

This party platform is part of a historical collection that was originally collated by D. Owen Carrigan. This unique collection was published by The Copp Clark Publishing Company in 1968 as a book entitled Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968.

We wish to sincerely thank Pearson Ed, the new owners of Copp Clark Publishing Company, for graciously accepting to help preserve this historical document through the POLTEXT website for consultation and use by researchers and students of Canadian history and politics.

Please cite this document as follows:

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. (1949). « Security For All ». In D. Owen Carrigan. 1968. *Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968*, Toronto, ON: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, (168-178).

---

Cette plateforme politique provient d'une compilation historique effectuée par D. Owen Carrigan. Cette collection unique a été publiée par The Copp Clark Publishing Company en 1968 sous le titre Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968.

Nous souhaitons remercier très sincèrement Pearson Ed, les propriétaires actuels de la Copp Clark Publishing Company, d'avoir accepté que ces documents historiques soient conservés sur le site internet de POLTEXT afin que les chercheurs et les étudiants de politique et d'histoire canadiennes puissent les consulter et les utiliser pour des fins de recherche.

Prière de référer au document de la façon suivante :

Parti social-démocratique du Canada. (1949). « Security For All ». In D. Owen Carrigan. 1968. *Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968*, Toronto, ON: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, (168-178).

## Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Platform of 1949

[*Security For All* (Ottawa: C.C.F. National Office, 1949)]

### THIS FOR ALL

In a land of Canada's resources, no person should go without the basic necessities of life. All parties agree; therefore they promise these necessities. But the record of Old Party Government speaks for itself. . . .

Canadians go unhoused. Health plans remain on paper. Social security measures are conceded grudgingly, in a piece-meal, unplanned way.

Meanwhile, every kind of reason is given for broken promises. The constitution stands in the way. The money can't be found.

But these are merely excuses. The Old Parties can't fulfil their promises because those who provide their election funds, and therefore control them, are unwilling to pay the price.

The CCF is free to keep its promises: to plan and provide a comprehensive, well-integrated social security program. It is free because the CCF is financed, and therefore controlled, by tens of thousands of working people who, like the rest of the Canadian people, want and need such a program.

### \* SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security is an essential part of the democratic way of life. Society must provide for the aged, the sick, the disabled, and all those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to provide for themselves. Canada's wealth and resources are sufficient to maintain a high standard of social security; even more so under a CCF government whose economic policies will help to maintain a high rate of production and a high national income.

A comprehensive system of social security has been a basic part of the CCF program since its foundation. A CCF government, in its first term of office, will:

1. To provide for immediate needs:
  - a) Increase the old age pension to \$50 a month, payable at the age of 65, without means test.
  - b) Increase the pensions of the blind to the same amount.
  - c) Continue the payment of family allowances for children from sixteen to twenty-one, as long as they remain at school or college.

2. To build social security for all:

Work out with the co-operation of the provinces, and proceed as rapidly as possible to establish, a comprehensive and well-integrated system of social security measures to cover health services and sick benefits, old age pensions, disability pensions, blind pensions, allowances for widowed mothers and orphans, family allowances, maternity benefits and unemployment benefits.

a) There will be established a social security minimum below which none will be allowed to fall, and benefit for all categories will be related to it.

b) The Dominion shall have financial responsibility for family allowances, old age pensions, blind persons, unemployment and sickness benefits, and the care of the employable unemployed.

c) The Dominion will co-operate with the provinces in instituting a comprehensive health scheme and will provide a major part of the finances necessary for the purpose.

d) The province will continue to have jurisdiction over mothers' allowances, benefits to orphans, workmen's compensation, rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, assistance to unemployables and other groups in need of assistance. The Dominion, however, will provide grants-in-aid to ensure a uniform and adequate minimum across the country.

e) The Dominion will provide financial assistance for extension of facilities for the training of social welfare workers.

This comprehensive and integrated social security scheme will be financed in part by a social security contribution levied upon income recipients, and in part from consolidated revenue.

### \* HEALTH

The CCF believes that the Federal Government should take the leadership in, and assume the major responsibility for, the establishment in Canada of a comprehensive health service, which will provide for all citizens full hospital, medical, dental and optical care, irrespective of their income.

The provinces have not the financial resources required for a comprehensive health plan, although they are best suited to administer such a plan. The federal government, however, can find the necessary additional funds through a social security contribution and from its general revenue. It should also give the necessary leadership and set the pattern and standards. A federal CCF government will accept and carry out these responsibilities.



The CCF national health scheme will involve, in co-operation with the provincial governments, the planning, organization and financing of Local Health Regions in every part of Canada as the local unit of health administration. Each region will be fully equipped to give the people all preventive and curative medical and other services.

The CCF realizes that the present lack of personnel—doctors, dentists, nurses, specialists and technicians, is a major handicap in the establishment of any comprehensive health plan, as is also the inadequacy of hospital accommodation. A Federal CCF Government will therefore provide for the extension of training facilities, scholarships and bursaries to ensure that sufficient professional and skilled personnel become available to meet the increased demands of the national health services. Through generous loans and grants to provinces and local health regions, it will initiate an extensive program of hospital construction. Steps will be taken to encourage the location of more medical personnel in rural areas. Encouragement will be given to the expansion of medical research and to its greater co-ordination throughout the country.

No such comprehensive health system can be established over night. A CCF Government will, however, start on this program immediately and carry it forward as rapidly as possible.

Priority will be given to the provision of universal free care for such groups as old age pensioners and others in need, and for cases such as cancer, tuberculosis, blindness, mental illness, crippled children and maternity care.

## HOUSING

The essential nature of Canada's grave and increasing housing shortage and its disastrous effects on Canadian lives, have been referred to in innumerable official and public documents and reports, and the basic conditions for the solution of the problem have been frequently stated in resolutions of the CCF. The time for action, instead of further analyses and reports, is long overdue.

Clearly, private enterprise, although backed by many different forms of government guarantees and assistance, has failed to meet the need for decent shelter for two-thirds of the Canadian people. Only public enterprise, through a subsidized low-rental housing program on a large scale, can meet that need. This will involve co-operation, among all levels of government in Canada.

A Federal CCF Government will assume its

responsibilities to initiate as well as to finance a low-rental and low-cost housing program in both town and country, and to provide subsidies where necessary. By the reduction of interest charges through government financing, by the economies of large scale construction and bulk purchasing, and by action to reduce the high costs of materials and to eliminate bottlenecks in supply, the cost of housing can be substantially reduced.

The CCF will, in its national housing program, encourage long-range financial and community planning, and will amend the National Housing Act so as to assist housing co-operatives.

## THIS FOR PRODUCERS

Who produces the wealth of Canada? The bankers? The financiers? The corporation directors? Or the workers?

Of course, the workers! They comprise the great majority of the Canadian people—on the farms; in factories, logging camps and mines; in offices; on the fishing banks. By their skills and the sweat of their brow, they produce the wealth of this nation.

The CCF will take special steps to protect the producers.

They will be encouraged to safeguard their own interests through trade unions and co-operatives. They will be assisted through legislation to get stabilized prices and orderly marketing, such as the farmers and fishermen have long sought.

In brief, they will be assured of their fair share of the fruits of their labour.

## AGRICULTURE

The aims of the CCF agricultural program are two-fold. First, to protect the farmer against the insecurity, fluctuations in income and low returns which have been the dominant features of Canadian agriculture in the past. Second, to improve productivity and efficiency on the farms so as to provide adequate supplies of nutritional foods for the Canadian people and the maximum for export.

The CCF therefore proposes:

1. A system of guaranteed or forward prices. Minimum prices will be established well ahead of the planting or breeding season to enable farmers to plan their production in advance without worrying about market fluctuations.

2. Enactment of a National Marketing Act, and the establishment, with producer and con-



sumer representation, of marketing boards for all agricultural products which enter into inter-provincial or export trade.

3. Orderly world marketing based on long-term international agreements.

4. Assistance in the development of co-ops, commodity groups and other farm organizations for orderly marketing.

5. Elimination of speculation in the marketing of foods.

6. Adoption of the "ever normal granary" principle. The Federal Government will assume the major responsibility for financing the storage of sufficient feed and seed grains to ensure a continuous supply. It will also construct strategic storage facilities itself and will assist provincial and local governments as well as farmers to build supplementary facilities in all appropriate areas.

7. Freeing the farmers from the domination of private monopolies by a program of public and co-operative ownership in such fields as farm machinery, fertilizers and meat-packing.

8. A program of crop insurance in co-operation with the provinces, applied in the first instance to such commodities as wheat, coarse grains and flax, to be extended to other crops such as fruit and potatoes, as detailed records of production are built up.

9. Long-term credit to farmers at cost of service.

10. Extension of the principle of PFRA to all parts of Canada, and a vigorous program, in co-operation with the provinces, of:—

- (1) Soil conservation,
- (2) Irrigation and similar projects,
- (3) Drainage,
- (4) Reforestation,
- (5) Flood control.

11. In co-operation with the provinces, the construction of better rural housing, with modern conveniences, for farmers and farm workers, and assistance in providing rural electrification, health services and community centres with facilities for recreation, adult education and social activities.

12. Extension of research services to improve and advance agricultural production, to assist in the fight against crop and animal diseases and pests, and to stimulate industrial use of farm products.

13. Co-operation with the provinces to ensure security of tenure on the farm.

This comprehensive program for Canadian agriculture will be closely related to progress in the rest of the economy. Thus industrial expansion and full employment, together with a vigorous, planned international trade program, will guaran-

tee increased demand and a good price for farm products on the domestic and in the export markets. The socialization of some major industries such as steel, farm machinery, packing and fertilizer, will keep the farmer's costs at a reasonable level. National housing and health programs and a national social security system will raise the living standards of the farm people as they will those of city workers. For the first time it will become possible, through parity prices for farm products, to guarantee the farmer a fair share of the national income and a fair relationship between his returns and his costs.

## LABOUR

The Labour Act introduced by the Federal Government and adopted by Parliament in 1948, falls far short of protecting organized labour against anti-union employers.

The CCF re-affirms its determination to introduce genuine, nation-wide collective bargaining legislation, and will co-operate with the provinces in its administration.

The CCF Code will:

1. Guarantee labour the right to organize and to obtain union security in all public as well as private enterprises;
2. Streamline conciliation procedure so as to expedite the peaceful settlement of disputes;
3. Outlaw company unions and provide effective sanctions against violations of the provisions of the Act.

The CCF federal labour code will also cover the following fields, setting national minimum standards in them, but leaving to the provinces the power to set higher standards:

Maximum hours of labour—Minimum wages to give the worker and his family an adequate standard of living—Minimum age of employment—Vacations with pay—Equal pay for equal work.

The CCF will take steps to secure any constitutional amendments that may be required to carry out this policy.

## FISHING

Like agriculture, the fishing industry suffers from a basic insecurity, CCF policy is aimed at protecting the industry against wasteful exploitation and against the market fluctuations of our present economy, and to raise the standard of living of the fisherman and his family.

Therefore the CCF proposes:

1. A guaranteed minimum price to the fisher-



man to assure him a decent standard of living.

2. Protection of the fisherman's equity in his boat and gear.

3. Establishment of co-operative and publicly-owned fish packing, processing and quick-freezing plants, and wholesale distributing facilities.

4. The provision of credit to fishermen at the cost of service.

5. Marketing boards, representative of producer and consumer, for the improved grading and marketing of fish products.

6. Export and import boards for the regulation and encouragement of Canada's foreign trade in fish as in other commodities.

7. An extensive program of scientific development and conservation of Canadian fisheries and research in using and marketing species of fish now discarded.

8. Legislation to extend Dominion control of the continental shelf resources in line with recent legislation by the United States and Mexico.

9. Action to extend to fishing communities modern standards of living by a program of housing, electrification and health services.

## FOR FULL PRODUCTION

The CCF is often accused of being doctrinaire. In reality, CCF critics are the doctrinaires.

They believe in the doctrine of free enterprise, complete and uncontrolled—no matter what the results. They persist in this belief in spite of our experience in peace and war; free enterprise has not, and cannot meet the people's needs.

In light of this experience, the CCF believes that some parts of the economy must be brought under public ownership. Some more are suited for co-operative ownership. In a federal state like Canada, many resources can be developed only through the combined efforts of Dominion and provincial governments. Finally, there are large areas which can best be left to private enterprise.

The CCF is determined to build a working balance of all these methods. It believes that each should be used where most effective to achieve the fullest possible production.

## SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

The purpose of bringing any industry under social ownership is to increase the freedom and welfare of all the Canadian people. By social ownership the CCF does not mean only ownership by the federal government. On the contrary, the CCF has always recognized that, owing to the federal nature of the Canadian constitution,

there are many fields in which provincial and municipal ownership is the most appropriate form. And, in particular, the CCF has always emphasized co-operative ownership as a highly desirable form of social ownership, in view of the opportunities for direct participation by the people which co-operatives present.

The CCF program, therefore, comprises all these forms of social ownership—federal, provincial, municipal and co-operative. The program outlines the policy for a CCF federal government, and is therefore concerned mainly with federal socialization. But in every possible and appropriate case, a federal CCF government will vigorously assist provincial, municipal and co-operative ownership as well.

It cannot be too often emphasized that the CCF regards socialization of industry as a means to an end, and not an end in itself. It believes in social ownership and economic planning because only through such policies can we lay the basis in Canada for a much greater freedom and security for the individual and his family than exist today.

Social ownership will free the people from the power of private monopoly. It will make possible a higher standard of living through increased production and lower prices. It is an essential part of any plan for maintaining full employment and for providing a fairer distribution of wealth. In some cases socialization may also be necessary to restore efficiency to a disorganized and undeveloped industry.

## Assistance to Provinces for Public Development of Resources

Provincial governments bear the main responsibility for the use and development of the natural resources under their jurisdiction. In many cases, such as raw materials, oil, coal and forests, this can best be done by crown companies or some other form of public ownership. These developments, however, may well be of such magnitude as to strain the finances of the provinces, who would, if unaided, be forced to alienate these resources into the hands of private monopolists.

The federal government should—and a CCF government will—be prepared to join as a partner in these enterprises and to provide a part of the capital required so as to ensure for the people of Canada a greater control over their natural wealth.

A recent opportunity to apply this policy was lost when the federal government refused to join the government of Saskatchewan in the public development of the potash resources of that province. The Steep Rock and Ungava iron ore



developments in Ontario and Quebec are major recent examples of the wanton alienation of vital Canadian resources to powerful private interests—interests controlled outside Canada at that.

### Co-operative Ownership

The growth of the co-operative movement in Canada has the full backing of the CCF which, in Parliament and throughout the country, has fought to protect co-operatives from every attempt to tax or to limit their activities. Although co-operative ownership is not government ownership, the CCF views it as a most desirable method of producing, processing and distributing many of our basic commodities. A CCF federal government will encourage and assist co-operative development in all appropriate spheres, and will remove federal taxation on patronage dividends of co-operative enterprise.

### The Role of Private Enterprise

The application of these measures of socialization will considerably extend the area of public business under social and co-operative ownership. But it will also leave a large section of business in private hands. In order to achieve effective production and distribution in both the public and in the private sectors of the economy, a CCF government will help and encourage private business to fulfil its legitimate functions.

Experience has shown that where public business flourishes, private business thrives also. The private trader or industrialist freed from the domination of industrial and financial monopolies, will have a better chance to exercise his enterprise and initiative, to earn a fair rate of return and to make his contribution to the nation's wealth.

### TO BREAK MONOPOLY'S GRIP

Our economic life is dominated by powerful interests, working together through inter-locking directorates, answerable to no one but themselves, guided by profit rather than the welfare of the Canadian people.

As long as this stranglehold of monopoly is not broken, economic planning, full employment and social security are pipe-dreams.

The CCF will bring these powerful interests under public control through socialization and co-operative ownership.

With such control secured for the people of Canada through the parliament of their choice, it will be possible to extend democratic principles into our economic life. Today Canada is a politi-

cal democracy. But economically, the country is ruled by a dictatorship of privilege.

The CCF aim and purpose is to break this economic dictatorship and to build a widening economic democracy which will safeguard and enrich our political freedoms.

### TRANSPORTATION

Transportation is the most important public utility in Canada. In our country of vast distances and widely separated communities, economic and efficient transportation for the bulky primary products of the land, mine and forest, is also a factor in linking our various economic regions into one great nation. Narrow profit considerations and lack of a comprehensive transportation policy, have helped to produce a complicated and inequitable freight rate structure that has created bitter dissensions between different parts of the country.

An overall transportation policy based on broad considerations of national interest would integrate, as far as possible, rail, road, water and air services, establish non-discriminatory freight rate scales as a part of the whole transportation plan. The CCF will bring the CPR under public ownership without displacing operating personnel or interfering with seniority, pension or other rights of the employees. The maintenance in employment until pensionable age, of all those regularly employed by the CPR, CNR and other Canadian railways at the time the CPR is brought under public ownership, will be guaranteed by the CCF. It will provide all transport workers with greater economic security.

The CCF will also provide federal financial aid to the provinces for highways of national and international importance, including a trans-Canada highway system.

### IRON AND STEEL

A constant flow of iron and steel and their products is essential to every other industry in the country. Even a capitalistic government has found that large subsidies and continued control are essential to protect the public against the policies of the private owners of the iron and steel industry. The development of many Canadian industries has been continually hampered by shortages of iron and steel which are aggravated by the unplanned use of our resources, by lack of integration in industry and by bad labour relations.

In view of these factors, a CCF government will adopt, in co-operation with the provinces, a policy of socialization in this basic field, begin-



ning with the ores used by the industry and with primary steel production.

#### FUEL AND POWER

Socialization must also be considered in relation to a national fuel policy. Such a fuel policy is lamentably lacking at present. A comprehensive plan could have avoided the serious fuel shortages which have developed in the past. Social ownership of fuel resources and electric power is primarily within provincial jurisdiction, but the provinces need the assistance of the federal government in respect of research, exploration, subsidies, freight rates, interprovincial oil and gas pipe lines, and related matters.

A CCF government will formulate a national fuel policy and will promote public ownership of coal, electricity, gas and oil in co-operation with the provinces, so that these essential reserves of power may be used to the best advantage of the whole economy.

#### INDUSTRY VITAL TO AGRICULTURE

The agricultural industry is of fundamental importance both from the economic and the social point of view. Since the ownership of agricultural land is widely distributed among individual farmers, the CCF has always opposed the nationalization of land. Several major industries of vital concern to agriculture, however, have fallen under monopoly control or are managed by private owners whose interests conflict with sound agricultural policy. The *Farm Implement industry* is a notorious example of high costs and inefficient organization. *Meat Packing* is another field where both the farmer and the consumer interests, have often been shamefully exploited. Monopoly control of *fertilizers and other agricultural chemicals* has exercised an undue influence over agricultural costs and development.

A CCF government will apply a policy of social ownership so as to break the monopoly power of these industries, increase their efficiency, and subordinate them to the dominant needs of the farmers and consumers whom they exist to serve.

#### ARTERIES OF PROSPERITY

Money and trade are the economic life-blood of the nation. When they dry up, we have depression. When they flow freely, we prosper.

One dollar in every three comes from what we sell abroad. In the new world which is emerging, trade will be more and more between govern-

ments. If we do not bring our trading practices up to date in this respect, we shall endanger our export markets, and with them our prosperity.

At home, the flow of credit and investment must be tied in with the overall planning of the economy. It is not safe to leave any major part of it to irresponsible promoters and to private banking interests.

Therefore, in the interests of the welfare and prosperity of the Canadian people, the CCF will socialize the private banks and set up democratic machinery for controlling investment.

This is another major step in the CCF program of building economic democracy in Canada.

#### CONTROL OF INVESTMENT

Lack of planning of, and fluctuations in, investment and capital development have been mainly responsible for the periodic booms and depressions of the past. The CCF believes that this cannot be overcome except by economic planning and regulation of investments.

A CCF government will therefore establish a National Planning Commission and a National Investment Board, both responsible to Parliament through the appropriate ministers. One of their main functions will be to determine social priorities and promote the most beneficial timing and location of both public and private investment. Thus the investments of the government and of the socialized banking system, as well as of large private investors, such as insurance, mortgage and trust companies and big industrial corporations, will be co-ordinated to ensure:

- 1) that full employment is maintained at all times;

- 2) that priority is given to the most socially desirable projects, such as housing, and that the least urgent projects are deferred;

- 3) that some influence is exercised over the location of new industries, so that distressed areas, such as the Maritimes, can be assisted to economic recovery.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF BANKS

Public Ownership of Chartered Banks is vital to proper control over national investment policies, price levels, and over the expansion, contraction and direction of credit. Public ownership of the central bank alone is not enough. It cannot adequately control the amount of credit and is entirely unable to direct investment into the most desirable channels. Yet these powers are essential to promote economic development, maintain full em-



ployment and achieve a greater measure of stability.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Because foreign trade is a major factor in Canada's economy, it cannot be left to the mercy of private speculators or the uncertain and unfair controls of tariffs and excise taxes. Only direct public regulation of Canada's basic exports can stabilize our foreign trade, eliminate exploitation of producer and consumer, and stabilize prices for our export commodities.

The CCF will, therefore, establish Import and Export Boards, responsible to the government and parliament, in the following basic fields:

Grains and Grain Products;

Livestock and Livestock Products;

Timber Products;

Minerals such as nickel, copper, asbestos and aluminum;

Coal;

Fresh Fruits and Vegetables.

#### TO STRENGTHEN THE NATION

National unity cannot be built by slogans and symbols alone.

National unity must be built on respect for the dignity of individual Canadians; and on a basic equality of opportunity and security for all Canadians, no matter where they live or what their income.

For those parts of Canada, such as the Maritimes, which have been reduced to depressed areas by the exploitation and neglect of capitalism, the CCF will take special steps to rebuild their economies.

A major objective of the B.N.A. Act has been to guarantee the historic rights of all Canadians, and of the provinces in the fields of language, culture, religion and education. These rights the CCF is determined to protect.

But there are other constitutional provisions which are an obstacle to equality of opportunity and economic security. These will be amended to bring the constitution into line with the needs of the Canadian people today.

#### EDUCATION

A dynamic educational system is of vital importance to a democracy and to the democratic way of life. Its purpose should be to discover and develop the capacities of every individual and to prepare every man and woman to play their part

in, and make their contribution to, a free society.

While recognizing that education is rightly under provincial jurisdiction, a CCF government, in its first term of office, will collaborate with the provinces to provide and equalize educational opportunities for all Canadian children. It will make every effort to make sufficient funds available to help the provinces to:

1. Ensure that the necessary schools and colleges are built and equipped.

2. Provide, by scholarships and otherwise, financial assistance to deserving students.

3. Assure teachers an adequate salary.

4. Assist adult education programs on a broad scale.

5. Encourage musical and dramatic art, the arts and crafts, and assist recreational and physical fitness programs.

#### A NEW DEAL FOR THE MARITIMES

The Maritime Provinces, though rich in natural resources, have been condemned to economic stagnation and serious unemployment in the post-war years, as they were in the pre-war period. The surrender of responsibility and control by Ottawa after the war, left the economic development of this region to private enterprise, much of which is represented by large corporations whose chief interest and markets are in Central Canada. The result has been to retard the economic growth of the Maritime region and to continue a system of exploitation and waste that is both intolerable and unnecessary.

The CCF is determined that the treatment of the Maritimes as a poor relation of Confederation must cease. The answer will not be found in the payment of higher subsidies to inefficient private corporations. It will be found in the development of new industries and resources as a positive social policy, and in directing the location of industry and investment to make certain that Maritime opportunities are not sacrificed to the profit claims of big business in Central Canada.

Though the chief responsibility rests with the provincial governments, a federal CCF government will undertake a special survey of Maritime needs and resources as part of its national economic planning. It will co-operate with provincial authorities to assist in the establishment of suitable industries based on the forests, fisheries, mines and other resources of the Maritimes. It will improve the communications within the region so as to open new areas to development and to promote tourist trade. It will aid in geological surveys, conservation measures for soil and forest, and in



other ways necessary to long-range planning and prosperity.

CCF policy will be directed to opening up new wealth and new opportunities for the Maritime people, to end regional unemployment and the consequent depletion of the youth of these provinces, and to raise the whole standard of living of the area to one comparable with the best in Canada.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

In the solution of the grave problems that face us, both Dominion and Provincial governments have a vital and necessary part to play. But the present constitutional division of powers and responsibilities makes it impossible for either jurisdiction to serve the people's interests effectively. There are many fields vital to the welfare of Canada in which the provinces have the power but lack the resources to do anything, while the Dominion has the resources but lacks the power. The result is that the people suffer; only the monopolies benefit from this confusion of legislative powers.

The CCF believes that the present situation, created by a series of court decisions, is contrary to the expressed intention of the Fathers of Confederation. The principle which was agreed upon in 1867 should be restored; all matters of general national importance should belong to the national parliament, and matters of a local nature to the legislatures of the provinces.

A proper and just redistribution of powers and responsibilities will not reduce but, on the contrary, will enhance the value and importance of the provinces in the Canadian confederation. Freed from immense responsibilities which the provinces cannot fulfil, they will have more finances and more freedom to carry out those which are within their capacity: education, cultural development, care of the needy, a modern social welfare program, development of provincial resources, and the like. On the other hand, the Federal Parliament must have the necessary powers to plan for full employment and continuous prosperity.

Therefore, subject to full constitutional guarantees for existing minority, religious and cultural rights, and in the light of the needs outlined above, the B.N.A. Act should be amended to give the federal parliament power:

1) To establish a national labour code covering collective bargaining, wages and hours, minimum age of employment, and vacations with pay, with the provinces retaining concurrent jurisdiction to

raise standards above the minimum standards established in this code.

2) To regulate trade and commerce, particularly with respect to prices and interprovincial marketing. This power, assigned to the Federal Parliament in the present B.N.A. Act, has been partially destroyed by court decisions and urgently requires restatement in clearer and more modern terms.

3) To implement international treaties and conventions.

In addition, the CCF will enact a Bill of Rights for Canada, will end appeals to the Privy Council, will adopt a Canadian Flag and Canadian National Anthem, will abolish the Senate, and will give the Canadian people the power to amend their own constitution.

#### FOR A DEMOCRATIC WORLD

"The blind fear of another world war must be translated into dynamic social action which will bring to a war-torn and hungry world the bread, the freedom and the peace which are the right of all its people."

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The CCF believes that the very seriousness of the world situation demands redoubled efforts by all democratic forces to put an end to war hysteria and to promote constructive policies which can build a basis for peace.

*United Nations.* In spite of all the difficulties which face the United Nations, it remains the only overall instrument for co-operation among the nations of the world. Therefore the CCF will continue to give wholehearted support to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Further, the CCF believes that steps should be taken to develop the United Nations into an effective organ of government at the international level.

*European Recovery Program.* The CCF welcomes and supports the European Recovery Program, since without help from the United States there was no hope of rebuilding the war-torn economies of Europe. The CCF deeply regret that the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe rejected this opportunity of joining with the rest of Europe in this program. By that refusal the gulf between the east and west has been deepened, and another chance lost for establishing a firm economic foundation for European peace.

The joint program for the co-operative alloca-



tion and use of resources by the 16 nations of Western Europe represents the kind of international economic planning which socialists have long sought. But the CCF joins with democratic socialist parties in other countries in their determination that ERP "must not interfere with the democratic right of the European peoples to control and determine their own social and economic policies." Further, Canada should be ready to make her contribution to the success of this program and to the rebuilding of Europe.

*Western European Union.* The reconstruction of western Europe as a political and economic unit on democratic socialist principles provides a positive alternative to the economic tyranny of monopoly capitalism on one hand, and the political tyranny of totalitarian dictatorship on the other. Such a union will fill the present power vacuum in Western Europe, and thus reduce the dangers of Soviet-American conflict in that area. But this developing Western European Union is not and must not be, a mere military alliance. Canada should take a lead in filling the power vacuum between the United States and the Soviet Union by encouraging closer economic union between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the nations of Western Europe by planned use of natural resources and planned trade.

*Disarmament and Atomic Energy.* The CCF reaffirms its belief that national armaments should be replaced by an international police force under the United Nations. The development of atomic energy must be placed under international control with adequate powers of inspection and provision for the punishment of violators. Further, international control should be extended to cover bacteriological and other means of mass destruction.

*Peace Treaties.* The CCF believes that until peace treaties are signed, every effort must be made to maintain and reconstruct the economies of Germany and Austria in a manner that will make possible both an immediate improvement in living standards and the eventual unification of Germany as a democratic state. Should the Council of Foreign Ministers fail to end the present deadlock, then Canada should ask that a peace conference be called by the United Nations for the purpose of achieving a settlement. Likewise, Canada should demand early action toward drafting a peace treaty with Japan.

In international policy generally, the CCF will resolutely resist any attempt either by the forces of communism or those of capitalism, to dominate

the world. It will continue to fight against totalitarian dictatorship of every kind, whether it comes from the so-called Left or from the capitalist Right.

The further destruction of democracy must be prevented by every appropriate means at the present time. But communism and other totalitarian forces will not be stopped by verbal denunciations and hysterical war propaganda. The best defence of democracy lies in social justice and in respect for fundamental freedoms.

In the international field, we must encourage economic planning and co-operation between the democratic nations of the western world, as a base on which a free and just society may be built. It is significant that, in spite of political differences, trade between the east and west is being expanded. A democratic union of western nations need not prevent, but should make more possible, a growth of trade and other relations with the eastern block.

The blind fear of another World War must be translated into dynamic social action which will bring to a war-torn and hungry world the bread, the freedom and the peace which are the right of all its peoples.

#### COST OF LIVING

This convention commends our members of Parliament for their splendid fight to have price controls continued, and condemns the government for its headlong decontrol policy which is primarily responsible for the record-breaking increases in the cost of living. We note with satisfaction that the government has seen fit to restore control of bread prices which is a clear, if belated, admission that this control should never have been abandoned. Controls on other essentials are equally necessary.

This convention therefore urges the government to call an immediate session of Parliament to reconsider the adoption of the CCF price control proposals rejected by the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit parties during the emergency session of December, 1947. The adoption of the CCF proposals at that time would have checked the sharp price increases which have occurred since then. These proposals today are as sound and urgent as they were then. This convention reaffirms its conviction that the following minimum program should and must be adopted:

1. Re-imposition of price controls on all basic necessities of life: food, clothing and fuel, specifically including subsidies on milk, butter, feed grains, cotton and wool, as well as bread, and on



such articles as enter into the cost of production of farmers and fishermen.

2. Renewal of an excess profits tax graded to remove past inequities, to raise revenues sufficient at least to pay for the price controls program.

3. Closing of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, and the elimination of all speculation in food.

#### OLEOMARGARINE

Recognizing that dairy farming is one of the mainstays of the Canadian farm economy; and also that an adequate supply of bread spread at prices the consumer can afford must be provided;

The CCF proposes:

1. The stabilization of the dairy industry, thereby encouraging butter production, by:

- a) a long-term program related to farm production costs;
- b) regional marketing of all milk produced, through producer co-operative pools;
- c) direct sale of milk by the pool according to demand and prices in various markets, e.g., fluid milk, cheese, concentration plants, creameries;
- d) Payment to the producer for milk according to grade and not according to ultimate use;
- e) Joint producer-consumer storage co-operatives, so that surpluses will accrue to these groups instead of profits going to speculators.

2. The payment of a subsidy to reduce the price of butter to the consumer.

3. The importance of New Zealand butter, if and when Canadian butter production is inadequate.

4. The importation and manufacture of margarine exclusively by a crown company, so that the quantity, quality and price may be regulated according to the needs of the dairy industry and the consumer.

#### FREIGHT RATES

Resolved that the unfair discrimination on freight rates, which creates a hardship in Western Canada and the Maritimes, be eliminated.

Resolved that revenues from railway investments, and especially those having their basis on grants of our crown lands, should be taken into consideration in fixing freight rates.

#### IMMIGRATION

A more generous immigration policy is desirable both for humanitarian reasons, in view of

the situation in Europe, and for our own economic welfare.

Therefore, the CCF urges:

A federal immigration policy and program which shall admit many more people and have due regard for the needs of the Canadian economy as a whole;

And further, that the standards of employment for those admitted as immigrants, wages and hours and conditions of work, shall not be less than those in effect for other Canadians;

And that adequate facilities be provided for the education of both immigrants and displaced persons, and that they be encouraged to become Canadian citizens.

#### NO COLLABORATION WITH COMMUNISTS

Statement of CCF National Council:

The CCF will not collaborate with the Labor-Progressive Party in any way, direct or indirect. It will not enter into any electoral arrangements with it or with any other party, whether on a national, provincial, or constituency basis.

There is a fundamental difference between the CCF methods and philosophy and those of the Communists. We have always opposed, and oppose today, every form of dictatorship, including Communist dictatorship. We abhor Communist methods in crushing political opposition whenever and wherever Communists become the dominant force in a country.

We know that at bottom the Communists have not changed their views about the CCF and democratic socialism. They have always declared democratic socialist movements to be their principal enemy and their ultimate objective is to "liquidate" such movements as the CCF.

The present Communist policy is therefore just a manoeuvre. The CCF will have nothing to do with it.

*This statement was re-confirmed by the following Convention resolution:*

Whereas the LPP seeks the establishment of an authoritarian society;

And whereas the CCF seeks the establishment of a democratic and socialist society;

And whereas the present LPP proposal of electoral collaboration with the CCF is dictated solely by tactical considerations and will not detract from the efforts of the LPP to bring about the destruction of the CCF;

Therefore be it resolved that the Convention confirm the statements already made on behalf



of the CCF, that the CCF will not collaborate with the LPP in any manner whatsoever.

#### Co-OPERATIVES

Whereas the Royal Commission on Co-operatives reported a "widespread desire that a co-operative Act be placed on the statute book," this convention urges the adoption of a federal co-operative act to embody in part:

- a) a definition of what constitutes a co-operative;
- b) the regulation of the use of the name "co-operative" in connection with business ventures;
- c) the provision of "uniformity" in co-operative organization and practice.

Further, this convention supports the demands of the Canadian co-operative movement for:

- a) the repeal of the 3% provision which forces co-ops to pay taxes at least on a minimum income based on capital;
- b) the allowances of limited tax-free contingency reserves.

#### RENT CONTROL

Whereas the lifting of domestic rent controls would most certainly cause rents to skyrocket, thereby bringing more hardships on an already over-burdened populace;

Be it resolved that domestic rent control should remain in force so as to prevent unjustified increases in rent.

#### TAXATION

*Income Tax.* Those who can hardly afford the bare necessities of life, should not be required to pay income tax. Further, the way in which the tax is now administered, produces many injustices and unnecessary difficulties, particularly for primary producers and small business people. The CCF will, therefore, make the following changes:

- 1. Exemptions for single persons to be raised to \$1250 and for married couples to \$2500.
- 2. Improve the administration and increase the personnel of the Department in order,
  - a) to simplify the tax forms;
  - b) to provide machinery and assistance for the use of taxpayers in completing their forms and calculating their taxes;
  - c) to give every taxpayer final clearance on his assessment within 12 months. (At present assessments are in many cases delayed several years, with the result that some tax-

payers suddenly find themselves owing taxes that have piled up for years. The CCF will eliminate this insecurity.)

3. The principle of exemptions for basic livestock herds be written into the law, rather than left to departmental regulation.

4. Relieve farmer of responsibility for deducting tax of hired man at source.

5. Farmer and labour representation on Income Tax Appeal Board.

*Sales Tax.* Abolition of sales tax on necessities of life and progressive reduction on other commodities.

### Labor-Progressive Platform of 1949

[*Dominion Election Platform* (Toronto: Labor-Progressive Party, 1949)]

The coming federal elections give the Canadian people a chance to speak their minds. Since the end of the war the people have looked in vain to the government in power for even the most meagre fulfilment of postwar promises. In vain have the people demanded that the major parties heed the people's needs and stop serving the profiteers. During the present "cold war" the people have looked in vain to the three major parties for willingness to work for world peace. The Liberals, Tories, CCF right wing leaders, Social Credit leaders and the Duplessis group serve only the selfish interests who are building the Frankenstein of preparation for a new world war.

And now in the elections the people can speak. They can answer the politicians in the language they understand—the pressure of the people's will.

High prices mean high profits. The Big Money boys are richer than ever before. But our living standards, our homes, the people's health, are sacrificed.

Giant Wall Street monopolies of industry and finance—and their Canadian partners—know no limit to their greed for profit. They are the glut-tions of privilege. They have a vested interest in war. At home their profiteering is leading to an economic crisis with all the losses and dire hardships it will bring upon the masses of the people.

Big Business is out to gain control of all the oil and raw materials and all the markets of the world. Yankee imperialism and their Canadian stooges are crushing Canadian democracy and