers.

Full development of the human potential requires education beyond the school-leaving age. The New Democratic government will therefore encourage, assist and establish adult education agencies and programs.

The New Democratic government will strengthen the National Film Board and enable it to expand its activities. Special consideration will be given to the development of a film industry under both public and private auspices.

The New Democratic government will make funds available to enable the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to expand greatly the work it is already doing in developing Canadian talent and producing Canadian programs. It will also see to it that private stations contribute their fair share to this important effort.

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The scope and funds of the Canada Council and other agencies set up to foster Canadian culture and encourage artistic ability will be greatly expanded. Centres for the encouragement and promotion of drama and the arts will be set up across the country so that opportunity will be provided for worthwhile use of people's increasing leisure time.

3 A More Complete Democracy

Co-operative Federalism

This program is a statement of the federal aims of the New Democratic party and is therefore concerned with the exercise of federal powers. In each province, a program fitted to their particular needs and aspirations will be democratically prepared and presented to provincial electors by a provincial New Democratic party. However, the federal party is vitally concerned with relations between the federal and provincial governments.

The New Democratic party strongly affirms its belief in a federal system which alone insures the united development of the two nations which originally associated to form the Canadian partnership, as well as that of other ethnic groups which later made Canada their home. Canada's constitution particularly guarantees the national identity of French Canadians and the development of their culture. The New Democratic party will fully maintain and respect these guarantees. Canadian federalism must provide for the protection of cultural, religious and other democratic rights, permit the vigorous and balanced growth of the country as a whole, and assure provincial autonomy.

The New Democratic party believes that social and economic planning must take place at all levels of government. It therefore looks to close collaboration amongst responsible governments to co-ordinate plans and administration and to set Canadian minimum standards.

Immediately following Confederation, a federal minister was given special responsibility for relations with the provinces. It is time to revive this post. The New Democratic government will create a department of Federal-Provincial Relations to maintain and extend co-operation with the provinces, to co-ordinate and act as a special secretariat for joint committees and councils.

The New Democratic party believes that consultation at the highest level is necessary for the smooth working of our federal institutions. The New Democratic government will therefore establish a regular Prime Ministers' Conference, to be attended by the prime minister of Canada and the premiers of the provinces.

If federalism is to be a reality as well as a legal principle, each government must control sufficient funds to carry out its constitutional responsibilities. It is, indeed, one of the federal government's basic functions to redistribute wealth and income, in collaboration with the provinces, so that the provinces will have at their disposal comparable means for fulfilling their constitutional obligations. The New Democratic party believes that in a federal system equalization grants are the best method of achieving this objective. Unconditional grants of this sort must therefore be used more frequently and should eventually replace conditional grants.

The New Democratic government will constantly seek the joint participation of the federal government and the provinces in financing programs for the general welfare of Canadians, but

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New Party Declaration, 1961

it will ensure that this participation is the result of free negotiation and consultation between governments and not the product of unilateral federal decision. It believes, furthermore, that a province should be free to remain outside such program, but in doing so it would not delay other provinces and the federal government in proceeding with their plans. However, in areas affecting education, language and similar rights now in the British North America Act, where a province does not participate in a joint program it will not forego its right to equivalent funds.

Canadians still do not have complete control of their constitution. The British Parliament reluctantly retains an amending power because we have not been able to agree on purely domestic procedures for changing the terms of the BNA Act. The federal New Democratic government will pledge itself to work out a reasonable method of amendment with the provinces. This method must be flexible enough to meet modern needs but must also entrench basic education, language and similar rights now in the BNA Act, as well as the political rights essential to a parliamentary democracy.

Since the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council in London, the Supreme Court of Canada has become the final court of appeal in constitutional cases. It acts as an arbiter in conflicts of jurisdiction between governments. At present this constitutional court suffers the disability of being based only on a federal statute. The New Democratic party believes that the organization and jurisdiction of our Supreme Court should be defined in the constitution itself.

Canada as a Nation

Since 1867, Canada has gradually built an enviable reputation in the world of nations. Our pride in Canada as a nation is enhanced by our consciousness of the two national cultures which form the basis of Canadian life. We are indeed aware that those who have their roots in the French-speaking community frequently and legitimately use the word "nation" to describe French Canada itself. The New Democratic party believes that true Canadian unity depends upon equal recognition and respect for both the main cultures of our country.

Canada has been further enriched by the infusion of many other national, cultural and linguistic strains. True Canadian identity lies in honouring these traditions and weaving them into the texture of Canada. The New Democratic party fully respects and will protect the traditions and cultures of Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds.

It recognizes the special economic needs and problems of the original inhabitants of Canada, the Indians and Eskimos, whose traditional modes of living have been disrupted by modern civilization. The New Democratic government will accord them full political and social rights as Canadian citizens.

The New Democratic party believes that the full expression of Canadian nationhood requires a distinctive Canadian flag and anthem.

Bill of Rights

The New Democratic government will maintain and protect the parliamentary and political freedoms which are our inheritance.

From time to time these freedoms have been threatened and undermined by the action of governments. The present Canadian Bill of Rights is entirely inadequate to assure them. It is subject to repeal or amendment, and may be overruled by any subsequent Act of Parliament. It does not apply to provincial and municipal legislation, and its general terms are of no effect against specific provisions in legislation now in force.

The New Democratic government will safeguard our fundamental freedoms by seeking the collaboration of the provinces to incorporate them in the Canadian constitution, where they will be free from legislative infringement. Among the basic political rights to be thus entrenched are:

- a) freedom of religion;
- b) freedom of speech;
- c) freedom of association;
- d) freedom of assembly;
- e) freedom from discrimination in employment, housing and services.

A Strengthened Parliament

The New Democratic government will seek to improve the democratic machinery of Parliament.

It will provide greatly extended research facilities for the members of opposition parties, to enable them to become acquainted with and make use of information now at the disposal of the government alone.

It will undertake studies with a view to setting up a more functional and more smoothly operating Parliamentary committee system. This will allow private members of all parties to contribute effectively to the analysis of government legislation and the operation of agencies and Crown corporations.

It will seek the abolition of the Senate.

The integrity of Parliament depends ultimately upon the integrity of the political parties represented in it. To safeguard Parliament against the control of parties by hidden, wealthy contributors, the New Democratic government will introduce legislation requiring full publicity for political contributions, and a reasonable and effective limitation on campaign expenditures.

4 Co-operation for Peace

The world has changed drastically since World War II. Powers long dominant have declined in importance; others have emerged to positions of prominence. Vast areas of the world, silent for centuries, insist that their voices be heard and already have gained a place of importance in world affairs.

In the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism, Canada cannot evade its responsibility; it must always stand squarely on the side of freedom and with the genuine forces of freedom. However, the nature of this struggle is constantly changing. Revolutionary developments in weapons have underlined the danger and absurdity of relying on military strength as the chief means of settling international disputes. It is increasingly evident that the traditional policy of accumulating arms diverts us from channels of action through which truly effective policies can be pursued.

These developments require new departures in Canada's contribution to the emerging world community. The New Democratic party believes that Canada's foreign and defence policies must be reappraised and reshaped if we are to play an effective part in the world's search for peace.

International Organizations

Canada cannot act alone. The New Democratic party believes that our country has a significant role to play in building a world community. We must, like all states, choose the institutions which can be strengthened and adapted with our help and initiative to achieve the goals we seek.

United Nations

The United Nations represents the best hope of progress towards a durable peace as well as the only existing world instrument of international conciliation. But if it is to become a body truly capable of enforcing the Rule of Law, each member state must turn over to it a part of its sovereignty. Under the New Democratic government, Canada will give leadership in this direction, and will support every measure designed to enhance the prestige, authority and jurisdiction of the United Nations and its agencies.

Canada is obligated under the UN Charter "to make available . . . armed forces, assistance and facilities . . . for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security." It is time now for us, in concert with other middle and smaller powers, to insist that the General Assembly find ways to create a permanent international police force. The New Democratic government will immediately create a well-equipped mobile force at the call of the United Nations.

New Democrats welcome the addition of many new nations to the councils of the United Nations and warmly congratulate their peoples on their freedom from foreign rule. By economic aid, appropriate trade policies and increasingly closer relations within and without the United Nations, the New Democratic government will support their independence and growth.

United Nations agencies should form the major channel for providing international economic aid. This is important both to strengthen the world organization and to avoid placing recipient nations under obligation to a single big power. Therefore most of the immensely increased aid program which the New Democratic party proposes will be channelled through the United Nations.

Under the New Democratic government, Canada will base its votes in the United Nations on the merits of issues, rather than on bloc alignments as it has done too frequently in the past.

It is obvious that the United Nations cannot be fully effective so long as a major world power is denied membership. The New Democratic government will therefore recognize the People's Republic of China and support its admission to the United Nations. Such recognition does not involve approval of China's system of government. However, a non-recognition which seeks to isolate China adds to world tensions, makes the settlement of major international issues such as disarmament difficult, if not impossible, and is totally lacking in reality.

Commonwealth

The stand condemning racism taken recently by the Commonwealth increases opportunities for enlarging the role of this unique association of peoples. Its multi-racial and geographically dispersed character fits it ideally for the role of increasing co-operation among divergent parts of the world, thus reducing the dangerous effects of the cold war.

The New Democratic government will support and initiate increased consultation among the members of the Commonwealth, both inside and outside the United Nations.

Experience with the Colombo Plan has proved the effectiveness of Commonwealth economic co-operation. The New Democratic government will institute:

- a) a greatly expanded program of assistance to the South-East Asian nations at present participating in the Colombo Plan;
- b) the immediate creation of a similar program of Commonwealth economic aid to newly independent states in Africa and the West Indies.

There are available in Canada French-speaking as well as English-speaking technical and administrative experts, uniquely acceptable to the peoples of former French and British

territories. This Canadian asset creates both an opportunity and an obligation for us to make our services available to these areas, as an integral part of a Commonwealth African aid scheme.

Regional Associations

The UN Charter acknowledges the right of states to enter regional associations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the maintenance of peace and security. In the spirit of the Charter, Canada can play an important part in those regional associations which are genuinely and constructively working for peace, economic security, freedom and rule by international law.

The New Democratic party values the cultural and economic ties among the peoples of the North Atlantic community. It therefore welcomes the formation of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), along with those institutions leading to greater European integration. It particularly welcomes both the creation of the Common Market and its prospective expansion. It would seek a basis on which Canada might most fully co-operate with this and any similar association.

NATO has played its part in the maintenance of west European security. However, it has concentrated on a military role and has failed to adapt its policies to the growing importance of the economic and social front in the present world struggle. The New Democratic party believes that we should seek a reappraisal and change of NATO's policies and objectives.

The New Democratic party believes that the extension of nuclear weapons to any further states and alliances threatens disaster to the world. It therefore opposes Canada's troops being supplied with such weapons at home or abroad. At present, except for those nations which have independently developed atomic capacity, neither NATO itself nor its members individually possess or control nuclear warheads. Should they do so, Canada must make it clear that it cannot remain in the alliance. To relieve tensions, Canada should press for a demilitarized zone in central Europe and for the simultaneous disbandment of the Warsaw and NATO pacts.

The rising importance of Latin America and the mutual economic and cultural benefits which would accrue to all from closer association require that Canada increase and broaden its relationships with the nations of Latin America.

Disarmament and Defence

The revolution in weapons technology makes two facts obvious to reasonable men. Firstly, annihilation is now a physical possibility. Secondly, there is no known direct defence against nuclear missiles. Policy must be based on these realities.

The New Democratic government will make a general and searching reappraisal of Canada's defence role. Much of the money which Canada now allocates to defence could better be spent on providing such conventional troops and civilian personnel as the United Nations may require, and on aiding underdeveloped countries.

It is questionable whether NORAD ever made any significant contribution to the defence of Canada and in any case it has outlived its usefulness. Furthermore, there is every danger that the Bomarcas will be equipped with nuclear warheads. The NORAD agreements should therefore be terminated.

The New Democratic party demands an immediate ban on nuclear tests, both to avoid the dangerous effects of fall-out and as a first step toward nuclear disarmament. The New Democratic government will propose a treaty to establish a non-nuclear club of nations pledged not to manufacture, store

or permit nuclear weapons on their soil nor to use such weapons at any time.

In the nuclear age effective disarmament has become a condition of survival. Canada must play a much more dynamic role in the promotion of universal disarmament. Any agreement on disarmament will require adequate inspection and control. An independent peace research institute will be established by the New Democratic government and staffed by nuclear scientists and other experts to give continuous study to the problems involved in disarmament and the underlying tensions which threaten the peace of the world.

Economic Aid

While Canada has been spending more than one and a half billion dollars a year on defence, it has spent less than 5 per cent of that amount per year on economic aid to underdeveloped nations. A positive foreign policy must drastically alter this ratio of expenditures.

The New Democratic party believes it is morally necessary to use Canada's agricultural and industrial potential to capacity in order to relieve famine and aid economic development in other parts of the world. This belief will be reflected in a substantial economic aid program, channelled through the U.N. government agencies, Colombo and similar plans. Creative new forms of aid, however, must supplement those already in existence.

Canada's contribution to economic aid must be generous and it must be planned. The New Democratic government will institute a program of grants and long-term interest free loans, amounting to an annual expenditure of two per cent of the national income.

The New Democratic government will foster Joint Development enterprises, established on a government-to-government basis, with capital subscribed on a basis ensuring control by the underdeveloped state. Canada's contribution will take the form of funds from both public and private sources as well as managerial, production and technical skills.

Believing that the expansion of international trade serves both political and economic goals, the New Democratic government will extend substantial credits to developing states and in appropriate cases will subsidize trading agreements for selected exports to them.

The New Democratic government will introduce a Joint Training and Technical Expert Program with underdeveloped states. These countries would be invited to send young men and women to Canada to train for special projects in such fields as agriculture, public health, administration, education, medical science and engineering. In the meantime, projects will be established in the countries concerned, and will be temporarily manned by Canadian experts until such time as local personnel return from their training to take over.

Canada must mobilize its resources in young, trained Canadians and establish a Voluntary Service Corps to staff cooperative aid schemes, such as those of the Joint Training and Technical Expert Program, throughout the world. Its members should be encouraged to regard their work as a career and should be given adequate salaries and full security. The Corps would collaborate with similar groups from other developed states, and would also provide on-the-spot training for local personnel in the techniques of community development.

The New Democratic government will review Canada's domestic policies, particularly with regard to immigration and racial discrimination, to ensure that they conform to the spirit of equality among peoples and nations set out in this program.

WAFFLE MANIFESTO

THE WAFFLE RESOLUTION 133

Our aim as democratic socialists is to build an independent socialist Canada. Our Aim as supporters of the New Democratic Party is to make it a truly socialist party.

The achievement of socialism awaits the building of a mass base of socialists in factories and offices, on farms and campuses. The development of socialist consciousness, on which can be built a socialist base, must be the first priority of the New Democratic Party.

The New Democratic Party must be seen as the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change. It must be radicalized from within and it must be radicalized from without.

The most urgent issue for Canadians is the very survival of Canada. Anxiety is pervasive and the goal of greater economic independence receives widespread support. But economic independence without socialism is a sham, and neither are meaningful without true participatory democracy.

The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our times is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external, not internal.

American corporate capitalism is the dominant factor shaping Canadian society. In Canada American economic control operates through the formidable medium of the multinational corporation. The Canadian corporate elite has opted for a junior partnership with these American enterprises. Canada has been reduced to a resource base and consumer market within the American empire.

The American empire is the central reality for Canadians. It is an empire characterized by militarism abroad and racism at home. Canadian resources and diplomacy have been enlisted in the support of that empire. In the barbarous war in Vietnam Canada has supported the United States through its membership on the International Control Commission and through sales of arms and strategic resources to the American military-industrial complex.

The American empire is held together through world-wide military alliances and by giant corporations. Canada's membership in the American alliance system and the ownership of the Canadian economy by American corporations precluded Canada's playing an independent role in the world. These bonds must be cut if corporate capitalism and the social priorities it creates is to be effectively challenged.

Canadian development is distorted by a corporate capitalist economy. Corporate investment creates and fosters superfluous individual consumption at the expense of social needs. Corporate decision-making concentrates investment in a few major urban areas which become increasingly uninhabitable while the rest of the country sinks into underdevelopment.

The criterion that the most profitable pursuits are the most important ones causes the neglect of activities whose value cannot be measured by the standard of profitability. It is not accidental that housing, education, medical care and public transportation are inadequately provided for by the present social system.

The problem of regional disparities is rooted in the profit

orientation of capitalism. The social costs of stagnant areas are irrelevant to the corporations. For Canada the problem is compounded by the reduction of Canada to the position of an economic colony of the United States. The foreign capitalist has even less concern for balanced development of the country than the Canadian capitalist with roots in a particular region.

An independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists, or on public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations, cannot be our final objective. There is not now an independent Canadian capitalism and any lingering pretensions on the part of Canadian businessmen to independence lack credibility. Without a strong national capitalist class behind them, Canadian governments, Liberal and Conservative, have functioned in the interests of international and particularly American capitalism, and have lacked the will to pursue even a modest strategy of economic independence.

Capitalism must be replaced by socialism, by national planning of investment and by the public ownership of the means of production in the interests of the Canadian people as a whole. Canadian nationalism is a relevant force on which to build to the extent that it is anti-imperialist. On the road to socialism, such aspirations for independence must be taken into account. For to pursue independence seriously is to make visible the necessity of socialism in Canada.

Those who desire socialism and independence for Canada have often been baffled and mystified by the problem of internal divisions within Canada. While the essential fact of Canadian history in the past century is the reduction of Canada to a colony of the United States, with a consequent increase in regional inequalities, there is no denying the existence of two nations within Canada, each with its own language, culture and aspiration. This reality must be incorporated into the strategy of the New Democratic Party.

English Canada and Quebec can share common institutions to the extent that they share common purposes. So long as Canada is governed by those who believe that national policy should be limited to the passive function of maintaining a peaceful and secure climate for foreign investors, there can be no meaningful unity between English and French Canadians. So long as the federal government refuses to protect the country from American economic and cultural domination, English Canada is bound to appear to French Canadians simply as part of the United States. An English Canada concerned with its own national survival would create common aspirations that would help to tie the two nations together once more.

Nor can the present treatment of the constitutional issue in isolation from economic and social forces that transcend the two nations be anything but irrelevant. Our present constitution was drafted a century ago by politicians committed to the values and structure of a capitalist society. Constitutional change relevant to socialists must be based on the needs of the people rather than the corporations and must reflect the power of classes and groups excluded from effective decision-making by the present system.

A united Canada is of critical importance in pursuing a successful strategy against the reality of American imperialism. Quebec's history and aspirations must be allowed full expression and implementation in the conviction that new ties will emerge from the common perception of "two nations, one struggle". Socialists in English Canada must ally themselves with socialists in Quebec in this common cause.

Central to the creation of an independent socialist Canada is the strength and tradition of the Canadian working class and

the trade union movement. The revitalization and extension of the labour movement would involve a fundamental democratization of our society.

Corporate capitalism is characterized by the predominant power of the corporate elite aided and abetted by the political elite. A central objective of Canadian socialists must be to further the democratization process in industry. The Canadian trade union movement throughout its history has waged a democratic battle against the so-called rights or prerogatives of ownership and management. It has achieved the important moral and legal victory of providing for working men an effective say in what their wages will be. At present management's "right" to control technological change is being challenged. The New Democratic Party must provide leadership in the struggle to extend working men's influence into every area of industrial decision-making. Those who work must have effective control in the determination of working conditions, and substantial power in determining the nature of the product, prices, and so on. Democracy and socialism require nothing less.

Trade unionists and New Democrats have led in extending the welfare state in Canada. Much remains to be done: more and better housing, a really progressive tax structure, a guaranteed annual income. But these are no longer enough. A socialist society must be one in which there is democratic control of all institutions which have a major effect on men's lives and where there is equal opportunity for creative non-exploitative self-development. It is now time to go beyond the welfare state.

New Democrats must begin now to insist on the redistribution of power, and not simply welfare, in a socialist direction. The struggle for worker participation in industrial decision-making and against management "rights" is such a move toward economic and social democracy.

By strengthening the Canadian labour movement, New Democrats will further the pursuit of Canadian independence. So long as Canadian economic activity is dominated by the corporate elite, and so long as workers' rights are confined within their present limits, corporate requirements for profit will continue to take precedence over human needs.

By bringing men together primarily as buyers and sellers of each other, by enshrining profitability and material gain in place of humanity and spiritual growth, capitalism has always been inherently alienating. Today, sheer size combined with modern technology further exaggerates man's sense of insignificance and impotence. A socialist transformation of society will return to man his sense of humanity, to replace his sense of being a commodity. But a socialist democracy implies man's control of his immediate environment as well, and in any strategy for building socialism, community democracy is as vital as the struggle for electoral success. To that end, socialists must strive for democracy at those levels which most directly affect us all—in our neighbourhoods, our schools, our places of work. Tenants' unions, consumers' and producers' co-operatives are examples of areas in which socialists must lead in efforts to involve people directly in the struggle to control their own destinies.

Socialism is a process and a programme. The process is the raising of socialist consciousness, the building of a mass base of socialists, and a strategy to make visible the limits of liberal capitalism.

While the programme must evolve out of the process, its leading features seem clear. Relevant instruments for bringing the Canadian economy under Canadian ownership and control and for altering the priorities established by corporate capital-

ism are to hand. They include extensive public control over investment and nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, such as the key resources industries, finance and credit, and industries strategic to planning our economy. Within that programme, workers' participation in all institutions promises to release creative energies, promote decentralization, and restore human and social priorities.

The struggle to build a democratic socialist Canada must proceed at all levels of Canadian society. The New Democratic Party is the organization suited to bringing these activities into a common focus. The New Democratic Party has grown out of a movement for democratic socialism that has deep roots in Canadian history. It is the core around which should be mobilized the social and political movement necessary for building an independent socialist Canada. The New Democratic Party must rise to that challenge or become irrelevant. Victory lies in joining the struggle.

MARSHMALLOW RESOLUTION

THE MARSHMALLOW RESOLUTION C-17

For a United and independent Canada
New Democratic policy seeks to make and keep Canada free to realize the full potential and greatness of her people.

The live issue which concerns New Democrats, and Canadians generally, is to make us free to create the future of our economy and society; to redress the inequalities both within and between regions; to broaden and deepen the role of our people in the decisions which affect their lives; to redesign our cities; to improve the quality of life for all Canadians; to build a modern and efficient economy free of control of private corporate power, whether foreign or domestic; and to play a truly independent and meaningful role in the world.

The New Democratic Party is convinced that this cannot be achieved without the philosophy and policies of democratic socialism. The struggle for Canada's independence is one with the struggle for a better society. To win this struggle, there must be Canadian control of the economy, public control of investment and other priorities, democratic social planning to use our resources for the enrichment of the human condition.

The urgent fact which concerns us is that our future as Canadians is now in peril. There are too many among us whose self-interest lies in the disintegration of our country. Our right of economic self-determination, the foundation of our future, is deeply undermined. The control of our industry and our resources has passed to alarming degree into foreign hands.

The erosion of our national independence has reached alarming proportions. Effective measures to reverse the trend

are necessary now before foreign control of our economic life reaches the point of no return.

The facts of foreign control in Canada are stark and threatening. The rising rate of take-overs, the growth of foreign ownership in many of our major industries, the imposition of foreign laws on Canadian subsidiaries, and Canada's increasing dependence on American markets and practices have placed unacceptable limits on our freedom to pursue independent policies for the welfare of the Canadian people.

In our present society, the future shape of our economy is determined mainly by the major investment decisions taken by large corporations. And for Canada this has meant, to an important and growing extent, decisions by corporations owned and controlled by American interests. The inevitable result has been a branch-plant manufacturing industry much less efficient than it should be, a natural resources industry largely serving the U.S. market, inadequate industrial research and development, restrictions on our foreign exchange policies, and investment decisions which take little account of the priorities and needs of Canadians.

All this has happened openly. Those who hold power in Canada, the politicians and businessmen who have run this country, have presided publicly over the devastation of our environment, the dissolution of our national goals and the disappearance of our autonomy. Their outward economic philosophy led them to welcome Canadian dependence on American corporations and to offer increasing concessions in return for continued good-will. Canadian business and indus-

trial circles found it profitable to follow this course.

While Continentalism has been the policy and practice of Liberal and Conservative governments, in marked contrast Canadian independence and Canada's survival as a free nation have been and are the determined goals of the New Democratic Party.

Old party spokesmen are fond of decrying concern for Canadian independence as anti-American. Nothing shows more clearly how little they understand the feelings of Canadians. Anti-Americanism is as barren and negative a concept as is anti-French or anti-English or anti any other country or people. Canadians have always known this.

What New Democrats seek is to make and keep Canada free to realize her full potential and greatness. We must regain control of our national future, not because of sentimental patriotism but because it is the only foundation on which we can build a better society.

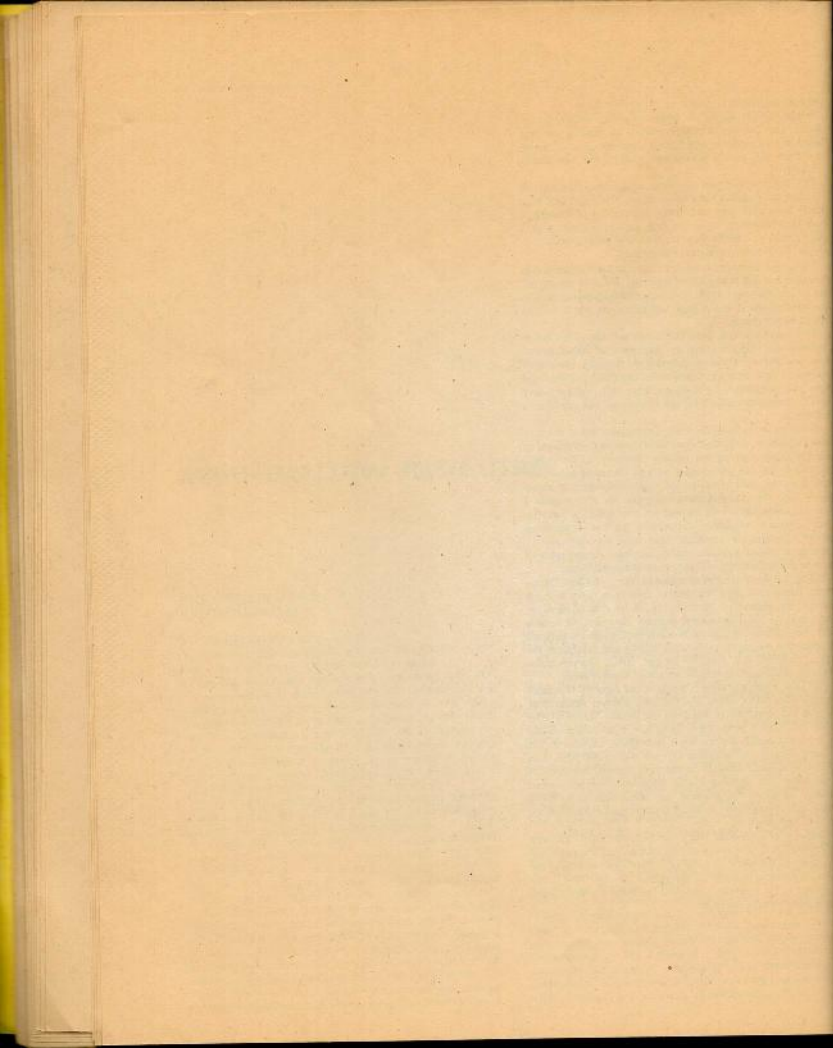
To achieve this end, New Democrats will use all the means available in a modern economy: expansion of public investment and public ownership, government planning, investment controls, a just tax system, purposeful monetary policies freed from the restraints of a fixed exchange rate, and necessary laws to limit and regulate foreign investment and subsidiaries in Canada.

From its inception, the New Democratic Party has proposed a massive, publicly-owned Development Corporation to give Canadians a strong new voice in the growth of their country and to provide government with an operating instrument having a large pool of capital for public investment in accordance with the essential social priorities. We also propose a national commodity field throughout the world, so as to reduce Canada's unhealthy dependence on one unregulated market. Finally, we recognize that only our own efforts, through a serious commitment in carefully chosen areas of science and technology, will secure our industrial future.

Using not only one but all available means, the New Democratic Party calls on Canadians to free their country from foreign domination of its economy, of its cultural development and of its international policies. However, we believe that the survival of Canada depends even more on national programmes for people—in housing, beauty and comfort in the cities, comfort and security on the farms, income maintenance, education, recreation and a host of other areas.

We have a noble myth in Canada of our capacity to accommodate cultural difference. For too long, however, disparity of income and opportunity has been the price of diversity. The result has been a persistent sectionalism, most conspicuously in French Canada, but apparent throughout Canada—in the Atlantic Region, in Northern Ontario and in the West. The survival of Canada depends on removing regional and all other inequalities and building a true foundation for one united country in which the position and responsibilities of every region and, particularly, those of Quebec, are fully recognized within Confederation.

Millions of Canadians share our faith in Canada and our determination to strengthen and enrich Canada's independence and place in the world. We call on them to join with us in the great common enterprise of saving our country. This is the challenge of the seventies and to this challenge the New Democratic Party rededicates itself.





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