



FEDERAL ELECTION
TALKS SERIES
Number One

After the War—

DEPRESSION
or **PROSPERITY?**

by **TIM BUCK** National Leader L.P.P.
Federal Candidate for Spadina (Toronto)

Labor-Progressive Party — 73 Adelaide Street West, Toronto

FEDERAL RESERVE
BOARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.



After the War—

DEPRESSION OR PROSPERITY?

BY TIM BUCK
Author of "The Road to Nowhere"

Copyright, 1945, by Tim Buck. All rights reserved.

THE "victory" conference between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at Quebec spot-lighted the fact that, in Europe, victory is now sure and in sight. The main emphasis in allied strategy is turning to plans for the rapid defeat of Japan. The blackout is ending, the lights are coming on again. The promise of victory is literally in the air—"everywhere" as Churchill is reported to have declared when he greeted the President.

You and I, and all democratic people can rejoice. But, you are right! There is a call for serious thought about "**What should we do when the fighting stops?**" You're not the only person wondering about that. Thousands of people are so fearful of what will happen after the war that they almost dread it. About three quarters of all the workers employed in our war industry are employed on orders over which Canada has no direct control. The Financial Post estimates that three hundred thousand workers will face lay-offs when the "cease fire" order is sounded in Western Europe. Workers, farmers, business and professional people, in all their ranks there lurks a fear that demobilization and the stoppage of war production will bring economic crisis, chronic unemployment, long years of hard times, leading down the road of domestic and international instability to another and even more destructive world war. Is it any wonder that you ask: "What plans, if any, are being prepared to prevent such a calamity?"

What the People Want

WHAT do we want in Canada when the war is over?

We want a reasonable assurance that every man or woman will be able to get a job, at wages with purchasing power at least equal to that of the wages prevailing now. It is agreed now that a high level of employment at decent wages is the sole guarantee of prosperity—for agriculture, for business and for professional people.

We want generous demobilization gratuities and pensions and practical provision so that men and women released from the armed forces shall be able to re-establish themselves in civilian life. No man or woman must be allowed to suffer any avoidable loss or disadvantage as a result of having served in Canada's armed forces. The civil re-establishment legislation enacted by the King government during the recent session of the House of Commons is a very good beginning. On paper it meets a great many of the vital needs of the men and women of the armed forces. The task will be to make sure that the plans and promises embodied in it are carried out, without discrimination and without crippling red tape, in life.

We want measures to ensure ready markets for everything that Canadian farmers produce and everything the fishermen catch and we want the government to maintain a stable floor under the prices of those products.

We want a further development of social services. The war has proved that it pays to protect the people's health. After the war every Canadian, man woman and child, who needs medical attention, hospitalization, medicine or treatment, must receive it as a right of citizenship. The Dominion government has established a system of family allowances which will provide, out of the abundance of Canada's production, a national contribution to the health, nourishment and well-being of every child. There must be no difference because of the province in which the child is born, whether the child's parents are French-Canadians living in Quebec, English-Canadians living outside of Quebec, or immigrants born outside Canada. This is as it should be.

The Labor-Progressive Party proposes that, after the war, the principle of national responsibility and equal benefits be put into operation in legislation to provide the following minimum social protection:

- a) Adequate and equal Widowed Mothers' Allowances.
- b) Old Age Pensions of \$50 per month at the age of sixty.
- c) A guaranteed basic annual income for every worker and employee.
- d) Vacations with pay for all wage-workers and employees.
- e) More adequate unemployment insurance for everybody whose wage or salary is less than \$2500 per year.

We want these things and, what is more, we are determined to get them. They are only part of the better Canada that our sons and brothers are fighting for. Such reforms cannot be considered as being for the advantage of the working people alone, they will be to the advantage of the entire nation. They are indispensable if a high standard of national health is to be maintained; they will provide only the bare essentials of social security. They are part of the far-reaching measures necessary to raise the level of popular purchasing power to enable the people to consume the greater volume of goods that will come on the market as a result of full employment. As vice-president Henry A. Wallace of the United States has pointed out:

"The battle of peace will be the battle to raise the standard of living of the people so as to consume the goods we have learned to produce."

Will it be possible to do all those things right after the war? **You bet it will be possible!** Furthermore, we must aim to do them immediately after victory, because if we don't elect a government to introduce those measures we shall get a government which aims at national policies and conditions similar to those which prevailed during the "hungry thirties".

The Labor-Progressive Party proposes that all progressives co-operate to ensure that Canada goes forward, not back, after the next election.

Jobs for All

WE CAN have full employment in Canada after the war. It won't be easy. There will be serious problems when hundreds of thousands of workers are laid off but, with careful planning and policies based upon the nation's needs, they can all go to others—and equally good ones. If proper policies are pursued we can maintain a post-war level of employment and purchasing power equal to if not higher than the relative prosperity brought by the war.

The Labor-Progressive Party proposes a comprehensive and integrated plan to guide Canadian economy through the transition from war to peace-time conditions. This plan must take into account the following parts of the general process and the need to maintain a balance between them:

- a) Rapid reconversion of war industry to civilian production.
- b) A bold Dominion-Provincial-Municipal program of large-scale construction to provide employment for hundreds of thousands of workers, to keep the wheels of industry turning and to maintain public purchasing power.
- c) Government action to maintain Canadian exports at a basic minimum of two billion dollars per year throughout the immediate post-war period.
- d) A special fund to supplement unemployment insurance benefits now available to all men and women temporarily out of jobs during reconversion of war industry to civilian production.

All the foregoing are practical and necessary proposals. The report of the Parliamentary Committee on Post-War Reconstruction emphasizes the urgent need for seven hundred thousand homes. The need is common to every part of Canada. To fill it properly will employ hundreds of thousands of men for years. There is a crying need for more hospitals. There is need for electrification in rural areas. There is need for water conservation and irrigation works on the prairies. There is need for dozens of huge developments such as the St. Lawrence Water-

way and power development, the Causeway across the Straits of Canso, the building of chemical plants to make better and greater use of our vast resources of coal and tar sands, construction of primary processing and refrigeration plants in the farming areas and, particularly, of chemurgic plants to ensure a steadily expanding use of our agricultural production as industrial raw material.

If we carry through those projects under a bold Dominion-Provincial-Municipal program immediately as hostilities stop we can maintain the level of employment and purchasing power through the transition period—that is the road to post-war prosperity. If we fail to undertake such a program, the prospect will be for mass unemployment, collapse of popular purchasing power, and decline to conditions worse than those which brought disillusionment and despair after the last war.

That is one aspect of the struggle for post-war prosperity. The other aspect of the program which concerns the effort to maintain and expand foreign markets for Canadian products, is also vitally important.

Great industries—lumber, base metals, asbestos, as well as a great part of our agriculture, depend upon export markets for their prosperity. The relation of export markets to farm prosperity may be seen in the following facts. Until recently, the years 1926-29 inclusive were always looked back upon as “the good years” by Canadian farmers. Through those years annual gross cash income received by Canada’s farmers averaged about 970 million dollars per year. Their biggest year was 1928 when their collective gross income totalled 1063 millions of dollars. But those figures have been left far behind of late. In 1943 gross farm income totalled about 1400 million dollars and it is estimated that gross farm income for 1944 will total 1750 million dollars, almost double the average for the “good” years of 1926-29. It is obvious that one of the chief aims of government policy must be to maintain large export outlets for Canadian products: farmers and industrial workers will need them.

At the end of the war our farmers and export industries will need to be able to dispose abroad of about two billion dollars' worth of goods per year—two-and-a-half times as much as they exported in an average year before the war. The problem of where to send the goods is not difficult. The countries of Europe will need them in almost unlimited quantities for years. China and other countries in the Far East will need vast, almost unlimited quantities of consumer goods as well as capital goods of which we will have an enormous surplus. The Soviet Union will be in the market for machinery and equipment of almost every kind. In helping those people we can help tremendously to maintain prosperity at home and re-establish broader and bigger foreign markets.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King emphasized this in his address of welcome to the delegates at the conference of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on September 18th. He said then, in part, "To ensure an enduring peace, . . . men and nations must substitute co-operation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationships". We of the Labor-Progressive Party welcome those words heartily.

The Labor-Progressive Party proposes that they should become the keynote of Canada's post-war foreign policy. With such a policy our exports can be maintained at a level of two billion dollars per year.

A National Reconstruction Government

WILL our next government carry through a program of post-war reconstruction such as I have outlined?

The answer depends entirely upon what post-war aim the progressive forces set themselves and the part they play in the elections. Let me illustrate that in the following way.

It is extremely unlikely that any one party will win an overall majority of the seats in the next election. Regardless of

which party wins the largest number of seats the party leader who becomes Prime Minister will need support from members who were candidates of other parties than his own. The Tories realize that they have very little chance of winning an over-all majority so they are concentrating all their efforts upon a scheme to bring about a situation in which the new government will depend upon the joint support of the Tories and right-wing Liberals.

Col. Drew's violent attack upon King's Family Allowance Act, and the "anti-Quebec" propaganda which made it one of the most divisive public speeches made by any provincial prime minister during this generation, was part of the tory scheme. Col. Drew's denunciation of the Family Allowance Act as a sop to Quebec and other provinces at the expense of Ontario was calculated to inflame misguided electors to vote for tory candidates as a means of protecting "Ontario interests" against Quebec. The equally violent speeches of Duplessis, Bourassa, et al, against the King government as a war government, concentrating too much of our nation's energy, manpower and resources upon winning the war, are similarly calculated to inflame misguided electors to vote for those **Quebec Tories** with the idea that they may thereby protect "the interests of Quebec". So it goes. In various disguises in different parts of the country Tory interests are striving to win seats in preparation for establishment of what they call a National Government—in reality a government representing a coalition of the extreme right.

It is not the Tories alone who are working for a Liberal-Tory coalition. Reactionary elements in the Liberal Party also lean heavily in that direction. Some of them are working with that aim.

With six parties contesting the federal elections, with the Duplessis and Drew governments of Tory reaction in control in the two largest provinces, there is no feeling of assurance that the Liberal Party candidates can win an over-all majority. Faced with this prospect, some of the reactionary elements in the

Liberal Party and its supporters find themselves on common ground with the avowed Tories in opposition to advanced reform policies and in their desire to prevent labor from winning direct representation in the post-war government. Failing a straight Liberal Party victory, therefore, they would prefer a coalition with the Tories to keep labor out and to block reforms. Liberals and Tories have coalesced for provincial action in British Columbia and Alberta; it is an open secret that the reactionary Liberals as well as the Tories favor that tactic in Saskatchewan, and there are tendencies toward similar action on the federal field. The interests behind the drive for such a coalition are powerful and unscrupulous. They know that a government which is dependent upon the support of the Tories and right wing Liberals in the House of Commons will, in fact, be dependent upon tory support. Regardless of what it might be called, or who might be Prime Minister, such a government would be subservient to reactionary tory interests. That is exactly the sort of government that the reactionary interests want for the post-war years.

But the overwhelming majority of Canadians are in favor of post-war policies exactly opposite to those that will be introduced by a government representing a coalition of reactionary forces. The majority of the electors favor policies of jobs, social security and a prosperous domestic market at home with international co-operation in mutual aid and lasting peace abroad.

The Labor-Progressive Party proposes that the government placed in office by the coming Federal election shall be a coalition government representing and depending upon the support of that progressive, reform-minded majority of the people.

What do we mean by "the progressive, reform-minded majority?" We mean those Canadians who are organized in the trade union movement, progressive farm organizations, the Labor-Progressive Party, the C.C.F. and the masses of democratic, reform-minded liberals who support Mackenzie King. Together these forces represent the overwhelming majority of the people. Even contesting the elections separately, competing

with each other as well as the Tories in every constituency, there is no doubt but that their combined number of members in the next House of Commons will constitute an over-all majority.

A government representing this great majority, and dependent upon the support of the progressive groups in the House of Commons, can be elected. Instead of a government representing the Tories and reactionary Liberals, Canada can have a post-war government representing, and depending upon, the Labor movement and allied progressive forces (CCF, LPP, trade unions, progressive farm organizations, etc.) in co-operation with the progressive reform-minded masses who support Mackenzie King.

Thus, the electoral situation which brings forward the danger of a coalition government dominated by the Tories also brings forward the alternative: namely, a government which includes direct representation of the labor movement. For the first time in our history there is a definite opportunity for labor to win full partnership in the Dominion government. The significance of this can scarcely be exaggerated. A substantial group of labor members in the House with one or more of their number in the Cabinet will raise the status and influence of the labor movement throughout the country.

The C.C.F. and Progressive Coalition

AN IMPORTANT group of progressives whose support to a democratic coalition will be vitally important is represented by the members and supporters of the CCF. It might be said that success or failure in the effort to defeat the Tory scheme and secure a government of post-war prosperity and social reform will depend upon the extent to which CCF supporters are won for the aim of a democratic coalition. CCF participation would not only ensure adequate representation for labor, it would ensure also that the coalition itself would be the vehicle for transition to still higher unity of democratic forces for progress in Canada.

But the Coldwell-Lewis-Scott leadership of the CCF reject the proposal that the CCF should participate in a progressive coalition. They favor exactly the opposite point of view. In an interview published in Collier's magazine recently Mr. Coldwell was reported hoping for a Liberal-Tory coalition. According to that interview Mr. Coldwell would prefer a Liberal-Tory coalition government with the CCF the official opposition. Indeed, the journalist who wrote up the interview declared that Mr. Coldwell aims to help bring such a coalition about. Mr. T. C. Douglas emphasized that position even more bluntly when he spoke for the CCF over a national C.B.C. hook-up on September 20th.

Even worse than their proposal to facilitate the Tories' return to power, is the political basis upon which they reject all proposals for co-operation with other progressive groups and CCF participation in a government based upon a coalition of progressive forces. They reject and sneer at the famous Accord reached between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Teheran and the basis for a new epoch of democratic development that it provides. They co-operate systematically with professional anti-Sovieteers such as the red baiter Isaac Don Levine, old Russia's Alexander Kerensky, the Norman Thomas "socialists" and other treasonous elements, against President Roosevelt in the United States. Recently they condemned the British Labor Party for its participation in the Churchill government. They oppose the idea of national unity in Canada in support of sustained co-operation between Canada and the USSR. Their propaganda is characterized by its anti-Soviet bias, by their national anti-Soviet campaign in defense of the Finnish social democratic support of Mannerheim's alliance with Hitler, their systematic innuendo against Soviet democracy as "Totalitarianism", against Soviet foreign policy as "new imperialism" and against Marshal Stalin in general.

Such are the dominant features of the political attitude and line upon which opposition to CCF co-operation with other progressive groups and CCF participation in a coalition government is based. If the CCF members should change their stand and

decide to participate in a progressive coalition of all progressive forces those hangovers of the discredited policies of European Social Democrats would almost automatically go into the discard. On the other hand, however, so long as those features continue to characterize the attitude of the CCF leadership they certainly will not be fit to be entrusted with the government of Canada.

Vote for Progress Now!

THE people of Canada want progress now! The labor movement and the mighty sentiment for independent parliamentary representation must not be side-tracked into the swamp of negative opposition politics. We are in a new stage of history. Its problems, and the responsibilities it imposes upon the progressive movement, are fundamentally different to those that we faced before the war. This stage opened at Teheran. The historic Teheran agreement opened the way for full coalition warfare and the present swift march to victory. That agreement also established the basis for a new era of democratic progress through the enduring co-operation of the capitalist democracies and the socialist states, and co-operation of the great socialist and capitalist states with the new people's governments which all anti-fascist people hope will be established in the liberated countries.

The great coalition between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist democracies is the highest expression of the world-wide class alliance brought into being by the war. This class alliance and the continued co-operation of the socialist and democratic capitalist states will be the instrument for an orderly unfolding of a great democratic political transition in the old world. As a result of it, and the conditions which made it an indispensable condition for the defeat of Fascism, the people of Europe will be able to move forward through establishment of people's governments, and democratic organization of their national economies, to progress such as did not seem possible a few short years ago.

Win Labor a Place in Our Next Government!

A SITUATION, and needs in many respects similar, confront us in Canada. Democratic people want policies which fit with the new world perspective: jobs and security with progressive reforms at home, international co-operation in world reconstruction and a durable peace in the sphere of foreign policy. These are the aims of the labor movement also. Labor's post-war interest and aims coincide with the true interests of the nation and the desires of the majority of the people. Labor is presented with the possibility of securing a place in the government of the country because a coalition government including labor is the only combination which can defeat the Tory scheme for a government based upon a coalition of the right. Furthermore, let it be emphasized, the participation of representatives of labor in such a coalition is the politically correct, and therefore the most effective, means by which to consolidate the gains made during the war and to help make labor's aims the program of the nation.

The day when we must decide what is to be our national policy is coming towards us at breakneck speed. The basic approach of our post-war government towards that question will be democratic and progressive or anti-labor and reactionary depending upon whether or not a sufficiently strong group of labor members who are pledged to support a progressive coalition government are elected in the coming Federal election.

The Labor-Progressive Party believes that the labor movement and all progressive people and organizations must seize this tremendous opportunity. Let us all play a decisive role in shaping the post-war policies of our country.

Support the Labor-Progressive Party's fight. Make labor a full partner in our next Dominion government. A government based upon a Democratic Coalition of Progressive Forces is the key to lasting prosperity in Canada and Canadian support to enduring peace in the world.

THE
NATIONAL ARCHIVES
COLLECTION
OF
DOCUMENTS
RELATIVE TO
THE
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
1763-1789
SERIES
1
1763-1769
VOLUME
1
1763-1769
PART
1
1763-1769
PART
1

TORONTO, OCT., 1944

Fellow Canadian:

This pamphlet is the first in a series to be published by the Labor-Progressive Party. The aim of this and the other pamphlets you shall receive is to clarify the great issues facing our country in the coming Federal Elections.

The Labor-Progressive Party is fighting for a forward looking government, made possible by a coalition of all democratic forces in the country. Our Party, to contribute its modest share to the creation of such a government is therefore placing some 70 Federal candidates in the field. To make possible a wide public campaign the Labor-Progressive Party is now engaged in a drive for \$250,000 to finance its participation in the coming Federal contest. We appeal to you to help us make this drive a success.

Having read this first of our election series we cordially invite you to write us on any subject pertaining to this issue. We would appreciate your opinion and will be glad to answer any questions or supply further information.

May we hope that you will see your way clear to send us your contribution to our financial drive.

Sam Carr

NATIONAL ELECTION MANAGER
LABOR-PROGRESSIVE PARTY

*In Saskatchewan address all your mail to
L.P.P., 1723 HAMILTON STREET, REGINA, SASK.*