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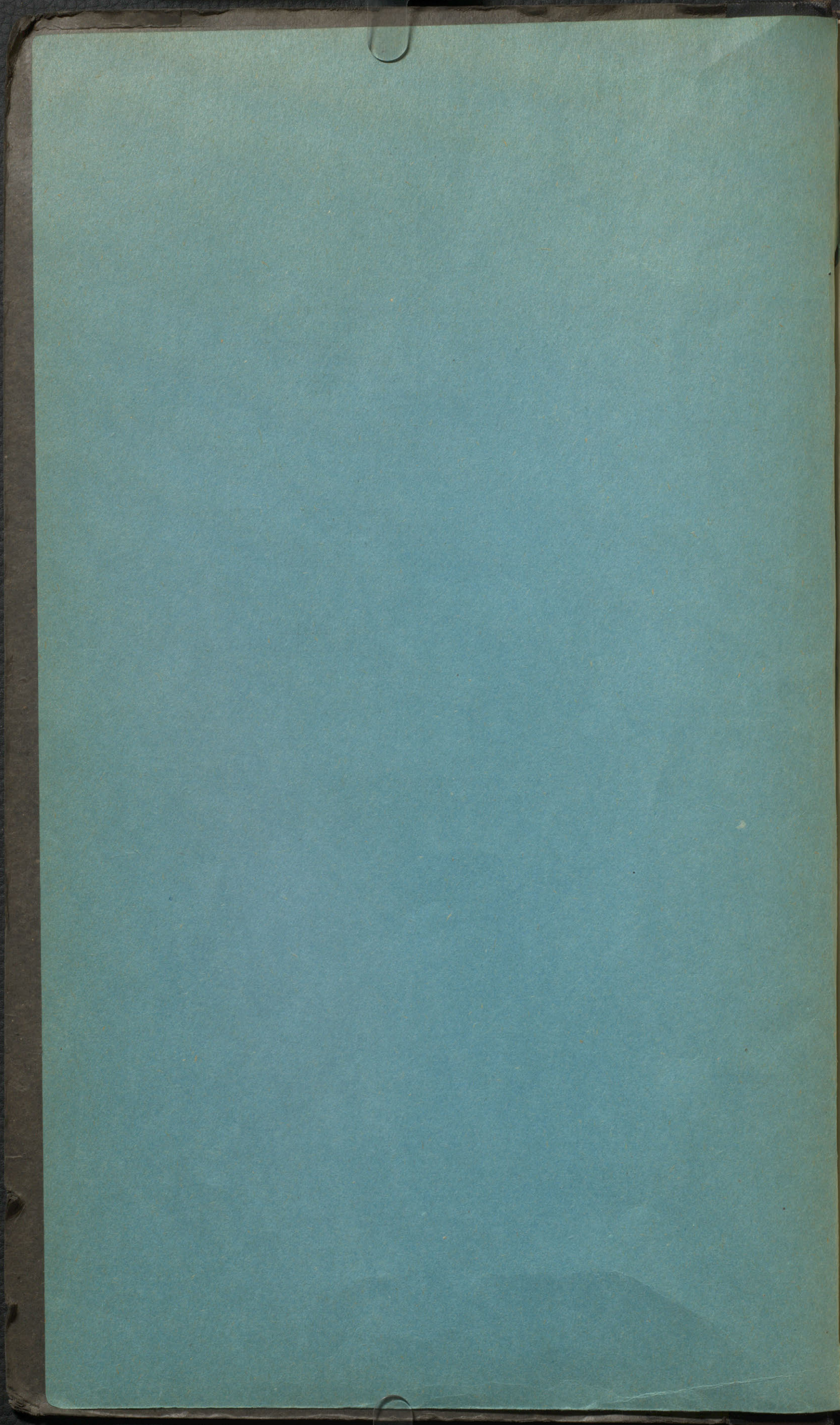
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THE
C.C.F.
MARCHES ON

Full Report

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
of the
COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION
held in
WINNIPEG, JULY 27 and 28, 1937.

National Office,
124 Wellington Street,
Ottawa, Ont.



N O T E

The following pages comprise a full report of the proceedings of the Fourth National Convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation which was held in Winnipeg on July 27 and 28, 1937. Only those parts of the proceedings and discussions have been omitted which were clearly incidental. The National Office is publishing the report in full in order that members and sympathizers of the Movement may know exactly what the C.C.F. policy on various issues of the day is without having to depend for such information on outside sources.

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from the National Office (address below) or from the Provincial Offices. The price of single copies is twenty-five (25) cents. Quantity bundles may be obtained at a reduced price.

David Lewis,
National Secretary.

C.C.F. National Office,
124 Wellington Street,
Ottawa, Ont.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 331

PROBLEM SET 10
SOLUTIONS

1. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

2. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

3. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

4. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

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6. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

7. A particle of mass m moves in a circular path of radius r with constant angular velocity ω . Find the magnitude of the centripetal force.

C.C.F. NATIONAL COUNCIL, 1937-38.

President * J. S. Woodsworth, M.P.
 Chairman * M. J. Coldwell, M.P.
 Vice-Chairman * J. King Gordon
 Natl. Organizer * E. J. Garland
 Natl. Secretary * David Lewis

M. Ahearn, Maritimes
 W. Baird, "
 * G. H. Barefoot, Man.
 Beatrice Brigden, Man.
 J. B. Brown, Man.
 Lorna Cotton, Ont.
 * Mary Crawford, Alta.
 T. C. Douglas, M.P., Sask.
 S. J. Farmer, M.L.A., Man.
 R. Gardiner, Alta.
 Wm. Irvine, "
 O. Latreille, Que.
 * Louise Lucas, Sask.
 Grace MacInnis, B.C.
 A. MacInnis, M.P., B.C.
 C. G. MacNeil, M.P., B.C.
 John Mitchell, Ont.
 * F. Round, Que.
 F. R. Scott, Que.
 Madeline Sheridan, Que.
 C. Stork, M.L.A., Sask.
 H. H. Stuart, Maritimes
 A. Webster, B.C.
 G. H. Williams, M.L.A., Sask.

NOTE:

The members marked with an asterisk were elected by the National Convention.

The other members were elected by their respective Provincial Conventions, - three for each province. For this purpose the three Maritime Provinces are considered as one province.

There is one vacancy for the Province of Ontario.

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C. C. F. NATIONAL CONVENTION

JULY 27, 28 and 29, 1937

ROYAL ALEXANDRA HOTEL, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

MORNING SESSION, JULY 27

Registration of delegates started at 9 A.M.

At 10 o'clock, J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., President, welcomed the delegates to the city, stating that as a citizen of Winnipeg it afforded him a great deal of satisfaction to have the Convention held in that city.

E. J. Garland, National Organizer, was elected Chairman of the Convention.

On motion of S. J. Farmer, Manitoba, it was agreed to give all C. C. F. members of Parliament and of Provincial Legislatures the privileges of the floor, with the exception of voting powers.

David Lewis, National Secretary: Honourable Walter Nash, Minister of Finance and Marketing in the New Zealand Labour Government, spent a few days in Ottawa. He has been kind enough to send the following message to the C. C. F. Convention:

"The shortness of the period of my stay in Canada has prevented me from meeting many of the men and women who have like personal ideals to myself. I much regret that this is so, as I would have esteemed the privilege of describing the work of the Labour Movement in New Zealand in its steps towards its objective.

Pamphlets describing what has been done have already been published but more important than any matter that can be printed is to maintain the faith in the spirit of freedom for those who do the work of the world. We will endeavour to continue to progress towards the Cooperative Commonwealth and realizing the responsibility of power - not only to our own people - we hope that the organization of our Movement in the team spirit with each individual contributing his or her full share to the goal - will give some element of inspiration to the Movement in Canada and other countries."

It was decided unanimously that Mr. Nash be thanked for his message and congratulated on his splendid work in New Zealand.

The following Convention Committees were elected:

Order of Business Committee:

John Mitchell, President of the Ontario C. C. F. (Chairman); Miss Mary Crawford, Edmonton, Alberta, and C. Stork, M.L.A., Saskatchewan.

Credentials Committee:

S. J. Farmer, Manitoba, (Chairman); M. Nicholson, Saskatchewan, and E. Robinson, British Columbia.

Resolutions Committee:

J. Grant MacNeil, M.P., British Columbia, (Chairman); Miss Beatrice Brigden, Manitoba, and Carl Cockburn, Ontario.

The President's Address

Introducing the President, Chairman Garland said: "I could speak for an hour on the amazing amount of work, effort and sacrifice

ROYAL ALBERT HOTEL, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

JULY 27, 28 AND 29, 1937

C. C. A. NATIONAL CONVENTION

Registration of Delegates started at 9 A.M.

ROYAL ALBERT HOTEL, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

At 10 o'clock A. B. Woodworth, M.P., President, welcomed the delegates to the city, stating that the C. C. A. of Winnipeg is afforded a great deal of satisfaction to have the Convention held in that city.

E. J. Gairdner, National Secretary, also welcomed the delegates to the Convention.

On motion of S. J. Farmer, Manitoba, it was agreed to give all C. C. A. members of Parliament and of Provincial Legislatures the privilege of the floor, with the exception of voting papers.

David Lewis, National Secretary, Honorable Walter Healy, Minister of Finance and Marketing in the New Zealand Labour Government, and a few others attended. The following messages were read:

The object of the convention is to bring together men and women who are interested in the progress of the world. We will endeavor to continue to progress towards the Cooperative Commonwealth and realize the responsibility of our own country. We will endeavor to bring about a world which will give some idea of the inspiration to the movement in Canada and other countries.

It was decided unanimously that Mr. Healy be thanked for his message and congratulated on his splendid work in New Zealand. The following Convention Committees were elected:

Order of Business Committee:
John Mitchell, President of the C. C. A. (Chairman); Miss Mary Crawford, Toronto; Mrs. G. Scott, K.I.A.; Secretary.

Registration Committee:
S. J. Farmer, Manitoba; Chairman; E. J. Gairdner, National Secretary; and E. Robinson, National Secretary.

Resolutions Committee:
J. Grant Bennett, K.I.A., Chairman; E. J. Gairdner, National Secretary; and E. Robinson, National Secretary.

Publicity Committee:
J. Grant Bennett, K.I.A., Chairman; E. J. Gairdner, National Secretary; and E. Robinson, National Secretary.

Introducing the resolutions, E. J. Gairdner, National Secretary, spent an hour on the subject of work, education and activities.

The convention adjourned at 11 o'clock.

that your President has put in, and continues to put in, on behalf of this Movement. I think we have been singularly honoured, as well as enormously advanced, in every field, by having such a man as our President."

Mr. Woodsworth said: "Before starting to prepare my speech I glanced over my Chairman's speech of a year ago. I cannot see that the situation has materially altered.

We still face the pitiable plight of the farmers - especially in the drought areas. We still face unemployment - this especially in its effect upon the youth. We still face the danger of war - a war which like the last will undoubtedly be put forward as a fight for democracy.

In the final rally of the B. C. Provincial Campaign held in the auditorium, Vancouver, I could not but recall the old Biblical story of the escape of the Children of Israel from the land of bondage into the promised land. These slaves who had been forced to make bricks without straw had hardly made their escape from Egypt before they were hankering after the flesh pots of Egypt. When their leader, Moses, was away in Mount Sinai and preparations were being made for the giving of a new code, the former slaves - still slaves in spirit - proceeded to make a golden calf and engage in the licentious rites after the fashion of their former Egyptian masters. When the delegates sent to spy out the land returned with the report that it was a goodly land flowing with milk and honey, these slaves, through fear, acted on the majority report, that the inhabitants of the promised land were giants and that they, themselves, were but as grasshoppers. The demoralization of their years of slavery was too great to permit them to seize the opportunity offered them. They had to wander forty years in the wilderness until the old people had died off. Then a new generation entered the promised land.

What of our progress from Capitalism into the promised land of the Co-operative Commonwealth? Are the hardships of the journey to lead us to hanker after the cushy jobs and special privileges which we have left behind? Are we going to set up the same old ideals of success and personal aggrandizement, the same old method of competition and warfare? Are we to shrink from the conflict - - "they, giants; we, grasshoppers"!

Some of us who are grey-headed don't want to die in the wilderness. Let us all take the position of Joshua and Caleb, "let us go up at once and possess it: We are well able"!

But sentiment and enthusiasm are not enough. We must critically analyze the situation and plan with care.

There is somewhat of a lift in the depression - at least sporadically. This is due in part to war preparations. There may lie ahead a still deeper crisis. In any case, unemployment, debt, insecurity are still with us. Some joined the C. C. F. as a convenient raft on which they might escape from the sinking ship of Capitalism. Now knocked about by the waves, they look up at the towering side of the big ship and will probably take the first opportunity to climb aboard again. Opportunist rats; we are well rid of them.

But there is another class for whom I feel a great sympathy. They are those who are clinging desperately to a job, or now are fired with the hope of finding one. It is not for those of us who have jobs, that give a measure of security and freedom, to criticize harshly those who are so afraid of losing or missing one - especially when the welfare of a family may seem, or may be dependent upon that job. But we are inclined to think that many are unduly fearful. Some employees do insist on their right to organize and to speak, and to write - - and get away with it! Some professional people defy professional tabus and still retain professional standing. Their position would be easier if more joined with them. It is true that there are

certain casualties, but every good soldier must be prepared to take his chances - otherwise there would be no victories. Let us get away from this mentality of craven fear. Less than 10% of our population, probably less than 5%, are beneficiaries of this system, and yet the majority of the other 90 or 95% are afraid to lift a finger."

Mr. Woodsworth went on to point out that the task of organization in Canada is a formidable one because of the vastness of our land, the provincial divisions, the heterogeneous character of our population, and the diversities of interest. This means a systematic and persistent campaign of education in order that we may develop a socialist and an international point-of-view even while we are fighting election campaigns.

"Fortunately, many unrecognized allies are - if not fighting for us - at least are indirectly assisting our cause. Four of the great agencies through which public opinion is formed are the Universities, the Churches, the Press, and more recently the Radio. Admitted that, on the whole, these institutions stand for the status quo, it must also be conceded that the men in these institutions - and slowly the institutions themselves - are being greatly influenced by the thoughts that shake mankind. In our Canadian Universities we have our Underhills, and Scotts, and Forseys: in our Churches, our Blands and King Gordons: even some of our great Dailies still show streaks of Liberalism and advocate freedom of speech and of the Radio.

Undoubtedly, things are ripening for a change. The question is, are we ready?

At Regina, as we adopted the Manifesto, and at Toronto, as we discussed important resolutions, our attention was concentrated largely on setting forth the fundamental principles which we thought underlay our Movement. Personally, I think the foundations have been well and truly laid. Certain modifications and, undoubtedly, application of these principles to particular conditions may be needed, but in its main lines, our programme has stood the test of five years of criticism and discussion."

Mr. Woodsworth went on to show that the policy which was laid down in Toronto with regard to the "United Front" has been proven by events to be the correct one. He related to the Convention certain instances in the Provincial election campaign in British Columbia in which the Communist Party had selected some C.C.F. candidates for special condemnation and had opposed them. "Five years ago," the President continued, "the C.C.F. started to bring about a United Front on the field of radical labour and farmer organizations and socialist groups. . . . Events have shown that our policy was the correct one. No one can tell as to what the future may bring, but for the present our policy should be to 'close our own ranks' and march steadily forward."

The President then outlined the C.C.F. foreign policy as adopted in Toronto last year. He stated that that policy has met with very general approval, and is the correct policy. "In view of the Imperial Conference which has been conducted with a large measure of secrecy, it becomes more necessary than ever to outline clearly our policy with regard to the Empire, to the United States and to the world neighbourhood."

"Two new Movements here at home are arousing considerable interest and should have the active support of all C.C.F. units. I refer to consumers' co-operatives and adult education. The successful working of social democracy demands an educated people and further a people who have gained experience in managing their own affairs. Outside of the farms some five-sixths of our people who work for a living are working under the direction of someone else. In public matters, we still pay comparatively little attention to the work of our representatives or the skilled technicians whom they may employ. Everywhere it is a case of "let George do it" - till we become incapable either of doing it ourselves or directing others in the doing of it. Voluntary co-operation

is a corrective. In this matter, Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries have given a lead to the world.

As previous Conventions have been largely devoted to platforms and resolutions, perhaps this Convention should give the major part of its attention to organization. Our Movement is made up of provincial units. How can these retain autonomy and yet function as integral parts of the Movement? There is undoubtedly a tendency to think in provincial terms. Each province is apt to regard its special problems as sharply distinguished from those of other provinces. Undoubtedly, there are real differences that demand specialized immediate programmes. But general principles hold. Further, under our Dominion set-up, united action across provincial boundaries is essential. As the Federal members left British Columbia, after assisting in the Provincial campaign, a Provincial leader remarked that whatever the immediate results of the election, one lasting benefit would be that Federal and Provincial representatives have come to understand one another better. In order to secure such better mutual understanding there should frequently be an interchange of visitors."

Mr. Woodsworth went on to consider carefully some of the organizational problems facing our Movement. He pointed out that while some provinces have achieved a unitary form of organization, as, for example, in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario, other provinces still retain the federated form as in Alberta. He dealt with the question as to how the farmers may best be organized and suggested that in most parts of the country we must build up our own independent farmer units, working, where possible, with farmers' technical or vocational organizations.

The President then treated with the question of our relations to labour. He pointed out that in England the trade unions have been the basis of the socialist Movement, but that in Canada the trade union Movement has till now been rather weak and, on the whole, opposed to independent political action. "But changes are coming," he continued. "Recent developments in the United States and Canada are very significant. Labour is attempting more effective forms of organization and also is learning what may be accomplished through political means. In Canada, the C.C.F. stands to gain by such developments, as the C.C.F. is recognized as the political champion of labour." Mr. Woodsworth asked the Convention to consider carefully how the C.C.F. can assist in the organization of the workers and how it can consolidate its labour support.

Another group which, according to Mr. Woodsworth, requires special consideration is what he termed "The White Collar Brigade." He drew attention to the fact that the depression and the encroachments of big business are forcing these people to question the justice and desirability of the present system. "In spite of the reactionary influences under which they work and live, they can be won if we have the common-sense and ability to put our ideas into forms familiar to them."

"This reminds us of the need for training our future organizers and propagandists and public representatives. It is true that very often great leaders are born not made, but there are many who could give excellent service for our Movement if they had some special training. It is hardly safe to depend upon other agencies to give this training. We now have our study groups, and these are good as far as they go, but think what might be accomplished in, say, six months with a group of teen students. The setting up of such a school need not be a very formidable project. Was it Emerson who said, "That all that was needed was a log with a student at one end and philosopher at the other." Some expense is, of course, inevitable but strong locals might give small scholarships that would cover three months or six months board.

Is a reorganization of our C.C.F. Press possible? Must each province have its own weekly? Or might there be a co-operative arrangement through which special editions might be issued for each province, or alternately, the major part edited and printed in one shop with space reserved for local items and issues? Are these suggestions technically

possible? Are they desirable?

In this as in other matters we cannot avoid the problem of finance. Until some fairy godmother endows the C.C.F., we must depend largely upon the fees and contributions of the comparatively poor. But many a mickle makes a muckle. If our people be taught to give regularly - however small the amount - our problem is solved. Our plan for financing will need to be elastic, but we must at least try to devise a plan.

A word with regard to my own work. May I venture to assert that during the past session our parliamentary group has done better work than in any previous year. This was in part due to the fact that it was team work. To a certain extent we were able by a division of labour to specialize, and certainly we pulled together. As Chairman of the National Council, I have also had what Paul called the anxious care of all the churches - the Clubs and branches.

I would not close without paying tribute to the almost unknown men and women who do so much to make our Movement possible; most of them cannot attend Conventions. Their work is not recognized outside a very small circle - and often not even there, yet they, too, have caught a vision of better days and each in his own way is doing his best to bring it a bit nearer. All honour to such!"

"I had written the foregoing before I left for an itinerary in Saskatchewan. Since my return there is one problem that seems to fill the whole horizon - drought and relief. In my judgment, the situation in Saskatchewan constitutes a major national calamity. It is not my purpose even to outline the problem. There are delegates from Saskatchewan who can do that better than I. But I should like to urge that our Convention devote adequate time to this urgent problem. This is a Dominion responsibility. The needs of the people constitute a first claim upon the resources of the country. From certain areas families must be moved. This should not involve undue hardships to the unfortunate victims of official bungling. Rehabilitation schemes on a vast scale must be carried out at once - a problem for engineering specialists, not for politicians. Then relief must be given on an unprecedented scale. Where is the money to come from? From where the money is. In no better way could this Convention carry out the principles of the C.C.F. than by arranging that for the next few months the members of our organization should devote their energies to helping to solve the problems involved. Let us show in practice what we mean by "Human Needs before Property Rights." To arouse the country to the realities of the situation will require careful planning and extensive missionary activity. Speakers from the dried-out areas should tour Canada. This is not a matter of making political capital; it is a desperate effort to maintain the living standards and morale of hundreds of thousands of our people.

An allied problem is that presented by the financial crisis which has recently developed in our prairie provinces - particularly in Manitoba. Cities, rural municipalities and provincial governments are faced with bankruptcy, unable to meet interest charges. They are being subjected to pressure to cut down costs. This will almost inevitably mean the curtailment of social services and especially the reduction of relief schedules. Such a move must be strenuously resisted. As soon as possible we must have a programme of real work at adequate wages. In the meantime, we must not permit Canada to become a land "where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Here we are brought right up against the problem of our "uncontrollable" expenditures - our so-called "sacred obligations" to the bondholders. Sooner or later there must be a showdown - the sooner the better. The greater part of our public debts can never be paid. The interest charges alone now constitute a tribute levied by the monied classes upon the masses of the people, that cannot much longer be borne without reducing the majority of the people of Canada to economic serfdom.

Further, it should be borne in mind that much of the new financial prosperity is being secured by the reckless exploitation of our natural resources. The grass lands of Saskatchewan have been made a desert. The forests of the north are rapidly disappearing and even the wonderful timber stands of British Columbia at the present rate of cutting will last only another twenty years. Our fisheries are being depleted by a few big canning companies. In fact, our country is being despoiled by the "get-rich-quick" group which so largely controls the policy of our governments. What hypocrisy for us to let this kind of thing go unchecked while we lustily sing "O Canada, We Stand on Guard for Thee?"

Such are only a few of the practical problems that demand prompt and vigorous action. Their attempted solution need not retard our progress nor deflect us from our ultimate objectives. Indeed, probably only in this way will the majority of our people come to realize the need for a fundamental economic change.

The actual membership of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation may not be large but if we are courageous, intelligent and sincere, undoubtedly we shall gain rapidly increasing support. The country is waiting for disinterested and wise leadership. The question is: Are we equal to the opportunity - and the need?"

Mr. Woodsworth continued: "There is one other matter which is rather a personal matter. At the last Convention I drew attention to the fact that I myself since the organization was formed have been in reality occupying two positions. I have been leader of the Parliamentary group at Ottawa and also from time to time have been chosen Chairman of the National Council, which, of course, deals more largely with the administration of our affairs and with organization. Now, it has been quite a big job having these two offices. In some ways, there are advantages in having them combined. In some of the old Parties there is a difference, however. The President of the Liberal Association, for instance, is distinct from the leader of the Party in the House. In Britain, the Labour Party has a Chairman, a distinct office from that of House leadership. I suggested a year ago that possibly the time has come when we might adopt some such practice in our Conventions. Possibly this year it is even more necessary for us to consider the matter carefully. We are in urgent need of extending our activities in a great variety of ways. I am in the hands of the Convention. I am not going to shirk any work, but I suggest that this matter should be borne in mind when we come to the election of officers. If this Convention feels it wise and possible to make a division of the offices, I shall be greatly relieved."

The President's speech was received by the Convention and referred to the National Council.

The Order of Business committee submitted its report. After some discussion, it was decided that movers of resolutions be allowed ten minutes and that all speakers in debate should be restricted to three minutes each.

Mrs. L. Lucas, Saskatchewan, was time-keeper.

Rehabilitation of Drought and Sub-marginal Areas

M. J. Coldwell, M.P., moved the following National Council resolution:

"It is generally recognized today that the unplanned settlement policies of governments in Canada and their callous disregard of scientific advice in regard to the unsuitability of certain territory for farm development have been major factors in the present disastrous conditions in the prairie provinces.

No partial or immediate program will now suffice to meet the ever growing menace of soil drifting and erosion. A long-term programme of planned agricultural rehabilitation and administration will have to be adopted. We insist that the Dominion

...the only other matter which is
...the fact that I know of no other
...the organization was formed here in
...I have been chosen Chairman
...of the National Council, which
...has been a big job having
...changes in being that country
...is distinct from the leader of the Party in the House.
...the Labour Party has a Chairman, a distinct office
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...We are in urgent need of extending our activities in
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...to think any work, but I suggest that this matter should be
...and when we come to the election of officers, if this Convention feels
...it wise and possible to make a division of the office, I shall be
...fully followed."

The actual membership of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
may not be large, but it is we are courageous, intelligent and sincere,
industrially we shall still be able to make a considerable contribution
to the country. The country is
willing for distinct financial and wise leadership. The question is
what is the opposition - and the need?
Mr. Woodhouse continued: "There is one other matter which is
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President's speech was received by the Convention and referred
to the National Council.
The Order of Business committee submitted its report. After some
discussion, it was decided that matters of resolution be allowed for
and that all speakers in debate should be restricted to three
minutes each.
Mr. J. Lyons, Saskatchewan, was the speaker.
Resolution of Progress and Popularity
Mr. J. Caldwell, M.P., moved the following National Council
resolution:
"It is generally recognized that the
participation of scientists in Canada and their
contribution of scientific ability in regard to the
certain territory for development have been major factors in
the present development of the prairie provinces.
No particular immediate program will now suffice to meet
the ever growing needs of soil building and erosion. A long
and program of scientific research and development
is essential to the future of the Dominion."

Government deal with this problem as a National responsibility and that immediate action be taken along the following lines:

1. The appointment of a carefully selected board of trained technicians having special qualifications for dealing with soil drifting, soil erosion, irrigation and allied problems.
2. A speedy completion of feasible irrigation projects after a comprehensive governmental survey of irrigation and water conservation possibilities.
3. At the same time as the survey is being undertaken and irrigation projects opened up the farmers now resident on sub-marginal lands which cannot be irrigated economically should be moved to other parts of the Dominion and placed on good agricultural lands under conditions which will give them a fair chance to become economically secure.
4. The conversion of these sub-marginal lands into permanent pasture.
5. In order to make this rehabilitation programme comprehensive and effective soil surveys should be continued and extended.
6. In those areas where trees still remain, tree conservation should be encouraged and assisted. In other areas wherever suitable soil exists afforestation or reforestation should be undertaken on an extensive scale. Attention of the government is particularly drawn to those areas in the northern portions of the three prairie provinces which at one time were covered by a fair stand of timber but which have been or are now being rapidly denuded of forest growth. If soil erosion in these and adjacent areas is to be avoided immediate re-afforestation and conservation projects should be undertaken."

Mr. Coldwell said: "I regret that opportunities have not been afforded for many of our friends from Eastern Canada and from the Pacific Coast to journey through the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta during the past few weeks. I am convinced that if a disastrous fire swept an area comprising 9,000,000 acres, upon which were living one million people, the world would stand aghast at the disaster. That disaster to which I have referred is comparable to the condition which now exists in the Prairie Provinces.

Recently I had an opportunity of travelling from the Manitoba border West to the cities of Calgary and Edmonton. Except for an isolated strip of territory running along the C.P.R., from Calgary to Edmonton, and one or two small areas around Humboldt in North Saskatchewan, the country presents a picture of complete devastation. The grain is dead. The land presents a picture of wilted, burned up crops, 9,000,000 of acres. On this land are men, women and children, thousands of them, some of whom for the past nine years have received no returns for their labour. There has never been in the history of Canada, and on few occasions in the history of the world, an area so completely devastated as the area to which I refer. I would say as a member of the House of Commons that I am quite sure of this that if people who live in other parts of Canada could see the conditions, could visit the homes of people who live in that area, they would withdraw any opposition, publicly or privately expressed, to the taking of steps which are essential for the rehabilitation of this vast area of territory.

I have seen people steadily become more and more depressed. I have noted in the past few weeks the suicide of a woman I knew and who had entertained me. Also the suicide of a man whom I had known for a number of years as a friend of this Movement. And today it is surprising that insanity, and perhaps even suicide, are not more widespread. The condition is absolutely appalling. No words of mine can describe it.

We are in the midst of a summer season when

the growth on the land ought to be luxuriant, and at the moment there are vast areas in Western Canada where there is not even feed for cattle at this moment. Recently, a little rain has fallen here and there, giving new hope to some people that some fodder will grow, but it is altogether improbable that on a tremendous area of this kind there will be any fodder for the winter. As subsequent resolutions will point out, this is not only a menace to the people who remain on the land, but is a threat to the entire economic structure of the Dominion of Canada, and, moreover, endangers the very life of those people who live in urban centres like the cities of Regina and Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary, and in many of the smaller places in Western Canada.

I feel that, as our President has said, this is a National calamity. It is also a National responsibility, as the resolution points out. Let us bear in mind that those of us who went to the prairies twenty-five, thirty or more years ago saw a great area of grassy plains upon which countless cattle fed. Land companies, with governmental permission, at least, if not with government support, promoted settlement on lands which ought never to have been settled, lands that today are classified by university men who have made soil and other surveys as sub-marginal land. Forty-four per cent of the land of the province from which I come, Saskatchewan, today is classified as only fair or poorer than fair; twenty-six per cent of the land is classified as poor or very poor. I don't wish to go into figures, but we have authoritative advice from university commentators and others who have made a special study of the subject that upon such lands even an existence cannot be expected. So, you see, the first paragraph of the resolution ought to be unanimously approved.

We state that this condition is in enormous measure due to the unplanned policies of former governments of Canada, and that the time has come when we must plan our agricultural life intelligently. No partial or immediate programme will suffice. In the last seven years the government has spent approximately \$100,000,000 on various forms of relief in Western Canada, and unless a large-scale plan is instituted for the rehabilitation of this area, this expenditure will undoubtedly have to be continued. I know there are political leaders in public life in Eastern Canada who tell the people: "Given one good crop and Western Canada will be rehabilitated." I want to take issue with that statement, and I think that you from Eastern Canada and from far Western Canada should do everything in your power to meet that argument and point out that it is a fallacy. When twenty-five or thirty years ago the surface of that land was ploughed, there was beneath the sod the conserved moisture of the ages. The land was wet. Today in my constituency, which is not one of those which have suffered from drought for a prolonged period, a man was digging a well. He went down twenty-six feet, and in the entire twenty-six feet they took nothing out of the well hole but dust. Dry to a depth of twenty-six feet. Now we know what we should have known and what governments should have known twenty-six years ago. In one survey which had been made the land had been classified into two districts: North, some three hundred miles of the American border, a fertile, grassy plain; marked on the map below that, an arid treeless plain. Thus today we are beginning to understand the reason for the recurring drought, and, therefore, we suggest in this resolution the appointment of a carefully selected board of high technicians having special qualifications for dealing with soil drifting, soil erosion, irrigation and allied subjects. To what extent irrigation is possible we do not authoritatively know. We believe that by vast expenditure some irrigation may be done. To what extent that may be successful is a matter for technical experts qualified to pass an opinion, and not for politicians such as we have handling the drought situation at the present time.

In addition, we realize there must be removal of people from such sub-marginal lands. The definition of the word "farmer" in the resolution should be enlarged to include all those dependent on the farmers who are engaged directly in the farming industry. All over those areas there are towns in which the people have placed all they have in their little business. They will have to be considered. But in the removal of such people, we insist that they be not burdened down in the new location to which they go with the debts or

obligations they had to incur in the districts they leave. We want such a plan to be adopted as will enable them to become economically secure.

Thus, those lands should go back to what they were originally intended by nature to be, lands that will give pasture to cattle.

We ask that in order to make any plans effective, soil surveys now undertaken shall be continued and extended. That is of fundamental importance. We find that thousands of people who a few years ago moved from Southern regions to the North with governmental assistance, who were encouraged to locate there and who trekked under all kinds of hardship, have settled on lands that are deficient in essential soil constituents, so that in the course of the next few years, even in the Northern area to which they have gone, we shall have a tremendous problem of soil fertilization, and rehabilitation and of giving relief to the suffering. We consider it as fundamental to the programme that soil surveys should be continued and extended.

Then, we ask for tree conservation. In the Northern area trees grow. You will find places with balsam, poplar and willow, and a few have grown trees, which are dotted here and there with little sloughs and lakes. Today these trees are being cut down. The sloughs are being dried up and ploughed out. The fibre in the soil will soon be worked out. Not only that but there will be a soil which will easily blow, because it is a soil that is deficient in certain chemical constituents. We in 1937, therefore, should see to it that proper precautions are taken in an area which, under proper conditions, would maintain people in comparative security. Tree conservation and the saving even of pot holes, so that water will not evaporate so rapidly are necessary. Under adequate tree conservation there would be a helpful transference of moisture from the forest sections. There should be no development of land which is sub-marginal because when the fibre is worked out it will constitute another great problem of soil drifting.

There are lands where trees will grow, although they have not grown in living memory. The district of Balcarres is one instance that might be given. When the original settlers went there fifty years ago it was a treeless plain. Today it is dotted with innumerable bluffs. Trees will grow in some of these regions. In my constituency at Conquest we have a farmer named Peter Kennedy who planted trees across his section. Today Mr. Kennedy's farm is an oasis in a desert. In that area, the Dominion planted over 1,000,000 trees, and this year is planting an additional 1,150,000. It is an experimental station in forest growth. But there are other parts where possibly trees will not grow.

Let me, in order to clear away any misapprehension from the minds of friends from the far East and the far West, try to help you to visualize the prairie as it has been. Not a drop of moisture. The wind sweeping across like a hot flame. Dust arising everywhere. The last week in June I set out on a trip through a certain area. Part of the journey we could not see the radiator cap on account of the dust. I thought it useless to proceed, but we reached our destination. There, under the willows, sheltering from the sweeping wind, I addressed some 200 people. They asked me questions about what the people in Eastern Canada thought about the situation. As we dispersed we all left with our faces as black as those of negroes. The dust and the heat. In addition to this dust, we have had this summer temperatures on these plains on an average of 10 degrees higher than we have ever had before. Day after day a temperature of 104 and 105. In Mr. Douglas' home town of Weyburn, a temperature of 114 in the shade was officially registered. Of course, this is due to some extent to the dried-out country to the South. We have little children who have never tasted fresh fruit. I was speaking to a mother only last week in Mr. Douglas' constituency. That mother wept as she told me her little girl has diabetes. "The doctor orders fresh fruit," she said, "but we have no fresh fruit, nor can we get it." She wept as she told me that she relied upon the hens' eggs in order that she might trade them for oranges,

...they had to learn in the districts they leave. ...a plan to be adopted as will enable them to become economically

Thus, these lands should go back to what ... of nature to be lands that will give

...in order to make any plan ... now undertaken shall be continued and extended. ...of fundamental importance. We find that thousands of people ... a few years ago moved from ... regions to the North with ... assistance, who were encouraged to locate there by ... under all kinds of ... have settled on lands that are ... in essential soil conditions, so that in the course of the ... years, even in the Northern area, to which they have gone, we ... have a tremendous problem of soil ... and rehabilitation ... of giving relief to the sufferer. We consider it as fundamental ... the programs that soil surveys should be continued and extended.

Then, we ask for tree conservation. In the Northern area trees grow. For soil rich places with balsam, poplar and willow, and a few have grown trees, which are dotted here and there with little alders and larches. Today these places are being cut down. The stumps are being piled up and burned off. The lime in the soil will soon be worked out. Not only that but there will be a soil which will easily blow, because it is a soil that is deficient in certain chemical constituents. We in 1937, therefore, should see to it that proper precautions are taken in an area which, under proper conditions, would maintain people in comparative security. Tree conservation and the saving even of pot holes, so that water will not evaporate so rapidly as necessary. Under adequate tree conservation there would be a gradual transference of nutrients from the forest sections. There should be no development of land which is sub-optimal because when the soil is worked out it will constitute another great problem of soil reclamation.

There are lands where trees will grow although they have not grown in living memory. The District of Columbia is one instance that might be given. When the original settlers went there fifty years ago it was a treeless plain. Today it is dotted with transplantable plants. Trees will grow in some of these sections. In my constituency of Congress we have a former named Peter Kennedy who planted trees across his section. Today Mr. Kennedy's land is an estate in a forest. In that area, the District planted over 1,000,000 trees, and this year is planting an additional 1,100,000. It is an experimental station in forest growth. But there are other areas where possibly trees will not grow.

Let us, in order to learn why they do not grow, try to help you to view like the picture as it has been. Not only of moisture. The wind sweeping across like a hot knife, that is what happened. The last week in June I got out on a trip through certain areas. Part of the journey we could not see the results of an account of the heat. I thought it useless to proceed, but we reached our destination. There, under the willows, sheltering from the sweeping wind, I addressed some 300 people. They asked me questions about what the people in Eastern Canada thought about the situation. As we discussed we all felt with our faces as black as soot of negroes. The heat and the heat. In addition to this heat, we have had this summer temperatures on these plains an average of 10 degrees higher than we have ever had before. Day after day a temperature of 104 and 105. Mr. Douglas, who has been of help in the matter, this is due to some extent to the condition of the soil. We have little children who have never had a cold. I was speaking to a mother only last week in Mr. Douglas' constituency. That mother was a little girl for little girl in the district. "The doctor orders fresh fruit," she said, "but we have no fresh fruit, nor can we get it." So we go and tell me that she had upon the bench, eggs in order that she might find them for oranges.

and that the hens were dying. They had no feed even for the chickens.

I could tell you also about the lack of clothing and about homes depleted of every sort of utensil and furniture. The people in other parts of Canada have no idea of what the condition is like. If a great fire swept across the plains and devastated - I use that word advisedly - the land, immediately the world would flock to the assistance of the people affected. A great flood swept through the Ohio Valley. There was an instantaneous response on the part of the sympathetic.

People are getting used to what is occurring in the West. We read in the daily papers about heat and drought, without realizing the extent of the devastation, hardship and suffering they mean. I want you delegates from the far East and the far West to carry back with you something of the picture I have tried, however inadequately, to paint."

A detailed and lengthy discussion followed Mr. Coldwell's speech. Some of the remarks are summarized below:

Tom Johnstone, Saskatchewan, said the only hope was that public opinion would be so aroused as to force the government to act. He was afraid the only way to do that was to make them fear defeat at the polls.

A. M. Nicholson, Saskatchewan, thought that before land is settled it should be made suitable for agriculture, and that arrangements should be made for building roads, schools and hospitals. Until governments were prepared to do that, land should not be made available for settlement. People should be given a fair chance to become economically secure.

E. Robinson, British Columbia, illustrated the effect of drought conditions in the West on urban centres. Since coming to Winnipeg he had been told about 600 C. P. R. men being laid off because there was not going to be so much wheat for hauling as had been expected. A mail order man told him that in previous years Saskatchewan had been a shining light in the mail order business. Today there are no mail orders coming from Saskatchewan, comparatively speaking. The people have no money. Tremendous elevators had been built at the port of Vancouver for taking grain from Saskatchewan for shipment. He had read that one of them was to be closed because there would not be enough wheat from Saskatchewan. This was a Dominion problem affecting people in all parts of the country. Many others were suffering the effects besides the people in drought-stricken grain areas.

E. J. Garland, Chairman, drew attention to the fact that fifty per cent of the grain in Alberta had been wiped out and that South-western Manitoba had also been affected.

Mr. Phelps moved an amendment to clause(2) reading as follows:

"And a plan to enable those who do not wish to continue farming operations to be assisted in becoming gainfully established in vocations of their own choosing."

After some discussion, the amendment was dropped as not dealing directly with the problem covered in the resolution.

The Convention was adjourned to 2 P.M.

and that the hens were flying. They had no feed even for the chickens.

I could tell you also about the loss of the sheep and about some registered of every sort of animals and livestock. The people in other parts of Canada have no idea of what the conditions are. It is a great pity that the people in this country are not better informed. I would like to see the people of the world united in a great effort to help the people of the world. There was an international conference on the part of the world.

People are getting used to what is happening in the world. We have in the daily papers about the world and the world is getting used to what is happening. We have in the daily papers about the world and the world is getting used to what is happening. We have in the daily papers about the world and the world is getting used to what is happening.

A detailed and lengthy discussion followed Mr. Caldwell's speech.

Mr. Caldwell, Saskatchewan, said the only hope was that public opinion would be so strong as to force the government to act. He said the only way to do that was to make them feel that they were being watched.

A. M. Nicholson, Saskatchewan, thought that before long it would be possible to build roads, hospitals, and other public buildings. He said that the government should be given the power to do this. He said that the government should be given the power to do this.

E. Robinson, British Columbia, illustrated the effect of drought conditions in the last year. He said that the government should be given the power to do this. He said that the government should be given the power to do this. He said that the government should be given the power to do this.

E. J. Gorman, Chairman, drew attention to the fact that fifty per cent of the population in Alberta has been wiped out and that the government should be given the power to do this.

Mr. Gorman gave an account of the situation in Alberta as follows:

And a plan to supply them with so much water as to make it possible for them to live. The government should be given the power to do this. The government should be given the power to do this.

The resolution was referred to the committee.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JULY 27

After S. J. Farmer, Manitoba, Chairman of Credentials Committee, presented the Committee's interim report, discussion was continued on the land rehabilitation resolution.

In answer to a question David Lewis, National Secretary, pointed out that all policy resolutions adopted by any National Convention immediately formed part of the party's platform.

John Queen, M.L.A., Manitoba, said that since the resolution will become part of our general programme it is of very great value, and that there is a lot of satisfaction in belonging to an organization that does not hesitate to say that the needs of the people should be the first claim on the resources of the country. He thought that the resolution should place the responsibility squarely on the Dominion Government and suggested an amendment accordingly.

The suggestion was accepted by Convention and the drafting of the necessary sentence was left to the National Council.

Another delegate moved that the words, "and adjacent" be inserted before the word "areas" in the last sentence of the resolution. The amendment was accepted by the mover.

The resolution as amended was adopted unanimously.

DROUGHT EMERGENCY.

Government Action.

T. C. Douglas, M.P., moved the following resolution:

WHEREAS, drought and soil drifting have persisted in Western Canada for many years and,

Whereas the area subject to these conditions has steadily extended until a national emergency involving hundreds of thousands of persons and millions of acres of land now exist, and,

Whereas this emergency is far beyond the financial capacity of the provinces affected.

Therefore this Convention calls upon the Dominion Government to make immediate provision for the health, food, clothing and shelter for persons within the stricken territory and ample feed and fodder for their stock. To this end we urge that if necessary parliament be convened immediately to appropriate the monies required.

* * *

The unprecedented extent of the drought has given rise to a special problem in relation to the livestock industry. The C.C.F. believes that in view of the large public expenditures for the purpose of improving the quality of the livestock, care should be taken that in any reduction attendant upon the disaster, only the inferior stock should be marketed, and animals of high quality retained in order to avoid expensive replacement subsequently, as well as to ensure - in so far as milch cattle are concerned - adequate supplies of milk and dairy products for urban and village populations. In order adequately to meet the urgent needs of all farmers and stockmen the government should undertake replacement, so far as possible, of poor cattle by good type stock. Further, we direct the attention of the Government to the fact that the heavy shipments of stock already made have resulted in the demoralization of the market with consequent heavy losses to the producers. This is particularly marked in the case of those

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John Green, M.L.A., Manitoba, said that since the resolution will become part of our general program it is of very great value and that there is a lot of satisfaction in belonging to an organization that does not hesitate to say that the needs of the people should be the first claim on the resources of the country. He thought that the resolution should place the responsibility squarely on the Dominion Government and suggested an amendment accordingly.

The suggestion was accepted by Convention and the drafting of the necessary sentences was left to the National Council.

Another delegate moved that the words "and adjacent" be inserted before the word "areas" in the last sentence of the resolution. The amendment was accepted by the mover.

The resolution as amended was adopted unanimously.

URGENT EMERGENCY

Government Action

T. G. Douglas, M.L., moved the following resolution:

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WHEREAS the area subject to these conditions has steadily extended until a national emergency involving hundreds of thousands of persons and millions of acres of land now exist, and

WHEREAS this emergency is far beyond the financial capacity of the provinces affected.

Therefore this Convention calls upon the Dominion Government to make immediate provision for the health, food, clothing and shelter for persons within the stricken territory and ample food and fodder for their stock. To this end we urge that it be necessary parliament be convened immediately to appropriate the means required.

The unprecedented extent of the drought has given rise to a special problem in relation to the livestock industry. The C.D.P. believes that in view of the large public expenditure for the purpose of improving the quality of the livestock, care should be taken that in any reduction attendant upon the disaster, only the interior stock should be marketed, and animals of high quality retained in order to avoid expensive replacement subsequently as well as to ensure - in so far as milk cattle are concerned - the production of milk and dairy products for urban and village populations. In order adequately to meet the urgent needs of all farmers and stockmen the government should undertake replacement so far as possible, of poor cattle by good type stock. Further, we direct the attention of the Government to the fact that the heavy shipments of stock already made have resulted in the demoralization of the market with consequent heavy losses to the producers. This is particularly marked in the case of those

AFTERNOON SESSION CONTINUED:

shipping pure bred stock. Under individual marketing this was inevitable and should have been within the knowledge of the government as the result of experience in the "cent a pound" policy for processed cattle, of last year.

We, therefore, insist upon controlled marketing on a graded basis under government supervision, with fixed adequate prices according to grade. We further urge that the government take active steps to prevent injury to our overseas market by unwise practices on the part of the packers.

Mr. Douglas said: "There is pressing need that people in the drought area shall be guaranteed food, clothing and shelter and the necessary health services during the rehabilitation programme. I don't think it wise to go into too many details as to what should be done, and am convinced the matter should be entirely put up to the government as a national problem. It is necessary to take steps now. If the Dominion can spend \$41,000,000 to let the generals play soldiers, it can afford to save nearly a million people from slowly starving."

"As to the second part of this resolution I don't wish to get into a mass of details. Two things are being asked, that in the area in question foundation stock shall be preserved, because farming policy depends on foundation stock, and that surplus stock shipped out should be graded. We should guard against packers and abattoirs simply taking advantage of the situation, knowing that hundreds and thousands of farmers must dispose of their surplus stock and compelling them to sell at fire-sale prices."

Saying he approved of the principle, Mr. Johnston moved an addition to the effect that the government undertake the replacement of poor cattle by good type stock, so far as possible.

The amendment was adopted in principle and the drafting of it was left to the National Council.

The resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

VOLUNTARY AID.

Mr. T. C. Douglas also moved the following resolution:

"That in view of the wide-spread distress in Western Canada resulting in a condition which constitutes both a national calamity and a national emergency this National Convention of the C.C.F. offers and pledges its whole-hearted co-operation to other humanitarian organizations (such as those which in the past came to the aid of victims of similar catastrophies), in all voluntary efforts which may be undertaken to alleviate the sufferings of men, women and children in the stricken area during the ensuing months.

It is obvious that large supplies of fruit, vegetables, clothing and other necessities will be urgently required to supplement the inadequate provision which has hitherto been made by public authorities.

The C.C.F. in all parts of Canada will co-operate in the organization of public meetings and appeals, and in the work of committees established for the collection and distribution of supplies for the relief of the victims of what must be generally recognized as a national disaster of the first magnitude.

The resolution was carried unanimously without discussion.

...investigative and should have been within the knowledge of the Government as the result of experience in the "corn shortage" ...

...We therefore, insist upon controlled marketing on a graded basis under Government supervision, with fixed adequate prices accorded to the grade. We further urge that the Government take effective steps to prevent injury to any overseas market by undue fluctuations on the part of the producer.

...Mr. Hooper said: "There is pressing need that people in the brought area shall be guaranteed food, clothing and shelter and the necessary health services during the rehabilitation program. I don't think it wise to go into too many details as to what should be done, and am convinced the matter should be entirely put up to the Government as a national problem. It is necessary to take steps now. If the Dominion can spend \$41,000,000 to let the Germans play soldiers, it can afford to save nearly a million people from slowly starving."

As to the second part of this resolution I don't wish to get into a mass of details. The things are being asked, that in the near future foundation stock shall be preserved, because retaining policy depends on foundation stock, and that surplus stock shipped out should be sold. We should guard against speculators and shippers simply taking advantage of the situation, knowing that hundreds and thousands of farmers must dispose of their surplus stock and compelling them to sell at fire-sale prices."

Saying he approved of the principle, Mr. Johnston moved an addition to the effect that the Government undertake the replacement of poor cattle by good type stock, so far as possible.

The amendment was adopted in principle and the drafting of it was left to the National Council.

The resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

VOLUNTARY AID

Mr. T. G. Hooper also moved the following resolution:

"That in view of the wide-spread distress in Western Canada existing in a condition which constitutes both a national calamity and a national emergency this National Convention of the C.U.F. officers and delegates heretofore elected co-operate in other humanitarian organizations (such as those which in the past have to the aid of victims of similar catastrophes), in all voluntary efforts which may be undertaken to alleviate the sufferings of men, women and children in the stricken areas during the coming months.

It is obvious that large supplies of fruit, vegetables, clothing and other necessities will be urgently required to supply most the thousands of persons who have hitherto been made by public authorities.

The C.U.F. in all parts of Canada will co-operate in the organization of public meetings and rallies, and in the work of committees established for the collection and distribution of supplies for the relief of the victims of what must be generally recognized as a national disaster of the first magnitude.

The resolution was carried unanimously without discussion.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DROUGHT ACTION.

Miss Beatrice Brigden, Manitoba: "In accordance with the spirit of the resolution which we have just passed, I beg to move on behalf of the National Council the following resolution:"

Be it resolved that this Convention appoint a committee charged with the responsibility of bringing to the attention, both of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people the actual situation in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Southwest Manitoba, that speakers familiar with the agricultural situation in general, and the drought situation in particular, be sent to eastern Canada and to British Columbia; that organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, and others be asked for their co-operation; and that donations of foodstuffs, clothing and the like be solicited from the various communities which may desire to assist.

The resolution was carried enthusiastically.

At the suggestion of the National Secretary, the Convention instructed the National Council to prepare a recommendation as to the members of the Committee, and that the recommendation be submitted to the Convention for ratification.

SPAIN.

Miss Mary Crawford, Alberta: "We have devoted considerable time to conditions in our own country. The C.C.F. is international in its outlook, and where there is distress, irrespective of race or creed that is the business of the C.C.F. I am, therefore, presenting this resolution regarding distress in Spain:"

"For the past year the democratically elected government of Spain has been fighting against fearful odds to protect the newly won freedom of its people from the vicious assaults of Spanish fascists inspired and assisted by the fascists governments of Italy and Germany.

"The brutal attack by German and Italian fascism on not only the armed forces of Spain, but also on her defenceless women and children, outrages the feelings of freedom loving people all over the world.

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, in Convention assembled, extend to the Spanish people and their legitimate government our sympathy in their heroic struggle for freedom and our hope for a speedy victory.

"Be it further resolved, that we believe the non-intervention pact, which is now nothing more than a farce, should be ended and that the legitimate government of Spain be allowed, according to the practice of international law, to purchase in the markets of the world whatever military and other supplies it requires, and that the rebel forces be denied that privilege.

"Be it also resolved, that the League of Nations should take immediate action to name Italy and Germany aggressors against the government of Spain."

Miss Crawfois said: "Spain has been fighting a battle like that in France in 1789, in Russia in 1918 and in Great Britain two centuries at least before that; a battle for the freedom of the people and the right to determine their own destiny against control by the privileged few. In 1931 a Republican government was elected in Spain. It proceeded to do something.

RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

Resolved, That the National Council of the League of Women Voters, in its capacity as a national organization, hereby expresses its deep sympathy for the people of Spain who are struggling for freedom and democracy against the forces of fascism and international imperialism.

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and for two years took care of the welfare of the people. In 1933 came reaction. Three years of reaction. In 1936, Spain again elected a Republican government. Up to that time without violence or bloodshed. It was a properly constituted election, and it was a properly constituted Republican government that was elected. It contended to continue the policy of the previous Republican government which for three years had been suspended because of the party of reaction, a policy releasing the people from the strangleholds of the privileged classes and interests.

Under the direction of Franco, force was used to prevent the natural, peaceful development of the democratic movement of the Spanish people. From July, 1936, to July, 1937, the people of Spain have been fighting against those forces and fighting for their freedom. Some little thing has been done in this country in the way of extending assistance, but I think it most important that we express our sympathy publicly and place ourselves absolutely on record on the side of freedom.

It is a struggle for democracy, a political democracy we have had so long that we take it for granted and are almost callous regarding it while the Spanish people are struggling for the right to use that thing. Also we should recognize we have a responsibility as a people to tell our governments, whether they listen to us or not, what we think the position of this Dominion should be in the matter of its foreign policy.

during the discussion two amendments were moved and accepted:
(1) That the words "and that the rebel forces be denied that privilege" be added at the end of the fourth clause. (2) That the words, "and other" be inserted between "military" and "supplies" in the same clause.

The resolution as amended was passed unanimously by a standing vote.

In answer to a question asked during the discussion on the resolution regarding Spain, David Lewis, National Secretary, informed Convention that the National Convention held in Toronto in August, 1936, very soon after the civil war had broken out, passed a resolution of sympathy with and support for the loyalist government in Spain. Subsequently the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was formed and from its inception to this day members and units of the C.C.F. throughout the country have given their full support and assistance. The National Council officially endorsed this support by the following resolution passed at its meeting in Ottawa on January 30th. and 31st, 1937:-

"This National Council of the C.C.F., meeting in Ottawa Jan. 30 and 31, 1937, extends its congratulations and greetings to the members of the Canadian Medical Unit, headed by Dr. Norman Bethune and serving the people of the besieged city of Madrid. The National Council, through this Canadian Medical Mission, declares its solidarity with the democratic and constitutional forces in Spain and will continue to support the work of the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy which has been raising funds for financing the Medical Unit in Madrid. It is particularly pleased with the extent to which C.C.F. members and units have participated in this work."

NATIONAL COUNCIL REPORT
(1936-37)

David Lewis, National Secretary, presented the following report:-

"A review of the work and activities of the past year shows considerable progress in all directions. Whether the progress has measured up to the opportunities, whether it has been adequate in view of political developments in our country as well as internationally, it will be for this convention to determine. It will also be for this convention to outline steps whereby our movement may make more rapid and more effective progress in the future. To this task above all others delegates should dedicate their energy and their time."

"Even a rapid survey of the political scene, both nationally and internationally, will show that our movement is now presented with greater opportunities than ever before in the history of our country. Never have conditions so clearly shown that a democratic socialist movement such as ours is the only hope out of the present national and international difficulties; never has there been so great a need for a political party like the C.C.F. uniting farmer and worker into one people's movement aiming at a new society based on co-operative effort towards co-operative justice; never have such large groups of our people seen this need so clearly or expressed their support so readily and with such determination.

"These considerations place a tremendous responsibility on our movement. The present political situation clearly indicates two all-important tasks which are so related one to the other as to be really one. We must without any loss of time organize the thousands of men and women who have lost their faith in all the other political parties and are ready, whether or not they are quite conscious of it, not only to support us from the outside but also to join our ranks in order to take an active part in the building of the movement. We must also, and at the same time, convince the people that we are in policy and in spirit, in our organization and in activity their movement on which they can rely with hope and confidence not only because of our determination and unfailing effectiveness. Unless we succeed by our actions in awaking this confidence we shall not win the people; at all event, we shall not win that loyalty and devotion without which success is impossible.

"It is against this background that our past year's activities and accomplishments must be placed. Measured in this way it will be seen that our progress during the past year has been very considerable, but it will also be our duty to admit that it has not been adequate; that our efforts in the future must be multiplied many times. We have every right to be proud of what our movement has accomplished in the short five years of its existence, but it is also our duty to recognize that our work has only begun, and that in the future our activities must cover a much wider field and must achieve a greater measure of careful planning and co-ordination.

"Very soon after the Toronto Convention of last year, the National Office was opened in Ottawa. This was, in the first place made possible through the generosity of Mr. Russel S. Smart, a friend of the movement residing in Ottawa, who presented us with office space free of rent and of other smaller charges. The National Council takes this opportunity of publicly expressing its appreciation of Mr. Smart's interest.

Although the present National Secretary was appointed by the National Council on August 6, 1936, he was so appointed on the understanding that he would not be able to undertake his duties officially until after the New Year. Between August and the end of last year, Mr. M. J. Coldwell, M.P. continued to act as secretary. The appointment of Treasurer had been left in abeyance, and the National Council meeting in Ottawa on Jan. 30 and 31 instructed the National Secretary to act as Treasurer pro tem.

The National Secretary has had, as had Mr. Coldwell before him, the devoted assistance of Mr. H. W. Dalton. Mr. Dalton has worked eagerly at any time of the day or evening, as best suited the circumstances. His devotion deserves the appreciation of the entire movement and has certainly won the gratitude of the Secretary.

The National Council met twice during the year and the National Executive four times. As soon as it could, the National Council carefully considered the government proposal to increase the expenditure on armaments, which has since been put into effect. A statement was issued to the press condemning the increases, and our members of Parliament planned to oppose them in the House of Commons. It was decided to issue a short pamphlet setting forth the reasons for the C.C.F. opposition to increased armaments, to

encourage a nation-wide campaign against them, and also to widen the campaign around the petition to take profits out of war which was initiated in Alberta.

The work of the Parliamentary group in this matter will be referred to later in the section of this report dealing with the activities of the group. 10,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "Why Armaments?" were published under the auspices of the National Council, and were distributed to the movement through the co-operation of the provincial councils. The anti-armament campaign resulted in a number of protest meetings throughout the country which were organized not only by sections of our own movement but also often with the co-operation of church groups, women's organizations, youth and other anti-war groups.

The widening of the campaign to take profits out of war resulted in the circulation of petitions throughout the country from the Maritimes to British Columbia and tens of thousands of signatures were collected from citizens representing all classes in the community. The petition was officially presented to parliament on April 10th., by J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., our national chairman.

It may with complete justice be said that in this all-important issue which arose during the past year the C.C.F. took the lead in opposing, both in parliament and in the country, the increased armaments and the anti-peace policy which they implied.

This campaign was the first activity of this sort undertaken on a national scale by our party. Many faults can be indicated in the way in which it was conducted, but it demonstrated the immense value to our cause and to our movement of initiating and coordinating nation-wide activity on immediate issues as they arise.

Through the National Office close contact has been established between the National Council and the Provincial sections of the movement. This contact has already proven of great value in bringing the various sections of the party closer together. It is hoped that this contact will be widened to include not only the provincial headquarters but also local units and organizations.

Contact has also been established with the socialist and labor movements of the United States, Australia, New Zealand and England, as well as with the Labour and Socialist International. Periodical publications are received from all these sources as well as from the International Peace Campaign; the International Labour Office; the underground socialist movement in Germany; and world organizations aiding Loyalist Spain.

A weekly bulletin was sent by the National Office to all C.C.F. papers, comprising news of the activities of our National Organizer, our members of parliament as well as news of events outside Canada gained through our contacts with socialist movements in other countries. It is suggested that this is an important service which the National Office can perform to the party. The Secretary expresses the hope that the National Office may in this way become the medium for a satisfactory exchange of news between the various sections of the movement.

On the whole, it is submitted that the National Office has established itself on a footing of useful service. It must be remembered that the work is carried on under great handicaps. The position of secretary in honorary so that the secretary does his work after his ordinary occupation. The lack of resources limits us to a full-time staff of only one and also obliges us to work with inadequate office equipment. These things necessarily entail a lower efficiency than is demanded by a political movement. Together with the other organizational problems facing our party, the problem of a more effective central office will have to be solved.

The past year has seen a constant unification of the forces inside the C.C.F. The various Provincial Conventions which have been held in recent months have disclosed an increasing unity in our ranks; a strong, faithful and reliable membership; and steady growth in every part of the country.

The growth, however, continues to be uneven. Because of specific local problems, the progress in Quebec and in the Maritimes is still very slow. It is important for comrades to realize more clearly the pressing and indispensable need for strong and effective sections in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Socialism cannot be achieved in Canada unless our party becomes an effective and challenging force in the central and eastern provinces. Organization in those provinces must in the future be aided and in some cases initiated much more extensively by the national movement. This is another task to which the convention must give careful attention.

The past year has seen the beginnings of a wave of trade union organization which, it is hoped, will continue to gather force until it sweeps the entire country. A large number of strikes, almost all successful, took place in all provinces, but principally in Ontario and Quebec. The National Council is pleased to note that, true to the principles of our movement, the various sections of the C.C.F. have lent their support and aid to the trade unions and to striking workers. Nationally too, whatever assistance possible was given. Our members of Parliament addressed meetings of striking workers in Oshawa, Toronto, and Montreal. This support and assistance must be continued and increased. The new industrial unions, as well as many of the older ones, are rapidly coming to the realization that political labour action is the necessary next step after organization on the industrial front. It is our task to convince the workers in these unions that the C.C.F. is the political party of the workers as it is of the farmers and all other classes smarting under the insecurity of the present system, and that the C.C.F. is eager to co-operate in every possible way with the trade unions.

The most recent happening of importance was the provincial election in British Columbia. The results of the election as regards our party were very gratifying. In spite of a perceptible capitalist recovery in that province and in spite of internal difficulties in the B. C. party, we polled almost 30% of the popular vote and elected seven members to the legislature. In the circumstances in which the election was fought it is clear that the vote which the C.C.F. received was a straight, conscious vote for our principles and our party. This showed what is true of most parts of the country, that the C.C.F. has by now won a following whose support is grounded on conviction and confidence.

The past year has witnessed the most serious drought situation in Western Canada. The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, the province most urgently affected, has been and is leading the people of that province in their demands for assistance and for a solution of the intolerable situation. Our National Chairman, other members of Parliament and the National Organizer have toured through parts of the affected areas, assisting the Saskatchewan C.C.F. in their work.

This short survey shows that the economic and political situation in the country presents us, as was claimed in the early part of this report, with tremendous opportunities. The seriousness of the international situation, the obvious drift of the present Liberal Government towards involving us in the threatening European war, the unmasking of the objectives of international fascism in Spain, and the inspiration of other countries where the Labour and Socialist movements have advanced the cause of progress and of justice in concrete benefits to the people of those countries, all add urgency to our principles and vigour to our work.

In this situation, our all-important need is organization. We have now passed the first stage of our movement, - the stage during which the foundation has been slowly laid through patient education.

The past year has seen a constant realization of the forces which have been at work in the various provincial conferences which have taken place in recent months have disclosed an increasing unity in our ranks; a strong, faithful and reliable membership; and steady growth in every part of the country.

The growth, however, continues to be uneven. Reasons of specific local problems, the progress to Quebec and in the Maritime as well as elsewhere, is an important factor in the realization of our aims. It is important for ourselves to realize more clearly the present and the future. The National Council has held its annual meeting in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Socialism cannot be achieved in Canada unless our party becomes an effective and enlightening force in the central and eastern provinces. Organization in these provinces in the future be aided and in some cases initiated much more extensively by the national movement. This is another task to which the convention must give careful attention.

The past year has seen the beginning of a wave of trade union organization which, it is hoped, will continue to gather force until it sweeps the entire country. A large number of strikes, almost all successful, took place in all provinces, but principally in Ontario and Quebec. The National Council is pleased to note that, true to the principles of our movement, the various sections of the C.O.P. have lent their support and aid to the trade unions and to striking workers. Nationally too, whatever assistance possible was given. Our members of Parliament addressed meetings of striking workers in Ontario, Quebec and Montreal. This support and assistance must be continued and increased. The new industrial unions, as well as many of the older ones, are rapidly coming to the realization that political labor action is the necessary next step after organization on the industrial front. Let us not fail to convince the workers in those unions that the C.O.P. is the political party of the workers as it is of the farmers and all other classes in the country. The success of the C.O.P. in the past year has been a result of the following: first, the C.O.P. has won a following whose support is grounded on conviction and confidence.

The most recent happening of importance was the provincial election in British Columbia. The results of the election on regard our party were very gratifying. In spite of a perceptible capitalist recovery in that province and in spite of internal difficulties in the C.O.P. party, we polled almost 50% of the popular vote and elected seven members to the legislature. In the circumstances in which the election was fought it is clear that the vote which the C.O.P. received was a straight, conscious vote for our principles and our party. This showed what is true of most parts of the country, that the C.O.P. has by now won a following whose support is grounded on conviction and confidence.

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This short survey shows that the economic and political situation in the country presents us, as was claimed in the early part of this report, with tremendous opportunities. The seriousness of the international situation, the advice of the present Liberal Government, the existing European war, the new world involving us in the international system in Spain, and the making of the objectives of internationalism in Spain, and the inspiration of other countries where the labor and Socialist movements have advanced the cause of progress and of justice in concrete benefits to the people of those countries, all add urgency to our principles and vigor to our work.

In this situation, our organization must be improved and re-organized. We have now passed the first stage of our movement - the stage during which the foundation was being laid through patient education.

We have entered the second stage during which an effective political party must be built on this foundation. This requires important changes in the temper of our work, it requires even wider activity, a unification of our ranks, the establishment of an adequate staff of full-time workers, a large increase in party literature, preparations for a more effective party press, and a loyal adherence on the part of all sections and all members to the principles and constitution of our movement.

For these reasons more time has been set aside this year for serious consideration of organizational problems by this Convention. Resolutions will be moved on behalf of the National Council on a number of pressing issues which have come to the fore during the past year. It is hoped that most of the remaining time will be devoted to outlining effective plans for rapid and determined progress of the C.C.F. throughout the country towards political power."

REPORT ON WORK OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

Mr. Lewis then continued: "It is now my duty to present the second part of my report which deals with the activities of the parliamentary group. I had that task last year at the Convention in Toronto. I said in the course of my remarks then that it is generally recognized through the country, and it is a fact of which we in the C.C.F. should be proud, that the only effective opposition to the muddled administration of the present Liberal Government is the small C.C.F. group.

That was true for the session which preceded last year's convention and equally true for the past session. The President this morning said during his address that the past session was the most successful the C.C.F. members have had. I suggest the reason to be that the group has become far more effective through its devotion to C.C.F. objectives. In following the policy and programme adopted by Conventions, the members speak with one united voice for the people of Canada. If you remember the reports in the newspapers, you will recall that the most important debate during the last session of Parliament took place on the proposed increases in armament expenditure. You will find that our comrades - it is a fact which we should bring to the attention of the people - provided the only opposition that came to that proposal, a proposal which is a direct betrayal of peace policy.

I was present in the House at the time and heard the masterly speeches of Grant MacNeil and Mr. Coldwell when they attacked the political shilly-shallying of the Minister of National Defence and the meaningless utterances of the Prime Minister, who said just enough, in that way of his, to muddle the people. It was significant that our so-called great Conservative Party sat absolutely mute through that entire debate. We did not miss their oratory, but it is significant that they did not speak.

They knew perfectly well that it will take all the astuteness - and if he has nothing else he has astuteness - of the Prime Minister to put that programme across to the people of Canada who are opposed to a policy of war. So, in their usual fearless way in which they play the game of legislating for our welfare, the great Conservative Party, which will, if our people are stupid enough to permit them, govern our country again, remained absolutely mute throughout the debate.

If you go from that to other important questions, such as the increases made in the R.C.M.P. reserve forces, significant of the Government's desire to frighten the working class, the farmers and the unemployed from obtaining their rights - you will find that the only people who protested were Mr. Woodsworth and the other C.C.F. members. In the province of Quebec, the Duplessis Government passed the infamous "Padlock law" curtailing the civil liberties of the people. It was our National leader alone who raised

the issue in the House of Commons, and demanded an explanation of the extraordinary action. In Ontario, Premier Hepburn, openly showing his close connection with the financial and industrial interests, refused to recognize union workers in the strike at Oshawa, and raised a special army of reserves to fight the strike, although the workers maintained exemplary order throughout. There again that issue was raised on the floor of the House of Commons by your National leader, and he alone.

If you go to Hansard, you will find page after page of questions put by C.C.F. members! questions relating to the treatment of unemployed, to the wages of workers, to the conditions of the farmers, the plight of youth, to the conditions under which fishermen work and, generally, questions relating to the daily life of the mass of our people. Such questions are sometimes even more important than speeches made on the floor of the House, because of facts which the answers bring to light.

During my remarks on this subject last year, I pointed out that during the session that preceded our last annual Convention, the only debate that took place on foreign policy was initiated by our group. And the same is true again. The important debate on foreign policy in the House only took place as the result of pressure by our group. A resolution on foreign policy was introduced by Mr. Woodsworth, and a resolution on the need for a World Peace conference was introduced by Mr. Heaps, while a resolution for the conscription of wealth during war was introduced by Mr. Douglas.

Finally there was introduced by our National leader the now famous Bill No. 62, which was to amend the Criminal Code so as to make it absolutely legal for workers to organize and illegal for an employer to intimidate them for joining a union of their own choice. What happened? Some arrangement was made that because our great "shebangs" had to be in England for the Coronation, discussion of the Bill should be delayed because it failed to receive the approval of the Government. It was not debated. If I know our Parliamentary group, and if I know Mr. Woodsworth, that Bill will come up again at the next session.

I would like to impress upon those present who are connected with trade unions that Mr. Woodsworth, in moving that Bill in the House, will be strengthened a million times if you make demands that it be passed. It is your duty to see that resolutions flood government offices demanding that this Bill be passed by Parliament.

I have not exhausted all the information as to what the C.C.F. Parliamentary group has done, but I think I have succeeded in pointing out the high lights. It is important to realize that everyone of our members of Parliament is automatically an organizer for our movement and that each is an organizer who costs us nothing. For that reason if for no other, is it to our advantage to increase our number in the House of Commons.

What I have said does not indicate the amount of work our members are constantly doing outside their strictly Parliamentary work. They printed 15,000 pamphlets containing their speeches made on the armaments debate. The pamphlets were distributed throughout the country, many at the expense of the members themselves. An election took place in British Columbia during the vacation. Almost everyone of the members campaigned. Meetings from one end of the country to the other, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were attended by them, in spite of the heavy responsibilities that Parliamentary work means for a little group.

I think I have said enough to indicate that representation of the people in Parliament by the C.C.F. is not only desirable for this movement, but is of importance and urgency to the entire country. The civil liberties and the interests of the people must be defended on the floor of the House of Commons, and will

not be defended unless you have C.C.F. members there. I believe tremendous credit is due our members of Parliament for what they have accomplished and what they have valiantly striven to do. They have done their work with credit to themselves and with credit to this movement. We extend to them our respect, our appreciation and our loyalty. I move to this effect."

The motion was carried by acclamation, and with sustained applause.

The first portion of the report was referred to the National Council.

It was decided, on motion of a delegate, that the report be spread on the minutes.

E. J. Garland, National Organizer, relinquished the chair which was taken by M. J. Coldwell, M.P., and presented his report in a stirring speech; "Following the National Convention last year, I made a tour through Manitoba. The condition in Manitoba is so much better than it was a year ago that no eloquence was required to do justice to the change. There is no doubt the movement has become consolidated in Manitoba, and from this time onward marked progress can be looked for, the progress depending entirely on the extent of the activity by local organizers.

In Saskatchewan there is a strong, growing sentiment in favor of the C.C.F., stronger so far as the following is concerned than in any other province.

In Alberta there was a Provincial Convention of the U.F.A., which retained its affiliation with the C.C.F. Following the Convention at Calgary, I left to travel in Ontario in connection with the Hamilton West campaign. It was one of the best organized tours and series of meetings ever held, -thanks largely to the care of Mr. Herbert Orloff, Secretary of the movement in Ontario. From that part of the country I moved to north-west Ontario, and from there to British Columbia in order to take part in the last Provincial campaign.

Following activities in British Columbia I went to Alberta, where I had an opportunity of realizing the valuable work that has been done by Mr. Irvine and his associates, Miss Mary Crawford and others. They have organized about 140 C.C.F. Clubs in 18 months. If delegates knew anything of the situation in Alberta, they would realize the brilliant nature of this accomplishment and the augury for the future it contains. The Convention held in Calgary was successful. He was looking forward to the future in that province with almost as great optimism as in the case of Saskatchewan. There were 1,500 at one meeting, and 700 at another.

That is the significant nature of last year's work. A development that is not regular, it is true, but one that is nevertheless full of hope. The industrial centres have consolidated their organizations to a point where they are ready to undertake new methods of expansion, although there is a tendency to remain static, as Clubs and organizations concentrate on their local activities. The rural districts are moving into line. It is extremely necessary that they be encouraged.

From Alberta I moved into Southern Saskatchewan and there saw the conditions which demonstrated the extent of the calamity with which the drought resolutions dealt.

During the year I attended 207 meetings, three Provincial Conventions, participated in a Federal by-election and in the Provincial election in British Columbia - 210 meetings altogether. The task is not an easy one, but I like the life. These 210 meetings conducted across the country had been attended at a total average cost of \$3.02 a meeting. A movement of this character cannot be expected to grow on such a basis. This does not do justice to our objective. It entailed a good deal of voluntary help on the part of a large number of the people who support our movement. Lovely homes and sometimes humble

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homes were placed at my disposal and the most pleasing hospitality was extended. Had it not been for such splendid voluntary assistance the cost of my tour would have been much greater.

The amount of co-operation by the rank and file, voluntary co-operation, is remarkable. The people concerned are really the unsung heroes of this movement. The rank and file are carrying the load squarely, without any hope of recognition. I take this opportunity of extending to them our recognition and appreciation of their sacrifices.

Those from Saskatchewan who were at the Saskatoon Convention will forgive me if I repeat some of the things I said there. I want the delegates to go home with a full consciousness of the miracle, the marvellous accomplishment which has already taken place. A few years ago, this movement, which is now having its fourth National Convention, existed only in the dreams of a few men like Mr. Woodsworth and others who had the vision to anticipate its coming. Four years ago the first National Convention was held. The movement can be said to be just four years old. It was started at Regina with courage, with nothing but high ideals and a burning desire to achieve a magnificent objective. It has since been carried across the continent.

The job tackled was of such immensity that only by comparisons can it be made real to people. In Britain there were 100 years of educational background. There was dense population, largely belonging to one type. Some 40,000,000 people centralized in an area less than the area of Vancouver Island. "I could do there on a bicycle the job I have had to do here," and yet, in four years the movement has spread from Coast to Coast. There is a splendid movement in every part of the country, and it will not die in any of the provinces. The movement did not arise by accident, or because someone wanted it. It arose because economic and social changes made it absolutely necessary for it to arise, and it would remain a movement until the reasons which gave it birth were disposed of, and that will be some time yet. The major task of the movement is to align the two great functional groups in this country into one common organization for a common objective. If the Socialist objective of the C.C.F. were to be attained, it could only be attained as a result of the organization of these two groups, the workers and the farmers. Neither alone could accomplish the job.

The task demands great patience, great tolerance and great understanding.

I am very hopeful of the situation in the Maritime Provinces. Intensive work by speakers will be required for a time. In the province of Nova Scotia there is little appearance of the C.C.F. organization, and yet in that province I saw as great a hope for the future of the C.C.F. as in any province in Canada. The place of the C.C.F. is being temporarily taken by a great co-operative movement, an adult educational movement, activity on the trade union front. There are co-operative and credit unions and so on, all of which makes it certain that the people will soon see in the C.C.F. movement the medium for the political expression of their views. The same holds true for the provinces of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island."

Mr. Garland painted a graphic picture of the harrassing conditions of work in modern mass-production plants. He painted an equally vivid picture of the intolerable conditions of the farmers, and concluded - "It is to redress these injustices, to end these conditions for all time that the C.C.F. was formed. Socialism must and will triumph, no true Socialist can doubt it."

Mr. Garland's report was received with a motion of tribute to and appreciation of his devoted and successful work as National Organizer.

TRADE UNIONISM

George H. Barefoot, Manitoba, moved the following resolution:

"The C.C.F. greets with enthusiasm the great strides in Trade Union organization which have been made throughout the country and

supports entirely the expressed determination of the workers to organize in Trade Unions of their own choice. In the field of industrial organization Canada is far behind most other countries and the present progress in the organization of the workers must be hailed by all socialists, as well as other progressive citizens, as a necessary and desirable step in the social progress of our country, for trade union organization is not only the means of winning better living conditions and greater security for the workers concerned, but also introduces wider and deeper democracy in the life of our people.

The C.C.F. therefore condemns as unwarranted interference with the legitimate rights of the Canadian workers the acts of the governments of Ontario and Quebec in actively opposing C.I.O. trade union organization.

The C.C.F. as a political party does not undertake to advise the workers which form of trade unionism they should adopt and support. The workers in every industry must be given the right to decide for themselves what particular form of organization is best suited to their needs.

We call upon all members of the C.C.F., who are eligible, to join their appropriate Trade Union, and we pledge every possible assistance by the C.C.F. to all bona fide organizations of the workers whatever their form."

Mr. Barefoot said: "I have great pleasure in moving this resolution, for ever since I was an apprentice I have belonged to an industrial union. All my life I have been striving for the betterment of the conditions of the working classes. This question concerns the urban worker, but is of importance also to the farmer. There are three ways in which the urban worker can organize for the betterment of his conditions: (1) He can organize in the industrial field; (2) He can organize in the political field; and, (3) he can organize through the co-operatives. To my mind, if the workers do not embrace any one of these three phases they are not adequately using the powers they have."

The floor was thrown open to discussion.

T. Johnston, Saskatchewan, said he was sure that agricultural delegates would support the resolution. He hoped the day would come when the agriculturists of the country would form a union. It had always been a mystery to him why the farmers in his province had not co-ordinated their efforts and approached the powers that be with demands for the terms on which they would work and produce.

C. L. Coburn, Ontario, favored aggressive action by the C.C.F. in getting behind the trade union movement and supporting it at times of strike and difficulty of any kind. It was necessary for the C.C.F. to become even more aggressive and more active as regards the trade union movement. If it wanted the support of the labour unions, it must help labour in every way and at every opportunity.

John Queen, M.L.A., Manitoba, said that while it was necessary that the Convention should pass the resolution, it should be remembered that it did not institute new policies on the part of the C.C.F. In Manitoba, the C.C.F. had been helping the workers in their struggles for better conditions, as it had been doing in Ontario. One of the measures introduced in the Manitoba legislature condemned employers for refusing to grant the workers the right of collective bargaining.

George H. Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, said the labour delegates could rely upon the farmer delegates to support the resolution. It is recognized that labour and farmers face the same problem, have the same foe to fight and that they should fight that foe unitedly and with determination. Labour and farmers were arriving at a close understanding with each other. The Farmer sections of the C.C.F. were, he felt sure, whole-heartedly behind the workers in their trade union activity.

Dr. Stanley Allen, Quebec, emphasized the importance of the resolution in view of what had happened in Quebec, where an attempt had

...the expressed determination of the workers to organize in Trade Unions of their own choice. In the field of industrial organization Canada is far behind most other countries and the present program of the C.I.O. must be based on the realization that as well as other progressive elements, as a necessary condition for the social progress of our country, the conditions in which we live are not only the means of winning better conditions but also the means of winning security for the workers concerned, but also the means of deeper security in the life of our people.

The C.I.O. therefore considers a reworked industrial program for the benefit of the Canadian workers the basis of the C.I.O. Trade Union program.

The C.I.O. as a political party does not undertake to advise the workers with form of Trade Unionism they should adopt and support. Workers in every industry must be given the right to decide for themselves what particular form of organization is best suited to their needs.

We call upon all members of the C.I.O. who are eligible, to join their appropriate Trade Union, and we pledge every possible assistance to the C.I.O. to all bona fide organizations of the workers whatsoever.

Mr. Jackson said: "I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for ever since I was in opposition I have believed in industrial unionism. All my life I have been striving for the betterment of the conditions of the working classes. This question concerns the worker, but is of importance also to the farmer. There are three ways in which the worker can organize for the betterment of his conditions: (1) He can organize in the industrial field; (2) He can organize in the political field; and (3) He can organize through the co-operative. To my mind the workers do not embrace any one of these three phases of organization adequately using the powers they have."

The floor was then open for discussion.

Mr. Johnston, Saskatchewan, said he was sure that agricultural workers would support the resolution. He hoped the day would come when the agriculturalists of the country would form a union. It had always been a mystery to him why the farmers in his province had not co-ordinated their efforts and approached the powers that be with demands for the terms on which they would work and produce.

Mr. J. G. Gagnon, Ontario, favored aggressive action by the C.I.O. in getting behind the trade union movement and supporting it at times of strike and difficulty of any kind. It was necessary for the C.I.O. to become even more aggressive and more active as regards the trade union movement. It wanted the support of the labour unions, it must be present in every way and at every opportunity.

John Green, N.S., said that while it was necessary that the Convention should pass the resolution, it should be remembered that it did not institute new policies on the part of the C.I.O. In Ontario, the C.I.O. had been helping the workers in their struggles for better conditions, as it had been doing in Ontario. One of the reasons mentioned in the Ontario legislation concerned employers for refusing to grant the workers the right of collective bargaining.

George H. Williams, N.S., said the labour delegates who voted upon the former resolution to support the resolution. It is emphasized that labour and farmers face the same problem, have the same rights and that they should fight for the same rights and with the same determination. Labour and farmers were striving for a closer relationship with each other. The former sections of the C.I.O. were, he felt, also naturally behind the workers in their trade union activity.

Mr. Stanley A. Gagnon, Ontario, emphasized the importance of the resolution in view of what had happened in Quebec, where an attempt had

been made by organized power to prevent international and other trade unions from organizing.

One delegate expressed the opinion that the C.C.F. should declare what form of trade unionism the workers should choose, and suggested an amendment to that effect. The amendment was defeated overwhelmingly.

The resolution was adopted.

HISTORICAL LETTER ON OLD AGE PENSIONS

A pleasant interlude was provided at this stage when Mr. A. A. Heaps, M.P., presented the National Council with a framed letter which Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., had received from the Prime Minister at that time, Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, and dated January 28, 1926, dealing with proposed legislation regarding Old Age Pensions.

Mr. Heaps recalled that about 12 years ago Mr. Woodsworth and himself, the two only socialists then in the House of Commons, were able to press successfully for Old Age Pensions. As a result of their efforts, legislation dealing with Old Age Pensions was passed, and today 140,000 old people are in receipt of such pensions. This is an accomplishment for which the C.C.F. can rightly take credit as having been attained through the efforts of its forerunners.

E. J. Garland, Convention Chairman, accepted the interesting souvenir on behalf of the movement and thanked Mr. Heaps for the presentation.

The session was adjourned till 8.15 P.M.

The resolution, which was accepted by David Lewis, follows:

"The last few years have seen a growing trend to authoritarianism all over the world. International Communism, concentrating its efforts in the Spanish struggle, has found friends and allies in British and American circles, as well as in Europe. In Canada, we are faced by the same tendencies to the forcible assertion of autocratic authority, the suppression of free speech and the withholding from labour of the right to organize and bargain collectively in unions of its own choice.

"These anti-democratic activities are defended by reactionaries as being for our preservation against 'foreign agitators' and 'communists.' In reality, they are directed against the working class as it tries to organize for the defence of its interests. The attack upon freedom is primarily an attack upon the Canadian worker.

"It is significant that for some years the Dominion Government has been strengthening the C.C.F. Increasingly increased organizations on National Unions have been justified in part by the Minister of Labour as being necessary to suppress 'subversive activities.' In the two chief industrial provinces the governments have shown themselves to be even more anti-labour than the Dominion Government. In Quebec, the Duplessis administration is engaged in building up a 'corporate' system of which the real meaning is the workers' control in the infamous 'Padlock Law' and the persistent opposition of the Premier and his legal and police officials to legitimate trade union activities. In Ontario, the systematic oppression of Premier Hepburn in the Johnson General Motors Strike, his refusal to recognize a trade union of the workers' choice as a legitimate legislative, his establishment of a special strike-breaking force, his intervention at Premier Duplessis' anti-labour policies and his refusal to which he and his ministers are prepared to go, in both the Federal and the provincial fields, is evidence that the State is here anxious to suppress manifestations of discontent and to remove their cause.

"The C.C.F. believes that these reactionary tendencies are in direct opposition to the spirit of the Canadian people. That their aim is to concentrate on activities is undertaken has been shown

was made by organized power to prevent international and other trade unions from organizing.

The delegate expressed the opinion that the C.O.P. should debate that form of unionism the workers should choose, and suggested an amendment to that effect. The amendment was defeated overwhelmingly.

The resolution was adopted.

HISTORICAL LETTER ON OLD AGE PENSIONS

A pleasant interlude was provided at this stage when Mr. A. A. Lewis presented the National Council with a framed letter which Mr. W. F. Woodworth, M.P., had received from the Prime Minister at that time, Right Honorable N. A. Macdonald King, and dated January 23, 1922, dealing with proposed legislation regarding Old Age Pensions.

Mr. Woodworth recalled that about 12 years ago Mr. Woodworth and myself, the two only socialists then in the House of Commons, were able to pass successfully for Old Age Pensions. As a result of this effort, legislation dealing with Old Age Pensions was passed, and today 140,000 old people are in receipt of such pensions. This is an accomplishment for which the C.O.P. can rightly take credit as having been attained through the efforts of its forerunners.

E. J. Garland, Convention Chairman, closed the interesting session on behalf of the movement and thanked Mr. Mack for the presentation.

The session was adjourned till 8.15 P.M.

EVENING SESSION, JULY 27

C. Grant MacNeil, M.P., Chairman, Resolutions Committee, was given the floor and brought forward the following two resolutions with recommendations from the Resolutions Committee:

- (1) "Resolved that the National Platform be so amended as to guarantee that a C.C.F. Government will lower Old Age Pensions to sixty years."

The Resolutions Committee recommended concurrence in principle, and that when the National Platform is brought under revision, the necessary section be inserted therein.

The recommendation was adopted.

- (2) "Resolved that the words 'and not the making of profits' be deleted from the Preamble to the Manifesto."

The Committee recommended non-concurrence. After some discussion, during which a great deal of opposition was voiced against the resolution, it was tabled for consideration by the National Council when revision of the Manifesto is undertaken.

DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Moving the resolution, J. King Gordon said: "I think that next to the resolution on drought conditions in Western Canada, the resolution I am about to read is perhaps the most important one to be brought to the attention of this Convention. I esteem it an honour to introduce it.

The resolution, which was seconded by David Lewis, follows:

"The last few years have seen a growing threat to democratic liberties all over the world. International Fascism, while concentrating its efforts in the Spanish struggle, is finding friends and allies in British and American democracies as well as in Europe. In Canada, we are faced by the same tendencies to the forcible assertion of autocratic authority, the suppression of free speech and the withholding from labour of the right to organize and bargain collectively in unions of its own choice.

"These anti-democratic activities are defended by reactionaries as being for our preservation against "foreign agitators" and "communists." In reality, they are directed against the working class as it tries to organize for the defence of its interests. The attack upon freedom is primarily an attack upon the Canadian worker.

"It is significant that for some years the Dominion Government has been strengthening the R.C.M.P. Enormously increased expenditures on National Defence have been justified in part by the Minister of National Defence as being necessary to suppress "subversive agitation." In the two chief industrial provinces the governments have shown themselves to be even more anti-labour than the Dominion Government. In Quebec, the Duplessis administration is engaged in building up a fascist "corporatism" of which the real meaning to the workers is shown in the infamous "Padlock Law" and the persistent opposition of the Premier and his legal and police officials to legitimate trade union activities. In Ontario, the hysterical behaviour of Premier Hepburn in the Oshawa General Motors Strike, his refusal to recognize a trade union of the workers' choice as a party to negotiations, his recruiting of a special strike-breaking force, his endorsement of Premier Duplessis' anti-labour policies show the extent to which he and his advisers are prepared to go. In both the federal and the provincial fields, it appears that the State is more anxious to suppress manifestations of discontent than to remove their causes.

"The C.C.F. believes that these reactionary tendencies are in direct opposition to the spirit of the Canadian people. That their faith in democratic principles is unshaken has been shown

...of the National Association of Evangelicals, which was first...
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RESOLUTIONS

(1) Resolved that the National Association of Evangelicals...
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(17) Resolved that the National Association of Evangelicals...
...the following are the resolutions...

"by the public pressure which brought about the repeal of Section 98, and the passage of such legislation as the Nova Scotia Trade Union Act, and by the fact that every attack upon civil rights has occasioned widespread resentment. The C.C.F. calls upon the Canadian people once again to rally to the defence of their democratic heritage. It pledges itself to oppose every attempt to curtail our fundamental liberties and to co-operate with all democratic forces to this end."

J. King Gordon said: "In the very able presentation this afternoon of the resolution on Spain, Miss Crawford called attention to the fact that the C.C.F. is essentially international in its outlook, and is part of a great international Movement throughout the world. All oppressed people, whether they be in Spain, Germany or Canada, are the concern of the C.C.F. The significant thing about the resolution I introduce is that it links together happenings in the larger world of international affairs with happenings in our own country. The Atlantic Ocean does not separate Canada from the kind of oppression, the kind of tyranny, shown in so many parts of Europe, where they have been successful in curbing the rights and liberties of formerly free peoples. We in Canada are faced today with the same kind of threat to democratic liberties. Challenges have been issued to our basic democratic tradition, and it is against this concrete menace that this resolution protests. It is to an actual battle for freedom that we send out our call to arms."

About the same time as the organizing meeting of the C.C.F. was held in Calgary, I had the opportunity of being in Germany. That was in the mid-summer of 1932. At that time I was interested in the progress made by the Social Democratic Party, trade unions and the government in Germany. We sometimes forget what achievements were made in that country. A great Movement bringing all supporters together had governed Germany for years. I saw what had been done in the way of bringing benefits to the working class in the matter of housing, co-operative movements and a free Press. I talked to some of their leaders. At that time the name of Hitler was coming to be an important name in Germany. He was not then in power. I talked to some of the best informed students of German society, and they told me with tremendous conviction that the Socialist Movement in Germany was so strong that it could not possibly be crushed by the rising of the Hitler Movement. They argued that it was impossible in a democracy like Germany with so strong and widespread a Socialist Movement. Their reason was based on the premise that democracy would survive. But you know what happened. The change was brought about by ruthless undemocratic means.

There was a friend with me, Professor Eugene Forsey, and one night we went out into the streets of Berlin for a walk. We noticed a good many bands of young Social Democrats. We followed some of them. They led us to a big central hall fairly close to the centre of Berlin. We wanted to get in. We said we were Socialists from Canada. The door-keeper was so delighted that Canada had sent fraternal delegates that he arranged for us being seated in their midst. Here was a group of young people. In Germany, youth were becoming the spear-point of the Socialist Movement. I realized that even if the fathers were beginning to get disappointed about achieving socialism in their life-time, their sons and daughters were filled with hope that the goal of Socialists would be achieved, especially as so much had already been done.

The meeting was addressed by a young Social Democrat from Austria. The Austrian Socialists always seemed to be greater realists than their German cousins. Certainly this young comrade had no illusions as to what Hitler would do if he succeeded in coming to power. He said- "You think your mighty Socialist Movement is of tremendous strength. You may have had control for a while, but it is necessary to achieve still greater success. If Hitler comes to power, "he warned," everything you have achieved in Germany will be destroyed. Your unions will be smashed; your co-operatives destroyed; and your Press wiped out. Your Party will be destroyed, and you will be subjected to an oppression and tyranny far worse than were experienced before the war." The young people in the audience sat with mouths open, as he told them what was likely to happen if they did not take steps to guard their democracy. The

only thing the young speaker lacked was imagination. He could not quite picture the depth of the ruthless oppression which was to be forced on the people by the Hitler regime. You could see the blasting of the great hopes of a generation of German youth, you could see the doom of a great nation as you studied the faces of the young Socialists at that meeting.

I sometimes think that we in Canada are taking our democracy far too much for granted. I sometimes feel that we think we are so very safe because the Atlantic separates us from what is taking place in Europe. I sometimes think that we are almost romantic, and that we cheer ourselves by saying: "Nothing can defeat us. Nothing can hold back Socialism; it will come so inevitably to its goal."

I agree that in the long run Socialism is sure to win, that a Socialist must never permit himself to doubt the ultimate triumph of his cause. But most of us live not in long runs but in short runs. No one can look at the world today without being overwhelmed by the thought that it is possible for a Socialist Movement to be destroyed, for democracy to be destroyed, if steps are not taken to protect those democratic rights and liberties that belong to us.

First we must see clearly wherein lie the threats to democracy. Democracy is menaced when democracy shows that it can and intends to aim an effective blow at the strongholds of privilege which for years and centuries have been exploiting the common people. At that point democracy is in danger. As long as democracy consists in the right to mark ballots and the enjoyment of certain liberties which do not interfere with anyone's privileges and powers, it does not mean very much, and democracy will be allowed to continue. Just as soon, however, as democracy becomes a danger, just as soon as democracy threatens to destroy power and take away privileges enjoyed at the expense of others, the strongholds of vested interests begin to devise ways and means whereby democracy can be curtailed, and, if necessary, destroyed.

Let me illustrate by several things which have happened in Canada. I am not sure if it was at the last C.C.F. Convention or on another occasion when we heard our Vice-President, M. J. Coldwell, M.P., speak of the so-called Regina riot. He described in most vivid fashion what happened there. What was the Regina riot? It represented an effort on the part of the authorities to crush down a legitimate protest by some hundreds or thousands of young Canadians to conditions in relief camps that were intolerable. These young unemployed were exercising their freedom and right as Canadian citizens to protest. That is what the Regina riot was. As long as the unemployed remained quiet, as long as they submitted to conditions forced upon them, they were quite safe. Nobody would hurt them. The R.C.M.P. would not be raised against them. But immediately protest against intolerable conditions was organized, the authorities acted with brutal promptness. Thus the first efforts at curtailment of civil rights are aimed at the suppression of discontent and unrest among the masses of an awakening people.

Democracy is also threatened when it begins to develop an efficient political technique which may be used to take from certain groups powers which those groups exercise in the interests of the master classes. That is what happened in Spain. After centuries of oppression, the Spanish people gradually discovered that technique, and used it to destroy the strongholds of the powers which had oppressed them for so long. At that point forces of reaction began organizing against them. Other reactionary forces, such as the fascist governments of Italy and Germany, have sided in the attempt to crush the Spanish democracy because it was becoming a real menace to the systems for which they stand.

Take our own country, in the province of Quebec, where I have lived most in the last few years. A great province and a great people, but a people who have been more or less content to remain under the domination of the industrial leaders in the province. The people submitted because they did not have the education that enlightens, and because, coming from farms largely, they did not know the technique of industrial organization. Industries were established in which cheap

labour was exploited to amass fortunes for a few hundred wealthy families. In this exploitation the state has frequently been a partner. Social legislation was in most cases nullified by non-enforcement, and often by active collusion between manufacturers and government officials.

That condition is changing. Quebec has felt the depression far more acutely than any other industrial section of Canada. Relief rolls have mounted. There has been a steady pressing down of the standards of living. What happened? The people have been thinking in terms of political organization as never before. Quebec today is in seething ferment. The rise of political discussion and the emergence of radical political movements have badly shaken the self-confidence of the reactionary forces in state and industry.

One result of the changing condition was that the old Taschereau administration was destroyed completely. That gave the people of Quebec a sense of democratic power they had not had for years. It may help them to come to understand that if Premier Duplessis does not do what they want, they can throw him out, too. They have a sense of power they never had before.

On the other hand, the privileged groups which for years have been exploiting Quebec had come to the conclusion that Quebec democracy must be curtailed. So that with Taschereau gone and Duplessis in power, legislation has been placed on the Statute Books which has been steadily decreasing the democratic rights of French Canadians. The most infamous has been the "Padlock law." I shall read to you several sections of it, for it must be heard to be believed:

Section 3 - "It shall be illegal for any person, who possesses or occupies a house within the Province, to use it or allow any person to make use of it to propagate communism or bolshevism by any means whatsoever."

(The penalty provided is the closing of the house against use for any purpose whatever for one year).

Section 12 - "It shall be unlawful to print, to publish in any manner whatsoever or to distribute in the Province any newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, circular, document or writing whatsoever propagating or tending to propagate communism or bolshevism."

(The penalty provided in this case is from three to twelve months' imprisonment).

Section 2 - (1) - "The word 'house' shall mean any building, shelter, penthouse, shed or other construction, under whatever name known or designated, attached to the ground or portable, erected or placed above or below ground, permanently or temporarily; and in the case of a house within the meaning of this paragraph situated partly in the territory of the Province and partly outside of such territory, the word 'house' shall mean the portion situated within the territory of the Province of Quebec."

(The last section was greeted with much laughter).

You will have noticed that nowhere is "communism" or "bolshevism" defined. According to the Premier, it would appear that a definition was deliberately omitted because it "would defeat the purposes of the law!" Clearly the intent of the law is to intimidate or actually prosecute any citizen whose opinions are apt to be contrary to those held by the authorities. Nowhere in the British Commonwealth can such a law be found which so flagrantly contravenes the essential principles of democracy.

That is just one example, and it is significant of a definite trend in that province. The ruling classes are building up the philosophy of Fascism and are disseminating ideas about the corporate state. All the Fascist appeals are being made: the appeals to nationalism, race, autonomy, corporatism, anti-semitism. But the ordinary people of Quebec are by no means won over to this reactionary drive. A number of recent strikes in which our French-Canadian brothers and sisters have played the leading part show that the workers are

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determined to use their democratic right to fight for better living conditions.

Democracy is also regarded by reactionary interests as a menace when it begins to develop efficient forms of technique in industrial organization. We have seen tremendous development of the trade union Movement in recent months. There has been nothing more spectacular than the rise of the C.I.C. That Movement recently came to Canada, and it focussed on those industries on which the C.I.O. had concentrated and won victory in the United States. General Motors had come to agreement with the C.I.O. in the United States. It is quite probable that a similar agreement would have been reached in Canada had there not been outside interference. But there was that interference. Right from the beginning you had the incredible spectacle of the Premier of the province of Ontario, a man who had boasted about being the friend of the working people of Ontario, flagrantly coming out on one side of that struggle, on the side of the owners in the strike, and refusing to recognize the right of the workers in the General Motors' plant at Oshawa to organize a union of their own choosing. More than that, he worked in close contact with some of the greatest financial interests in Ontario, and used every means of propaganda against the C.I.O., recruiting a private army for the purpose of possible strike-breaking. The pattern of reaction into which Premier Hepburn fits is perfectly clear. Identifying himself closely with the great Toronto mining and financial interests, Hepburn was determined to smash the C.I.O. in its first battle for recognition. It mattered not that Oshawa workers enjoyed the right to organize. It mattered not that the most important trade unions in Canada had for many years been 'international.' It mattered not that the whole British tradition of trade union recognition was against him. Hepburn was determined to break the C.I.O. at Oshawa, in the hope the broken, at Oshawa, industrial unionism would not be able to penetrate mining, steel and textiles. Altogether he created a condition of unrest in that province such as I have never seen before. And the Premier was put into office to maintain the democratic rights of the people of Ontario!

What I have said makes it pretty clear that every care has to be taken. We are facing today, and are likely to face to a greater extent, the same kind of threat to democratic principles as has been faced in European countries. Unless we take measures to defend our democracy, there is great danger of that democracy slipping away from us.

Let me paint briefly the other side, the brighter side, of the picture. I firmly believe that there is in Canada a definite belief in democracy. I firmly believe that there is in Canada a determination, and a growing determination, that democracy will not be destroyed in spite of the R.C.M.P., in spite of Hepburn or Duplessis, and in spite of Hepburn and Duplessis together.

We have seen the wiping out of "Section 98" from the Statutes. We have seen passed in Nova Scotia enlightened trade union legislation. I think there is every possibility that such an act will be extended to all parts of Canada. We have seen the organization of the Civil Liberties Union, prepared to fight every single instance of infringement of liberties. We have seen the steady advance of the trade union movement. There are definite signs that Canadians are not going to tolerate this kind of challenge to our democratic rights.

As Socialists, we believe in democracy. We stand firm for the democratic heritage. We believe in democracy for itself, but we also believe in democracy because we see that by democracy the ends of socialism can be achieved. We are not at all persuaded that the ends of socialism can be achieved without democracy except at the cost of intolerable suffering. Therefore, it behoves us to do everything in our power as a great socialist movement of farmers and workers throughout Canada to defend democracy, to protect the rights of the people and to extend democratic principles in those communities where democracy is not now operative.

That is the kind of programme and policy we will have to follow. On this issue of the defence of democracy there is a great body of Canadian opinion. The C.C.F. depends upon the Canadian people and calls upon them once again to rally to the defence of the democratic heritage, and, in the words of the resolution, "pledges itself to oppose every attempt to curtail our fundamental liberties and to co-operate with all democratic forces to this end."

Mr. Gordon's speech was received with enthusiasm by the Convention, and was followed by much keen discussion.

An amendment was moved to the effect that in the event of the election of a C.C.F. government that government would prepare the people to protect it from reactionary opposition.

E. J. Garland, Convention Chairman, pointed out that that would necessarily be the first job of a C.C.F. government which meant business, and did not put the amendment to vote.

John Queen, M.L.A., Manitoba, expressed great appreciation of Mr. Gordon's speech and of the resolution. He thought that the speech ought to be printed and circulated throughout the country.

C. L. Coburn, Ontario, said that there was continual infringement of civil rights, and that the C.C.F. ought to take every opportunity of exposing anything that savored of such infringement.

P. H. England, Ontario, drew the attention of Convention to the fact that professors in our universities were often subjected to censure and threats if they dared to align themselves openly with radical political parties.

E. Robinson, British Columbia, emphasized that the resolution was most important. They had been accustomed to look to Germany, Italy and Spain for fascist activities and saying the same thing could not happen in this country. But we see that there are fascist tendencies in our own country. It is possible to stop fascism in this country, but it can only be done by a really militant organization such as the C.C.F. should be.

David Lewis, National Secretary, said that although the situation is so serious as to demand constant watchfulness and preparedness, other events in Europe than those so far mentioned show that fascism can be and has been stopped by effective action on the part of democratic movements. In Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia and similar countries, there had been incipient and, in some cases, threatening fascist movements. But in all those countries fascism has been stopped by the determined action of socialist, labour and farmer parties. Democracy in those countries has not only survived, but has shown strength, courage, and resourcefulness. In Italy, Germany, Austria and now in Spain Fascism has shown its true colours of brutality against the common people, its policy of oppression and war. The Canadian people, because of their deep democratic convictions, can and will be rallied to the defence of the democracy which we already have, and for action to extend and make real that democracy in the economic life of our country. This is what the C.C.F. stands for.

J. S. Allen, Quebec, moved that a clause be added to the resolution as follows: "That the C.C.F. welcomes the formation of a Civil Liberties Union in Canada, and urges all members and affiliates to support and work on behalf of such a Union."

After some discussion the amendment was withdrawn on the ground that it was difficult for the Convention to endorse an organization that was still in the process of formation, and on the understanding that the policy laid down by the Toronto National Convention gave provincial sections full liberty to co-operate with any Civil Liberties Union formed in that province, if it saw fit to do so.

The main resolution was put to Convention and was passed enthusiastically.

Convention was then adjourned till nine-thirty next morning.

MORNING SESSION, JULY 28, 1937

(CLOSED SESSION)

The National Secretary read a telegram received from the Montreal Newspaper Guild drawing the Convention's attention to the dismissal of R. A. C. Ballantyne, President of Montreal Guild, from the staff of the Montreal Gazette for Guild Activity, and requesting that Convention protest the Gazette's illegal, anti-union action.

The Convention instructed the National Council to seek further information and to act in accordance with the request in the above telegram if the information therein contained is verified.

(At its meeting on Thursday, July 29th, the National Council wired a strong protest on behalf of the C.C.F. to the Montreal Gazette, sent a copy of it to the Montreal Guild, and also released the protest to the Press. The protest pointed out particularly that freedom of organization is as important as freedom of the Press; that newspapers are right in demanding the latter freedom and that they must in accordance with Canadian democratic traditions extend to their staff, - reporters and editors, - the right to organize into guilds or unions.)

C. C. Y. M.

Convention ratified an arrangement arrived at between the National Council and representatives of the C.C.Y.M. whereby thirty minutes were to be given to a discussion of the problems of the Youth Movement during which representatives of the youth sections were to be admitted and given the right of the floor.

With the assistance of the C.C.Y.M. delegates, the Convention had a full discussion of the problems of the Youth Movement and more particularly of those relating to the jurisdiction of Provincial Councils over the provincial sections of the C.C.Y.M. Convention agreed on the general principle that the C.C.Y.M. should be brought more closely under the direct jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils, and that, in accordance with some suitable plan, the C.C.Y.M. be given representation on such Councils.

Convention did not arrive at any definite formula, but gave the National Council full power to act in the matter.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

David Lewis, National Secretary, and Acting-Treasurer, presented the financial statement for the year ending June 30, 1937. The statement follows: (Next page).

OPENING SESSION

The National Council received a telegram from the Montreal newspaper Guild during the Convention's attention to the dinner... R. A. O. Bellamy, President of Montreal Guild, from the staff of the Montreal Guild, and requesting that the Convention protest the Gazette's financial contribution.

The Convention instructed the National Council to seek further information and to act in accordance with the request in the five telegrams if the information therein contained is verified.

At its meeting on Thursday, July 25th, the National Council wished a strong protest on behalf of the C.C.F. to the Montreal Gazette, and a copy of it to the Montreal Guild, and also released the protest to the Press. The protest pointed out particularly that freedom of information is an important as freedom of the Press; that newspapers are the right in demanding the latter freedom and that they must in accordance with Canadian democratic traditions extend to their staff, reporters and editors, the right to organize into guilds or unions.

C.C.F. M.

Convention ratified an arrangement arrived at between the National Council and representatives of the C.C.F. whereby thirty minutes were to be given to a discussion of the problems of the Youth Movement during which representatives of the youth sections were to be admitted and given the right of the floor.

With the assistance of the C.C.F. delegates, the Convention had a full discussion of the problems of the Youth Movement and more particularly of those relating to the jurisdiction of Provincial Councils. The Provincial Councils of the C.C.F. M. Convention agreed that the general principle that the C.C.F. M. should be brought into effect under the direct jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils, and that in accordance with this principle, the C.C.F. M. be given representation on such Councils.

Convention did not arrive at any definite formula, but gave the National Council full power to act in the matter.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

David Lewis, National Secretary, and Acting-Treasurer, presented the financial statement for the year ending June 30, 1957. The statement follows (next page).

R E C E I P T S.

<u>AFFILIATION FEES</u> - Alberta		\$100.00	
	British Columbia ...	75.00	
	Manitoba.....	25.00	
	Maritimes.....	51.35	
	Ontario.....	135.70	
	Quebec.....	68.30	
	Saskatchewan.....	231.60	
			\$ 686.95
<u>DONATIONS</u> - British Columbia ...		90.00	
	Maritimes.....	1.00	
	Ontario.....	247.00	
	Quebec.....	8.00	
	Saskatchewan.....	72.55	
	Federal M.P.'s.....	577.00	
			\$ 995.55
<u>NATIONAL ORGANIZER</u> - Collections and			
Donations received direct and			
disbursed by National Organizer -			
	British Columbia....	152.45	
	Alberta.....	10.00	
	Manitoba.....	145.97	
	Ontario.....	97.00	
	Saskatchewan.....	30.00	
			\$ 435.42
<u>ANNUAL CONVENTION</u> - 1936			
	Received from Toronto	108.70	
	Less payments.....	102.28	
			\$ 6.42
<u>LITERATURE ACCOUNT</u> -			
	Receipts	105.34	
	Billed on Consignment.....	220.00	
		325.34	
	Cost of Printing, Freight etc.....	232.30	
			93.04
			<u>\$2,217.38</u>

D I S B U R S E M E N T S.

<u>ADMINISTRATION EXPENSE</u> -			
	Bank Exchange	5.43	
	Office Supplies	19.08	
	Repairs and Incidentals	55.79	
	Salary office assistant	400.00	
	Telephones.....	68.23	
	Telegrams, Express, Postage etc.	156.71	
			705.24
	Equipment for National Office		79.25
<u>NATIONAL ORGANIZER</u> -			
	Salary	1,200.00	
	Travelling Expenses ..\$	274.65	
	do do		
	received direct by Nat.		
	Organizer and disbursed		
	by him	435.42	710.07
			1,910.07
	<u>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS</u>		\$ 2,694.56
	<u>Less TOTAL RECEIPTS</u> as above		2,217.38
	<u>Excess of Disbursements over Receipts</u> for year		\$ 477.18
	Cash on hand and in Bank July 1/36	587.56	
	Accounts Payable(included in expenses).	174.73	
	Accounts Receivable(Consignment accts.)		216.15
	Cash on hand June 30, 1937	8.82	68.96
	Cash in Bank June 30, 1937	60.14	
		\$ 762.29	\$ 762.29

EXPENSES

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	90.00
British Columbia	70.00
Manitoba	50.00
Ontario	50.00
Quebec	150.00
Saskatchewan	50.00
Total	460.00

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

REVENUES

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

Alberta -	100.00
British Columbia	75.00
Manitoba	55.00
Ontario	51.38
Quebec	155.70
Saskatchewan	58.80
Total	505.88

THE BUDGET

Following a period of questions and answers relating to the information contained in the financial statement -

David Lewis, National Secretary, presented the minimum budget proposed by the National Council for the coming year. Mr. Lewis said:

"What the National Council is anxious for the Convention to do is to forget what we have failed to do in the past, because it won't do us much good to remember it, and realize two simple things:

- (1) That it is absolutely inconceivable that we can build an effective organization which will make a real attempt at winning power in the way in which we have up until now been financing, and
- (2) With regard as to how the necessary money can be raised, that the affiliate fees and the membership dues laid down cannot be sufficient to bring the money necessary to make the organization effective.

We all agree with what our Chairman said yesterday in his report as National Organizer, that it is a veritable miracle what the C.C.F. has accomplished in the few years of its existence. No one in the National Movement desires to dispute that statement. It is very true. But that has been just the initial phase, the phase of slow educational work. We have now entered the second phase of the movement, that of consolidating, extending our movement and becoming more effective as a political force in the country, in preparation for the third phase - the time when we prepare for taking power.

What we have done so far has been laying the foundation. In some provinces they have done more than simply lay the foundation. They have a structure on that foundation. But that is not the case in all provinces. The overwhelming consideration is the axiom that you cannot remain in the first phase of development too long. If you do, you die. A political organization either makes progress or it sinks. In the case of a political movement standing still, making no progress, is simply the beginning of the end. I appeal to the comrades to approach our problems with this axiom as their starting point. Delegates must also bear in mind the tempo of present-day political developments. In the report which I presented yesterday I drew attention to some of the forces at home and abroad which present the C.C.F. with tremendous opportunities. What this Convention must do is to lay plans for finance and organization which will equip our movement to take full advantage of these opportunities.

It should be borne in mind that in the Maritimes, in spite of the hard work by local people, our organization is still very small. In Quebec, too, in spite of all the hard work done by a few people like Dr. Stanley Allen and Mr. Elliott, who are with us today, Professor Forsey and others, our organization is very small, and we have made too little impression on the ranks of our French-Canadian citizens. There is most important work to be done there if Fascism is to be faced in Canada. In Ontario, with all the sacrifices made by people like John Mitchell, Graham Spry, and many others the organization has not become the force that it must become, and without loss of time. I submit to this Convention that something must be done immediately, now, from this moment, in order that the organization may receive the impetus that will give it life throughout the country, in every province.

For that the following minimum will be required:

- (1) We require at least one woman organizer.
- (2) We require at least one Youth organizer.
- (3) We require at least two French-speaking organizers.
- (4) We require several organizers for general organizing purposes.

THE FUTURE

Following a series of questions and answers relating to the information contained in the financial statement -

David Taylor, National Secretary, presented the financial statement for the coming year. Mr. Taylor stated:

"That the National Council is anxious for the Government to do in the past, because it would be a good thing to remember it, and realize two things:

(1) That it is absolutely inconceivable that we can build an effective organization which will make a real effort at winning power in the way in which we have up until now been financing, and

(2) With regard as to how the necessary money can be raised, that the affiliate base and the membership base is not sufficient to bring the money necessary to make the situation effective.

We all agree with what our Chairman said yesterday in his report as National Organizer, that it is a veritable miracle what the U.S.P. has accomplished in the few years of its existence. We are in the National Movement & it is to dispute that statement. It is very true, but that has been just the initial phase, the phase of slow educational work. We have now entered the second phase of the movement, that of consolidating, extending our movement and becoming more effective as a political force in the country, in preparation for the third phase - the time when we prepare for taking power.

What we have done so far has been laying the foundation. In some instances they have done more than simply lay the foundation. They have a structure on that foundation, but that is not the case in all instances. The overwhelming consideration is the extent that you cannot remain in the first phase of development if you do not die. A political organization either makes progress or it stagnates. In the case of a political movement standing still, making no progress is simply the beginning of the end. I appeal to the members to approach our problems with this extent as the starting point. Being able to bear in mind the tempo of present-day political development. In the report which I presented yesterday I discussed some of the forces at home and abroad which present the U.S.P. with independent organizations. What this Convention must do is to lay plans for finance and organization which will equip our movement to take full advantage of these opportunities.

It should be borne in mind that in the Maritime, in spite of the fact that we have local people, our organization is still very small. In Quebec, too, in spite of all the work done by a few people like Mr. Stanley Allen and Mr. Hignett, who are with us today, Professor Kirby and others, our organization is very small, and we have not too little impression on the ranks of our French-Canadian citizens. There is most important work to be done there if there is to be any in Canada. In Ontario, with all the activities made by people like John Mitchell, Graham Day, and many others, the organization has not become the force that it must become, and without that I submit to this Convention that something must be done immediately, now, for this moment, in order that the organization may receive the impetus that will give it life throughout the country, in every province.

For that the following minimum will be required:

- (1) We require at least one woman organizer.
- (2) We require at least one youth organizer.
- (3) We require at least two French-speaking organizers.
- (4) We require several organizers for general organizing purposes.

Mr. Garland will be the first one to tell you it is impossible for one man to organize right across the country. He himself cannot do organizing work as efficiently as he could if he were able to spend a longer time in one place instead of jumping from one place to another. An organizer should be in a position to map out which communities can be organized and where clubs and other units can be formed, and he should be able to map out activities for the units. Mr. Garland has not the time to do these things in the hurried visits which he is forced to make.

The National Council suggests there should be laid down a minimum of \$12,000 a year to cover the salaries of organizers. Mr. Garland has informed you that by far the larger part of his travelling expenses was covered by collections and so on. That is a good thing for the past, but it is not a good thing for the future. The organizers should have cars at their disposal in order to move about the country more quickly, and he should feel at liberty to call upon the National Office for money when funds are required to make trips to places where a crisis or emergency in which the C.C.F. should play a part, may be arising. It is, therefore, necessary to allow \$3,000 a year for travelling expenses over and above what may be collected. With more than one general organizer engaged in the work, it would be necessary to place that amount in the budget.

Then, it is impossible for one man to do all the work in the Central office and do it efficiently, especially with the entirely inadequate equipment there is.

It is suggested that \$2,000 be placed in the budget to meet the expenses of the National office.

It is true that the C.C.F. does not produce sufficient literature in the form of pamphlets and leaflets. It is, therefore, suggested there should be a minimum subsidy of \$500.00 per year for this purpose. Allowance is also made for the sum of \$500. for general and sundry expenses.

Finally, there should be allowed \$1,000 as subsidy for National Council meetings. This is extremely important, and is a very small amount for the purpose. The National Council meets just once a year, at the Convention and not again. It is important for the effective carrying on of the work of the organization that the National Council meet more than once. The National Council meeting held at Ottawa, although legal and correct, was not representative enough because the only members west of Ontario present were members of Parliament, and there should be more than members of Parliament at the proceedings of the National Council.

The Budget may, for convenience, be summarized as follows:

Salaries of Organizers	\$12,000.00
Subsidy for travelling expenses for	
Organizers	3,000.00
Expenses of National Office	2,000.00
Sundries	500.00
Subsidy to publication of literature	500.00
Subsidy for meetings of National Council	1,000.00

=====
\$19,000.00
=====

The budget I have submitted, therefore, provides for a total of \$19,000, in comparison with some \$2,000 last year. By comparison, nineteen thousand dollars looks like a large amount, but really it is almost a joke for a National Political Movement. Any political party covering a country such as ours which talks in terms of \$19,000 is talking in terms that are almost too moderate if the movement is to become what it ought to be.

Mr. Garland will be responsible for the organization of the work. He himself cannot do the work in the office and it is necessary to have a person to manage the office and to see that the work is done. Mr. Garland has the idea to have a person to manage the office and to see that the work is done.

The National Council should be left down a minimum of \$12,000 a year to cover the salaries of organizers. Mr. Garland has informed you that by far the larger part of his traveling expenses was covered by collections and so on. That is a good thing for the year, but it is not a good thing for the future. The organizers should have care of their expenses in order to move about the country. Mr. Garland has the idea to have a person to manage the office and to see that the work is done.

Then, it is impossible for one man to do all the work in the National office and be efficient, especially with the existing inadequate equipment there is.

It is suggested that \$2,000 be placed in the budget for the expenses of the National office.

It is to be noted that the C.C.F. does not produce sufficient literature in the form of pamphlets and leaflets. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be a minimum subsidy of \$500.00 per year for this purpose. It is also suggested that the sum of \$100.00 for general and office expenses.

Finally, there should be allowed \$1,000 as subsidy for National Council meetings. This is extremely important, and is a very small amount for the purpose. The National Council meets just once a year, at the Convention and not again. It is important for the effective carrying on of the work of the organization that the National Council meet more than once. The National Council meeting held at Ottawa, although legal and correct, was not representative enough because the only members west of Ontario present were members of Parliament, and there should be more than members of Parliament at the proceedings of the National Council.

The Budget may, for convenience, be summarized as follows:

Subsidy for meetings of National Council	\$1,000.00
Subsidy for publication of literature	500.00
Subsidy for traveling expenses for organizers	5,000.00
Subsidy for National office expenses	2,000.00
Subsidy for literature	500.00
Subsidy for traveling expenses for organizers	3,000.00
Subsidy for National office expenses	2,000.00
Subsidy for literature	500.00
Subsidy for meetings of National Council	\$12,000.00

The budget I have submitted, therefore, provides for a total of \$19,000. It is suggested that some \$2,000 last year. By comparison, the National Council last year had a large amount, but really it is almost a joke for a National Council to have a budget of \$19,000 in covering a country with a population of 10,000,000. It is almost a joke to have a budget of \$19,000 in covering a country with a population of 10,000,000.

How is the money to be raised? The fees from Provincial affiliates, and the membership dues on the basis of 30,000 members would only yield some \$3,250. Donations from our Federal members of Parliament would bring up to over \$4,000. Here it is my duty to pay tribute to the M.P.'s for the generous and devoted way in which they have assisted our National Movement.

There are two things I would say here. The first is that the National Council is convinced that we cannot raise the membership dues much higher than they are. Ten cents per member is all that we can ask at the present time.

The second is that the National Council should avoid as far as possible drawing revenue from sources which now supply revenue for provincial and local purposes.

The National Council's plan for obtaining the money may be put in one sentence:

WE WANT 700 PEOPLE ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO PAY FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF SUPPORTING THE C.C.F.

WE WANT 100 PEOPLE WHO ARE IN RECEIPT OF SUFFICIENT INCOME TO PAY US REGULARLY \$1.00 A WEEK.

WE WANT 200 PEOPLE TO PAY REGULARLY 50 CENTS A WEEK.

WE WANT 400 PEOPLE TO PAY REGULARLY APPROXIMATELY 25 CENTS A WEEK.

Seven hundred socialists who are willing to sacrifice a little in order to make the coming of socialism possible will raise the amount required for the Budget.

The principle on which this is based is that it is time the National organization went for its money to where the money is. We cannot go to the unemployed, the farmers in drought-stricken areas in Saskatchewan, or the workers who make just a poor wage. There are many people who, like myself, get salaries or regular wages. If they are socialists, they should be glad to make some contribution to their political Movement. I am confident that the money can be obtained and will be provided.

The matter is urgent. The Movement must be extended; our thousands of supporters in every province must be organized; the C.C.F. must be in the forefront of every activity which is concerned with the welfare of the Canadian people. For these purposes the money must be found. I am confident it will be.

M. J. Coldwell, M.P., speaking in support of the Budget proposals, paid tribute to Mr. Lewis for his able work under difficult conditions and said: "We have always refused contributions from sources that we considered to be tainted, and we shall continue to follow that policy. But there are sources indicated by Mr. Lewis that are not tainted and have never been tapped or approached. We must have finances for the organization, and I regard the \$19,000 outlined as the minimum amount."

The hour for adjournment having arrived it was decided to resume public business in open session in the afternoon, and to continue the private business in closed session in the evening.

The session was adjourned until 3.15 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JULY 28, 1937

(OPEN SESSION)

The National Secretary read a telegram received by J. S. Woodsworth on behalf on the C.C.F. from the Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of the U.S.A., extending fraternal greetings to the Convention and expressing the hope of closer co-operation between all socialist parties in the Western Hemisphere.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

S. J. Farmer, Manitoba, Chairman, Credentials Committee, reported as follows on behalf of his Committee:

The final report shows the number of delegates to be -

British Columbia	6	
Alberta	3	
Saskatchewan	21	
Manitoba	8	
Ontario	10	
Quebec	3	
National Council represent-		
atives not otherwise included	12	
Total	63	accredited dele-
		gates.

The report was adopted.

COMMITTEE ON DROUGHT

David Lewis reported that the National Council recommended the following Committee to deal with the work to be carried on in connection with the emergency resolutions regarding the drought: J. King Gordon; Dr. J. S. Allen, Quebec; Dr. Lorna Cotton, Ontario; Miss Beatrice Brigden, Manitoba; George Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan; William Irvine, Alberta; Reg. Bullock, British Columbia, and E. J. Garland, National Organizer.

The recommendation of the National Council was adopted, and the above Committee duly appointed. (At a meeting of the National Council J. King Gordon was appointed Chairman of the Committee).

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Chairman Garland: "This movement has done a remarkable job. It has been done almost entirely on a basis that was idealistic and emotional rather than on the perhaps more solid rock of concrete organization and finance. Your National Council has presented to you and will again present for completion at the evening session a complete plan for very much wider activity in the organization and administration field. We are determined to recognize that this movement has now entered the second stage, and that a comprehensive, well organized, and clearly directed plan of further development is utterly essential if the movement is to continue to be an expression of socialist thought in this country and is to succeed.

To that end the Council has devoted its attention, amongst other matters, to the tremendous amount of work that would devolve on the head of the organization unless some change were made. That work would be far beyond the capacity of any single individual no matter how remarkable he may be. It is far beyond the capacity of a man even as splendid as our President. The Council will, therefore, recommend an amendment which will involve a slight change in the officers of the organization. Your National Council is unanimous in saying that Mr. Woodsworth should remain President of this movement. But we are not prepared to kill him prematurely, as we would undoubtedly do if we were to give him gigantic additional responsibilities to those he now has. The Council proposes to make this slight alteration, which will provide for an administration or Executive Chairman. Mr. Woodsworth remains head of this movement if on nomination he is re-elected as

The National Secretary read a telegram received by J. King Gordon on behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of the U.S.A., extending fraternal greetings to the Convention and expressing the hope of similar co-operation between all socialist parties in the Western Hemisphere.

REPORT OF CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

J. King Gordon, Chairman; Executive Secretary, reported on behalf of his Committee:

The final report shows the number of delegates to be:

British Columbia	5
Alberta	5
Saskatchewan	5
Manitoba	5
Ontario	10
Quebec	5
National Council represent-	
atives not otherwise included	12
Total	52

The report was adopted.

COMMITTEES ON BROUGHT

David Lewis reported that the National Council recommended 57 following committees to deal with the work to be carried on in connection with the emergency resolutions regarding the program: J. King Gordon; Dr. J. M. Allen, Quebec; Dr. J. M. Allen, Ontario; Miss Beattie; Dr. J. M. Allen, Saskatchewan; George Williams, M.D.A., Saskatchewan; William Irvine; Dr. J. M. Allen, British Columbia; and E. J. Gordon, National Organizer.

The recommendation of the National Council was adopted, and the above committees duly appointed. (At request of the National Council J. King Gordon was appointed Chairman of the Committee).

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN

Chairman Gordon: "This movement has been a remarkable job. It has been done almost entirely on a basis that was idealistic and emotional rather than on the basis of cold logic or concrete organization and finance. Your National Council has presented to the world a program for completion of the world's revolution and administration for very much wider activity in the organization and administration of the world. We are determined to recognize that this movement has now entered the second stage, and that a comprehensive, well organized and clearly directed aim of further development is utterly essential. If the movement is to continue to be an effective or socialist movement in this country and is to succeed.

To that end the Council has devoted its attention, amongst other matters, to the preparation of a report that would develop on the basis of the organization unless some change were made. This work would be far beyond the capacity of any single individual no matter how capable he may be. It is for you, the capacity of a man even as a committee as one individual. The Council will therefore, recommend an amendment which will involve a slight change in the officers of the organization. Your National Council is unanimous in saying that the membership should remain President of this movement. But we are not prepared to fill him generously, as we would undoubtedly do if we were to give him additional responsibilities to those he now has. The Council proposes to make this slight alteration, which will provide for an administration of Executive Chairman. It is recommended as a means of providing for an administration in the event of the resignation of this movement if an administration is to be elected as

AFTERNOON SESSION, JULY 28, CONT'D:

President, and the new man will take charge of organization and administrative work."

Mr. Lewis then read the National Council's amendment to the Constitution which provided that "The National Council shall consist of a President, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, etc., etc."

This was carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT:

J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., and Angus MacInnis, M.P. were nominated. The latter declined and Mr. Woodsworth was declared elected, and received a long and enthusiastic ovation from delegates and visitors.

Mr. Woodsworth: "Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen - I am sure no one could but be moved by the continued confidence you have shown in me. I have been very proud indeed to belong to a movement that contains such a splendid group of people as we have in the C.C.F. I shall endeavour to concentrate on my special line of the work. I am thankful that I shall not have so much responsibility regarding the actual administration of affairs. I am of opinion it is wise to distribute responsibility in some such way as that. I am sure whoever you select as Chairman for the administrative work, that he and I will be able to get along nicely together. Thanks very much for this expression of confidence."

CHAIRMAN:

George Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, proposed Mr. Coldwell for the office of National Chairman, saying he was sure Mr. Woodsworth and he would make one of the finest teams.

No other was nominated, and Mr. Coldwell was declared elected.

Mr. Coldwell: "I don't think there is much that I can say in accepting office except that I shall try to serve this movement to the best of my ability. I am glad to be associated with J. S. Woodsworth, whose long and distinguished services to this movement are being retained. I know we can work together, and I feel that in the very heavy task that lies ahead of the movement division of labour such as has been made is warranted. With his co-operation I hope to be able to build up in future on the foundations which he and others have laid a strong movement, a movement based on the determination that production and distribution shall be organized and used, not for the profit of a few but for the common good. That is a great task and a great privilege, and I hope I may be given the strength and the courage to carry it through."

VICE-CHAIRMAN:

J. King Gordon, William Irvine, Miss Beatrice Brigden, and Grace MacInnis were nominated. Mr. Irvine, Miss Brigden and Mrs. MacInnis declined, and Mr. King Gordon was declared elected.

Mr. Gordon: "I am almost overwhelmed by this sudden honour that has been thrust upon me. I shall do all in my power to meet the arduous responsibilities."

The six members of the National Council elected by the Convention are: Miss Beatrice Brigden, Manitoba; Rev. T. C. Douglas, M.P., Saskatchewan; E. J. Garland, National Organizer; David Lewis, National Secretary; Grace MacInnis, British Columbia; and F. R. Scott, Quebec.

President and the new man will take charge of organization and administrative work. Mr. Lewis then read the National Council's amendment to the Constitution which provided that "the National Council shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, etc., etc."

This was carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT:

J. E. Woodworth, M.P., and Angus MacLennan, M.P., were nominated. The latter declined and Mr. Woodworth was declared elected, and received a long and enthusiastic ovation from delegates and visitors.

Mr. Woodworth, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen - I am sure no one could be moved by the continued confidence you have shown in me. I have been very proud indeed to belong to a movement that contains such a splendid group of people as we have in the U.S.P. I shall endeavor to concentrate on my special line of the work. I am thankful that I shall not have so much responsibility regarding the general administration of affairs. I am so convinced it is wise to distribute responsibility in some such way as that. I am sure wherever you select as Chairman for the administrative work, that he and I will be able to get along nicely together. Thanks very much for this expression of confidence.

CHAIRMAN:

George Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, proposed Mr. Caldwell for the office of National Chairman, saying he was sure Mr. Woodworth and he would make one of the finest teams.

No other was nominated, and Mr. Caldwell was declared elected.

Mr. Caldwell: "I don't think there is much that I can say in accepting office except that I shall try to serve this movement to the best of my ability. I am glad to be associated with J. E. Woodworth, whose long and distinguished services to this movement are being retained. I know we can work together, and I feel that in the very heavy work that lies ahead of the movement I shall be able to do such as has been made as warranted. With his co-operation I hope to be able to build up in future on the foundations which he and others have laid a strong movement, a movement based on the determination that production and distribution shall be organized and well run for the profit of a few but for the common good. That is a great task and a great privilege, and I hope I may be given the strength and the courage to carry it through."

VICE-CHAIRMAN:

J. King Gordon, William Irvine, Miss Beatrice Bridgen and Grace MacLennan were nominated. Mr. Irvine, Miss Bridgen and Mrs. MacLennan declined, and Mr. King Gordon was declared elected.

Mr. Gordon: "I am almost overwhelmed by this sudden honor that has been thrust upon me. I shall do all in my power to meet the various responsibilities."

The six members of the National Council elected by the Convention are: Miss Beatrice Bridgen, Manitoba; Rev. F. G. Douglas, M.P., Saskatchewan; E. J. Garland, National Organizer; David Lewis, National Secretary; Angus MacLennan, British Columbia; and R. R. Scott, Quebec.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

C. Grant MacNeil, Chairman, Resolutions Committee, continued the presentation of resolutions from units with his Committee's recommendations. It will be sufficient to summarize each resolution briefly:

3. Referendum in time of war. (Oshawa, Ontario):-

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence carried.

4. Vocational Training of Youth. (Hudson Club, New Liskeard, Ont.):-

Committee's substitute motion to the effect that M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s be requested to advocate a more comprehensive system of vocational training of youth carried.

5. Old Age Pensions at Sixty. (Hudson Club, New Liskeard, Ont.):-

After discussion and amendment, the resolution was carried to the effect that the C.C.F. favours pensions at sixty and requests the M.P.'s to reintroduce the "Heaps" resolution and, if possible, force a vote in the House.

During the discussion, A. A. Heaps, M.P., pointed out the limits which govern the introduction of a resolution by a private member and the need for so phrasing the resolution that it would not be ruled out of order. Hence it might not be possible to force a vote, although they might try.

T. C. Douglas, M.P., and Angus MacInnis, M.P., pointed out the desirability of leaving the age to the discretion of the parliamentary group, since it might well be possible to obtain a lowering of the age to somewhere between sixty and seventy, say sixty-five. In this case, it would be to the interest of the Canadian people to obtain whatever concession possible.

6. Change of name to Co-operative Commonwealth Farmer-Labour Party.
(Woodbine Club, Toronto, Ont.):-

Non-concurrence carried.

7. That units be kept directly informed on affairs of National movement. (Garland Club, Toronto, Ont.):-

Referred to National Council.

8. That special effort be made to organize women. (Fort William, Ont.):-

Tabled pending consideration of organization plans.

9. That platform for next Federal Election be prepared. (Fort Garry, Man.):-

Referred to National Council.

10. That movement concentrate on organizing Ontario. (Trinity Riding, Toronto, Ont.):-

Non-concurrence carried on ground that it will be the duty of the National Council to assist every province in accordance with its needs.

11. Method of taking over farm land. (Craigie-Millwood, Man.):-

Referred to National Council.

12. Demand for a Central Bank and a method of issuing credit.
(Fort Garry, Man.):-

Non-concurrence and recommendation that additional literature be issued on this matter.

13. A Farm Loan Board. (Fort Garry, Man.):-

Non-concurrence and recommendation that additional literature be issued on this matter.

14. That we finance the educational and promotion work of co-operatives. (Fort Garry, Man.):-

Non-concurrence and recommendation that additional literature be issued on this matter.

15. Debt adjustment legislation. (Fort Garry, Man.):-

Non-concurrence on ground that this matter is dealt with in Policy Resolution on Agriculture.

16. A Government Wheat Board. (Fort Garry, Man.):-

Non-concurrence on ground that this matter is dealt with in Policy Resolution on Agriculture.

17. A Peace Programme:-

Non-concurrence. Dealt with in Policy Resolution.

AGRICULTURE

Geo. H. Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, moved the following resolution:

"In spite of its importance, Agriculture remains the most depressed industry in Canada.

With painful regularity the farmer finds himself forced to throw his produce upon the market, with the result that others possessing greater financial strength and better organization, by taking advantage of his action are able to secure control of his produce at a low figure, use it for speculation and eventually market it for a higher figure. Thus because of his position the farmer finds that year after year his returns are not sufficient to take care of his costs, and his debts steadily increase.

The C.C.F. regards the recovery and stabilization of Agriculture as essential to the prosperity of Canada, and to this end will -

1. Set up an effective Grower's National Marketing Board, the duty of which shall be to market agricultural produce and fix a price which will return to the producer the average cost of production plus a decent standard of living.

2. Negotiate trade agreements on a reciprocal basis to ensure larger markets for our primary products, and -

3. Introduce such legislation as may be necessary to assist in removing the burden of debt, and give security of tenure to the farmer on his land."

Mr. Williams said: "Agriculture in spite of being regarded as our most important industry is always in the position of being the one industry in which there is no security whatsoever. Every year the average farmer has to go right to the elevator to sell his crop. He cannot do otherwise. He cannot hold his wheat, and must sell at the going price. He must have money with which to meet his liabilities, so he must haul his grain immediately to the market. The result is that there is a heavy delivery immediately after threshing. That forces the market down. Speculative interests buy the wheat at a low figure for future speculation. They force down prices temporarily and are able eventually to sell at a much higher figure.

THE HON. THE CHIEF MINISTER (Mr. Garry, Man.)

- 1. The Government has been advised that the following literature be issued on this matter.
- 2. That we discuss the educational and vocational work of co-operatives. (Mr. Garry, Man.)
- 3. The Government has been advised that the following literature be issued on this matter.
- 4. That adjustment legislation. (Mr. Garry, Man.)
- 5. Non-cooperation on ground that this matter is dealt with in Policy Resolution on Agriculture.
- 6. A Government Wheat Board. (Mr. Garry, Man.)
- 7. Non-cooperation on ground that this matter is dealt with in Policy Resolution on Agriculture.
- 8. A Peace Program.
- 9. Non-cooperation. Deal with in Policy Resolution.

AGRICULTURE

Mr. H. Williams, M.P., Saskatchewan, moved the following resolution:

"In view of the importance, Agriculture facing the most depressed industry in Canada.

With present regularity the farmer finds himself unable to throw his produce upon the market, with the result that there is mounting financial straits and better organization by taking advantage of his position and to secure control of the produce at a low figure, and it is for a long time and eventually market it for a higher figure. This because of the position of former times that year after year his returns are not sufficient to take care of his costs, and his debts steadily increase.

The C.C.F. regards the recovery and stabilization of agriculture as essential to the prosperity of Canada, and to this end will:

- 1. Set up an effective Grower's National Marketing Board, the duty of which shall be to market agricultural produce at a price which will return to the producer the average cost of production plus a decent standard of living.
- 2. Negotiate trade agreements on a national basis to ensure better markets for our primary products, and
- 3. Introduce such legislation as may be necessary to assist in removing the burden of debt, and give security of tenure to the farmer on his land."

Mr. Williams said: "Agriculture in this country is regarded as our most important industry as a whole in the position of being the industry in which there is no security whatsoever. Every year we have a long time to go right to the right to sell our crops at a price which is not sufficient to cover our costs, and we are unable to pay our debts. The result is that there is a heavy delivery of crops to the market, and the result is that the market is flooded with produce, and the price is low. The result is that the farmer is unable to take care of his costs, and his debts steadily increase. The C.C.F. regards the recovery and stabilization of agriculture as essential to the prosperity of Canada, and to this end will:

(Mr. Williams) - The man who produces the wheat is the man who gets the least out of it. Because he gets so little out of it, his debts steadily increase. What advantage is that to the people in industrial centres, where he would spend money freely if he had it to spend? If the average farmer got a decent price for his wheat, he would have some financial stability and greater purchasing power. But so desperate is his position that in any district where there is a crop failure for the first time, there is a crisis as serious as that facing districts where there have been crop failures for many years."

We, therefore, urge the establishment of an effective Grower's National Marketing Board, which would market agricultural produce and fix a price which would return to the producer the average cost of production, plus a decent standard of living. One of the greatest crimes that ever occurred was committed last year. The average farmer was compelled to sell at the lowest possible prices, and subsequently the grain was sold at comparatively higher prices. That was done at a time when conditions were serious and when they would have been improved generally had the farmers received proper prices for their produce. Other countries, such as New Zealand, protect agriculture, and there is no reason why Canada should not do so."

R. F. Shopman, Manitoba, said: "Farmers suffer severely when they have to sell at the elevator price as soon as they take their crop off." He hoped the Convention would give the resolution its unanimous support. It was one of the foremost things in connection with the future stability of the organization in rural areas.

Miss Mary Crawford, Alberta, said she remembered reading an editorial in the Winnipeg Free Press stating that under the marketing system, the farmers could sell their wheat as they pleased. She rather thought the writer had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote that editorial, or else he did not know that the farmers were not free to sell their wheat as they pleased. Farmers were compelled to sell their wheat at low prices last Fall. They had to sell it in order to buy winter supplies and pay their taxes. A large percentage of the wheat passed out of the farmers' hands before it reached one dollar.

M. J. Coldwell, M.P., said the condition that faces Canada, and particularly Western Canada, today is not due entirely to the drought situation. In 1928 there was a large crop, and in 1931 and 1932 there were large crops, particularly in northern sections. In these years the price of wheat at the country elevator in the constituency he represented was 21 cents a bushel. To meet that situation, marketing boards are essential. The present government at Ottawa was to be condemned most vigorously on account of its betrayal of the Western farmer. In spite of what Mr. King had said at Brandon, and again at Saskatoon, the Wheat Board was set aside within six weeks of his return to power, and they had the appointment of James R. Murray. When William Irvine went into Assiniboia in 1935 and challenged the right of Mr. Gardiner to that seat, he performed a great public service to the farmers of Western Canada. That should be noted. Everything that Mr. Irvine said during that campaign had come true, - unfortunately. He said the farmers would be delivered into the hands of the Philistines, the Grain Exchange. Who would deny that today? At the end of June last year it was obvious that great areas would be subject to drought, and yet on July 6th when conditions were threatening, James R. Murray marketed 63,000,000 bushels of wheat on a fire-sale basis, immediately before the new crop came into existence.

The undirected, blind system of marketing today is bringing tragedy into Western Canada. It was absolutely necessary for the C.C.F. to have a plank of this kind in its platform. Action of the kind was absolutely necessary in the interests of agriculture. There would never be prosperity in Eastern Canada until there had been rehabilitation of the Western granary, and there would never be rehabilitation of the Western granary until the Western producer was guaranteed a decent, adequate price for the product he produces. The government should determine what the price should be.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(Mr. Williams) The main purpose of the Western Board is to... to get the best out of the Board... to get the best out of the Board... to get the best out of the Board...

Mr. Williams, says the establishment of an effective... National Marketing Board, which would market agricultural products... the prices which would return to the producer the average cost of production... One of the greatest... was committed last year... the average... was committed last year... the average... was committed last year...

R. F. Sherman, Manitoba, said: "Farmers suffer severely... have to sell at the elevator price as soon as they take their crop... to help the Government give the resolution the unanimous support... it was one of the foremost things in connection with the future... ability of the organization in rural areas."

Miss Betty Crawford, Alberta, said she remembered working... in the Winnipeg Free Press stating that under the marketing... the farmers could sell their wheat at any price... the farmer had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote that... or else he did not know that the farmers were not free to... sell their wheat as they pleased... Farmers were compelled to sell... at low prices last fall... They had to sell it in order to pay... water supplies and pay their taxes... a large percentage of the wheat... passed out of the farmers' hands before it reached the dollar.

M. J. Caldwell, N.S., said the condition that from Canada... particularly Western Canada, today is not due entirely to the... situation. In 1938 there was a large crop... in those years... were large crops, particularly in northern sections... the price of wheat at the country elevator in the... represented was 21 cents a bushel... The present government of Ottawa was... and vigorously on behalf of the... in 1937... and again... the West Board was not... the West Board was not... and they had the appointment of... in 1935 and... the... to that end... be performed a great... the farmers of Western Canada... during that campaign had some... delivered into the hands of the... the Grain Exchange... the... it was... first... James... on July 28... on a... immediately before the new... into existence.

The... of marketing today is... it was absolutely necessary for the... to have a... of this kind in the... of the... in the... of... in... and there would... of the... until the... was... the government... the... would be... The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., moved the following resolution:

"The British North America Act, the constitution under which Canada is governed, was formulated 70 years ago when economic and consequently social conditions were very different from those of today. Scientific and technical developments have completely changed the relationship of the great majority of the people to the means by which they get their livelihood. The scope of government, as defined by the Canadian constitution, has undergone no corresponding change. The B.N.A. Act becomes increasingly out-of-date.

Today the growing insecurity of farmer and industrial worker demands nation-wide measures of social protection. Such social legislation in Canada has been frustrated by the conflict of jurisdiction between the provinces and the Dominion. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court and the Privy Council have added to the confusion. Even our much-vaunted Dominion status has been drastically curtailed by denying to the Dominion Parliament the right to enact laws that would give effect to international conventions designed to raise the standard of living of the workers.

The deadlock between the provinces and the Dominion must be ended by necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act, which will give adequate power to the Federal Parliament, while preserving intact minority rights now enjoyed. The responsibility of initiating such amendments rests with the Dominion Government. There is immediate need for amendments to permit Federal legislation covering the marketing of natural products, regulating wages and hours of labour, safeguarding the rights of workers to organize, and providing for social insurance and relief. The C.C.F. urges upon the present Government the absolute necessity of securing such amendments at as early a date as possible.

The C.C.F. further insists that immediate steps be taken to make real the Dominion status of Canada, legally affirmed by the Statute of Westminster but apparently set aside by the recent Privy Council decisions. At this time it is of prime importance that the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament in domestic affairs be clearly defined and that its supremacy in the field of foreign affairs be established beyond question."

Mr. Woodsworth said that this resolution did not require any lengthy speech from him. The pressing need for the amendments specified in the resolution was clear. We can no longer allow the Canadian people to suffer because of an obsolete and unworkable division of powers between the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

The resolution was carried.

FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD PEACE

George H. Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, moved on behalf of the National Council a clarifying amendment to the C.C.F. Foreign Policy adopted at the 1936 Toronto Convention. The amendment whose effect was the insertion of the word "imperialist" before the word "War" in the last clause of that resolution, was carried without opposition.

It is useful to reproduce here the C.C.F. Foreign Policy in view of the importance of the subject. The resolution passed by 1936 Toronto Convention as amended by the 1937 Winnipeg Convention, therefore follows:

"The imperialist powers have betrayed the principles of the League of Nations and are feverishly preparing for another War. The situation is so serious that it is no longer possible to content ourselves with vague declarations about our devotion to

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

L. J. Woodsworth, M.P., moved the following resolution:

The British North America Act, the constitution under which Canada is governed, was formulated 70 years ago when economic and social conditions were very different from those of today. Scientific and technical developments have completely changed the relationship of the great majority of the people to the means by which they get their livelihood. The scope of government, as defined by the Canadian constitution, has widened to cover a vast range of activities. The Act has become increasingly out-of-date.

Today the growing importance of labour and industrial workers demands a new wide measure of social legislation. The social legislation in Canada has been frustrated by the lack of co-operation between the provinces and the Dominion. The recent session of the Senate and the Privy Council have added to the confusion. Even our own-ruled Dominion has been unable to carry out its policy of social legislation. The right to social laws that would give effect to international conventions designed to raise the standard of living of the workers.

The deadlock between the provinces and the Dominion must be ended by necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act, which will give adequate power to the Dominion Parliament, while preserving intact the rights of the provinces. The responsibility of instituting such amendments rests with the Dominion Government. There is immediate need for amendments to certain Federal legislation covering the marketing of natural products, regulating wages and hours of labour, safeguarding the rights of workers to organize, and providing for social insurance and relief. The U.C.P. urges upon the present Government the absolute necessity of securing such amendments as an early basis for a new social policy.

The U.C.P. further insists that amendments should be taken to make real the Dominion status of Canada, legally affirmed by the Statute of Westminster but generally set aside by the recent Privy Council decisions. At this time it is of utmost importance that the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament in domestic affairs be clearly defined and that its supremacy in the field of foreign affairs be established beyond question.

Mr. Woodsworth said that this resolution did not require any further action from him. The pressing need for amendments is felt in the resolution was clear. We can no longer allow the Canadian people to suffer because of an obsolete and narrow basis of power between the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

The resolution was carried.

FOREIGN POLICY AND TRADE

Doctor H. Williams, M.P., seconded a motion moved on behalf of the National Council, directing members to the U.C.P. Foreign Policy Committee at the 1938 Toronto Convention. The amendment whose effect was the insertion of the words "impartial" before the word "and" in the last clause of that resolution, was carried without opposition.

It is desired to re-examine here the U.C.P. Foreign Policy in view of the importance of the subject. The resolution passed by 1938 Toronto Convention as amended by the 1937 Vancouver Convention, therefore follows:

"The impartial points have betrayed the principles of the League of Nations and are therefore being rejected. The situation in the world is no longer amenable to constant ourselves with vague declarations about our devotion to

peace. A clear and conscious foreign policy has become of paramount importance.

Government Policy and the People: The C.C.F. strongly condemns the secrecy with which foreign policy has been conducted by Liberals and Conservatives alike. Under Mr. King as under Mr. Bennett, it has been the practice to delay and avoid discussion of what our Department of External Affairs has been doing and of what commitments it may have undertaken. Yet upon these secret decisions may depend the lives of tens of thousands of young Canadians. Such conduct is a denial of all the democratic principles of responsible government. A C.C.F. government will take the Canadian people into its confidence on this as on other matters.

Canada and the Empire: At present, Canada has not legally achieved complete control over her foreign policy because she is technically at war when Great Britain is at war. The C.C.F. therefore favours legislation similar to that recently passed in South Africa, which will remove the legal and constitutional obstacles to independent action by the Canadian parliament and government on all questions of peace and war. Such legislation will make it clear to the world that Canada is free to be neutral in any war, even in one in which the other members of the British Commonwealth are engaged.

Canada and the League of Nations: The C.C.F. reaffirms its belief that the principal causes of war in the modern world are economic competition, the struggle for raw materials and markets, and the class conflicts, which are an essential part of the capitalist system. It is evident that the most socialist countries today are the strongest influence for peace, whilst militarism, aggressive nationalism and war propaganda are flourishing amongst the capitalist and fascist powers. The change from capitalism to a socialist economy planned in the interest of the people will be the best protection against war.

It is, however, clear that a properly organized League of Nations can be of great help in organizing world opinion against war and in establishing a system of collective security to prevent aggression. The present League has failed because imperialist governments have used it as a screen behind which to play the old game of power politics. To be effective the League must provide machinery for the peaceful change of treaties; it must deal fearlessly with economic conflicts arising from trade rivalries and from the struggle for raw materials; it must work out in advance a clear policy for collective action against an aggressor; and its members must disarm. The C.C.F. will actively support any policy which aims at such developments in the League.

Neutrality: The C.C.F. believes that Canada should remain strictly neutral in case of imperialist wars regardless of who the belligerents may be. The Canadian government should avoid all commitments in any schemes of imperial defence and should confine its defence policy to local Canadian needs."

RE: DROUGHT ACTION

J. King Gordon announced that he had received a telegram from Professor R. B. Y. Scott, of Montreal, with respect to the resolution regarding drought emergency action introduced at the opening session of the Convention. Professor Scott, who is President of the Fellowship for a Christian Order, stated:

"Expect Fellowship Executive meeting next week will give full co-operation in drought campaign."

The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the convention, and it was decided to acknowledge by telegram the message.

AFFILIATION OF TRADE UNIONS, ETC.

C. Grant MacNeil, M.P., Chairman, Resolutions Committee, moved the following National Council Resolution as a substitute for the Resolution forwarded by the Ontario Provincial Convention:

18. "WHEREAS the C.C.F. has, from its inception, looked forward to the closest co-operation with economic groups which express the urgent needs of farmers and workers, and

WHEREAS the present temper of the trade union movement indicates a growing realization by the organized workers of the need for political action on their behalf:

Be it resolved that every effort be made by the National Council to facilitate the affiliation of economic groups, such as Co-operatives farm organizations and trade unions, as provided for by the programme and constitution of the C.C.F."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

19. Four resolutions advocating the Popular Front were taken together.

The Resolutions Committee recommended non-concurrence on the ground that the policy defined at the last convention has been shown to adequately meet the present situation. The recommendation of non-concurrence was carried without opposition.

20. A large commercial air force capable of being adapted to military purposes of National Defence.

Non-concurrence as not being in harmony with the declared policy of the C.C.F., although full support is given to the development of civil aviation.

21. Two resolutions that National Conventions be held every second year instead of every year.

Non-concurrence carried.

The session was adjourned till 8.30 P.M.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the National Convention be held every year...

Resolved, That the National Convention be held every year...

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EVENING SESSION, JULY 28, 1937

(CLOSED SESSION)

The resolution on finance and administration was taken from the table, and the discussion resumed.

Angus MacInnis, M.P., said that compared with last year, when the revenue was something like \$1,700, the amount being budgeted for now seemed a big amount. However, if they were to have a National Organization worthy of a major political party, they must during the coming year raise at least the \$19,000 budgeted. Ways and means had already been canvassed as to how that money could be found. We don't expect to take it out of the people who have not got it. We believe we will have to get it from where the money is. It is necessary for us to adopt an attitude of that kind if we are going to be a political force in the country. People will not follow leaders who are not sure themselves that they are going to reach the goal they are aiming at.

C. L. Coburn, Ontario, expressed belief that the C.C.F. could raise \$19,000 for the National Organization. He was quite sure of that because of the encouragement they had received in Ontario when a campaign for the Provincial office was started recently. Mr. Coburn said: "I appreciate very much the honour of being the first to pledge twenty-five cents a week to the National Fund." (The last statement was greeted with applause, and the Chairman expressed appreciation of the Convention).

R. N. Elliott, Quebec, said he was sure the C.C.F. would get the \$19,000. Some six weeks ago they organized a campaign in Quebec. The time had arrived when they thought they needed a French organizer in that province. Very few people had been canvassed, and when he left there were pledges amounting to \$90.00 a month. Our objective is to put one French organizer and one English organizer into the field.

In answer to a question, the National Secretary (David Lewis) said there is a conviction that organizing work should be done by people on the spot. That is very true, but there are times and situations when the local organizers can be assisted very materially by National organizers. He suggested that exchanges of the National organizers appointed would be beneficial to the movement everywhere, for in that way the various sections of the movement would be brought closer together. Then there was a tremendous amount of work to be done by the National organizers without interfering with the work of the local organizers. Thus, he pointed out, it is in those sections of the country where the movement is weakest that organization work is most needed. Yet because the movement is weak, no local organizer is available. In such a case the National Council would send an organizer into the area who, in co-operation with the local people, would lay the foundation for further organization. The value of a National organizer has been amply proven by the splendid work of the Chairman (E. J. Garland). But, as he pointed out in his report, his work is not nearly as effective as he would like it to be, - and as he could make it, - because he is only one.

So far as women and youth organizations are concerned, the value of a National organizer is obvious.

R. W. Bullock, British Columbia, spoke in favor of adopting a quota arrangement for the provinces, one that had close relation to the ability of the people to meet the obligations imposed.

Miss Mary Crawford, Alberta, moved that the National Council be requested to set up a committee of ways and means to take charge of the collection of the money. (Seconded by H. Prevost, Ontario).

Miss Crawford gave details of "the Alberta experiment" in the way of obtaining funds voluntarily from people interested in supporting the organization work of the C.C.F. Amid loud applause, she said it had been a quietly conducted experiment that has been eminently successful. The support is there if we will only organize it and make it active.

Tom Johnston, Saskatchewan, urged the convention to adopt the principle that where men are elected to remunerative offices, part of the remuneration should be used for furtherance of the movement.

H. Prevost, Ontario, said the weakness of the movement is that it had not got to the place where it can finance properly. There are ways and means by which the money can be raised, but it takes a capable person to work out the schemes. He suggested that someone be appointed for six or nine months who would be given the sole job of devising ways and means of raising the money and would be responsible to the National Council.

The Chairman, E. J. Garland: "That point has been under consideration by the Council. I suggest such a man will be obtained."

J. King Gordon said they had been setting out a tremendous programme for carrying forward the movement, and they should now place the responsibility firmly on the new Council. With that responsibility placed, there is no doubt the objective will be attained.

G. H. Williams, M.L.A., Saskatchewan, pledged the financial committee every support the Saskatchewan organization could give.

The Budget was carried unanimously.

The motion instructing the National Council to appoint a special finance committee was carried unanimously.

It was agreed that the National Secretary be instructed to obtain the assistance of all the delegates for the purpose of raising an initial fund with which to finance the main financial campaign.

The Secretary announced that two further donations towards the campaign had already been received.

The following three resolutions regarding organization were then moved and carried:

(1) Lists of paid-up members:

That each province be required to submit to the National Office a list showing the paid-up membership as at December 31st in each year.

(2) Resolutions to National Conventions:

That units desiring to present resolutions to the National Convention must first submit such resolutions to their respective Provincial Conventions for adoption before they will be accepted for presentation to the National Convention.

(3) A National C.C.F. Paper:

This resolution, in effect, requested the National Council to appoint a committee consisting of the National Organizer and representatives of the various C.C.F. papers to explore the possibilities of establishing a C.C.F. National paper to replace or supplement the present local weeklies; this committee to present a report and, if possible, detailed recommendations to the National Council at the earliest possible time.

Private Business having ended, the session was at this stage opened to visitors.

David Lewis, National Secretary, read a message of greeting from the Woodbine C.C.F. Club, Toronto, Ontario.

Mr. Lewis also read a letter from the Trades and Labour Council of Fort William, Ontario. The letter greeted the Convention and invited the C.C.F. to hold its next National Convention in Fort William.

The Secretary was instructed by Convention to thank the Trades and Labour Council of Fort William for their greetings and their kind invitation. The letter was referred to the National Council.

MONOPOLIES

Angus MacInnis, M.P., moved the following resolution:

"Financial Institutions, large scale industries and distributive agencies in Canada are, as has been repeatedly proved, monopolistic in character. They are controlled by a small group of men who use their power for private profit, not for the public good. By various forms of direct and indirect control the power of these men extends far beyond their own concerns. They set the rate of interest at which money is borrowed, farmers and small business men must buy materials and equipment at the price set by the monopolies and at their price must sell the product of their labour. Monopoly has the consumer at its mercy and, except where there are strong trade unions, fixes the rate of wages. It is, moreover, usually the most ruthless opponent of trade union organization. By contributions to campaign funds and by financial pressure it wields great influence over the old political parties. The farmer, the worker, the small business man and the consumer, in fact, every class in the community, come directly and indirectly under the domination of this small group of men, the real masters of the country. Such economic power, in private hands and used for private gain, is contrary to political democracy and must ultimately destroy it.

Mere 'government regulation' of private monopolies has proved ineffective in Canada, the United States, and wherever it has been tried. The great corporations are too strong; they own the government unless the government takes steps to own them. The financial and industrial powers of monopoly must be transferred to the people and used for the good of all. Socialism, - public ownership, co-operative institutions, and democratic control, - is the only solution for this problem."

Mr. MacInnis said: "Before we can get anything worth while for the people of this country we must get control of the monopolies and see that they are not used in the interests of a few but in the interests of the many. He enumerated many of the outstanding monopolies and showed how they dominate every class in the community."

The resolution was carried.

With this the business of the Convention was ended. The minutes would, however, not be complete without a reference to the splendid work of Dr. J. S. Allen, Quebec, in distributing and selling literature throughout the sessions. The Convention expressed its appreciation of his work, and delegates learned a great deal about effective methods of selling socialist literature.

The National Secretary moved votes of thanks to the Newspapers for their generous and fair publicity; to the hotel and the employees for their services; to the Winnipeg Arrangements Committee for their hospitality and their successful efforts to make the delegates comfortable and happy. Finally, Mr. Lewis moved a vote of thanks to E. J. Garland for the able, fair and impressive way in which he had conducted the chair throughout. That the Convention appreciated Mr. Garland's services was evidenced by the applause.

Mr. Garland and Mr. Angus MacInnis expressed appreciation of the work of the National Secretary, and Mr. Garland declared the Convention closed at 10.15 P.M.

In a spirit of useful work well done, the delegates parted to carry on in their respective provinces.

The history was intended to be a record of the proceedings of the Convention for their kind and their kind. The history was intended to be a record of the proceedings of the Convention for their kind and their kind.

MEMORIALS

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Resolved, That the Convention do hereby recommend to the people of the United States that they should support the National Government in its efforts to maintain the Union and to preserve the rights of the States. Resolved, That the Convention do hereby recommend to the people of the United States that they should support the National Government in its efforts to maintain the Union and to preserve the rights of the States.

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The Convention was adjourned.

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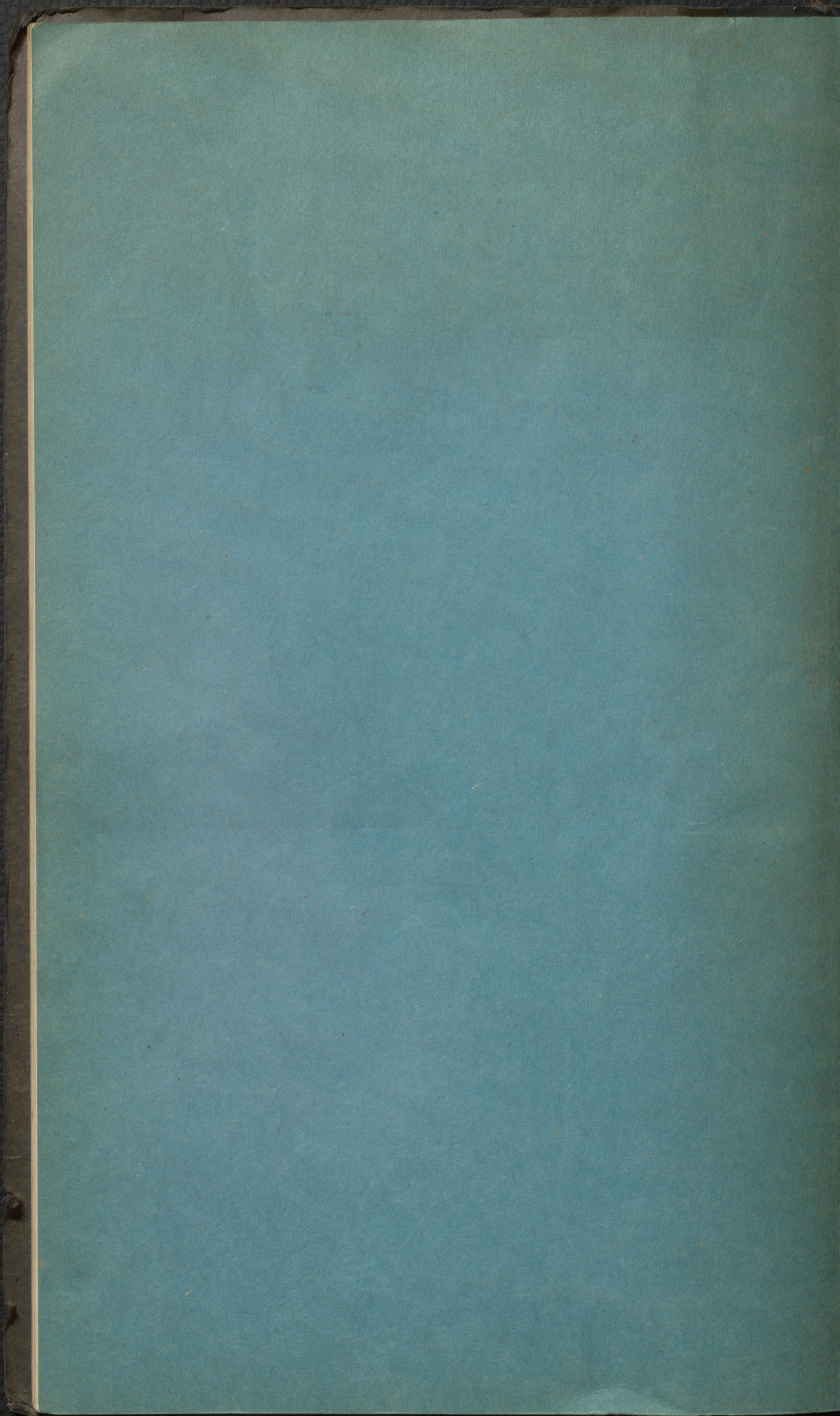
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