

FORWARD ONTARIO

UNITY FOR VICTORY,
PEACE AND PROSPERITY

LP
F5012

1944 M187

By **Leslie Morris**

Ontario Leader, Labor-Progressive Party

FIVE CENTS



LP
F5012 1944 M87

Herein is published the keynote speech



*Purchased for the Lorne Pierce Collection
at Queen's University on the
Edith Chown Pierce Trust*

as the Statement of Policy and the
Platform of the Party in Ontario.

Published by the
Ontario Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party,
Room 107, 95 King St. E., Toronto, Ont.

450
18-9-64
Patrol

AT NO time in the history of Ontario was there a greater need for a clear cut labor policy. The labor movement is facing new problems, problems for which there are no cut and dried solutions in any textbook ever written, for how could textbooks be written on such events as we have experienced, and will still experience, in these world shaking days? Who could have foretold in any textbook that such a Declaration as the one signed on December 6 at Teheran would bear the names of the great Socialist leader, Stalin, and the great leaders of the capitalist democracies, Churchill and Roosevelt? Who could have foretold in any textbook that already, while the war is still being fiercely fought, the foundations of new democratic liberal states are being laid in Yugoslavia, France, Italy, Poland, and most of the countries of Central and Western Europe—states that are not socialist in their nature, but genuine coalitions of workers, peasants, priests, businessmen and intellectuals? Who could have foretold in any textbook that the world would today, in 1944, be able to face the magnificent prospect of peace for generations to come, as Teheran has said? Who could have foretold the fact that the 16 Republics which make up the Soviet Union, whose mighty military prowess and heroism are smashing forever the arrogant divisions of the Nazi army, would have so sealed the bonds of friendship with the great capitalist states as to open up the possibilities of economic expansion for all countries, capitalist and socialist, and the creation of a great new world market in which every peaceable state can fully share? Who could have foretold that the great crisis which swept the capitalist world into a bloody war, and which swept up to engulf the Socialist sixth of the world, would have resulted in the cementing of an alliance which is more than a war alliance, but is destined to bring peace and economic well-being to mankind?

No, these things were not foretold in textbooks, neither were they the products of some mysterious power. They have been created by the most bloody struggle against barbarism in the history of man, by the fact that socialism and capitalist democracy faced a common enemy, fascism, and in the course of fighting that common enemy for their very lives, have given birth to a new epoch in human history. While we could not have foretold these things, and while we cannot find ready-made answers in the textbooks, in the classics of Marx,

Engels and Lenin we *can* find a guide to action and the *method* by which to adjudge the responsibilities and duties of true Socialists. But we can do this only if we are diligent and if we understand their words as living political things, as creative science, and not dogmas and formulae.

For this war has changed everything. From the daily life of our women who have gone from the narrow confines of the home into the factories to meet new experiences and to take their rightful place in public affairs, to the lives of states and the relation of states to other states—yes, up to a new relationship between social systems that are as different as day and night—everything has been changed by this war.

So the policies of the labor movement must change—as indeed they already have in this war. Have not the trade unions voluntarily surrendered their strike weapon? How many unionists could have foreseen that five years ago? Has not the whole labor and people's movement founded its policy on national unity and the needs of victory and departed, with some exceptions, from a policy of class struggle in wartime?

But we face the need for further changes. These changes have been charted for our party, and for the whole labor movement, by the speech delivered last week-end by Tim Buck, our national leader, to the national committee of our party. Later in this convention Comrade Buck will tell you himself what these changes are as they affect Canada's part in the world. For us in Ontario, the policy of our party in our province must be charted at this convention on the basis of these great and fundamental changes, along the lines indicated by Tim Buck. We must start from the Teheran Declaration. We must do this not because of any special allegiance to the three powers who signed that declaration, but because in that Declaration Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin spoke for all democratic and peace-loving mankind. They spoke for Canada. We must do so because Teheran is the beginning of a new period of human history, different than ever existed before. It is a period of growth, not of decay. It is a period of the extension of democracy, not of fascism. It is a period of the common man, as Henry Wallace has said. It is a period where class conflict and class crisis must give way to national and world unity, on the basis of peace between the nations, respect for the rights of nations, and an expanding world economy which includes socialist and capitalist economies, and whose first task is the rehabilitation of the untold millions who have been pauperized by this war. It is a period in which the task of true Socialists becomes clear—to stand firmly on the Teheran line.

Teheran starts from the fact that the Axis is being defeated,

that the blows from the east, west and south which will be rained on Hitler this year will mean his doom, and by the same token the doom of the filthy despotisms which for generations have held back the free development of European nations and their replacement by liberal democracies. It will mean an era of liberation in the East. The defeat of the Axis will mean that the fascist threat to world peace, economy and civilization itself will have been removed. It means that the people and governments must so shape their actions that it will never return again, that the sole alternative to this—chaos and catastrophe—must at all costs be averted.

One can only begin to realize what that will mean. Perhaps it will be in the coming weeks and months, when our Canadian forces at long last descend upon the shores of Western Europe as part of a great liberating army, that we shall begin fully to realize what the defeat of fascism means—when we shall suffer those losses in dead and wounded which the peoples of Europe and of China have suffered for so many long and bitter days.

In this spirit of change, then, changed policies in a changed world, changed opinions in changed conditions, and in a manner that will put our party work in order to meet the great *new* developments which Teheran has cast before us, that we must meet in this convention, resolved that as a provincial organization of the Labor-Progressive Party we must do our part in this key province of our Dominion.

What should our policy be in Ontario at this time?

What Should Our Policy Be?

ONTARIO is the arch-stone of the Dominion of Canada. Within its borders live almost one-third of the people of the Dominion. It is Canada's first industrial province, and first in the production of agricultural commodities. Its vast area stretches from the St. Lawrence Valley to the edge of the Great Western Plain; from the Great Lakes in the south its territory sweeps up to the shores of the Hudson's Bay. Enormous stores of fruits, grains, metals, timber, furs, hydro-electric power, dairy products, cattle and manufactured products have poured from the application of the labor of its people to the inexhaustible resources of our Province. Even the great Pre-Cambrian Shield which covers the greatest part of Ontario's land has been exploited to the benefit of mankind.

All this mighty productive capacity has been thrown unstintingly into the war against the barbaric Axis and for the freedom of man-

kind. Ontario's endowments of labor and national resources have wrought miracles in the fashioning of the mighty people's war machine which the Dominion of Canada has created to defeat the Axis powers. Our province has leaped forward in the course of the people's war. New industries have sprung up. A great new working force, including two hundred thousand women workers, has been trained in the most modern plants in the world. Its industrialization and the productivity of its farms and mines have developed to such a high level that its citizens are seized with the unshakeable conviction that Ontario's mighty economic and social growth, which was halted by the economic crisis of the pre-war years, must not stop with the coming of peace, but must continue, and must bring greater benefits to its citizens and to Canada as a whole in the shape of jobs, better wages, higher farm income, modern homes and social security. They have come to understand that the conditions for the further development of Ontario are those for the progress of the entire Dominion, and that the presence in their province of one of the most highly developed productive areas in the world must result in a future in which Ontario's people must enjoy the fruits of their labor, skill and ingenuity.

The strong democratic traditions of Ontario, which are rooted in the past struggles for freedom of trade and industry and responsible government, have likewise grown and flourished in the people's war against fascism. Ontario's record of recruitment into the armed forces is a splendid one. The movements for total war have had their origin in the Province of Ontario. Its people have gallantly responded to the needs of the war, in factory, mine, office and mill; in the forests, at managerial desks and at the machines. The record of our Province is a cause for pride to all democratic Canadians.

This has been possible because of the unity of Ontario's people and their firm resolve to grasp victory in total war with the Axis. This popular unity has taken on the character of unity among all classes of the population. It is a national unity.

In making the supreme effort yet needed to win the victory and to preserve the independence of Canada and her freedom from future aggression, Ontario people are resolved that this shall be the last war and that a new world must now be born.

Ontario and National Unity

While preparing to make the greatest sacrifices in this, the most furious and bloody stage of the people's war, and in the year of the invasion of Europe by our forces, Ontario's people are seized with

the most ardent desire and stern determination to achieve a better post-war life. Already the planning of that world is on the agenda of peoples everywhere. Bleeding and suffering humanity is inspired by the great vista of an epoch of peaceful economic and social development which has been opened up by the prospect of victory over the Axis and the post-war collaboration of the peace-loving nations, led by the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., which was sealed in the Declaration of Teheran.

The war is destroying the most awful threat to the peace and security of the world's people—the Fascist Axis. It is at the same time breaking down age-old, despotic barriers which have for so long prevented the forward development of nations everywhere. The war is preparing the construction and reconstruction of new democratic states in Europe and the East, in which all classes and parties are combining to assure the satisfaction of the needs and rights of the people. Such a progressive happening cannot but have profound repercussions on the whole world, to such an extent that Canada, whose economic system is emerging from the war stronger and more productive than ever before, is faced with great new opportunities for further economic growth and new markets, providing national unity is preserved and far-reaching measures of economic and social security are carried through.

In projecting its work and program in Ontario in the spirit of these new times and new tasks, the Labor-Progressive Party seeks to unite with the people of all classes and political parties in Ontario to ensure that these most precious fruits of the peace will be gathered by the people. To do this means a determination by all democratic people to continue wartime national and provincial unity into the peace years, to guarantee that the political freedom, world peace and economic advancement secured in the fires of war shall be retained in the interests of Canada as a whole, and that there shall not be a return to the political reaction, danger of war and economic and social crisis and decay which cursed our people in the pre-war days.

This, we declare, is a task for all Canadians, regardless of political philosophy or economic category. The alternative to this is political upheaval and economic and social decay; civil strife, world disaster and fascism.

Ontario's duty is plain. It is, to unite her forces to prevent any return to the political reaction in this province in the 1930's, when the pro-fascist groups succeeded in preventing the democratic unification of Ontario with the rest of Canada to solve the problems of the depression and stop the advance of fascism.

We must remember the grave threats of those days, and resolve

that they shall not be repeated. Instead, we must seize the opportunity which the Teheran Declaration, national unity and economic growth in wartime have given us, to assure that Ontario governmental policy shall be designed to accomplish the following: to further expand the production of Ontario in factory, mill and on the farm; to increase the share of the people in the income drawn from production; to provide full employment to every citizen of Ontario at good wages and to regard as the first charge the provision of jobs and security to every man and woman discharged from the armed forces; to carry through, in close co-operation with the Dominion government, large-scale reforms to provide for the social security of our citizens; to closely co-operate with the other eight Provinces, and especially with the Province of Quebec, to establish a high Dominion standard of life, based on expanding production and higher incomes for the workers, farmers and middle classes.

For the achievement of these progressive aims, which are implicit in a true people's peace, the Labor-Progressive Party in Ontario will seek to co-operate with all other groups, and will subordinate all party considerations, to the end that the government of Ontario shall so conduct its work as to intervene as a force for economic and social progress and as a means of organizing the contributions of Ontario's business and industrial interests to this end.

The Labor-Progressive Party warns that this truly progressive and realistic aim which unites all the genuine democratic people of all classes will be opposed by the forces of reaction, who refuse to see the good of the Province in such terms, but who will place their narrow class interests above those of the people as a whole. The narrow interests of this small group among the capitalist class are designed to remove all democratic control upon them, such as the excess profits tax, and to return to the jungle-like days of the 1930's when these same elements refused to let their piled up reserves be employed, and locked starving men and women out of the very industries which supply the necessities of life.

But these actually pro-fascist interests do not include all the employing class, or all the members and leaders of the old-line parties. On the contrary, the vast majority of the employers, and the members and supporters of the old-line parties, along with the labor and farmers' organizations, favor democratic policies, economic growth with higher living standards, and reforms. But, as in the days before the war, so now and in the future, small but powerful groups will strive to obstruct reforms by propaganda, lies, deceit and attacks of all kinds, and will seize the first opportunity to obtain control of governments.

These men and groups are pro-fascist. Their path leads to civil

strife, to jingoist policies, to the destruction of the labor and people's organizations, to the blackout of civil liberties, to disruption of national unity and to a rebirth on a world scale of the forces of fascism and appeasement which together brought about the present bloody war. In their fear of democracy, even the democracy their own capitalist system has created, these men and groups raise the Communist bogey in order to divide the population; they spread anti-Soviet lies and slander to weaken wartime unity; they seek constantly to maintain the inequalities of the people of Quebec, profitable for themselves, by subtly and evilly spreading national hatreds to divide French and English speaking Canadians; they seek, under cover of a "free enterprise" campaign to represent all desires for reforms as "revolution and regimentation".

The political tactic of these groups is to divide and defeat those parties and people who stand for reform. The Labor-Progressive Party warns the people of Ontario that the possibility of the success of these tactics is by no means small, and that it will require constant vigilance and the greatest democratic unity among all parties to oppose, expose and defeat these conspiracies against the people's peace.

The elements who *can* defeat these forces, and ensure the democratic, united path forward are to be found in the Liberal Party, the Progressive Conservative Party, in the C.C.F., the trade unions, the Labor-Progressive Party, in the armed forces, in the farmers' organizations and among the youth.

These together embrace the majority of the people of Ontario. But unless that majority is united; unless agreement is reached on the reforms to be carried through, and unless the work of these groups is marked by the spirit which motivated the Teheran agreement and is vigorously pursued, then the danger of reactionary governments will become grave indeed.

It is more true today than ever before, that "eternal vigilance is the price of freedom."

The Labor Movement in Ontario

IN ALL this the labor movement in Ontario has a special responsibility. The great trade unions which have grown up during the war, and the swift upsurge of the third party movement as expressed in the C.C.F., are the strongest bulwarks of democratic progress in Ontario. It is the stern duty of the labor movement in Ontario to reach agreement on the supreme issue of post-war progress. The most menacing present threat to labor unity, and consequently to national

unity, is the injection of the false issue of "free enterprise versus socialism" into Ontario politics. Responsibility for this is not only to be found in the vicious campaign as exemplified by Gladstone Murray. It is, unfortunately, also to be found in the policies and tactics of the Ontario C.C.F. leadership, which so far has insisted on counter-posing public-ownership "socialism" to democratic-progressive unity for social reform. Such a policy endangers the whole success of the post-war reform program, for it divides and weakens the labor movement. It risks the success of the reforms by excluding from participation in winning them large sections of the employers and the old-line parties who are alienated by such propaganda, yet who are in favor of and indispensable to the achievement of economic development and social reform within the present capitalist system. It provides the anti-reform and pro-fascist groups with the political weapon they need to stampede large numbers of people with the bogey of "regimentation". It alienates many among the middle classes and the farmers from taking part in the reform movement, and makes difficult, if not impossible, the cementing of farmer-labor unity.

The duty of all socialist-minded people in Ontario is not to raise divisive "class against class" policies and slogans which can only play into the hands of the pro-fascists by dividing the pro-reform democratic camp, but to help to achieve reforms by realizing the economic possibilities for Ontario's development within the present capitalist system. These possibilities are enormous, and the people of Ontario, in their majority, are still of the opinion that the present system of private ownership can work to their benefit. Defeatists and doubters will not convince the masses otherwise. They will only isolate themselves and earn the scorn of the people. On the basis of an increase in the purchasing power of the people of Ontario, by means of practical reform measures to provide a floor under wages and under prices to the farmer, and by way of a policy of the active development of Ontario's natural resources and the encouragement of world markets as envisaged by the plans to rehabilitate Europe and the East, Ontario can go ahead, the vast majority of the capitalists, small business people, farmers and workers can co-operate, and an unshakeable camp of progressives and democrats can be formed to win the people's peace and defeat the pro-fascist schemers.

The Labor-Progressive Party believes that there is already sufficient agreement upon the reforms that are needed, and the post-war policies to be pursued, to permit the creation now of a wide, deep united front in Ontario embracing the majority of its people as they are now united upon victory. It appeals to the C.C.F. leaders to come into this great crusade by joining with all other groups for the securing

of those practical measures in the post-war without which the peace will be lost.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, believes that if real and working unity is achieved now on the paths to be pursued after the war, the war effort of the people of Ontario will be stimulated and the willingness to sacrifice on the part of the armed forces, the war workers and the farmers will become immeasurably greater. Then, the prospect will be that the end of the war will see the united march forward to a better Ontario for all.

The Labor-Progressive Party is of the opinion that party labels are not the basis of political judgment. Policies—the attitude to the reforms so urgently needed for the further economic development and social security of Ontario—must be the basis of such judgment, and is the only true guide to action in the present situation.

The Ontario Government

IT IS in this way that the present Progressive-Conservative government of Ontario must be judged. It would be the worst service to the cause of victory and progress were the parties in Ontario to pursue a path of purely party advantage. The salient fact about Ontario politics today is that they are in a fluid state. The majority of the voters in the last Ontario election went on record for sweeping reforms. That was the basis of the swift rise of the C.C.F. as the second parliamentary party in the Province. It partly explains the vote for the Progressive-Conservatives.

Yet the government rests upon a minority, headed by Premier Drew. This must not be the prelude to chaos in Ontario politics, to a clash between the classes. The people rightly demand that the Ontario Legislature and all parties within it unite to carry through those practical measures to erect the structure now of post-war Ontario for which a majority of them voted. The Drew government has shown that it is partially sensitive to this fact by already enacting some of the points contained in its 22-point election platform.

The Drew government will be judged on the basis of whether or not it carries through, in their entirety, the policies advanced not only by itself, but by all the groups in the Legislature. On the same basis, the anti-reform elements in the Drew government and among the Liberals will be exposed for all to see.

It is the special duty of the labor bloc in the Ontario Legislature, the C.C.F. and Labor-Progressive members, to seek out all possible means for the establishment of such unity, and to advance proposals

on which the greatest measure of agreement can be secured. In this sense, the public ownership program for Ontario "socialism" espoused by the C.C.F. leaders is not a measure which can lead to agreement, for it is not one upon which the widest co-operation can be achieved. On the contrary, the advancement of such a program can split the forces of democratic progress, and precipitate the governmental crisis for which certain reactionaries are working in order to gain power to advance their anti-reform aims. Such a development would mean disaster for Ontario, and precipitate a crisis in the Dominion, for it is certain that these elements would use Ontario's key position to gain control of the Dominion government, or at least to sabotage the national reforms which require Ontario's whole-hearted co-operation if they are to succeed.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, warns against Ontario sectionalism, and against harmful jingoism which at the moment is rallying around the imperialist centralization proposals of Lord Halifax. Ontario support for such anti-Teheran schemes will endanger the whole post-war prospect for enduring peace. On the contrary, Ontario must take the position that Canadian democracy and unity require that the Province shall become the leader among the other provinces by making national unity for post-war reforms its main task.

It is the responsibility of the Dominion government to lead the war effort. Ontario must give full co-operation in this by carrying through the legislation that national unity requires. If Ontario fails to do this and instead continues the obstructive practices of pre-war governments, it can become the main stumbling block to democratic progress.

This is to be seen most of all in the history of Quebec-Ontario relations. We have the example in the past of an "axis" of Ontario and Quebec which constituted a reactionary obstacle to the democratic unification of Canada. Ontario democracy must prevent the reformation of any future "axis" of a like nature. The encouragement by Ontario of isolationism and reaction in Quebec for the purposes of blocking national reforms would smash national unity and create strife in Canada which could lead to the victory of reaction on a national scale. On the contrary, Ontario must encourage the development of the forces making for national unity in Quebec, and must realize that the program for democratic progress in Canada after the war, on the basis of an expanded Canadian economy, will mean breaking down the economic barriers which have excluded Quebec's people from full participation in the benefits of Canadian national development. These barriers consist of a lower standard of life in

Quebec, special exploitation of the French Canadian people by monopolies, and discrimination against Quebec as best expressed in the statements of certain Ontario political figures that the French-Canadians are a "conquered people".

It is in Ontario's best interests that Quebec shall fully and freely participate in the economic prosperity and higher social benefits which can be gained by the development of Canadian economy. This is not a "Quebec question" alone but a burning matter for Ontario politics and for Canada as a whole. Agreement on this between the people of Quebec and those of Ontario will be the greatest single democratic achievement for the entire Dominion. It would immeasurably strengthen Canada's ability to deal with post-war problems in an efficacious manner.

Ontario can make a practical contribution to this within its own boundaries by jealously guarding the language, religious and cultural rights of French Canadians in Ontario.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, declares that the government of Ontario must initiate its own independent measures to speed the enactment of social reforms, and to remove the obstacles to economic progress in Canada. It must review and revise its attitude to present Dominion-Provincial practices and relations with this aim in mind, in order that constitutional or legal forms can be reformed and nothing permitted to stand in the way of bringing the Canadian constitution up to date. The interests of the province demand that the Dominion parliament shall be given the power to assume full responsibility for national measures such as health insurance, labor legislation and similar matters, without recourse to the parliament of Great Britain. The government of Ontario must approach the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations in the light of the requirements of the war and the post-war period, and must not allow outworn constitutional concepts to obstruct reforms, as they did in the pre-war period.

Likewise, the province must approach its relations with the municipalities in a similar spirit. The municipalities are organs of local government which are indispensable to the carrying through of reforms such as housing and city planning. They are governed by provincial legislation. The Legislature must therefore revise the Municipal Act and bring the powers of the municipalities into line with post-war planning. The province must remove from the municipalities the burden of relief and institute these and similar measures so as to enable the municipalities to fulfil the part demanded of them in the war and the period of post-war development.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, declares its

readiness to collaborate with all other individuals and groups for these high aims which are those of all democratic and progressive people in Ontario:

1. All-out effort to win the war, to continue uninterrupted production and to back up our fighting forces with all our powers.
2. To plan post-war economic expansion on the basis of greater Ontario production, the increase of exports, the higher consumption of goods by Ontario's people to raise their living standards, and social reform in the spirit of the unity of all classes and parties.
3. To press upon and support the government of Ontario in the passage of social reform legislation demanded by the people, and to unite with all democratic forces to oppose and defeat any person or group of persons who advance policies which are opposed to carrying through the reforms the Ontario people voted for.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, urges all who subscribe to the Dominion program of the party, and who endorse this statement for Ontario, to enroll in its ranks.

The Labor-Progressive Party, Ontario section, will fight for the following Platform for Ontario Progress in company with all other parties and groups, and will support all legislation which furthers the achievement of these aims:

The Party's Platform

Victory, Progress and Peace

For the full prosecution of the war, all-out and uninterrupted production, and the complete mobilization of the human and material resources to win the speediest victory over the Axis. For the reorganization of the world on the basis of the Teheran Declaration, which alone offers the prospect of peace and orderly progress for Canada. Ontario must co-operate with the Dominion in order to found Canada's policies solidly upon these principles.

The Industrial Development of Ontario

The full industrial development of Ontario, on the basis of the full peacetime utilization of the technical progress attained in the war. Immediate plans for the conversion of wartime industries to peacetime uses, to provide for the great export markets the end of the war will bring, to produce the enormous

quantities of goods for the expanding Canadian market which must be created by the increase in the purchasing power of the people, the replenishment of depleted necessities and the building up of Canadian homes, icties, towns and farms. The fullest use of the modern principles of chemurgy (the industrial use of agricultural products) to construct new industries for the making of plastics, alcohols, plywoods and synthetic materials. Government assistance to the growing steel industry of Ontario made possible by the development of iron ore deposits. Assist the growth of the timber industry and adopt a vigorous policy of reforestation and conservation of timber resources. Assistance to the development of base metal mining and smelting to correct the abnormal one-sided development of gold-mining. Speedy construction of the St. Lawrence Waterways and the further development of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power system. The establishment of secondary industries in the rural areas to promote their economic development. Encouragement of all forms of consumers' co-operation.

The Development Of Ontario Agriculture

A bold and democratic provincial agricultural policy to increase Ontario farm production for war and post-war needs, and to check the growth of landlordism and tenancy in Ontario agriculture and the decline of the sown acreage. Maintenance of the family farm, owned and operated by the farm family itself, to be the foundation of Provincial agricultural policy. The correction of the spreads in prices between agricultural commodities and industrial products, by legislation directed to this end, and by curbing the packing and processing monopolies, especially in the new industries which use agricultural crops for their raw materials. A floor under farm prices to the grower, and legislation to prevent higher prices to the consumer. The payment of provincial subsidies to farmers where necessary, and low-interest credits by the province. Reduction in the price of agricultural machinery. Orderly marketing through democratically elected boards of farmers in each community, and planned production through farm production committees working in close conjunction with the provincial department of agriculture. The establishment of technical centres and machine repair depots to increase farm efficiency. The encouragement of farmers' co-operatives. The thorough survey of Ontario's arable land, to improve sub-marginal lands and provide soil nourishment, to guarantee the settlement of veterans upon good land, and to resettle farmers from poor or exhausted land on to such good land. Free scholarships to farm youth, and demobilized veterans, in a larger system of agricultural schools and colleges. A vigorous program for rural electrification, to bring the Hydro into every farm

home in Ontario. A minimum wage for farm labor, and the inclusion of farm workers in all protective legislation.

Reconstruction Councils A system of Reconstruction Councils, in each community, including representatives of the legislature and government departments, municipal councils, school boards, political parties, veterans' organizations, trade unions, boards of trade, employers' associations, churches, youth and women groups, co-operatives, etc., for the planning of reconstruction measures, and to assist the government in knowing what is most required to establish social security, civic development, the smoothest demobilization of the armed forces, city and town planning, and generally to serve as a mobilization force for the involvement of the public in the task of building a better Ontario. Such a movement will provide a popular basis for the Ministry of Planning and Development established by the present government, and for this purpose two steps seem advisable: the calling of a provincial convention of such Councils to form a permanent provincial body; and the setting up of an Advisory Committee formed similarly to these Councils to assist the Minister of Planning and Development.

Employment Jobs at good wages for every able-bodied person, in an expanding industrial and farming economy, as the foundation for Ontario reconstruction after the war. No discrimination against women or youth or those of varying national origins, in the post war and industrial conversion periods.

Demobilization and Rehabilitation Full co-operation by Ontario with the Dominion government in the great task of discharging, demobilizing and rehabilitating the armed forces and merchant marine. The province should support and recommend plans to guarantee jobs, adequate mustering-out pay, training for employment at full army maintenance rates, higher pensions, higher clothing allowances, better hospitalization pay, and full post-war medical care. It must be Ontario's declared policy to train our armed forces for employment, and to make their re-establishment and civil re-settlement the task of both industry and agriculture. Until all members of the armed forces are re-established, they should receive full pay and allowances.

Hours of Work and Wages An 8-hour day and a 5-day week, mandatory for all industries in the peace and prior to that time if war conditions permit in order to assist the absorption into peacetime industries of laid-off war workers. Vacations with pay. Suitable amendments to the Factory Act to prevent

the indiscriminate employment of child labor. Amendment of the Minimum Wage Act to include male workers, and to provide a minimum wage of \$25 weekly for all adult workers, and corresponding rates for learners and apprentices. Equal pay for equal work for women workers. The maintenance of wage standards after the war and the upward revision of sub-standard wages.

A Democratic Labor Code The Ontario Government should co-operate with the Dominion to secure the necessary amendment to the British North America Act to make an improved Dominion Labor Code a permanent statute applicable to all employees in all provinces.

Relief The adoption of the Tisdale-Willard-Bell standard for all relief payments, plus a 10% cost-of-living bonus. The province should take over from the municipalities the burden of all relief costs.

Pensions and Allowances Old-age pensions commencing at 60 years at the rate of \$40 monthly, on a non-contributory basis. Repeal of all penalizing legislation which compels pensioners to surrender their houses or prove poverty to qualify, or which unduly limits their ability to earn supplementary wages. Higher mothers' allowances. Increased pensions for the blind.

Social Insurance The province should adopt the principle of a Dominion national social insurance scheme.

Workmen's Compensation One hundred per cent compensation for all injured workers during the full period of disability. Extension of the present act to cover all workers, and the inclusion of occupational diseases as compensable under the Act.

Housing, Town Planning The planning of Ontario's cities and towns to create modern hygienic cities and to remove the blighted areas. The government must possess full development rights regardless of the special interests of large property owners. Within the new Ministry of Planning and Development, the government should set up a Department of Housing and a Department of Town Planning, with the necessary authority to proceed with these projects and to organize and approve the plans of the municipalities. The province must co-operate fully with the federal housing plan, and look upon itself as the initiator and executor of housing and town planning projects.

Public Works and Community Welfare

The province must build a wide network of urban and rural hospitals, to place modern hospitals within reach of every citizen. A program of new rural schools, new and modern highways, communal centres, creches, kindergartens and gymnasia, recreational centres, etc., must be undertaken as public works to increase the communal life of Ontario. The province should take advantage of existing Dominion legislation and finances to inaugurate a program of physical fitness and industrial recreation.

Health Insurance

Adoption by the province of the principle of federal health insurance now being elaborated by the Dominion Government.

Taxation

Re-allocation of tax authority by agreement between the Dominion and the province, to provide for the assumption of by the Federal government of the cost of social insurance.

Constitutional Reform

The constitutional relations between the Dominion and the provinces must be changed to provide for the establishment, organization and financing of national social standards and civil rights, and to expand the economy of Canada. This can be fully achieved only on a Dominion-wide basis. Ontario, as the foremost industrial and farming province, must take a leading part in supporting such constitutional changes as will make possible the establishment of Dominion laws with respect to health, labor, employment, wages, etc., and should support reform of the Dominion-provincial-taxation structure to provide for the operation of these reforms.

Civil Rights

The extension and greater protection of the civil rights of the citizens. The Legislature should enact legislation making it an offense to practice, utter or encourage any form of discrimination against any citizen or group of citizens on account of their national, racial or religious origin or beliefs. The provincial franchise should be extended to all citizens reaching the age of 18, and the municipal vote should be extended to all who are entitled to vote in provincial elections.

Education

The province to take over a large share of education costs. A program of free scholarships to institutions of higher learning, including the full maintenance of the student, for all Ontario's young people who show the necessary capacities. Extension of vocational training to give an opportunity for the securing of industrial skill by all young people, including maintenance allowances.

The province should revise the textbooks now in use in the spirit of the United Nations' alliance, and the spirit of post-war collaboration between the nations, on the sound basis of estimating education as training for democracy and to strengthen the militant guardianship of the principle of self-determination by all peoples of their own social order and form of government. The consolidation of rural school districts to make possible the better organisation of rural teaching and to extend educational facilities in remote districts. The improvement of the conditions and an upward revision of the salaries of all teachers within the Province, especially in the rural centres, with a view to bringing the conditions of the rural teachers closer to the urban level. Full recognition of the teachers' associations as agencies for protecting their living standards and to maintain the qualification of the profession. Application of the "equal pay for equal work" principle to men and women teachers in both the elementary and secondary schools. The enforcement by the province of higher standards in the quality of the schools and school equipment. The province should encourage and organize the greater use of our school buildings for after-school activities for the young and old, both as a measure to combat juvenile delinquency and as a means of providing additional centres of community life within our province. The establishment of creches, kindergartens and adequately supervised playground facilities wherever needed.

Municipal Reform

Revision of the Municipal Act as demanded by the growth of cities and towns, and away from the present basis of the Act, which is that of a rural economy. The constitution of the Municipal Board on a democratic and modern basis. Revision of the Assessment Act to remove obstacles to civic development, post-war planning and housing.

Make Ontario a Bulwark of Democracy

Ontario was the home of the great Reformers, William Lyon Mackenzie, Robert Gourlay, Egerton Ryerson and George Brown, who with Louis Joseph Papineau of Quebec in a great and inspiring collaboration led the fight a century ago for national unity and responsible government—those political conditions which all democrats realized were necessary if the paths were to be opened to trade and the exploitation of the untapped resources of the central region, the middle west and the Pacific coast.

These great Reformers led the fight against the reactionary clique

—symbolized in the Family Compact and Sir Francis Bond Head— which obstructed the growth of Canadian trade, industry and employment and that responsible government which alone could build the Dominion from sea to sea.

The Reformers of Quebec and Ontario united to achieve this goal and led the great social movement which finally culminated in Confederation and the birth of Ontario as a province in 1867. That must be repeated today, in this new time.

Allied with the reformers were the first Canadian trade unions in Quebec and Ontario. The yeomen and mechanics of the 1830's were a living part of the struggle to unite Canada and clear the paths leading towards her political and economic unity and maturity. Samuel Lount, the blacksmith and Peter Matthews, the farmer, the martyrs of the democratic movements of 1837, were the fathers of the labor and farm movements of Ontario. The labor and farm movements today must emulate their example.

The unity of English and French, of middle class reformer and trade unionist, of merchant and farmer, was the wellspring from which flowed the great democratic movements of a century ago in our Province and Quebec. The deep, democratic impulses of the Ontario people outfought the die-hard cliques, and it is Mackenzie, Lount and Matthews who today are revered by Canadian democrats, not the infamous reactionary conspirators of that time.

So today, Ontario and our country as a whole, faces a new testing time. The world war against fascism has given us that people's unity, that economic resurgence, and that fighting spirit which can and will gain the victory not only over fascist enemy, but against those minority groups who still seek to force Canada into the paths of crisis and stagnation. Today the labor movement is stronger than ever it has been in the history of our country. Now, there is a greater unity of aim and purpose among all our people than ever before. The people of Ontario possess the means to make of this province a strong, prosperous and united province in a greater and more democratic Canada. We possess these means because of the blood which our sons at Dieppe and in Italy, and the sons of many peoples, have spilled in the battle against the fascist oppressors of mankind, and which will yet drench the soil of many lands. We must resolve: their blood must not be shed in vain! It must water the tree of people's liberty.

Canadian unity for victory, for peace and for progress! Ontario unity to make of our province the strongest bulwark of Canadian democracy and social advancement! This is the aim of all true democrats today!