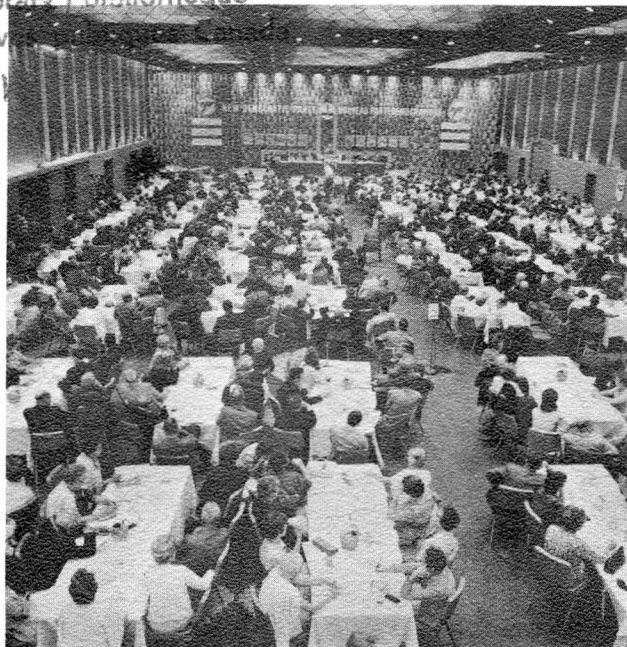


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***The Way Ahead For Canada***



*Over a thousand delegates attended the Third Federal Convention of the New Democratic Party in Toronto in July of 1965. The Convention adopted the policies recorded in this report.*

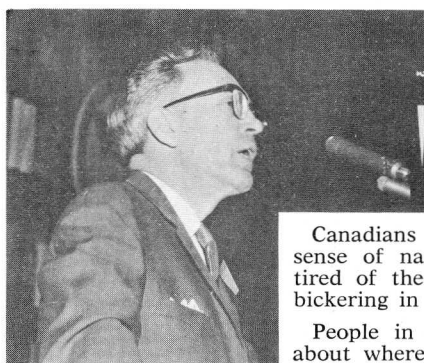


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## COLLECTION

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Canadians today are looking for a sense of national purpose. They are tired of the drift in government, the bickering in Parliament.

People in this country are worried about where Canada is headed in the next ten years. They know that past governments, Liberal and Conservative, have been content to let things drift without purpose or direction.

Canadians want to be challenged. They want Parliament to get on with the job of making Canada great and prosperous, a voice to be reckoned with in world affairs.

In a nutshell, Canadians are looking for leadership.

This booklet contains a summary of the program of the New Democratic Party, passed at its 1965 federal convention. Our program spells out goals for Canada. These are goals towards which we can work as one people, around which we can build true national unity.

Our program does not make light of the problems, nor does it pretend that the answers will be easy. But it does present a series of clear guidelines by which a New Democratic government will lead Canadians.

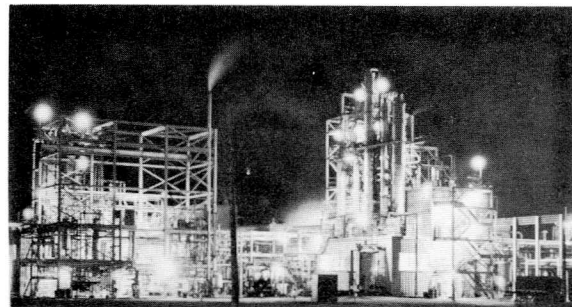
This program spells out a national purpose for this country. It points the way ahead for Canada.

*T. C. Douglas*

T. C. DOUGLAS  
Ottawa.

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## Economic Expansion

To achieve the goals set forth in our program, we must achieve continuous economic expansion. When Canada's economy is growing, there are more jobs, greater purchasing power and higher prosperity.

Economic growth does not just happen. We can only be certain of it if governments, both federal and provincial, are prepared to play a leading part in the economy.

The keystone of New Democratic policy is a six point program for economic expansion:

1. Real economic planning by governments must be made possible by setting up a permanent, federal-provincial Planning and Development Council.
2. There must be government initiative in investment, especially in resource and industrial development and in a social capital program, together with suitable incentives to private investors.
3. We must establish a publicly managed Canadian Development Fund, to spearhead public investment in economic and social programs. It would be financed by funds from business and commerce and from individual investments.
4. We must adopt a manpower program which would give effect to our total commitment to full employment.
5. An agricultural policy must be put into effect which will guarantee fair returns to farmers across Canada while stimulating the production of food for a hungry world.
6. Canadians must have increased purchasing power to buy the products of our industries.



## Full Employment

The New Democratic Party is the only political party in Canada with a program specifically designed to put an end to unemployment. We are committed to the goal of creating two million new jobs in the next eight years.



**David Lewis, Q.C.**

*"Real economic planning."*

capital development to create schools, hospitals, housing, parks and recreational facilities and municipal services, all through the machinery of federal-provincial planning. This program will create new jobs and pump millions of dollars—enough to cover its cost—into the Canadian economy.

3. A New Democratic government would move at once to enact a comprehensive manpower policy for the whole country to equip our growing work force with the skills and knowledge it will require.

4. A publicly managed Canadian Development Fund would immediately initiate regional development projects to stimulate areas left behind by our present affluence.

5. A New Democratic government would seek the co-operation of the provinces in raising labour standards in every field of employment.

Full employment demands real economic planning. It means using the country's full resources to create a climate for growth and development. It means the co-operation of business, labour and industry. It means immediate government action along the following lines:

1. We must create enough consumer demand to ensure that the products of our industry can be purchased. We must cut taxes on middle and lower income groups and extend the range and benefits of our system of social security.

2. A New Democratic government would immediately start an immense program of social

6. A New Democratic government would set to work to broaden the overseas demand for Canadian goods through special trading arrangements and through loans and assistance to developing countries.

## Automation and Manpower



**David Orlikow, M.P.**

*"Must get ready now."*

In Canada, we stand on the threshold of a scientific revolution. The knowledge of the space age can bring great benefits to mankind. Equally, it brings dangers which must be overcome. Unless we plan responsibly and in advance, the new technology can mean displacement and misery to countless workers and their families.

The most immediate step to be taken by a New Democratic government would be the establishment of a comprehensive manpower policy.

This policy would have these features:

1. A Canadian Manpower Service would be created to co-ordinate placement, training, relocation, vocational guidance, consultative services and research.

2. A nation-wide network of adult training centres would be established.

3. All displaced adult workers would be retrained without cost, with living allowances paid to unemployed trainees.

4. The Manpower Service would carry out a continuous analysis of labour supply and demand.

5. Workers who must move to a job in another part of the country would receive financial assistance, including the full cost of transportation and moving household goods, a cash resettlement allowance and assistance when a worker has to maintain a second residence when training away from home.

## Agriculture

In the last fifteen years, Canadian farmers have greatly increased their efficiency and food production. In the same period, their income has remained the same and their costs have soared. They lack bargaining power in marketing their produce, rural services are largely inadequate and farm markets are notoriously unstable.

As a vital part of our economic program, New Democrats are determined to win for Canada's farmers a fair role in our economy.



**Merv Johnson**

*"Maximum production."*

1. Maximum agricultural production must be encouraged as a national asset and financing must be regarded as a major federal responsibility.
2. A new government Department of Science and Technology will give special emphasis to agricultural technology.
3. Guaranteed prices for farm products, related to production costs and designed to give the farm industry parity of income with the rest of the community, must be established.
4. The jurisdiction of the Wheat Board must be extended to rye, flax and rapeseed.
5. Direct financial and legislative assistance will be available to help develop producer marketing boards and co-operative processing industries.
6. The monopoly control over farm machinery must be ended, thus lowering costs and encouraging co-operative initiative.
7. All risk crop insurance will be provided through a special fund.
8. The federal government will provide leadership in improving rural housing, education, health and transportation facilities.
9. The program of farm credit will be based on the farmer's needs and ability.
10. Families wishing to leave the farm will be given assistance.
11. Agriculture will benefit from an intensive program of increasing international demand for Canadian products.

## Resources

New Democratic opposition to the Columbia River Treaty and to the Chicago Drainage Diversion is based on a long view of Canada's water needs. Drought and falling water tables in Eastern Canada are a harsh reminder that we have neglected our basic natural resources.

A New Democratic government would undertake a complete inventory of our water resources. It would sponsor a vigorous research program on pollution. It would plan for future diversions to supply areas of water deficiency.

New Democrats believe that the time is long past when the management of our resources can be left to the free play of the market.

## Foreign Ownership



**Colin Cameron, M.P.**

*"Direct Canadian participation."*

The problem of foreign ownership of Canada's industry and resources is becoming more and more serious. The New Democratic Party wants to put a stop to this trend because foreign ownership makes the control and management of our economy by our own elected representatives increasingly more difficult.

New Democrats believe that the crucial question is not the owner's nationality but the question of who makes the decisions affecting our national development.

Greater control over our own economy can only be achieved through government action to direct the course of future investment in Canada.

The Canadian Development Fund, planned by the New Democratic Party, would channel Canadian savings into investment which puts Canada's interests first. The aim will be to create a dynamic economy, capable of holding its own in world markets, while at the same time ensuring full employment and growing prosperity for all Canadians.

A policy of this kind will decisively reverse the present trend toward increased foreign ownership. It will steadily enlarge the element of direct Canadian participation in our own economic affairs.



**T. C. Douglas, M.P. and Robert Cliche, Q.C.**

*"Leadership team for Canada."*

### **A Grave Crisis**

Canada is now facing the gravest crisis in her history. The survival of Confederation is now in question. Successive federal governments have failed to provide leadership or to develop a sense of national purpose. They have failed to understand the growth of a new sense of identity and purpose in French Canada.

To overcome this crisis, we need a new and dynamic approach to Confederation, balancing strong federal leadership with expanding opportunities for the provinces. To make Canada a strong and modern federal state, the central government must have the resources to deal with basic responsibilities like economic growth, full employment, full social security and the technological revolution.

In turn, provincial governments must have the financial and taxing resources and the constitutional powers necessary to meet a modern society's demand for education, development of industry and natural resources, highways and community planning and other fields within their jurisdiction.

# **For a Sense of National Purpose For the Survival of Confederation**

### **Shared Planning**

To carry out these responsibilities will require the close and permanent co-operation of the federal and provincial governments. New Democrats hold that planning must be kept as close to the people as possible, and this means that many decisions must be made at the provincial level.

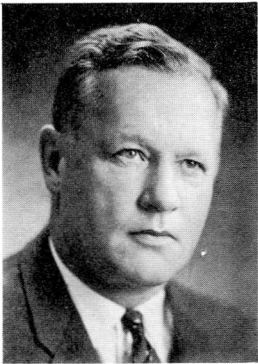
The nature of modern Canadian federalism must be embodied in a Canadian constitution which would:

- (a) guarantee to all Canadians basic freedoms by means of a constitutional bill of rights.
- (b) recognize, clarify and define the special status of Quebec as the guardian of French language, culture and tradition.
- (c) guarantee to French-speaking minorities outside Quebec the same linguistic rights that the English-speaking minority enjoys in Quebec.
- (d) make our constitution a wholly-Canadian document with its own amending procedure, but rejecting the rigidity of the Fulton-Favreau formula.

### **Federal - Provincial Relations**

Canada cannot be democratically governed behind the closed doors of a federal-provincial conference. If we are to develop as a modern, democratic federation, better machinery for federal-provincial co-operation must be worked out.

A New Democratic government will establish a permanent Federal-Provincial Planning and Development Council



**Andrew Brewin, M.P.**

*"No constitutional  
strait-jacket."*

to make sure that plans worked out in Ottawa and in the provincial capitals fit together.

The government responsibility for providing a better, fuller life for all Canadians falls largely on the provinces. However, there is a role for the federal government as well. Because of the large expenses involved, there must be an overall view of priorities which takes into account Canada-wide development. There is also a need to equalize standards across the country.

Many of these areas of activity such as education, town planning and rural development affect the cultural life of the community. In these fields, Quebec must have the assurance that she can differ from the rest of Canada.

Present cost-sharing and taxation agreements between Ottawa and the provinces have denied the provinces the flexibility and the revenue to take the initiative. A New Democratic government would be committed to a more flexible and modern program:

1. A new tax sharing scheme would increase the unconditional revenue of the provinces.
2. A new approach to the equalization of revenue between provinces would be introduced.
3. In many areas where federal funds are contributed to social capital projects like schools, hospitals and urban renewal, the present rigid conditional grants would be replaced by joint agreements to provide funds for certain broad objectives. In this way, provinces could develop according to local needs and conditions while, at the same time, common goals were being achieved across Canada.

### **Education**

Education in Canada is a provincial responsibility. But there are a number of areas of federal initiative where a New Democratic government would move, to make sure that this priceless investment in our future is given a higher priority.

The education of every youngster to his fullest capacity is a goal worthy of our united effort.

A New Democratic government would move decisively to enact the following program:

1. It would establish, in co-operation with the provinces, a federal secretariat of education, to co-ordinate various functions now being performed piecemeal in various locations.
2. It would assume three quarters of the capital cost of university construction.
3. It would immediately raise the per capita grant to universities from \$2.00 to \$3.00.
4. It would undertake an annual grant of \$1,000,000 to Maritime universities.
5. It would assume three quarters of the cost of vocational and technical training.
6. It would provide a broad program of bursaries and scholarships for students.
7. It would increase financial support for graduate schools.
8. A greatly intensified long-range analysis of our economy would be available to the provinces as a guide in establishing curricula and courses.
9. The practice of student exchanges within Canada and abroad would be promoted.
10. All private donations to universities would be deductible for income tax purposes and all universities would be exempt from federal sales tax.

### **Social Security**

*"The New Democratic Party believes that it is the right of every Canadian to have a guaranteed minimum income on the sole basis that he is a human being."*

We must have a co-ordinated network of social security measures which, taken together, will cover every individual at all stages of his life and in all aspects of his living.

An immediate need is adequate retirement income. A New Democratic government would extend the coverage of the Canada Pension Plan, make its benefits closer to income earned prior to retirement and adjust these benefits to changes in productivity and the cost of living.

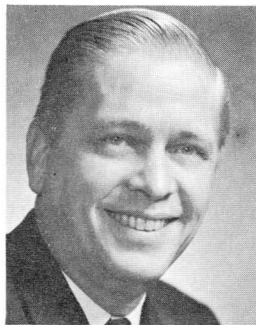
The Old Age Security payment would be raised from \$75 to \$100 per month and made available at age 65 without a means test.

Family allowances must also be brought into line with today's increased living costs and kept there by automatic adjustments. A New Democratic government would also work with provincial and municipal authorities to establish day care centres for children of mothers working outside the home.

A nation-wide survey of social services would be undertaken to find out exactly what the present gaps are and the Department of Health and Welfare would establish standards as a basis for filling the present gaps. Leadership would be given to mobilizing society's resources to provide care for the disabled, for socially disrupted families and for those who must, for various reasons, depend on the community for support and assistance.

These measures, which add up to a guaranteed minimum income for every Canadian, can only be sustained by a healthy, growing economy. But they will do away with much of the present necessity for repairing the damage of sickness, crime and ignorance. They are the difference between a sick and a healthy society.

### Medicare



**Dr. William Howe,  
M.P.**

*"There is no need  
to wait."*



**Reid Scott, M.P.  
and constituents**

*"We have an obligation."*

The New Democratic Party proudly pioneered Medicare in Saskatchewan. Today, we hold it out as a top priority goal for every citizen of Canada.

There is only one kind of Medicare — a comprehensive health insurance plan which ensures that every resident of Canada has access to the finest medical treatment, regardless of ability to pay.

A New Democratic government would act immediately to implement the full recommendations of the Hall Commission report, to ensure that universal Medicare becomes the next step toward good health for Canadians as a matter of right.

### The Consumer

The consumer in Canada and that includes everyone of us—is the lynchpin of our economy, and he is also most vulnerable. What defence has he against unjustified price increases, or misleading advertising or false packaging?

A New Democratic government would establish a Department of Consumer Affairs at Ottawa to administer the following program:

1. The establishment of a prices board to prevent unnecessary increases in the prices of basic household components.

2. Close supervision of all advertising under federal jurisdiction, with companies being prevented from deducting unreasonable amounts from their taxable income for promotional expenses.

3. Strict laws to prevent dishonest packaging.

4. Measures to safeguard the public interest in regard to the quality and price of drugs.

5. The mandatory full disclosure of consumer credit terms.

6. Encouragement of co-operative action at the retail level.



**Jeanne d'Arc Morin**

*"We are all consumers."*

### Election Finance

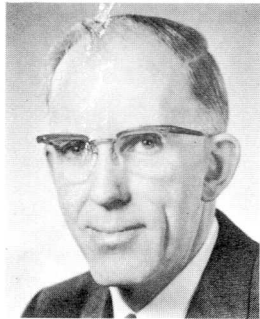
During recent years, there has also been growing concern about the influence of secret contributors to election campaign funds. The real and potential evils of this system can only be checked if there is a legal requirement that the source of all campaign contributions be made public and if election expenditures on behalf of candidates and parties are limited to reasonable amounts.

The New Democratic Party seeks the widest possible participation by Canadians in the government of their country. For this reason, it has pressed for the reduction of the voting age to eighteen and the right of civil servants to participate in the political life of their country.



## Parliamentary Reform

During the last three years, the inadequacies of Parliament have become a matter of widespread concern among Canadians. The reform of our democratic procedures is vital if Parliament is to conduct the country's business properly.



**Stanley Knowles, M.P.**

*"Widespread concern."*

"Widespread concern." motions which are now used as a device of party in-fighting.

The New Democratic Party also urges the elimination of the Senate as undemocratic, out-dated and a costly centre of party patronage.

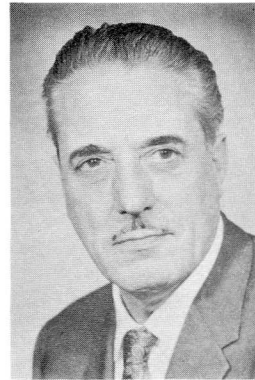
The New Democratic Party has put forward a series of proposals for reform. They are designed to modernize Parliament without crippling full discussion. These proposals include:

1. The establishment of an annual timetable for Parliament, with periods for House debates, committee work and constituency rounds.

2. The adoption of stricter procedural rules which would limit the length of speeches, restrict appeals from the Speaker's rulings and streamline the routine business of the House of Commons.

3. A drastic alteration of the practice of "want of confidence"

which are now used as a device of party in-fighting.



**Harold Winch, M.P.**

*"There can be idealism."*

4. Canada's technical assistance and trade with developing nations must be enormously expanded.

5. Canada will be opposed to the use of any kind of nuclear weapon, either by her own forces or on her own soil.

6. Canada must work to establish a non-nuclear club of nations.

7. Canada's armed forces will be trained for a highly mobile, conventional peace-keeping role.

8. Canada must work for a general nuclear disarmament treaty.

9. Canada should oppose the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the North Atlantic alliance.

10. Canada would oppose the prolongation of hostilities in Vietnam and would urge immediate negotiations to bring the war to an end.

11. Canada would be opposed to the unilateral intervention of any nation in the internal affairs of any other nation.

12. Canada would work for the admission of mainland China to the United Nations and for the establishment of diplomatic relations with that country.

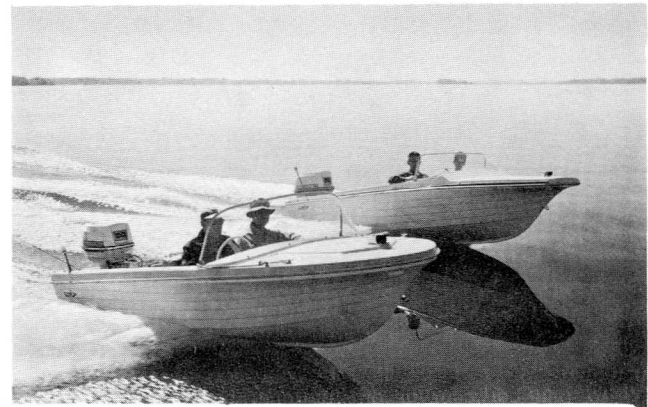
## International Affairs

A New Democratic government would have, as a major goal, the development of an independent and positive foreign policy based on the following principles:

1. The United Nations deserves our fullest support, including a much larger Canadian contribution towards its financing.

2. To strengthen United Nations peace-keeping forces, men and equipment of the Canadian armed services should be made available to the U.N. on a permanent basis.

3. Canada's contribution to overseas economic aid should be increased to one per cent and, eventually, to two per cent of our national product.



*"A new sense of freedom."*

## The New Democratic Party

The New Democratic Party was founded in Ottawa in the summer of 1961, at the largest political convention ever held in Canada. Over two thousand delegates worked for a week to hammer out a program designed to meet the needs of Canada in the 1960s and 1970s.

Since that time, two further conventions have revised and strengthened the program until, today, it is the only consistent and clear statement of policy being presented to the Canadian people.

Conventions are a regular feature of the New Democratic Party because, as its name implies, its keynote is democracy. Policies are decided by party members. Today, membership stands at upwards of 70,000 individuals across Canada, with a quarter of a million affiliated trade unionists.

Under the dynamic leadership of former provincial premier T. C. Douglas, the New Democrats won over a million votes in each of the federal elections of 1962 and 1963. In the years since 1963, the party's support has risen sharply, as indicated by by-election successes and the reports of public opinion polls.

The New Democratic Party has been created by its members to be a new kind of political party in Canada, pledged to give new leadership and to work out a new basis of democratic participation.



Founding Convention, Ottawa, 1961

*"I believe in Canada.*

*"I have faith in its future and am dedicated to its destiny.*

*"I believe that this country has the potential for greatness, not only in material terms, but also in the things of the mind and spirit.*

*"I believe that the ingenuity of our minds and the labour of our hands applied to our great resources can give Canada a standard of living and a quality of life far beyond our fondest dreams.*

*"I believe that the only thing we need to doubt is doubt itself. With faith in ourselves and a sense of national purpose, we can unite all Canadians—labour and industry, farmer and city dweller, Catholic and Protestant, Gentile and Jew, French-speaking and English—in a great crusade to make Canada a land where the good things of life will be enjoyed by all.*

*"I believe that a prosperous Canada can be a mighty force for peace in a troubled world. We seek no military conquest or territorial aggrandizement. Instead, we shall use the many gifts providence has bestowed to help nations less fortunate than ourselves and to wage constant war against poverty, ignorance and disease the world round.*

*"I believe that if we accept this article of faith and put it into practice, the day will surely come when our children and our children's children will sing with pride*

*"O Canada . . . with glowing hearts we see thee rise, the true north strong and free."*

—FROM A SPEECH BY T. C. DOUGLAS



**T. C. Douglas**

FEDERAL LEADER  
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY