

THE NEW PARTY

DRAFT

PROGRAM

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW PARTY Room 200, 301 Metcalfe St., Ottawa 4 May, 1961



LP 15012.1761.10222a

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# FOREWORD

Sixteen months ago the National Committee for the New Party published a study paper on the New Party Program. In response to the invitation that went with it, hundreds of suggestions, amendments and other proposals were received from individuals, study groups and seminars across the nation.

This Draft Program is the product of careful study and consideration by the National Committee of all the suggestions made. It is now presented in the form in which it will go before the Founding Convention in Ottawa on July 31st to August 4th, 1961. That body, and that body alone, will be the final authority in adopting the New Party's Program.

The National Committee for the New Party is publishing this document well in advance of the Convention to ensure that all parties interested in the New Party development will have ample opportunity to study it and to propose amendments.

Amendments to this document and other resolutions related to the Program will be accepted from all groups entitled to send delegates to the Founding Convention, and must be in the hands of the National Committee by June 16th, 1961.

Amendments and resolutions may be sent by;

- (a) Trade Union Locals to: Canadian Labour Congress, Political Education Department, 100 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa 4, Ontario.
- (b) CCF Constituency Associations to: CCF National Office, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario.
- (c) New Party Clubs to: New Party Clubs, Room 200, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario.

# A PEOPLE, A PROMISE, A PLAN

Canada is a land of abundant promise, a nation rich in her people, seeking a way to fulfill her future. That way must be a new one. For this purpose the New Party is founded: <u>that Canadians</u> may achieve a fully free and just society in which all citizens participate, and all share equitably in its fruits.

The old concept that wealth is might and might is right is outdated. Distorting true human values, it fosters dangerous extremes of opulence and misery both at home and abroad.

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Patching up the old system cannot change its basic concept. Canada needs new ways, coupled with a new and higher purpose. The New Party, dedicated to these objectives, stands for the application of moral principles to our social goals.

Offering Canadians the opportunity to rebuild their society along new lines, the New Party will carefully and intelligently <u>plan</u> the best use of our human and material resources for the public good. It will advance the rights and dignity of every citizen; to each it will ensure a fair share of the nation's wealth and an equal opportunity to develop his talents to the full.

In this rapidly changing world, greater achievements at home can be countenanced in good conscience only when matched by an urgent concern for needy peoples abroad. The peace of the world depends on a recognition of this duty; the preservation and advancement of our democratic institutions rest upon it. The New Party presents international policies which will play a decisive part in the promotion of a true and lasting peace.

This, then, is the New Party plan and its pledge to achieve it. The abundance is there. So, too, are the means of building it. The New Party calls on all Canadians to join in making this program a living reality.

# I. PLANNING FOR ABUNDANCE

#### A JOB FOR EVERYONE

The New Party is the party of full employment. In its conduct of Canada's affairs, it will guarantee jobs for all willing and able to work, jobs at fair terms. The jobs not there now, it will create.

It will keep this pledge through its program of economic planning, which will ensure an overall condition of full employment.

To deal with temporary dislocations, the New Party will enact a <u>Guaranteed Employment Act</u>. This Act will enable every jobless Canadian to claim a job as a social right by applying to the local employment office. The government will stand ready to supply jobs at specified skill levels at fair wage rates.

Where moving or re-training a worker is the best way to pro-1/2vide that job, the government will cover the full cost, including pay-7/6ment of full wages during the training or moving. With whose moves.

Both in its overall planning and in the Guaranteed Employment Act, the New Party will give priority to providing much-needed social capital — houses, schools, hospitals, roads, parks and other recreational facilities, conservation projects and waterworks systems. Some of these projects will be maintained in process at strategic points, to be speeded up if the employment situation so requires.

#### A DYNAMIC FUTURE

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

(a) to achieve and maintain full employment of manpower and resources, natural and developed; who doesn't
(b) to allocate these resources in a just and rational manner among the various public and private uses to which they might be put; Or to whoever is able to pot pressure on (c) to distribute the wealth produced by Canadians to assure to them all a decent standard of living, allowing every individual, the opportunity to achieve this best, there by removing the manhwes of free.
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It is here that the New Party differs fundamentally from the other parties. They have been forced by events into increasing intervention in the economy, but their tinkering has been reluctant. who had They still believe in the discredited 19th century superstition that associated a host of unrelated, unplanned private decisions will somehow this? Survey "work out" in the national interest.

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

Old party governments suffer from yet another superstition: they continue to speak piously of "free enterprise". In its name they have weakened the economic strength of Canada and her people. The truth is that the economy is effectively in the hands of corporate giants, and true freedom of enterprise has been stifled.

The New Party will expand opportunities for genuine private initiative by providing stable national economic growth and by curbing corporate control. But at the same time, it believes that direct <u>public</u> accountability and control in some areas of the economy are, by their nature, more suitable and desirable. The New Party will expand public and co-operative ownership for such purposes as the operation of utilities, the development of resources, the elimination of monopoly concentrations of power, and the operation of major enterprises immediately and directly affecting the entire nation.

# PLANNING IN ACTION

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

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

The New Party's planning will be democratic. The Cabinet, responsible to the people through Parliament, will be the ultimate federal planning authority. A Committee of Ministers of the major economic departments, headed by a Minister of Planning, will act for the Cabinet in developing the plans and co-ordinating the programs and policies of all departments and agencies.

Planning cannot be fully effective in Canada unless there is wide co-operation between the national and provincial governments. The New Party will therefore invite the provinces to be partners in the nation's planning through a federal-provincial Planning and Development Council.

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

The plans will be put into effect through radically new uses of traditional instruments like the national budget and the Bank of Canada, and through new bodies such as an Investment Board.

# INVESTMENT AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

A rational and dynamic investment policy is central to New Party planning.

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

The New Party believes that the investment of capital must be directed to serve public need. To this end it will establish a national Investment Board. By planning and regulating investment, the Board will promote steady economic growth and full employment without inflation. It will also maintain a reasonable balance between public and private needs in the division of investment funds.

A Canadian Development Fund will be set up to give Canadians a greater opportunity to invest in the future of their own country. It will mobilize and channel the funds of insurance, trust and similar companies, and will be available to individuals with small amounts to invest.

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

#### CONTROL BY CANADIANS

New Party investment policy will be aimed at breaking monopoly control over Canadian industry and resources.

Today, modern corporate expansion is financed mainly out of huge corporation reserves. As no one but the corporation has any control over these investment reserves and the uses to which they are put, the hold on the nation's economy by a few becomes greater each year. If this private control over investment were confined entirely within our own borders, the situation would be alarming enough. But the truth is that most large corporations in Canada are themselves controlled from other countries, chiefly from the United States. Through their huge reserves, accumulated in Canada, these foreign corporations are able to extend their economic control by using our own money. This threatens the right of Canadians to direct their own economic activity; if permitted to go unchecked, it will endanger Canada's political independence.

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

### **PROGRESSIVE TAXES**

The New Party's taxation policy will be a basic part of its overall planing. It will divert funds from private to public investment, redistribute the nation's income on a fairer basis and help to regulate the pace of economic activity.

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

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

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

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

# **KEEPING THE WHEELS TURNING**

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

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

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

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

Destructive and wasteful duplication will give way to co-ordination. The resulting economies will help to keep rates down, and to provide security of employment at fair wages.

In any reorganization of the industry, the rights of workers to employment and the welfare of their communities will be prime considerations. There will be no elimination of work until suitable new jobs with equal standards of living are available elsewhere.

#### **EXPANDED TRADE**

Expansion of our trade with other nations will benefit both ourselves and them.

Careful planning is needed to adjust our production to the requirements of freer trade. Tariffs are outmoded, patchwork attempts to protect domestic industry; they restrict trade while giving less and less protection to the home industry. Only through a fresh approach can Canada enjoy the benefits of freer trade without hardship to specific groups and communities.

New Party planning for full employment will give Canada that new approach. In the planned, orderly growth and strengthening of the economy, adjustments to meet trade needs will be made more easily. The New Party government will make such adjustments in ways which will see workers absorbed into new jobs, and industrial production diverted to communities affected. Active association will be sought with the European common market and free trade areas. At the same time, a concerted program to foster trade with the Caribbean and Latin America will be pushed, and the possibility of hemisphere trading arrangements will be explored. Low interest rates and long-term credits to the Americas and the new nations of Africa and Asia will be used to promote Canada's trade.

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

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

# AREA RE-DEVELOPMENT

New Party planning will aim at developing renewed economic strength in those areas of Canada which have not shared in the national growth. The national transportation program will take into account their special circumstances and, wherever possible, government purchases will be channeled there.

A program of long-range, basic public works, supported by national grants, will be undertaken in the Atlantic region. A Capital Projects Commission will be established to co-ordinate this program. The harnessing of tidal power in the Bay of Fundy will be among the projects considered.

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

#### SHARING THE BENEFITS OF AUTOMATION

Nothing demonstrates the need for planning more than automation and other technological advances. Without planning, the new technology will result in human misery and waste of resources on a stupendous scale; wisely planned, it will make possible an unprecedented increase in standards of living. A New Party government will assure the Canadian people that the benefits of the age of automation will be shared by all, through higher incomes and growing opportunities for constructive use of leisure time. In addition, Canada will be able to take a larger share of responsibility for world development, to help all mankind share in the new abundance.

The New Party will initiate research into the impact and application of automation. When automation is introduced in an industry, the interests of the workers and their communities will be safeguarded.

Special programs will be undertaken to re-train and relocate displaced workers and to establish new industry in communities where obsolete plants must be closed. Vigorous measures will be taken to protect the public against monopoly control of automated industries.

# PLANNED IMMIGRATION

The New Party, with its program to build a strong economy, will encourage immigration to Canada. More people are needed to help this nation realize its full potential. Their arrival will be related realistically to the expanding opportunities, training and housing which New Party planning will provide.

Proper services will be set up to assist new Canadians in establishing themselves in the community. They will be protected against unscrupulous exploitation by employers and others.

Racial discrimination will be eliminated from immigration regulations and practices. Fair consideration of all applications for admission will be ensured.

## NEW HOPE FOR THE FARMER

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

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

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

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

A New Party government will assure producers of sufficient marketing power by:

- (a) development of national producer marketing boards to coordinate the work of provincial marketing boards;
- (b) encouragement of co-operative and publicly sponsored facilities for storage, processing and distribution of farm products;
- (c) development of programs to increase domestic levels of consumption;
- (d) distribution of surplus food to the needy of other lands, and support for the establishment of a World Food Bank.

A New Party government will institute a parity price policy to provide levels of farm income consistent with the rest of the economy. It will do this through a system of guaranteed forward prices, supplemented by deficiency and other compensatory payments where necessary. Until greater stability of prices and income have been achieved floor prices will be established as required.

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

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

# SMALL BUSINESS

Operating on limited capital resources, small business enterprises are increasingly vulnerable to economic downturns and depressions. Therefore, the continuous economic growth which will result from New Party economic planning will be of particular benefit to them, enabling them to enjoy real economic security. In addition, the New Party policy of curbing excessive promotion and  $\sqrt{1}$  misleading advertising will help to protect them against unfair competition.

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

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

## A SOUND FISHING INDUSTRY

New Party policy will be directed towards the enlargement of domestic and foreign markets for Canadian fish products, through promotion of consumption and negotiating abroad. An expanding research program will be undertaken to conserve and increase the harvestable catch and improve its marketability.

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

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

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

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

A Canadian Coast Guard system will be established in all mari- V time regions.

# **II. SECURITY AND FREEDOM**

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

Canada's present approach to social security is inadequate and unrealistic: a patchwork of legislation which provides neither proper minimum standards nor adequate coverage for all those who need it. Entire groups of needy people — the sick, the blind, the aged — have little or no security. These people need protection, and the New Party is determined to provide it.

# NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN

Believing that a country's most precious possession is the health of its citizens, the New Party will introduce a National Health Plan, providing benefits to those who need them without regard to their ability to pay. The plan will cover a full range of services: medical, surgical, dental and optical treatment, as well as prescribed drugs and appliances.

The Plan will be built on the present hospital insurance program and, like it, will be evolved and administered in co-operation with provincial governments. It will be financed partly by federal grants to provinces and partly by individual premiums, graduated according to individual incomes. The medical, dental and other professions concerned will be consulted at all stages, and their co-operation will be sought.

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

#### NATIONAL RETIREMENT PLAN

A New Party government will introduce a new and realistic plan to provide for Canada's older citizens: a two-stage plan, consisting of contributory and non-contributory features.

The present Old Age pension will be increased to \$75 per month. A basic pension, it will be available to everyone at the age of 65. There will be no means test.

A contributory plan will be set up to provide retirement benefits above this minimum.

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

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

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

#### SICKNESS, SURVIVOR AND OTHER BENEFITS

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

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

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

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

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

Family allowance payments will be increased, to restore the buying power they carried when first introduced. They will be extended to children beyond the age of 16 who remain in school.

Pensions to blind people will be increased to \$75 a month, and adjustments will be made to disability pensions.

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

#### MAN AGAINST DISEASE

Man's imagination has been stirred by the first steps in the conquest of space. Surely at least as worthy a challenge to our ingenuity is the conquest of disease. The prevention and cure of cancer, heart ailments, arthritis, mental illness and other crippling or killing diseases are rewarding national goals. Under a New Party government, Canada will be in the vanguard of the world-wide offensive against disease. The New Party will establish a national centre for a wide range of medical research and will staff it with the most able people available.

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

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

# NATIONAL LABOUR STANDARDS

The New Party will seek the co-operation of the provinces in achieving national minimum labour standards throughout the country. Its objective is a national labour code, enacted jointly by the federal parliament and provincial legislatures, to establish:

- (a) an adequate minimum wage;
- (b) a five-day, 40-hour work week;
- (c) two weeks of vacation with pay each year;
- (d) eight statutory holidays with pay each year;
- (e) occupational, health and safety codes;
- (f) improved and strengthened collective bargaining laws;
- (g) full protection of the right of association and union security;
- (h) amendment of the Criminal Code to establish clearly the right to picket.

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

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

#### HOMES FOR OUR FAMILIES

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

A New Party government will establish a national Housing Authority to deal with this problem. In close co-operation and consultation with provincial and municipal governments, it will undertake the planning and construction of a wide range of housing accommodation, town and community planning, urban re-development, the eradication of slum areas, and the preservation and extension of green belts, parks and recreation centres.

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

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

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

#### THE CONSUMER

New Party policy will protect the Canadian consumer against unscrupulous promotion techniques, misleading advertising, poor quality and over-priced goods.

Regulations governing quality, content description, packaging,  $\bigvee$  advertising and sales promotion will be strengthened and fully enforced.

Where food and drugs are concerned, safeguarding the public interests is particularly important. The New Party will take energetic measures to stop the drug industry from exploiting the public. These will include licensing manufacturers and, where necessary, producing essential drugs under public auspices. The sale of drugs under their generic or chemical name will be encouraged, since they cost the consumer much less than the same drugs under their brand names. Patent Laws applying to drugs will be revised.

Along with provinces and consumer organizations, the New Party will encourage consumer research and education.

The New Party will fix limits on interest rates charged on consumer credit. Credit Unions and co-operative organizations will be fostered, as a bulwark of consumer self-help.

# EDUCATION AND THE ARTS

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

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

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

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

- (a) free education at all levels to all those who can benefit from it;
- (b) scholarships and bursaries to assist deserving students:
- (c) capital for school and university expansion;
- (d) adequate training facilities and salaries for teachers.

Full development of the human potential requires education beyond the school-leaving age. The New Party will therefore en-V courage, assist and establish adult education agencies and programs.

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

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

# III. A MORE COMPLETE DEMOCRACY

### CO-OPERATIVE FEDERALISM

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

The New Party strongly affirms its belief in federalism as the best and most constructive system for achieving vigorous and balanced Canadian development. It believes that social and economic planning must take place at all levels of government. It therefore looks to extensive consultation between responsible governments to co-ordinate plans and administration and to set national minimum standards.

Immediately following Confederation, a federal minister was given special responsibility for relations with the provinces. It is time to revive this post. A New Party federal government will create a department of Federal-Provincial relations to maintain and extend co-operation with the provinces, to co-ordinate and act as a special secretariat for joint committees and councils. The New Party believes that consultation at the highest level is necessary for the smooth working of our federal institutions. It will therefore establish a regular Prime Ministers' Conference, to be attended by the prime minister of Canada and the premiers of the provinces.

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

# CANADA AS A NATION

Canada has developed from two great languages and cultures. Its unity as a nation depends upon equal recognition and respect for each.

Canada has been further enriched by the infusion of many other national, cultural and linguistic strains. True Canadian identity lies in honouring these traditions and weaving them into the texture of Canada.

The New Party fully respects and will protect the traditions and cultures of Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds. It recognizes the special economic needs and problems of the original inhabitants of Canada — the Indians and Eskimos, whose traditional modes of living have been disrupted by modern civilization. The New Party will accord them full political and social rights as Canadian citizens.

To give expression to Canadian nationhood the New Party will adopt a distinctive Canadian flag and anthem.

# **BILL OF RIGHTS**

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

From time to time these freedoms have been threatened and undermined by the action of governments. The present Canadian Bill of Rights is entirely inadequate to assure them. It is subject to repeal or amendment, and may be over-ruled by any subsequent Act of Parliament. It does not apply to provincial and municipal legislation. Its general terms are of no effect against specific provisions in legislation now in force. The New Party will safeguard our fundamental freedoms by seeking the collaboration of the provinces to incorporate them in the Canadian constitution. There they will be free from any threat of legislative infringement. Among the basic political rights to be thus guaranteed are:

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

# A STRENGTHENED PARLIAMENT

A New Party government will seek to improve the democratic machinery of Parliament.

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

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

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

# IV. CO-OPERATION FOR PEACE

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

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

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

### INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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

#### **United Nations**

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

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

United Nations agencies should form the major channel for providing international economic aid. This is important both to strengthen the world organization and because it would avoid placing recipient nations under obligation to a single big power. The immensely increased aid program which the New Party proposes will, therefore, be directed accordingly.

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

The New Party welcomes the addition of many new nations to the councils of the United Nations and warmly congratulates their peoples on their freedom from foreign rule. By economic aid, appropriate trade policies and increasingly closer relations within and without the United Nations, Canada should support their independence and growth.

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

#### Commonwealth

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

Canada should, therefore, support ever more effective consultation among the members of the Commonwealth, both within the United Nations and outside.

Experience with the Colombo Plan has proved the effectiveness of Commonwealth economic co-operation. The New Party calls for:

(a) a greatly expanded program of assistance to the South-East Asian nations at present participating in the Colombo Plan;
(b) the immediate creation of a similar program of Commonwealth economic aid to newly independent states in Africa and the West Indies. There are available in Canada French-speaking as well as English-speaking technical and administrative experts, uniquely acceptable to the peoples of former French and British territories. This Canadian asset creates both an opportunity and an obligation for us to make our services available to these areas, as an integral part of a Commonwealth African aid scheme.

#### **REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

The UN Charter acknowledges the value of regional associations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the maintenance of peace and security. In the spirit of the Charter, Canada can play an important part in appropriate regional bodies.

The long-vacant seat reserved for Canada in the Organization of American States (OAS) should be filled without delay. The rising importance of Latin America and the mutual economic and cultural benefits which would accrue to all from closer association, require that Canada delay no longer in taking its place among the nations of this hemisphere.

The New Party values the cultural and economic ties among the peoples of the North Atlantic community. It therefore welcomes the formation of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), along with those institutions leading to greater European integration. It pledges its full co-operation with them.

NATO has played its part in the maintenance of west European security. However, it has concentrated on a military role and has failed to adapt its policies to the growing importance of the economic and social front in the present world struggle.

The New Party believes that we should seek a reappraisal and change of NATO's policies and objectives. To relieve tensions, Canada should press for a demilitarized zone in central Europe and for the simultaneous disbandment of the Warsaw and NATO pacts.

The New Party believes that the extension of nuclear weapons to any further states and alliances threatens disaster to the world. It therefore opposes Canada's troops being supplied with such weapons at home or abroad. Furthermore, Canada should make it clear that it cannot remain in the alliance, if forces under NATO command should be provided with nuclear weapons.

#### DISARMAMENT AND DEFENCE

The revolution in weapons technology makes two facts obvious to reasonable men. Firstly, annihilation is now a physical possibility. Secondly, there is no known direct defence against nuclear missiles. Policy must be based on these realities. Canada must make a general and searching reappraisal of its defence role. Much of the money which she now allocates to deference could be better spent on providing such conventional troops as the United Nations may require, and on aiding underdeveloped countries.

NORAD was intended to meet the threat of manned bombers; with the development of missiles, it is obsolete. Furthermore, there is every danger that the Bomarcs will be equipped with nuclear warheads. The NORAD agreements should therefore be terminated.

Canada should continue to support and demand an immediate ban on nuclear tests, both to avoid the dangerous effects of fall-out and as a first step toward nuclear disarmament.

We should propose a treaty to establish a non-nuclear club of nations pledged not to manufacture, store or permit nuclear weapons on their soil nor to use such weapons at any time.

In the nuclear age effective disarmament has become a condition of survival. Canada must play a much more dynamic role in the promotion of universal disarmament. Any agreement on disarmament will require adequate inspection. A special branch will be established in the Department of External Affairs; staffed by nuclear scientists and other experts, it will give continuous study to the problems involved.

#### ECONOMIC AID

While Canada has been spending more than one and a half billion dollars a year on defence, it has spent less than 5% of that amount per year on economic aid to underdeveloped nations. A positive foreign policy would drastically alter this ration of expenditures. The massive economic aid program which the New Party will establish will be channelled through the UN, the Commonwealth and Canadian government agencies. Creative new forms of aid, however, must supplement those already in existence.

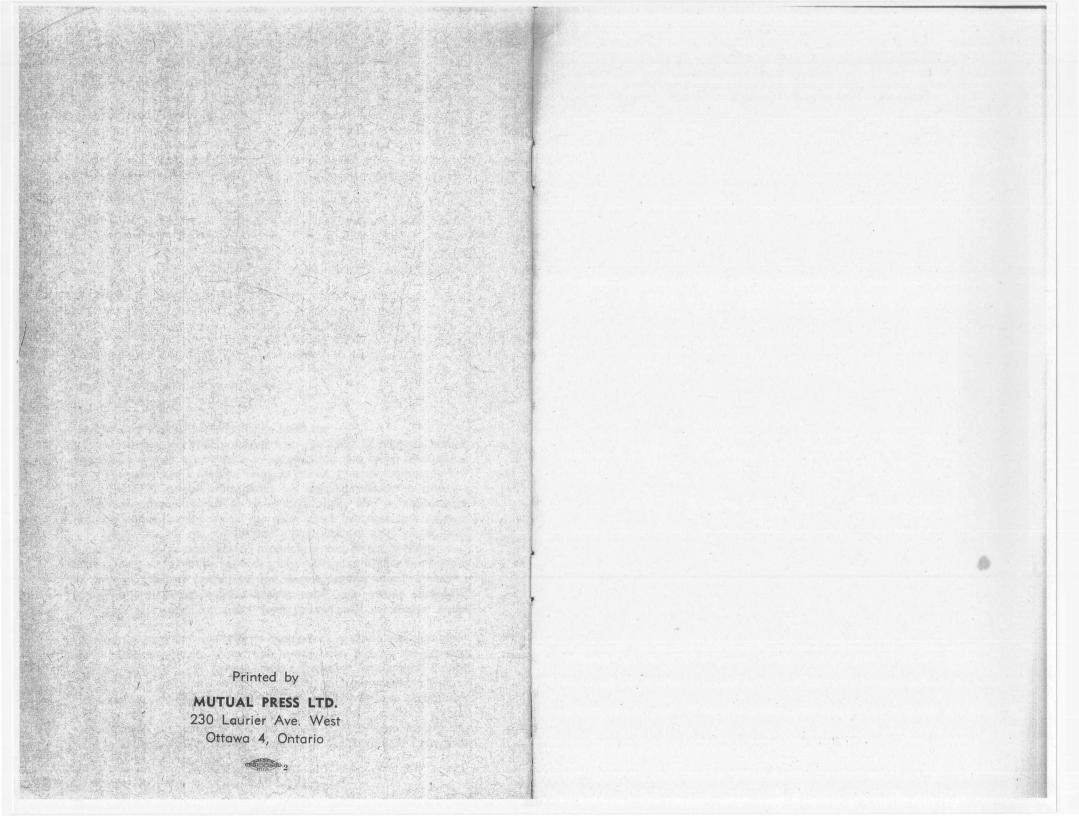
Canada's contribution to economic aid must be generous and it must be planned. The New Party will institute a program of grants and long-term interest free loans, amounting annually to two percent of the national income.

The New Party will introduce a Joint Training and Technical Expert Program with underdeveloped states. These countries would be invited to send young men and women to Canada to train for special projects in such fields as agriculture, public health, administration, education, medical science and engineering. In the meantime, projects will be established in the countries concerned, and will be temporarily manned by Canadian experts until such time as local personnel return from their training to take over. Canada must mobilize its resources in young, trained Canadians and establish a Voluntary Service Corps to staff co-operative aid schemes, such as those of the Joint Training and Technical Expert Program, throughout the world. Its members should be encouraged to regard their work as a career and should be given adequate salaries and full security. The Corps would collaborate with similar groups from other developed states, and would also provide on-the-spot training for local personnel in the techniques of community development.

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

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

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



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