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LET'S GO FORWARD

(The National CCF Program)

This is the official national program of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, drawn up by the CCF National Council in January, 1958, on the basis of resolutions approved at CCF National Conventions.

In June, 1957, the people of Canada turned out the Liberals and voted in the Conservatives. Has there been any real change?

The winter of 1957-58 has shown that the Conservatives have no more idea than the Liberals about how to solve unemployment.

They have done nothing about national health insurance, and in fact, have not even made any important improvements in the partial hospital plan proposed by the Liberals.

They rightly condemned the discredited Liberal government for letting the Canadian economy fall increasingly under the control of American corporations, but they have not taken a single effective step to reverse this trend.

They described the Liberal policy on the national gas pipeline as a "nefarious scheme" promoted by "buccaneers" and "adventurers from New York and Texas". Yet the "nefarious scheme" has not been changed. The "buccaneers" still have a free hand to gouge the people of Canada.

These are a few examples. Many more could be added. The fiddlers are new but the tune is the same.

The CCF offers a real alternative to the people of Canada. It invites them to leave behind the Conservative-Liberal game of tweedledum and tweedledee, and to go forward to build a better Canada in which the welfare of human beings will take precedence over the profits of corporations.

Here are the main points in its program:

I. ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Thanks to the struggles of our forefathers, we in Canada now enjoy a large measure of political democracy. But in the economic field we have the reverse of democracy.

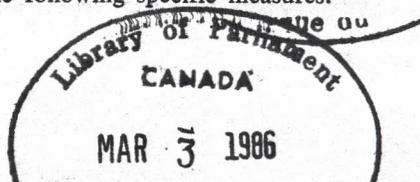
A relatively small number of men, who control the great monopoly corporations of the country, have almost complete control over our economic life. They have the power to decide if production will be expanded or contracted, if prices will be raised or lowered, if a plant will be opened up here or closed down there, and so on. Their decisions affect the welfare of thousands of people, but they do not have to answer to anybody.

The CCF believes that the people themselves, through their democratically elected governments, should have the final voice in determining the nature and direction of our economic development.

This means that our governments—both federal and provincial—must be prepared to undertake economic planning. They must use reasonable foresight to eliminate unemployment and waste, to ensure that all our people will have security and a decent standard of living, and to guarantee that Canada is controlled by Canadians for the benefit of Canadians.

At the federal level, this will involve the following specific measures:

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a. Planned Investment

Investment is the life blood of our economy. We cannot afford to leave it in the hands of monopoly corporations and financial institutions, many of them foreign controlled, which are motivated by a drive for private power and profit rather than by any consideration of the welfare and needs of our people. In the interests of democracy, there must be public control of investment, and to that end the CCF proposes:

- + Control of investment, through a National Investment Board, to ensure that there is always sufficient investment to maintain full employment and that it is channeled into those projects which are most desirable from a social point of view;
- Establishment of a publicly owned National Investment and Development Bank, through which the savings and reserves of Canadian institutions and corporations will be made available for the development of Canada's industries and natural resources, thus decreasing our reliance on and need for foreign capital;
- Financial and credit policies which will reinforce the efforts of the National Investment Board in maintaining full employment;
- Increased taxes on large corporations, and reductions in the present excessive depreciation and depletion allowances, so as to divert the huge investment reserves of private corporations to the public treasury where they can be used in accordance with overall public policies.

b. Canadian Resources for Canadians

Canadians are naturally concerned at the growing control over our economic life which is being acquired by foreign corporations, mainly American. The program of planned investment will gradually reverse this trend, and the CCF proposes that it be reinforced by the following specific measures:

- Public ownership and operation of the Trans-Canada gas pipeline, and of all other interprovincial pipelines, so that these basic utilities will be controlled by Canadians for the benefit of all Canadians;
- Establishment of a National Fuel and Energy Authority to ensure that the use of all fuels—coal, oil, natural gas, electricity and atomic energy—will be planned to make the maximum contribution to the Canadian economy and the welfare of the Canadian people;
- Planned development and conservation of our natural resources, including public development of water resources in co-operation with the provinces;
- Encouragement through public enterprise and otherwise of the processing of natural resources in Canada where economical.

c. Public, Private and Co-operative Enterprise

- Extension of public ownership where necessary to facilitate economic planning (as in transportation and communication and basic iron and steel) or to break the stranglehold of private monopoly (as in the manufacture of farm implements and agricultural chemicals);
- Appropriate opportunities for private business and industry to make its contribution to the nation's wealth and to earn a fair rate of return;
- Encouragement of co-operative enterprise.

d. Fair Taxes

- Complete revision of the present system of taxation to eliminate inequities in the application of income tax, to abolish the special privileges and exemptions now enjoyed by corporations and the recipients of corporation dividends, to



increase tax rates on the higher income groups and corporations, and to remove the sales and special excise tax from the necessities of life.

e. *Planned Immigration*

- Careful preparation and planning to ensure that immigration is realistically related to the number and the types of job opportunities and to the housing available;
- Complete revision of present immigration policy to eliminate discrimination, ensure impartial consideration of applications for immigration and provide newcomers with the services they need to assist them in establishing themselves in Canada.

II. NEW HORIZONS

Neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals have any policy whatever with regard to automation and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Yet these great new developments are among the most important facts of the modern age. Without democratic economic planning they will result in human misery and waste of resources on a stupendous scale, but wisely planned, they will make possible an unprecedented increase in standards of living.

The CCF is the only Canadian party which believes in planning. Its specific program on automation and atomic energy includes:

a. *Sharing the Benefits of Automation*

- Special government research services for the development and application of automation in Canadian industry;
- Spread of the benefits of automation among all the people, through the encouragement of guaranteed annual wage agreements, reduction in working hours, increases in pay in accordance with increasing productivity, a vigorous program for parity in farm incomes, increased social security, the fullest possible extension of educational opportunities, and expanded facilities and programs for the constructive use of leisure time;
- Special programs to re-train and re-locate displaced workers and to develop new industries in communities where obsolete plants have been closed;
- Vigorous measures to prevent private monopoly in automated industries, including expansion of public ownership.

b. *Atomic Energy for Peace*

- Maintenance of public control of the peace-time uses of atomic energy;
- Rapid development, in co-operation with provincial power authorities, of atomic energy as an additional source of power;
- Greatly expanded application of atomic energy, in co-operation with hospitals and medical and research centres, to the diagnosis and treatment of disease;
- Generous provision on a non-profit basis of technical assistance and atomic materials (such as radio-active isotopes) for Canadian industry and agriculture.

III. JUSTICE FOR PRIMARY PRODUCERS

Primary producers in all parts of Canada have been caught in a merciless squeeze of rising costs and falling prices. They are at the mercy of monopolists both when they sell and when they buy. The Conservative government's proposals mark a complete retreat from their election promises and offer no prospect of guaranteeing the farmer a fair share in the nation's wealth.

The CCF believes that in a hungry world it is essential that food production be maintained at a high level and that the producers be assured of security and a reasonable return for their work. Vigorous government action is needed to produce this. The CCF proposes the following:

a. Agriculture

- Guaranteed forward prices, based on parity, with the use of deficiency payments where appropriate, as a means of providing parity of income to agricultural producers;
- National marketing boards, where requested by producers, for all farm products entering into inter-provincial and export trade;
- Comprehensive crop insurance;
- A national program to provide farmers with scientific and technical assistance;
- A comprehensive land conservation and utilization program;
- Removal of monopoly control of the farm machinery, fertilizer, chemical, meat-packing, flour-milling and other industries in order to lower production costs and reduce price spreads between producers and consumers.

b. Fisheries

- Conservation and development of our fisheries, and support for international agreements to define and protect territorial waters;
- Special measures to increase returns for Atlantic Coast fishermen, including a system of orderly marketing and guaranteed forward prices.

c. Bigger and More Secure Markets

- Increased trade with Great Britain and other non-dollar countries through placement of government orders and contracts, long term commodity agreements, special credit arrangements, barter and direct exchange of goods, acceptance of payment in sterling and foreign exchange controls;
- Establishment of export and import boards to regulate and expand Canada's trade in all fields.

IV. A NATIONAL LABOUR CODE

Nowhere have the Conservatives been more contemptuous of their own promises than in the field of labour. Not only have they themselves done nothing of importance, but they "talked out" CCF bills to establish national standards of minimum wages and annual vacations and statutory holidays with pay.

Labour legislation in the main is a provincial responsibility. The CCF believes, however, that certain national minimum standards should be established for workers in all parts of Canada, and that our Constitution should be amended to make these standards possible.

Therefore, we propose a National Labour Code to provide an adequate national minimum wage, a 40-hour week throughout industry, two weeks' annual vacation with pay and eight statutory holidays each year, union security and the check-off, and prohibition of injunctions which infringe on basic labour rights.

V. MORE ABUNDANT LIVING FOR ALL

Despite our country's great economic resources, many basic needs of our people have not been adequately provided for.

Older citizens are still condemned to live on a mere subsistence pension. Serious illness means financial disaster for most people. Many families are forced to live

in inadequate houses and others are over-burdened with mortgage payments. Educational opportunities are denied to many young men and women of ability, even though Canada is desperately short of trained personnel. Opportunities for recreation and creative self-expression are still inadequate.

A bold and imaginative program is needed for the young and the old, for the sick and the needy, for the comfort, health and welfare of every Canadian family. The CCF has such a program:

a. National Retirement Pensions

- A basic pension of \$75 a month payable to all at age 65 without a means test;
- A contributory old age insurance plan to provide pensions over and above the basic pension and thus prevent the drastic drop in living standards which many people now suffer on retirement. The main features of this plan are as follows:
 1. It would provide the vast majority of Canadians with a pension of approximately one-half of their income on retirement;
 2. Contributions would be made by employees and employers, and the plan * would be available to farmers and other self-employed people desiring coverage;
 3. Contributions would be based on, and the pension would be related to, individual incomes up to a reasonable maximum;
 4. Those now enlisted in existing superannuation schemes which meet the standards set by the national scheme would have the choice of remaining under those schemes or of transferring their equity to the national plan, and individuals could still insure for additional benefits under other pension plans;
 5. Pensions would be available at age 65, but an individual would have the right to defer taking his pension if he continued to work and benefits would be adjusted upward accordingly;
 6. In the case of death of the insured, benefits would be transferred to the surviving spouse, or children up to the age of 21;
 7. The plan would enable persons to move from job to job without loss of pension rights and would help to avoid discrimination in the hiring of older workers;
 8. Contributions into the the national pension fund would provide one source of investment funds for carrying out public developments in Canada.

b. National Health Insurance

- * —A nation-wide health insurance plan to provide every man, woman and child with full medical, hospital, nursing, dental, optical and other health care, with the federal government paying 80 per cent of the cost and the provinces the remaining 20 per cent;
- Decentralized administration in co-operation with the provincial governments, and full freedom for everyone to choose his own family doctor.

c. Comprehensive Social Security

- An integrated national system of social security which, in addition to the retirement and health programs just described, will include the following:
 1. Sickness benefits to maintain a basic family income during illness of the breadwinner;

2. Increases in family allowances which are sufficient to restore their original purchasing power;
3. Adequate provision for war veterans and blind and disabled people;
4. Increases in benefit rates and wide extension in coverage of unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance.

d. Low Cost Housing

- A comprehensive national housing program to provide subsidized low-rent housing units for families on low incomes and mortgage money at not more than 2 per cent for families building or purchasing low cost houses.

e. Education and the Arts

- Full recognition and protection of provincial jurisdiction over education, coupled with generous financial assistance to the provinces to ensure that every child has a full opportunity to develop his capacities and that there are adequate facilities for training the technicians, engineers, scientists, economists, teachers and social workers so urgently needed in Canada;
- Provision of adequate funds to the Canada Council to enable it to carry out its important task of stimulating and encouraging the creative arts;
- Maintenance and expansion of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as a major medium in the development of our Canadian cultural heritage.

VI. HUMAN RIGHTS

It is time we brought our democratic system up to date by guaranteeing basic rights fully, by giving adequate expression to the legitimate national pride of our people and by eliminating obsolete institutions. The CCF proposes:

- Enactment of a Bill of Rights to guarantee freedom of speech and worship; the right of lawful assembly, association and organization; equal treatment before the law; and enjoyment of all rights without distinction of race, sex, religion or language;
- Full protection of bi-cultural and bilingual rights within the Canadian nation and of the official status of both the English and French languages;
- Freedom for minorities to promote and develop their own individual cultures;
- Adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag and national anthem;
- Provision for the amendment in Canada of our Constitution;
- Abolition of the Senate.

VII. A POLICY FOR PEACE

The beginning of the conquest of outer space gives dramatic emphasis to the power struggle between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The continuous build-up of devastating weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain can lead only to absolute disaster.

The time has come for the middle and small nations to make their voices heard more clearly and insistently in world affairs. Canada, with its very considerable influence among the nations, has a clear responsibility to give leadership in building a positive program for peace.

In conjunction with other nations, we must make it clear that we want an end to the diplomacy of threats and insults. We must give a lead in demanding that advantage be taken of every opportunity to settle outstanding differences by negotiation and to reduce rather than increase armaments.

Above all, we must do everything in our power to build and support international agencies for providing assistance to underdeveloped countries on a vast scale. The hungry, oppressed and underprivileged must know democracy not as a smug slogan but as a dynamic way of life which sees the world as one whole and recognizes the right of every nation to independence and of all people to the highest available standard of living.

a. Political Problems

The CCF proposes that Canada should give leadership in working towards the following objectives in the international political field:

- Development of the United Nations into a fully effective organization of international co-operation and government;
- Establishment of a permanent international police force under the jurisdiction of the United Nations to halt aggression and restore the peace when the occasion arises;
- Immediate admission of all nations to membership in the United Nations;
- Full recognition of the right of all nations and peoples to self-government and freedom from colonial rule;
- Cessation of all nuclear tests;
- International disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons, accompanied by effective international inspection and control.

b. Economic Problems

As one of the world's most favored nations, Canada should set an example by vastly increasing her present picayune contributions to international plans for assisting underdeveloped nations. Specifically, the CCF proposes:

- Full and unqualified support for the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED);
- Greatly increased support for United Nations Technical Assistance and for the Colombo Plan and in particular Canadian assistance to the new West Indies Federation;
- Canadian leadership in instituting a vast world economic program through the United Nations to:
 1. Allocate raw materials in accordance with needs;
 2. Provide greatly expanded technical and capital assistance to underdeveloped areas on a scale of at least one per cent of the national incomes of the free nations;
 3. Establish International Development Corporations for those purposes;
 4. Achieve maximum production of food and provide, through a World Food Pool, for its equitable distribution.

c. Canadian Defence

The CCF believes that the only true defence in the modern world is the positive program for peace outlined above, which will ultimately eliminate the need for large-scale armaments. All this takes time, however, and in the meantime we cannot neglect our own security.

Much of our present defence spending, which amounts to almost half the federal government's budget, is being devoted to obsolete methods and weapons which will provide us with no real defence at all.

The CCF proposes a complete revision of our defence program to bring an end to wasteful spending and outdated methods. Moreover, since it is clearly impossible for Canada to compete with the major powers in overall defence measures the CCF proposes that we should work towards an integrated defence program among the free nations, in which Canada and other countries will specialize in those projects which they can undertake most efficiently.

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