

CONVENTION NUMBER

SASKATCHEWAN C. C. F. RESEARCH BUREAU

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National Council

J. S. Woodsworth

Biographical Sketch

AUTHORIZED BY C. C. F. NATIONAL COUNCIL



Less than a year has passed since a little group of farmers and labor men, meeting in Calgary, set up the provisional organization of the C.C.F. The development since that time has been phenomenal—organizations having been established from Victoria, B.C., to Sydney, N.S. Apparently the C.C.F. was launched just at the right time, and has received a degree of publicity and support beyond anything which its promoters anticipated.

“You have given us new hope,” declared one toil worn woman after one of our meetings. That was, perhaps, the sincerest tribute which could have been paid. But the new hope aroused places upon the C.C.F. a tremendous responsibility. It is ours to educate a public that has had comparatively little political interest. It is ours to organize that public for effective action. It is ours to discover candidates of integrity and ability who can be trusted to carry out the programme of the C.C.F. It is ours to attempt to break a trail through a hitherto untravelled country.

In this work the Research Bureau should play a very important part. The real solution of our difficulties can come only with a thorough understanding of economic facts and social tendencies.

J. S. Woodsworth.

President—

M. J. COLDWELL

Hon. President—

J. S. WOODSWORTH, M.P.

SASKATCHEWAN C. C. F. RESEARCH BUREAU

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FIRST ANNUAL C. C. F. CONVENTION

REGINA—JULY 19, 20, 21—1933.

Immediately at the close of the first annual convention of the C.C.F., at Regina, the National Council authorized certain definite steps to make available to the members of the various organizations of the Federation official copies of the principal documents produced by the Convention.

By courtesy of the Editors of this Bulletin, who have already done some valuable work in the field of publicity, the National Council is able to place before the Canadian public in handy form, an authorized edition of the address of the Chairman of the Federation, the Programme and Manifesto, and the Constitution. Copies may be obtained from the offices of any of the affiliated bodies, or from the Secretaries of the Provincial Councils.

Never in the history of Canada has there been a clearer, or more definite formulation of political principles than is contained in the documents produced at the Regina Convention, published herein. Serious and sincere thinkers of all shades of opinion throughout Canada should, and no doubt will welcome the opportunity of examining the ideas set forth.

The general conception and form of statement of our Programme and Manifesto was the product of months of collaboration by a large group of professors in economics, history, law, sociology, etc., of Canadian universities. The Regina Convention of the C.C.F. through its 135 delegates from six of the nine provinces of Canada brought to the consideration of the document, the experience of leaders of thought from the ranks of organized labor and farmer groups which have been active in the economic, social and political life of the Dominion for more than a quarter of a century.

To the voters of Canada, who feel or recognize the injustice, inequity and inefficiency of the economic system now in operation, and who believe that the change to a better social order, in which human rights will take precedence over the rights of property, can be effected in an orderly and constitutional manner, we make our appeal. We have confidence in their verdict.

Norman F. Priestley,
National Secretary-treasurer.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

by

J. S. WOODSWORTH, M.P.

Last year, while the Imperial Conference was meeting at Ottawa, a little group of Farmer and Labor representatives in Convention at Calgary, organized the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. I ventured then to suggest that possibly the modest gathering at Calgary might prove of greater significance to the future of Canada than the elaborately staged Conference at Ottawa. One year has passed. It is safe to assert that the public today is not so much interested in the meagre results of the Imperial Conference as in the prospects of the C.C.F.

Now a World Economic Conference is meeting in London. Does it seem too fantastic to suggest that perhaps this Convention in Regina may mean more to the people of Canada than the much-heralded and widely reported conclave in London?

What possible ground is there for such a suggestion? May I hasten to say that I am not indifferent to either Imperial or International affairs. Indeed, I believe that Canada cannot enjoy permanent peace and prosperity unless and until the world at large enjoys peace and prosperity. The various nations are so inter-related industrially and financially and socially that they constitute something in the nature of an organism. In this we are all members one of another.

But I also believe that world problems cannot be solved without radical changes in our whole economic and social system. The majority of the nations meeting at London are attempting to stabilize world affairs by stabilizing the present economic system. In our judgment such an effort is futile, predestined to failure. We at Regina are planning to set up in our own little corner of the world a new economic and social system.

We do not advocate "economic nationalism." National isolation—if indeed this is possible—means lowered standards of living; possibly a reversal to barbarism. It is essentially a retrograde movement. But we cannot disregard the existing political set-up. We must start some place. We propose, as far as may be possible, to set our own house in order.

International relations in the past have involved exploitation of the weaker peoples by the stronger, or ruthless commercial competition often resulting in military warfare. We believe that true internationalism must be based upon co-operation and mutuality.

The C.C.F. is essentially a drawing together of the common people. The more intelligent and aggressive members of the Labor movement have rather prided themselves on being "class-conscious", but too often they have been only group conscious and even then their ideas were projected from a mental background quite divorced from Canadian realities. Trade Unionism in itself has been found inadequate. In a country not predominantly industrial a labor party could not unaided hope to obtain power. Further, technological and financial developments demand the adoption of new ideas, new types of organization and a new technique.

The Canadian farmers have inherited an individualistic tradition and formed such a homogeneous bloc that it has been difficult for them to realize their new and wider social relationship. Gradually they have been drawn into the Capitalist machine, and with the depression have found themselves almost as helpless as the city workers. Their efforts at co-operation have been balked by the big interests. Thus from their own angle they have come to recognize the ruthlessness of the Capitalist system.

The small business men and the clerical and professional groups, living in a period of expansion and almost boundless opportunities, have been largely dominated by the ideals of big business. They had considered themselves the leaders in the community life. Now, however, their complacency is gone. The more thoughtful among them are realizing that the only hope for them and for their children lies in the establishment of a new social order.

All of these groups have found a place in the C.C.F. There lies ahead of us the great task of overcoming prejudices, of gaining an understanding of one another's problems and of mobilizing our forces for the common good.

The C.C.F. is undoubtedly a movement of protest born of the discontents of our time; a disgust at the inefficiency of the old parties, and the inadequacy of their policies. But it must be recognized that a merely negative position will get us nowhere. We must develop both a philosophy of life and a constructive programme. Thanks to the pioneers in the Socialist and Co-operative movements we have at least the fundamental principles, on which we may base our teaching with regard to the Co-operative Commonwealth. We do not believe in unchanging social dogma. Society is not static. Knowledge grows, and each age must work out a new and higher synthesis. Such growing knowledge is dependent upon experience and action. Each new development, each new member of our organization should mean a fuller content in our body of Socialist doctrine.

In developing a constructive programme, we face our most difficult task. We are passing through a hitherto untravelled land. We may make mistakes but we must go forward. Given the general direction, we must proceed more or less by the method of trial and error. There are those who would frighten us with the horrible examples of failure in England or Germany or captivate us by idealizing the experiments in Russia. The trouble is that we are inclined to think altogether too much in terms of Europe and in terms of the past.

Undoubtedly we should profit by the experience of other nations and other times, but personally I believe that we in Canada must work out our own salvation in our own way. Socialism has so many variations that we hesitate to use the class name. Utopian Socialism and Christian Socialism, Marxian Socialism and Fabianism, the Latin type, the German type, the Russian type—why not a Canadian type?

Perhaps it is because I am a Canadian of several generations, and have inherited the individualism common to all born on the American continent; yet with political and social ideals profoundly influenced by British traditions and so-called Christian idealism; further with a rather wide and intimate knowledge of the various sections of the Canadian people—in any case, I am convinced that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of Socialism. I refuse to follow slavishly the British model or the American model or the Russian model. We in Canada will solve our problems along our own lines. We have a goodly heritage, not only in natural resources but in pioneer traditions and social equipment. If we have the spirit of our fathers we can overcome the difficulties even of our complex modern world.

The C.C.F. advocates peaceful and orderly methods. In this we distinguish ourselves sharply from the Communist party which envisages the new social order as being ushered in by violent upheaval and the establishment of a dictatorship. The decision as to how Capitalism will be overthrown may of course not lie in our hands. Continued bungling and exploitation, callous disregard of the needs and sufferings of the people, and the exercise of repressive measures may bring either a collapse, or riots, or both. But in Canada we believe it possible to avoid chaos and bloodshed which in some countries have characterized economic and social revolutions.

"Democracy"—the rule of the people—is a much discounted word. Little wonder. The democracy which we have known in this country has been government of the people by party machines for the profiteers. The parliamentary machine is antiquated and its procedure obsolete. Government has functioned largely in the interests of the exploiting classes. The untrained masses are quite unfitted to pass judgment on the complicated problems that face modern executives. But having said this, I must confess that I still believe that the will of the people should prevail. This may appear a hang-over from the high-sounding but empty doctrine of Liberalism. But fundamentally it is sound. An intelligent and alert citizenship is the only guarantee of freedom. Attempted short-cuts, however alluring, offer no real solution.

The growth of the C.C.F. during the past year, as indicated in the report of the Secretary, is indeed remarkable. The publicity has been unprecedented. The mystic letters, "C.C.F." are on everyone's lips. Last year, with one exception, the delegates were all from the Western provinces. This year we welcome many from the East. Indeed, were it not for the time and the expense involved, the Easterners might easily predominate. The C.C.F. has swept tory Toronto almost as a religious revival. The organization is now almost dominion-wide.

Yet our work has only begun. Organization and education must be carried steadily forward. We are fortunate indeed to have had the assistance of the League for Social Reconstruction and trust that they will continue to co-operate with us in research and propaganda work.

Our constitution, as adopted at Calgary, was somewhat sketchy. And properly so. We have been able to adapt ourselves to the varying conditions that prevailed in the different sections of the country. The eight point programme has served its purpose. While we may now be in a position to elaborate this, I am of the opinion that we should set forth general principles and policies rather than attempt to prepare a blueprint of our prospective programme.

Some attention must probably be paid to discipline. While there should be abundant room for individual initiative we cannot afford to allow irresponsible individuals to act in the name of the C.C.F. So with regard to policy. Without overriding personal judgment, we should strive to reach unanimity at least on essentials.

Finances, perhaps, have been our weakest spot. Talk of "financing on a shoe-string!" We began without a dollar—and we have almost held our own! We have had what money could not buy—self-sacrificing service and boundless enthusiasm; a realization that we are working in a great cause and that each must do his bit. That spirit has carried us further than could a big budget.

Your Council has had the opportunity of meeting only three times during the year. Once immediately after the Calgary Convention, once in January, and now just prior to this Convention. Business has had to

be done through correspondence or, indeed, left to the initiative of the members in the various provinces. But all have worked with a will. So also my colleagues in the House and scores of men and women, many of whom are almost unknown and who have given their services without hope of recognition.

Much propaganda has been carried on. Considerable organization has been already effected. As instructed, we present for your consideration a draft constitution and a draft platform—an elaboration of the eight points adopted at the last Convention.

Your President was able to bring the programme of the C.C.F. before Parliament and the Country in a resolution that occasioned one of the outstanding debates of the session, and secured wide publicity. During the year I have travelled from Victoria, B.C., to Sydney, N.S., giving some 200 addresses and organizing in the Eastern provinces. Then correspondence has been very heavy. My personal connections throughout the country, the House of Commons debates, and the numerous lectures and newspaper reports and articles have brought many inquiries which it was not practicable to refer to our Secretary in Calgary. With the setting up of provincial organizations, much of this work can be taken care of locally, but when finances warrant, we should consider the advisability of a central office to carry on research and publicity and to correlate the activities of the various provincial organizations.

May I express my deep appreciation of the confidence which you have expressed in me, in electing me President during the formative stages of an organization that I believe may be an important factor in the public life of Canada. Indeed, ours is more than an organization. It is a movement—a movement that is already producing a goodly fellowship of earnest and capable men and women.

“You have given us new hope”—such was the thanks that came at the close of one of our meetings from a middle-aged, toil-worn woman. “You have given us new hope”—no greater tribute could have been paid. But what a heavy responsibility it laid upon the C.C.F.! We think of the strength and the financial resources of the opposing forces, of the smallness of our own group, of the constitutional difficulties, of the popular ignorance and apathy, and we feel like exclaiming, “Who is sufficient for these things?”

Yet we are confident that we are in the line of progress—that time and tide are with us. If our movement is to be successful, it must bear—as we think it does—something of the character of a religious crusade. Only thus can we overcome the danger of being swayed by personal ambition or by the hope of immediate success. Only thus can we rally the masses to struggle for a better future for themselves and their children.

Before us lies a great opportunity. May we be equal to our task!



PROGRAMME

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

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

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

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist 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 C.C.F. 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 C.C.F. 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 to the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system thus established must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desirable 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, operating on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition or the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

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

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

The management of publicly owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government 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 to-day is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: (1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade; (2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general; (3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations 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 exchange policies.

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

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

Both of the foregoing to have suitable 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 strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her



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

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

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

8.—SOCIALIZED HEALTH SERVICES

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services 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.—B.N.A. ACT

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

We propose that the necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed 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 Resolutions 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 condition of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

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 for providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased Social Services.

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

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

An inevitable defect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The C.C.F. proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment 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 whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain 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, 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. This 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 can not be left in the hands of those steeped in an outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of the new social order.

14.—AN EMERGENCY PROGRAMME

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adop-

tion of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a program 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 program of public expenditure on housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our 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 C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.



CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 1.—NAME:

The name of the organization shall be the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

ARTICLE 2.—OBJECT:

The object of the Federation shall be to co-ordinate the activities of member organizations in order to promote through political action and other appropriate means, 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.

ARTICLE 3.—MEMBERSHIP:

Membership in the Federation shall consist of approved provincial organizations which accept the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Programme.

ARTICLE 4.—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS:

The Federation shall function in each Province through a Provincial Council composed of representatives from the various affiliated organizations.

ARTICLE 5.—POWERS OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS:

Section 1.—Except insofar as this Constitution otherwise provides, the provincial councils shall be charged with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the Federation in their respective provinces.

Section 2.—Any provincial organization wishing to affiliate shall apply to the provincial council in said province, whose decision shall be forwarded to the National Council for acceptance or rejection.

Section 3.—Each provincial council shall adopt such constitution and by-laws and such rules and regulations as local conditions may dictate, provided such constitution and by-laws are not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE 6.—NATIONAL COUNCIL:

Section 1.—The National Council shall consist of the Chairman elected by the Annual Convention, a Secretary-treasurer appointed by the National Council, and three representatives from each province to be elected by the delegates of each province assembled at the Annual Convention.

Section 2.—Any vacancy in the National Council which may occur during the period between conventions shall be filled by the provincial council of the province in which the vacancy occurs.

ARTICLE 7.—POWERS OF NATIONAL COUNCIL:

Section 1.—The National Council shall be charged with the general direction of the affairs of the Federation.

Section 2.—In Provinces where no provincial council has been set up the National Council shall undertake to create organizations who when organized shall apply to the National Council for admittance into affiliation with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation; or should organizations already in existence, or spontaneously springing up, seek to affiliate, they shall apply to the National Council who will accept or reject their application in accordance with Article 3.

Section 3.—In the event of an application for affiliation being rejected by a provincial council, the organization concerned shall have the right to appeal to the National Council whose decision shall be final.

Section 4.—The National Council shall have the power to create a National Executive to be selected from among its members, and such other committees as it may deem necessary, and to delegate to such committees such powers and responsibilities as the National Council may see fit.

ARTICLE 8.—ANNUAL CONVENTION:

Section 1.—There shall be an Annual Convention of the Federation to be held at a time and place selected by the National Council.

Section 2.—The number of delegates to which each province shall be entitled shall be equal to the number of federal constituencies in that province. Members of the National Council shall be ex-officio delegates to the Annual Convention.

Section 3.—Credentials for delegates to the Annual Convention shall be issued through the provincial council.

Section 4.—The Annual Convention may appoint its Chairman and such standing committees as it may deem necessary.

Section 5.—The Annual Convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and shall have final authority in all matters of policy and programme.

ARTICLE 9.—FEES AND DUES:

Section 1.—Each provincial organization shall pay upon being accepted into membership by the National Council an affiliation fee of \$25.00 and shall pay an annual membership due of a like sum each year, thereafter.

Section 2.—Fees and dues payable to the provincial councils shall be within the jurisdiction of such councils.

ARTICLE 10.—DISCIPLINE:

Section 1.—Since it is essential that there be unity of purpose and action throughout the whole structure of the Federation, no individual, group or organization affiliated with the Federation shall pursue any course of action prejudicial to the welfare of the movement.

No member or branch shall publish or circulate literature purporting to be propaganda of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation without the same being approved by the provincial council.

Section 2.—Individual members shall be disciplined by the governing body of the club, association or group to which they belong, with the right of appeal to their provincial council.

Section 3.—The National Council shall be the final court of appeal in regard to any disagreement which may arise between affiliated organizations.

ARTICLE 11.—CANDIDATES:

Section 1.—Since the success of the movement largely depends upon the calibre of the candidates, it is important to obtain only men and women who have a thorough understanding of the principles of the Programme and the underlying philosophy of the movement.

Section 2.—The procedure for the nomination of candidates shall be within the jurisdiction of the provincial councils.

ARTICLE 12.—AMENDMENTS:

This Constitution may be amended at any Annual Convention by a two-thirds vote of all delegates present.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------------|
| CHAIRMAN—James S. Woodsworth, M.P., Winnipeg. | | |
| SECRETARY-TREASURER—Norman F. Priestley, Calgary. | | |
| BRITISH COLUMBIA— | Angus MacInnis, M.P., | Vancouver. |
| | George R. Williams, | Kamloops. |
| | W. A. Pritchard, | Vancouver. |
| ALBERTA— | Robert Gardiner, M.P., | Excel. |
| | William Irvine, M.P., | Wetaskiwin. |
| | Elmer Roper, | Edmonton. |
| SASKATCHEWAN— | Mrs. Sophia Dixon, | Unity. |
| | M. J. Coldwell, | Regina. |
| | George H. Williams, | Semans. |
| MANITOBA— | Miss Beatrice Brigden, | Winnipeg. |
| | John Queen, M.L.A., | Winnipeg. |
| | S. J. Farmer, M.L.A., | Winnipeg. |
| ONTARIO— | Miss A. Macphail, M.P., | Ceylon. |
| | Capt. J. Elmore Philpott, | Bronte. |
| | Thomas Cruden, | Toronto. |
| QUEBEC— | J. L. Whitty, | Montreal. |
| | Ald. Jos. Schubert, | Montreal. |
| | Lloyd Almond, | Montreal. |

EXECUTIVE OF COUNCIL

J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., Chairman, Winnipeg, Man.
Norman F. Priestley, Sec'y-treas., Calgary, Alta.
Robert Gardiner, M.P., Excel, Alta.
George H. Williams, Semans, Sask.
Angus MacInnis, M.P., Vancouver, B.C.
Capt. J. Elmore Philpott, Bronte, Ont.
J. L. Whitty, Montreal, Que.

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