

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Fourth Session — Tenth Legislature 4th Day

Tuesday, February 4, 1947.

The Assembly met at 3:00 o'clock p.m.
On the Orders of the Day.

ADJOURNED DEBATES

ADDRESS-IN-REPLY

The Assembly resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. James Gibson (Morse) for an Address-in-Reply.

Mr. W. J. Patterson (Leader of the Opposition): — Mr. Speaker, I would wish first to extend my sincere congratulations to the Hon. Member for Morse (Mr. Gibson), first for his success in being elected as a Member of this Legislature, and, secondly, for the very creditable address that he made to this House, yesterday, in moving the Address-in-Reply. The hon. gentleman is fortunate in finding things so favorable and so satisfactory in the Province of Saskatchewan under its first Socialist Government. As time goes on, he will probably learn not to accept CCF propaganda and publicity without some reservations and without making some inquiries on his own as to how well they are founded.

I had the privilege of taking part in the Morse by-election and it was an interesting occasion. I have not anything to apologize for, nor any particular complaints to make. I was not, of course, in the happy position of being able to promise roads and bridges, schools, grants to hospitals and things of that kind. I did not find it necessary, Mr. Speaker, to criticize or condemn the compulsory Automobile Insurance scheme on the basis that it was likely to be a failure. On the contrary, my statements in regard to it were that it was likely to be a very splendid success insofar as the Government was concerned and I predicted that at the end of the year it would show a profit of half a million dollars. The more recent information that has been given to us would indicate that I was too modest in my prophecies and that the profit is likely to reach more nearly the sum of \$750,000, on an amount which has been taken in the form of taxation from the operators of motor vehicles in the Province of Saskatchewan greater than was necessary to supply the service which this particular scheme was intended to provide.

So far as the seconder of the resolution (Mr. Howell) is concerned, may I congratulate him on the very interesting talk he gave us yesterday. He, like the mover of the resolution, seemed very pleased indeed with the conditions in the north country and all of the problems of that part of the province apparently have been solved, or are on their way to being solved. I was a little disappointed to learn that the former Liberal Government was responsible for the whitefish in the northern lakes being infected with parasites. It was the first time I had heard this criticism offered and it came as news to me. I presume that now that the Government has appointed a gentleman to run down the parasites, it will follow the same practice as followed in connection with the sawfly, a couple of years ago,

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and employ some 50 or possibly 100 of their good supporters to go around to see how many of these particular animals can be caught.

Mr. A. T. Procter (Moosomin): — Mr. Speaker, it will be one parasite looking after another.

Mr. Patterson: — One conclusion I drew from the Member's speech was this: He made some reference to Mr. Tucker, because of his legal training and experience, being able to make a very elaborate case out of very little. The speech yesterday of the Hon. Member demonstrated that it was not necessary to have either legal training, or legal experience, to build up a very elaborate case out of little or nothing.

I join with the sentiments expressed in the Speech from the Throne with reference to the Governor General of Canada. I am sure that all Canadians are proud to have in that important and responsible position so distinguished a citizen of the British Empire and one whose record during the last Great War indicates to us that he will give efficient and acceptable service in the position he now occupies. Those who are interested — and all of us should be — in the progress of world affairs and in the re-establishment of better conditions in this world as a result of the sacrifices and the losses that were experienced during the recent World War, may be somewhat disappointed with the progress, or what some might say the lack of progress, that has been made during the past year. I do not think, however, taking into account the conditions which have existed and the century-old established prejudices and differences that have been existing and in operation, that we have reason to be unduly pessimistic or discouraged. A good deal of time may appear to have been spent in discussion, in debate and in disagreement. Progress has been slow and certainly not all that could be wished for. It is not our duty to assess the responsibility for that slowness of progress; but I think that we can all agree that substantial beginnings and substantial advancements have been made. The most cheerful and the brightest feature of the picture is probably the fact that for the first time in the world's history, there seems to be some general measure of agreement that in this world no nation can live to itself alone and that all nations and all countries are interested in, affected by, and should be prepared to make their contribution to the welfare of the world and of all who live in it. In the development of international affairs, in the discussions in connection with various world organizations that have met from time to time during the past year, we, as Canadians, can take a considerable measure of pride in the dignified, in the helpful, position that has been taken by our country's representatives at all of these gatherings. Their attitude toward the different problems that have arisen, their contributions to the debates and the general evidence they have given of the desire of Canada to make her fair and just contributions to the welfare of the world, is worthy of commendation and does, I believe, have the support of all of the people of Canada. More recently, the pronouncement by the Government of Canada with reference to the meeting which is to determine the German and Austrian peace treaties has given leadership to all of the smaller nations and I was pleased to see that in the House of Commons in Ottawa recently, it received the unanimous support of the representation of all parties in that Chamber.

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During the past year considerable progress was made in the matter of the relationship between the Dominion and its provinces — again not as much progress as perhaps many would wish, or as might be desirable, but still a very substantial measure of progress indeed which should go far, not only to removing many of the frictions and differences which have existed in the past, but should also go a very considerable distance in making it easier for the less wealthy provinces, at least, to carry out their provincial responsibilities.

Reference is made in the Speech from the Throne to the inauguration or establishment of a distinctive Canadian citizenship. That is an important milestone — one of many in the long history of this comparatively young country — in the development of Canada as a nation. I hope and pray it will lead to a stronger establishment in the minds and hearts of the Canadian people of their duty and loyalty to their country.

During this past year, very considerable progress has been made in the relinquishment or the release of many of those, sometimes rather embarrassing, war controls that we disliked although we accepted them as necessary. I am sure that it is the general desire that, as quickly as possible, the controls which had been established during the war period will be diminished and ultimately entirely removed.

Late in 1946 the Canadian railways made an application to the Board of Transport Commissioners for an increase in freight rates. The Government of Saskatchewan is to be commended for having joined with other provinces who, like ourselves, are vitally interested in this matter, in preparing a case in opposition to this application. I think the matter was of sufficient importance that it might very well have found a reference in the Speech from the Throne. However, be that as it may, the fact does remain that the action taken meets with the approval of all of the people of this province.

One development during 1946 which certainly caused considerable concern in the minds of those interested in the welfare and well-being of our country, was the discovery at Ottawa that certain people, some of them in Government employment, some of the occupying high places, had been engaged in trafficking with and supplying confidential information to representatives of another country even if it had been an ally during the last Great War. I do not know how serious they have been; but it is a matter of some concern to learn, for instance, that a man who had been elected as a Member of the House of Commons at Ottawa, that men and women too, who have been appointed to responsible positions of trust, have allowed their loyalty to certain ideas, certain theories or certain schemes, to override their loyalty and their duty to their own country. It would indicate that in appointing persons, particularly to responsible public office, or for the preparation of textbooks or propaganda material, the greatest care should be exercised by the Government concerned not to employ these “fellow travellers” who are much more concerned about establishing and propagating their ideology than they are in the welfare of the country to which they owe allegiance and which has granted them citizenship.

During the past year practically all of those who served us overseas in the various Armed Forces have been returned to

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Canada. Only a very small number are still outside of our Dominion. Even more pleasing is the fact that so large a percentage of those who have returned have been re-established, or have made substantial progress in the direction of being re-established, and of being again absorbed into our financial, economic, social and political activities. Contrary to the views that were expressed, this re-establishment has been accomplished without any serious measure of unemployment. In fact you could say that to all intents and purposes, here in Canada, at present there is no serious unemployment problem.

Within Saskatchewan's boundaries some of the political and other developments, last year, were of considerable interest. There was, for instance, the Morse by-election to which I have already referred, resulting in the return of a CCF Member with a somewhat reduced — not very much, but still a reduced — majority and a substantially reduced plurality. Talking of elections we had, of course, in the fall of 1946, the municipal elections throughout the Province of Saskatchewan. Strange to say, the invitation extended to the municipal electors in the cities and towns of the province by the Hon. Minister of Reconstruction (Mr. Sturdy) to support and elect councils that were sympathetic to the Government, was not received with the attention that one would have expected, the request coming from so dignified and so august a person. However, be that as it may, the municipal electors in Regina, in Saskatoon, in Moose Jaw and elsewhere in the province, made their decision for themselves and I cannot think that that decision was a particularly pleasing one to the Government of the province.

There was another event last year of very considerable interest and importance to the people of the province particularly so to myself personally. I refer to the Liberal Convention which was held in the city of Saskatoon, early in August, the largest political gathering of that nature ever held in the province and I am sure that the decisions made at that gathering will have considerable effect on the future of the Province of Saskatchewan.

Now let me say, at the outset, that it was not without some regrets that I made the decision to discontinue the leadership of the Liberal Party. However, Mr. Speaker, it is some 35 years ago, or a little more, since I first came to these buildings to become a public servant and it is just 25 years ago since I first occupied a seat in this Legislature. I think that is a fairly good inning. I came to the decision that perhaps the time had come when there was a place for a younger, more active and probably a more able man than myself, to assume the responsibilities and duties of the position which I now occupy. I am not going to go back over those 25 years but have some satisfaction in thinking that during that period it has been possible for me to make some contribution, at least, to the welfare and the well-being of the people of this province in which I was born and in which I have always lived. I have some satisfaction in feeling and believing that during that period I have made some reputation as being a fair and an honorable political opponent and I say that, while it was with some regrets, it was without apologies or recriminations that I handed over the leadership of the party to the gentleman who now holds it. I may say, also, that the decisions made at that convention, both with respect to the policy and platform of the party and the choice of a leader, appear to be satisfactory to everybody but the CCF. The proceedings of the convention, the primary purpose

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was not to please and satisfy our political opponents; it was to satisfy the supporters of the party and I think in that respect we can take it that satisfactory decisions were arrived at.

On Friday last, notices of some 10 or 12 resolutions were placed on the Order Paper. I have not had time to examine them all carefully but I think that, without exception, they call upon the Government of Canada to do something and anyone who sat in the Legislature on Friday and listened to the resolutions, as they were read by the Members who presented them, must have had some difficulty in deciding whether they were watching the proceedings of the Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan or those of the Parliament of Canada. Have we, as a Legislature, so adequately and satisfactorily solved the problems of the province, which are the responsibilities of the Provincial Legislature and of the Provincial Government, to an extent or to a degree, that we can now afford to spend most of our time passing resolutions asking Ottawa to do this, that and other things — spending a great deal of our time debating matters which are not within our control or authority and passing on, as I say, these suggestions to other authorities as to what should be done about them?

In the election campaign of 1944 — I have stated this before and I am going to repeat it — a great many reforms, a great many improvements and a great many services were promised the people of the Province of Saskatchewan provided they would elect a CCF Government. With one single exception all of these services, all of these reforms and all of these improvements, were going to be provided the people of this province without any reference to federal aid, federal legislation or federal assistance of any kind.

Mr. H. O. Hansen (Wilkie): — Read them again.

Mr. Patterson: — The one exception was the Old Age Pensions, which the CCF did promise that they would press or urge upon the Government of Canada to increase and indicated, by inference at least, that a provincial CCF Government would be prepared to co-operate with the Federal Government in obtaining that objective. Recently the CCF federal organization has announced that it is going out for an Old Age Pension of \$50 at 65 years of age. In this respect, Sir, the CCF Party is back-tracking. I have here a pamphlet, or a leaflet, that was issued by the CCF a few years ago: “An Old Age Pension of \$50 per month” — so there will be no mistake about the \$50, it is written in figures and then it is written in words — “at 55 years of age”; “An Old Age Pension of \$40 per month at 55 years of age.” “Vote CCF and Protect your Old Age.” “Issued by the CCF Central Office, Regina, Saskatchewan.” And up here, with a rubber stamp, is the impression: “Authorized by the Moose Jaw Constituency Committee of the CCF.” I want to exclude the Hon. Attorney General from any responsibility for this because, if I remember correctly, this leaflet was used during an election when he was a Social Credit candidate, I take it that he had nothing to do with it.

Speaking seriously, Mr. Speaker, is it not about time that this Legislature began to give more consideration to the things which it was elected to do, which were promised would be done by it and which it has the duty and responsibility of doing?

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Hon. J. E. Phelps (Saskatoon): — We are making some progress.

Mr. Patterson: — Prior to June, 1944, we were told not once, but hundreds of times, that a CCF Government would make education a provincial responsibility. We were told about the highways they would build in this province — hard-surfaced roads running east and west, north and south, and up and down. We were told about the health services that were going to be provided, without money and without price, to everybody and all. We were told about the help for the crippled and the destitute and those who suffer from physical and other incapacities. We were promised houses and bathtubs and electric washing machines, all, as I say with the single exception of Old Age Pensions, without aid from the Government of Canada. Federal Government and federal assistance did not appear in the picture at all. If this Government, now that it is in office, cannot carry out its undertakings without running to Ottawa for assistance in everything it proposes to do, well, let us admit the fact and face that situation.

The Speech from the Throne this year is even longer in number of words than it was last year. I am not going to say there is more in it except in that particular respect. Anybody who has read it must have been struck by its similarity to the letters of recommendation which manufacturers of patent medicines produce and advertise from time to time. You know the sort of letter that comes in from a chap who has taken somebody's herb pills or Indian oils or something like that: it has cured him of headaches and sore feet and corns and backaches and all the other ills the human anatomy can be subject to. As I suggested to the Hon. Member for Morse, it should be taken with some reservations.

Again, this year as in previous years, some statements contained in the Speech from the Throne, stray very close to the line between fact and fiction and some of these statements which may not be untrue certainly leave an entirely erroneous impression. For instance, Mr. Speaker, we are told about the Agricultural High School supported jointly by Estevan and Oxbow Larger Units. Now that statement does not say that the Estevan and Oxbow Larger Units established this Agricultural High School and that they are operating it and providing the financial requirements, but that impression is definitely left. I think that the Minister of Education, when he speaks to us, will explain probably that this school is a part of the Dominion-Provincial arrangement that used to be called "Youth Training". I don't know what they call it now; however, we will leave that to the Minister of Education.

Then we have a statement that the Power Commission, for the first time since its inception, has operated with a surplus. Well, last year the Hon. Minister in charge of the Power Commission filed his report for the year 1945 which says:

Net operating profit, after providing in full for interest charges, depreciation and replacement reserves, \$102,000.

Hon. C. M. Fines (Provincial Treasurer): — There's still a deficit though.

Mr. Patterson: — And if you will go back to

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the reports of the Power Commission for the year 1944 and the year 1943 and the year 1942, you will find similar statements in the Annual Report. True, the surplus after paying these is not as large as it was in 1945.

Hon. T. C. Douglas (Premier): — But there was an accumulated deficit as well.

Mr. Patterson: — But what is the impression left by the Speech from the Throne? That this is the first year that the Power Commission has made a profit?

Mr. Douglas: — No, no! The first year it has had a clear profit.

Mr. Patterson: — No other impression intended or could be taken from it.

Mr. Fines: — The first time we have not had a deficit, an accumulated deficit.

Mr. Patterson: — These gentlemen are all making different explanations, Mr. Speaker, so it is a little difficult, but none of them are very sound.

Mr. Douglas: — You should know.

Mr. Patterson: — Now, this year we are told that the Government has two fish filleting plants. Last year we were told two, three or five as the occasion demanded. Now we have got them back to two again. I understood that the Government had built a fish filleting plant at Beaver Lake and one at Lac La Ronge and a recent announcement in the paper said they had a fish filleting plant in Meadow Lake. So again we are uncertain. No matter whether we take the public statements made from time to time, or the Speech from the Throne, I say we are uncertain as to how many fish filleting plants the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan actually owns.

A great many people have an opinion that there is a good deal of dishonesty in connection with the administration of public funds. That is not a fact, Mr. Speaker. The experience generally throughout Canada, over a great many years, shows that the actual expenditure of public money is probably as honestly administered — when I say that I mean with reference to somebody taking some money out of the Treasury that properly does not belong to them, or diverting money that should come into the Treasury — as probably any business and certainly will bear comparison with any business of a similar size or one in which such tremendous amounts are involved. But honesty in Government means more than honesty in the actual expenditure of money. It includes the proper use of public money for proper public purposes and it means honesty of statements issued with respect to the public business.

We are told, Mr. Speaker, that at this Session, a Bill of Rights is to be introduced and there has been a good deal of the usual publicity, fireworks and display in connection with this anticipated legislation. To me, these statements and this

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proposal coming from a government whose legislation, whose Orders-in-Council and whose administrative decisions have all been in the direction of restricting human rights and individual liberties, are little less than absurd. It is absurd that a party which, since its inception, has appealed to class and to prejudice to establish itself and to gain a foothold, should now come along and tell us about what it is going to do to preserve civil rights or human rights, whatever you want to call it. On different occasions leaders of this party in this province have told us that it was similar in aims and ideals to the Labour Party, or Socialist Party, in Great Britain. Not very long ago, a Minister of the British Government, Mr. Bevan, the Minister of Public Health, made this statement in London referring to the plans or ideas of his Government:

Britain was engaged in as great an experiment as the world had ever seen. It was an effort to reconcile the principles of central planning, of social organization, of government intervention, in many spheres which formerly were left to individual enterprise, without at the same time interfering grievously with individual liberty and initiative, an effort to reconcile central planning, government intervention without grievously interfering with individual liberty and initiative. It was an attempt to do this and leave unimpaired the full panoply of parliamentary representative government.

Unfortunately, Mr. Bevan did not tell his hearers what happened when liberty and theory clash and when central planning and government intervention too grievously interfered with the rights and liberty of the individual. One of the recommended text books for CCF students and workers in the Province of Saskatchewan is "The Case for Socialism" by Fred Henderson.

Mr. Sturdy: — I hope you have read it!

Mr. Patterson: — Yes, I read it, Mr. Speaker, and I want to tell a little incident in connection with this book. When it was first distributed in Saskatchewan, it was written originally by the author, Mr. Fred Henderson, who is a distinguished Socialist in Great Britain and it was recommended, as I say, for CCF reading and CCF study; but throughout the book in the first edition that was available in this province, there was repeated reference to the private ownership of land and capital. Those words appear many times throughout the book. Now, after some of the local CCF enthusiasts, particularly in the rural areas, had started to study the book, they did not like such expressions as this: "It is this private ownership of land and capital which we Socialists indict as the root causes of poverty." Consequently an amended or expurgated edition was brought out for consumption in Saskatchewan.

Mr. Douglas: — Nonsense!

Mr. Patterson: — No, I have copies of both and it says here that you can buy them from the CCF at its various offices. But an expurgated copy was brought out for consumption in the Province of Saskatchewan in which reference to land being one of the root causes for poverty and social evils was entirely removed. They did not take that out of the book in Great Britain and over there a British farmer has discovered what happens to a farmer in

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Great Britain when the theory of government intervention clashes with individual liberty, because this man was sentenced to 3 months in jail and fined \$6,000 for sowing six acres more of a certain kind of grain than the planners had authorized him to do. We have heard a good deal in Canada and in Saskatchewan, during recent years, of "government by order-in-council" and it is true, Sir, that during the war when prompt and immediate and sometimes drastic action was necessary from day to day, the Government of Canada made very large use of the War Measures Act. In the application of rationing, food control, wage control and matters of that kind, many hundreds, probably many thousands of orders-in-council were passed and they automatically became the law of the land. There has been much criticism of that. Whether the Government did it or not is not a material matter at this time. The fact does remain that the Federal Government is rapidly departing from that practice and as I said before practically every day there is an announcement that some form of war control has been discontinued or very substantially reduced.

The Attorney General told us in a broadcast, last October, that he was tired of dictatorship. I think most of the people of Canada would agree with him. They found these restrictions and regulations rather irksome. I am sure that they welcome, as he no doubt does, their removal and look forward to the time when they will be abolished entirely. But here, in the Province of Saskatchewan, government by order-in-council grows from day to day. Recently they had to start publishing the "Saskatchewan Gazette" weekly instead of twice a month because of the regulations and orders-in-council that were being put through under the general powers this Legislature has given the Government of this province and we are to have another control Bill. What its contents are none of us know; but we are to have a further application of this dictatorship and it is surprising, indeed, that the Bill to establish controls in the Province of Saskatchewan are to come from the Hon. Minister, who only a few months ago told us that he was tired of dictatorship. Yes, we are to have a Bill of Rights.

Mr. Procter: — And do we need them!

Mr. Patterson: — The granting of rights, Sir, infers the granting of liberties, of freedoms, of opportunities and, of course, with the reception of these privileges, responsibilities are imposed. However, as I have already stated the whole trend in this province during the last two and one-half years has been gradually but definitely in the direction of interfering with the liberties, the freedoms, and the opportunities of the people of the Province of Saskatchewan and if it continues we will, very shortly, have neither opportunity nor responsibility. In the world today, a great percentage of the states or nations of the world have tended to align themselves in either one of two groups.

One group is that in which the government operates on the principle that the government or the state is created for the benefit of the individual citizen; the other group is operated on the principle, or on the idea, that the individual is created for the benefit and for the support of the state. We have in Canada this peculiar situation where as a Dominion we are classified, and properly, in that category where the state is primarily for the benefit of the individual while within Canada we have one province that is gradually working itself into the other,

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or opposite, category. Despite anything that may be placed in the Bill of Rights which is to be presented to this Legislature, under the direction which legislation, orders-in-council and ministerial directives have been taking during the last two and one-half years, we are rapidly but steadily travelling in the direction of greater control, greater centralization and greater government intervention. It would be interesting for us to know whether the Bill of Rights, when it is presented, will contain a provision, for instance, that a man who has a just claim against the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan can take action without getting the consent, or obtaining the fiat, of the Attorney General. It is perfectly true that the law as it has been in the past, in days when governments only engaged in those activities which were particularly theirs, did provide that no action against the government could be taken without a fiat; but we have an entirely different situation in this province. We have the Government operating, or engaged in, 15, 20 or 25 — I don't know how many — various commercial activities and surely the position of the citizen, with respect to those operations in particular, should be exactly the same as his position would be in relation to a private concern engaged in the same line of business.

Mr. Douglas: — That is provided for now in The Crown Corporations Act.

Mr. Phelps: — Yes, what does The Crown Corporations Act say? It is in the Act now. You have forgotten that.

Mr. Procter: — And you ignore it. You still don't know whether you can do it or not.

Mr. Patterson: — Will the Bill of Rights, when it is introduced, provide that in the future the practice of government appointed boards having the power to make decisions and those decisions automatically becoming judgments of the court will be continued; will the Bill of Rights provide that this procedure be discontinued? Will the Bill of Rights provide that, in the future, individuals who prefer to select the office with which they insure their property may have the right of choice in doing so? Will it provide that men whose business or whose livelihood has been affected or eliminated by reason of government competition will have some claim, will have some rights, or will they continue to be at the will and behest of Ministers of the Crown? Will it insure, in the future, to applicants for fur licences, grazing leases, timber permits, or even people who apply for a job in the Civil Service, that their applications will be dealt with on their merits rather than on the basis that the applicant is socially minded or otherwise? Will the Minister of Natural Resources continue to have the privilege of deciding whether a certain timber sale shall be awarded or allotted to a particular applicant because he is socially minded, or be refused to another applicant because he is not socially minded? Will the Bill of Rights provide that veterans who have been allocated Crown lands as the result of an examination and a decision by an impartial committee shall not have that allocation cancelled because of political interference? Will the Bill of Rights provide that in the future the local governing bodies of the Province of Saskatchewan, the school boards, the hospital boards and the municipalities, will exercise a maximum measure of economy or will they become more and more subject to ministerial

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decree and government direction? Yes, we have heard a great deal about what is happening to certain kinds of people and classes of people in other parts of Canada. Things have been happening in the Province of Saskatchewan too. Nothing that we can do in this province can control the actions of the Government of the Province of British Columbia or the Government of the Province of Quebec or the administration of justice or other activities there. Let us clean up our own doorstep and let us deal with the matters that are fundamental and of primary importance to the people of the Province of Saskatchewan. After we have done all that then perhaps we can start out to remedy conditions in the rest of Canada.

The Department of Education is probably of the greatest importance and generally of the greatest interest to the majority of the people of the Province of Saskatchewan. In the light of that fact it is amazing that, in the three and one-half page Speech from the Throne, education is covered in three short paragraphs — or is it two?

Mr. Procter: — Three.

Mr. Patterson: — We are told that there is a shortage of qualified teachers; that there is improved educational opportunities in the larger units; this Agricultural High School that was referred to; that there has been an equalization of costs; that there is a bigger business being done at the Book Bureau; that the teachers are on a salary schedule — those that are employed in the larger units — and that there has been an extension of schools in the far north. That is a wonderful contribution in the Speech from the Throne to the most important activity and the most important responsibility of this Government.

Mr. Phelps: — Nothing like being modest.

Mr. Patterson: — You did not tell us about putting the CCF in the schools.

Mr. Douglas: — That's more than you did in four and a half years.

Mr. Patterson: — There is a shortage of qualified teachers. Yes, the situation in that respect is the worst that has existed in the province. The alibi is that the same situation exists elsewhere in Canada and the United States. I am surprised that the Hon. Minister of Natural Resources agreed to this particular paragraph going in the Speech from the Throne. There are some who sat with him when he sat over about where I am standing now. You, Mr. Speaker, can remember how he used to make the very walls of this building ring with his denunciations of the Government of that day when the shortage of teachers was immeasurably less than it is today. There was no excuse. True, the War was on. Our young people had gone into the Armed Forces; they had gone into War industries; but that was no excuse. It was solely and entirely the responsibility of the government of that day that there was a shortage of teachers. True, I think he did finally admit that, perhaps in his own particular school, where the teacher's salary had been reduced notwithstanding the fact that the district was in fairly good financial condition, there might be minor contributory causes;

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but the major fact, the major problem, the major reason — and there was no excuse for it — was that we had a Liberal Government. But today he is quite satisfied to say; “Yes, we are short of teachers, the worst we have ever seen, but it is the same down in the States and the same elsewhere in Canada and what is more the Speech from the Throne tells us that it is going to last for 1947.” Well, so far as any progress or action that this Government has taken to remedy the situation is concerned, we can come back here in 1957 and the same statement can appear in the Speech from the Throne.

Mr. Phelps: — Wait and see!

Mr. Patterson: — I am not criticising or condemning unqualified teachers. They are doing a good job. They are doing their very best; some of them doing an excellent job particularly when you take into account the very limited opportunity they have had for training. As a matter of fact some of them are making a better and a more worthwhile contribution to the welfare of the Province of Saskatchewan than some of the high price specialists, advisors and government interventionists, that are walking around the halls of these buildings drawing a very, very much bigger salary than even those provided in the schedules of the Larger School Units. There are a couple of them up in the gallery right now.

The statement is that improved educational opportunities have been provided under Larger Units. Now this is one of these general statements which every CCFer supports and repeats and repeats without producing any evidence. It would be a surprising thing if, with the tremendous increase in local school taxation, the people of this province should not get better educational opportunities. If they did not, it would be a very serious and a very severe criticism of the Larger School Unit plan of administration. But, as I say, it is one of these general statements that is repeated very easily and is quoted from time to time. For instance, the Minister has announced, from time to time, that such and such a larger school unit has spent so many thousand dollars for repairs and reconstruction of their school buildings and that is probably true.

A friend of mine was telling me of his experience. In his particular school district a pane of glass was broken. In the old days as chairman of the Local School Board — he is not on the school board now — he used to go over in the evening and put in a pane of glass; the total cost to the school was the 20 or 30 cents that the pane of glass cost. I think it was last summer that a pane of glass was broken in the school. A few days later a truck drove up from the central office of the School Unit and a man measured the pane of glass, or at least, the place where the pane of glass had to go. In a week or two the truck came back again with a couple of men and they replaced the pane of glass. Now, he did not know just how much the pane of glass had cost but he figured that, as closely as he could estimate it, it would be around \$15 or \$16. Well, now with that sort of administration it is quite easy to understand why there are these tremendous increases in expenditures for which the Minister takes such great credit to himself. I know also of a local school district where they had quite a nice school, built and paid for by the residents of the local school district. It had been abandoned for a couple of years because there were not sufficient children in the district to maintain

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the school. Children that were there, of course, were provided for elsewhere. A larger school unit is established and the first thing the members of the local board of trustees know of it, a moving outfit comes to that school to move it over into another municipality. As I say, the local trustees did not know that was going to happen until the moving outfit was on the grounds. What upset these people, who having built and paid for the school, was the knowledge that they had, that within a year or two, there were sufficient children in the district coming on that they would again require the school. It is now some 10 or 15 miles away.

We are told that there has been an equalization of educational costs, better distribution. Yes, that is true, Mr. Speaker, if an increase of 25, 50, or 100 per cent in local school taxes is a better distribution than the Government has achieved that objective. In a municipality in my constituency the average school rate for the whole municipality, the year before the establishment of the larger school unit — 1944 — was 7.2 mills. The rate for the larger school unit in the same municipality is 14 mills. If that is a better distribution of educational costs, I repeat, the Government may take credit for it.

Prior to the election one of the most frequently repeated promises made by the CCF, by their speakers, their candidates and by their leader, was a definite promise that a CCF Government would make education a provincial responsibility. They have made it a provincial responsibility to this extent: they have assumed the responsibility of determining what form of school administration you will have; but they have left it to the people in the country the responsibility for meeting the costs. However, there are certain fundamental things in connection with the development of educational policy in the Province of Saskatchewan. Naturally when the province was formed in 1905, one of the departments to be established at that time was the Department of Education and that Department has continued to function from that day to this. During that period, from 1905 up until 1944, there was criticism of the administration of the Department of Education; there was criticism of the government responsible for the administration of that Department; there were differences of opinion regarding educational policies pursued in the Province of Saskatchewan. But at no time during that nearly 40 years was there ever any charge made against the government in power that it was utilizing the education system of the province to perpetuate itself in office, or to propagate its political ideas. That criticism was not made before 1929, from 1929 to 1934, or subsequently from 1934 to 1944. Even the CCF critics going up and down the province prior to the election of 1944 did not make that criticism or that charge. I make it today.

The Minister of Natural Resources, when he sat here, accused the government of the day of inefficiency; accused them, blamed them, for the teacher shortage. He blamed them because there was not enough money to run the schools, everything of that nature. But never at any time did he even suggest that the government of the day was using the schools of the province for political purposes. Every Government anywhere in the world, which is totalitarian in its objectives, has made it a practice to utilize the educational system of that particular country to propagate and popularize its ideas, to make totalitarianism more acceptable to the people to whom it is going to be applied. Through this method they seek to obtain

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support for their doctrines. It was done in Germany, it was done in Italy, it was done in Russia and I have no doubt it is being done today in Poland and Yugoslavia and in many other countries. And that development has taken place and is taking place in the Province of Saskatchewan.

Review the legislation for the introduction of the Larger School Unit, which in the first place, removed entirely from the local people any right or say in determining whether this form of administration would be applied to them. True, subsequent provision was made which appears to give the local taxpayer something to say about it, but which in practice is a "dead letter" and where they do make application then the matter is allowed to drop, I presume waiting until the time when it will be forgotten about and the proposed larger unit can be established without a vote being taken. Now, this is not a matter of arguing the merits or demerits of the larger school unit. The larger school unit has certain advantages and it has certain disadvantages; but for a Minister of the Crown, the Minister in charge of this particular Department, to decide whether it is the right thing or the wrong thing is a very considerable departure from the practice and from the theory of democratic government, a very considerable departure.

Mr. Douglas: — Who decides in British Columbia?

Mr. Patterson: — My friend is not anxious to clear up the situation in British Columbia. If he would just attend to conditions here! I do not know whether he was there but we remember that some of the hon. gentlemen opposite went out in 1944 to help clear up the situation in British Columbia and they did not have very much success. They came home with their tails dragging behind them; but without very much to show for their efforts. They were out there, as I say, trying to clear up the situation in British Columbia. When the smoke had cleared away there were fewer of their friends in the Legislature than there had been before.

Mr. Phelps: — More votes though!

Mr. Patterson: — Now to give you an example; the Minister of Education was good enough, in the Session of 1945, to insert in The Larger School Unit Act provision that, in any proposed larger school unit, if within 30 days of being notified, petitions were received from more than 50 per cent of the school districts and representing 20 per cent or 25 per cent of the ratepayers, then he would be graciously pleased to grant them a vote. Just about a year ago now, it was not as severe a winter, but still it was in the winter, the people residing in the proposed Kerrobert Larger School Unit were advised that the Minister proposed to establish this unit. Within the requisite 30 days petitions were received from 51 school districts and signed by over 1,200 ratepayers asking for a vote. The petition was rejected because it lacked two of being 50 per cent of the number of schools affected. That is democracy in action, "Humanity First." There is a suggestion also, though I could hardly think this would be true; but after all you must remember that in these proposed larger school units, no school district in the proposed larger school unit knows what other districts are comprised within the proposed larger unit, and whether there

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were 105 school districts in that proposed larger unit at the beginning or at the end, is something that people interested in that part of the district have never been able to find out. Again, other proposed units have complied, or think they have complied a year ago, with the requirements of the Act; but they have not been able, so far, to get any information as to when the vote is going to be taken or what action is going to be taken as result of their applications.

Then, as part of this indoctrination idea, the Minister announced in the Session of 1945 that he was going to establish an Adult Education Branch. When I suggested, at that time, that he might very well devote the money he proposed to take to add to the grant to the university, he said, no, that he was going to have a different kind of Adult Education Branch; and experience proved that he has had a very different kind of Adult Education Branch in mind. Only yesterday, the Premier laid on the table, the Annual Report of the President of the University and in it is to be found a summarized report of the activities of the University's Department of Extension. The Department of Extension, includes the Adult Education activities of the University. If you refer to that report you will find that in this year reported, 65,000 people benefitted by the Adult Education Services of the University. Now, they had not any "Living Newspapers", and Radio College; but here was a real college that provided Adult and Extension services to 65,000 people in the Province of Saskatchewan. I venture to say that had the Minister given the University the thousands of dollars that have been spent on the Watson Thompsons and Dyson Carters and the Radio College and "Living Newspapers", they probably could have doubled that number and given the people of the Province of Saskatchewan something worthwhile in the line of Adult Education. However, that would not be dispersing on sending out propaganda, would not be creating a favorable attitude toward centralization, toward government intervention. That would not be in line with the desires or objectives of a Socialist Government. I am sure the University would be glad to meet any reasonable conditions that the Minister might provide and I am sure it would be delighted to have another \$50,000 or \$60,000 to spend on this very practical and worthwhile service for the people of the Province of Saskatchewan. But no! We are benefitted by the rather temporary residence in Saskatchewan of Mr. Watson Thompson, Mr. Edward Parker, Miss Buckley, Mr. Harvey and one or two more like that. At the moment we have to give a job to a gentleman from Alberta to carry on this particular activity. If the University had been given this money and asked to spend it to the best of their discretion we, of course, would not have had the privilege of having "Atomic Future," which was written by Mr. Dyson Carter, one of the well-known "fellow travellers", paid at Government expense. We would have suffered that loss.

In the discussion which took place in this House when we were considering a letter about seed grain which had been distributed at public expense to the schools of the province, the Provincial Treasurer said that if the Opposition was going to get excited about that action, before the end of the next four years they would have a lot more to get excited about. I doubt very much when the Provincial Treasurer made that statement if even he had envisaged the flood of pamphlets, books, booklets, letters, propaganda, one kind of thing or another, that was to be issued at the public expense and distributed to the schools of the province. I doubt if he even anticipated

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that the people of the Province of Saskatchewan would have the privilege of reading all about “Atomic Future” as envisaged by that well-known and outstanding “fellow traveller”, Mr. Dyson Carter.

However, it is not only the Opposition that has become somewhat concerned, somewhat excited about this, I think the people of the province, generally, are beginning to awaken to the fact that their taxes are being used to sell them certain socialistic, certain totalitarian ideas which they are not disposed to accept or which they are not disposed to agree with.

Then, more recently we have had — I don't know whether you would call it a text book or recommended reading — this celebrated “World of Today,” written by two gentlemen — from reading the book and studying it, you get the impression they also must be “fellow travellers.” Certainly their opinion is that government intervention is infinitely superior to individual initiative and individual enterprise and parents have told me of their sons and daughters coming home from school with some very remarkable ideas which have been instilled in the minds of those students by their teachers. I do not like to think that the teachers of the province, generally, are falling into the line of the desires of the Government, but the fact does remain that cases of it are constantly being brought to my attention.

Then, in order to complete the picture, the Department of Education decided to have a dossier for each student. In Europe they have them for each citizen and in it is a complete record of his activities from the day he was born. I do not know whether it is closed after you die. Every secret police has their dossiers about all citizens; and the Minister of Education decided that it would be good policy or a good idea to apply to the students of the Province of Saskatchewan. Consequently this “Cumulative Record” is gotten out, sent to each teacher and then certain portions of it were handed to the student to take home and when the form is fully completed there is everything on there about the students except his fingerprints. There is even his photo; there is all about his father, his mother, his brothers and his sisters and his cousins and his aunts; all about the home conditions; all about the financial conditions; a very fine foundation for a system of dossiers for, say, five or ten years from now, to enable the methods of totalitarianism to be more completely and more fully applied in the Province of Saskatchewan.

Hon. W. S. Lloyd: — May I ask the Hon. Member: Is he serious in standing up here and saying that this has laid the basis for getting a record of every individual citizen he spoke of?

Mr. Patterson: — Yes, I say this in all seriousness; it can be used for that purpose; and if this province proceeds in the direction of centralization and government intervention for the next five years to the same extent as it has progressed in that direction in the last two and one-half years, then I say that in all probability it will be used for that purpose.

Mr. Procter: — When the Labour Progressives kick you out, they'll take it over.

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Mr. Douglas: — They are supporting you.

Mr. Patterson: — The Provincial Treasurer was addressing a CCF forum in the city of Calgary, last September, and during the debate apparently he was asked from the audience about the possibility of extending socialist doctrines among the youth. This forum was discussing how to extend socialist doctrines among the young people and the Provincial Treasurer replied to the effect that, in Saskatchewan they had no trouble at all as 95 per cent of the teachers were socialist and they had no difficulty in accomplishing that purpose whatsoever.

Mr. Fines: — Would the Hon. Leader of the Opposition mind reading the correction which the papers have since made?

Mr. Patterson: — Well, I could read the statement which the Hon. Provincial Treasurer gave the Press — I have it here — then he goes on to say what actually happened is this, that and the other thing — quite a long statement — but he meant, of course, that the teachers were sympathetic to the CCF, have no anti-socialist prejudice.

Mr. Fines: — Did the Hon. Leader of the Opposition not admit that himself?

Mr. Patterson: — What?

Mr. Fines: — That the teachers of this province were supporting the CCF. Did he not make that statement in this House?

Mr. Patterson: — I do not remember; but I am not going to deny that a good many of the teachers in the province support the CCF Party, I am not going to deny that certain teachers support the Progressive-Conservative Party, and I presume, a few of them perhaps support the Labor-Progressive party; but that does not alter the fact or does not remove the criticism that this Government has consistently attempted to use the educational system of the province to propagate its political ideas and to inculcate socialism in the Province of Saskatchewan. Whether the teachers have fallen in with it or not it a different matter. If the teachers have refused to do it, that is to their credit.

Agriculture, second in importance only to education in the Province of Saskatchewan, receives an equally brief reference in the Speech from the Throne. That is only to be expected after taking into account the very meagre record of the Government in connection with solving our agricultural problems. The Speech from the Throne tells us that the land formerly administered by the Department of Natural Resources is going to be turned over to the Department of Agriculture for administration. I hope at least that under that administration we will have a more consistent, a more practical and a more sensible policy applied in connection with the administration than has been in the past under the Minister of Natural Resources. Men who had grazing leases or cultivation leases hardly knew from day to day whether they had a lease or not, hardly knew from day to day what rental they would have to pay, hardly knew from day to

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day whether at the expiration of their lease they would get consideration or be given a renewal. I do expect that the Minister of Agriculture will correct a lot of that sort of thing and if that is the case then the transfer will be in the interests of agriculture in the Province of Saskatchewan.

We are told that the number of agricultural representatives and the Agricultural Improvement Committees have been increased. That is commendable. But the Minister of Agriculture and the Government should realize it is not the planner, or the committees, or the experts, that do the production. That is done by the man on the land. That is the man they ought to be concerned with. That is the man their policies ought to be directed to help. Here we have a statement that the Feed Conservation and Development Division is meeting the need to conserve grain and fodder. What we are concerned about, today, Mr. Speaker, is not about conserving grain and fodder; it is about providing grain and fodder. What is the Department of Agriculture doing to provide grain and fodder in this serious emergency condition?

I can remember back, almost at this time in the year 1938, when the Government of that day was shipping not carloads but trainloads of fodder into the crop failure areas. Why, the present Minister of Natural Resources and some of his colleagues — I am not sure, Mr. Speaker, that you were not one of them — belabored the Government of the day because we were not shipping even more fodder. Today, we do not know whether there is a single carload of fodder being supplied the crop failure areas. We can only assume, because we have not heard about it, that it is not being done or is not going to be done. If there is one thing this Government does do, it is to tell the world about what it is going to do. This is a practical problem facing a very large section of the province. We are told that the Government has made progress to meet the needs of conserving. Let them tell us something about providing. We find that they are going to run to the Government of Canada again for assistance in connection with some irrigation projects. Would the Minister of Agriculture or the Minister of Reconstruction or somebody in this Government please tell us what this Government's policy is, not Ottawa's policy, but what this Government's policy is with respect to irrigation? Have they got one? Here again the complete silence that surrounds the matter would indicate they have not. Why go to Ottawa and ask them to provide water storage when there are already supplies of water storage in the Province of Saskatchewan, provided by the PFRA, that are not in use because of the unwillingness or the dilatoriness of the Provincial Government to proceed with the necessary local completion of the scheme. Let them tell us something about their irrigation policy, not about ours.

Mr. Fines: — What is the Liberal policy?

Mr. Patterson: — We'll tell you when the time comes. Really, Mr. Speaker, when the Minister of Co-operation was carrying two Departments — Minister of Co-operation and Minister of Agriculture — we knew that he was so busy with that little Co-operative Branch or Department of his that he could not give full and proper time to look after the problems of agriculture. For that reason we were disposed to be somewhat lenient with him. Now that we've got a full-fledged Minister of Agriculture, however, we expect something more. Well we cannot possibly get any more publicity and statements and propaganda than we have had during the last

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year. We cannot possibly, because there is hardly a day passes that there is not a statement of one kind or another. Sometimes the statement today does not conform with the statement a week from today; but there is always a statement or some publicity. Let us have a few policies; let us have a few expressions of definite action rather than all of this window-dressing and propaganda.

Last fall a delegation representing the housewives of Saskatchewan waited on the Cabinet and asked the Provincial Government to provide a milk subsidy. It could not be done. Less than 5 per cent of the liquor profits, last year, would have provided the milk subsidy that these ladies asked for but it could not be done.

Mr. Douglas: — It was not done in any other province in Canada either.

Mr. Patterson: — Oh, there again! We have to correct these situations all over Canada before we proceed to deal with our own! The Premier was down, I think, in Ontario, down in Nova Scotia — or some of his Ministers were. He was down in Manitoba and out in Alberta but, as I said in connection with British Columbia, the results were not very satisfactory. I would think he would get a little discouraged and that he would come home with the idea: Now we'll see what we can do in Saskatchewan and let British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia run their own affairs.

Then we are told, Mr. Speaker, about the 764 tenants that have been placed on Crown lands, veterans. Well if the highest ambition of the Minister of Reconstruction and the Minister of Natural Resources is to get returned men established as tenants under a lease, a form of the Use-Lease that we were told a year or two ago had been discarded by the CCF Party.

Mr. Phelps: — They like it.

Mr. Patterson: — If that is their ambition for these veterans who are coming back to Saskatchewan, then we must give them credit for having attained a substantial measure of success. The hon. gentleman over there said that is what the veterans want.

Mr. Phelps: — They like it.

Mr. Patterson: — I have a little higher opinion and a little higher confidence in the men who went from Saskatchewan, who faced all of the hardships and all the sacrifices while they served us overseas; I can hardly believe that a majority want to come back to Saskatchewan to be tenants and operate under a lease. Maybe it is a fact, but I am reluctant to believe it, and until I have more positive proof than an expression shouted across the floor, I am not going to accept it. But I would ask that in placing returned men on Crown lands, if they insist on putting them there as tenants under a lease, that at least political interference in connection with the allotment of these lands.

Hon. J. H. Sturdy (Saskatoon City): — Liberal interference.

Mr. Patterson: — Well, now I am going to tell this House a story that I

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had not intended to tell. I was in the district of Rosetown last May. In one township in that district there were three half-sections of Government lands — school lands if I remember correctly — and that is a very good district and these are excellent pieces of land. They were thrown open for application and some six, seven or eight men applied for each half-section. These applications were referred to a committee selected and appointed by the Minister of Reconstruction; most of them, if not all of them, were officials of the Civil Service; none of them as far as I could learn had any connection with the district whatever. This committee met and they scored these men so many points for this and so many points for that and they allocated these three half-sections to three different returned men. Each of these men received a letter from the Department advising him in each case that he had been allocated a certain particular piece of land, a certain half-section. On the basis of that, one of these men immediately proceeded with his seeding operations. The second, unfortunately, the very day or the day after he received this notice, was taken with an appendix condition and was taken to hospital. The third veteran, for some reason that I do not know, had not started his activities on the land; but I do know that within a day or two after the allocations had been made, the CCF keyman in that district took the train and came to Regina. I am quite sure that he did not go to see the Minister of Natural Resources, I am quite sure that he did not go to see the Minister of Reconstruction. I am quite sure that he never went near the Department or spoke to anybody, or made any suggestions, but he spent a day or two in Regina. Then he came home and in two or three days each of these three men received a telegram advising him that his allocation was cancelled and that the matter was going to be considered over again. Now this poor fellow who came down here, as I said, not to see the Minister, not to see the Deputy, he just came down in the interests of his country so that no injustice would be done.

Mr. Douglas: — Are you sure he came?

Mr. Patterson: — Oh, yes, we are sure he came and he got action however he did it. He only happened to own fourteen quarter sections and had a full line of machinery of his own. Well, the result was, as I say, these men were advised that their allocations had been cancelled and the applications were referred to another Board, also appointed and elected by the Minister. When the smoke blew away all three of these fellows had lost out. The son of this poor unfortunate CCFer who only had 14 quarter sections, now had one half, his nephew had another and another fellow had the third. That is the story of the allocation of these veterans' lands.

Mr. Douglas: — The Leader of the Opposition has made what is a very serious charge. Now probably he ought to substantiate it by at least giving the name of the person who came down and who was able to get this land. We ought to have more information rather than these fictitious A, B and C characters that we have been talking about until now.

Mr. Patterson: — If the Premier will ask his Minister of Reconstruction he will tell him who the gentleman was.

Mr. Douglas: — Now that is no answer,

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Mr. Speaker, that is no answer. The Leader of the Opposition is a responsible parliamentarian and he is not going to get up here, surely, and make vague accusations without quoting names. He could, at least, give us the name of the individual who came down here and was supposed to have had such a potent influence on the policy of the Government.

Mr. Patterson: — No, I did not say potent influence. I definitely excused him from that. I said he just came to Regina and when he got back this happened; and the facts are as I have stated. I am not going to quote the gentleman's name. I am not going to put myself in the position of the Premier when he spoke in Weyburn, before the election, and said that when he got elected he was going to dismiss a certain Deputy Minister because he was engaged in political activity — and the man had not been employed by the Government for nearly a year. It was all right to make that charge against an innocent citizen of the Province of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Douglas: — He was engaged in political activity.

Mr. Patterson: — Well, I have already said, Mr. Speaker, these are the facts.

Mr. Douglas: — They are not facts, Mr. Speaker, and the Members are not going to accept them. We will just have to take them for the value that we put on them, which is not very high.

Hon. O. W. Valleau (Provincial Secretary): — That fish should be filleted.

Mr. Patterson: — That fish may be filleted during the present Session of the Legislature.

Mr. Sturdy: — On a Point of Privilege, Mr. Speaker. Will the Hon. Leader of the Opposition consider 20 appeals and the organization with respect to the other pieces of land provided for; would he consider 20 appeals out of 764 allocations?

Mr. Speaker: — That is no Point of Privilege. That matter can be raised in due course.

Mr. Patterson: — The Province of Saskatchewan and the Government of Canada have arrived at a financial agreement. That fact is one which gives general satisfaction. It is going to provide the province with a very much larger subsidy and should go a very considerable distance in meeting provincial requirements. We will be interested, when the time comes, to know whether it will mean the elimination of the Education Tax, whether it will provide additional assistance to schools, municipalities and health regions and what extension of services it will provide for. It does seem to me that in view of the acceptance of this agreement, the statement made by the Prime Minister of Canada, yesterday I think, that seven provinces have accepted it or have

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accepted it as a basis for discussion, indicates that it provides a pretty substantial cornerstone for the operation of provincial governments and I hope that it will mean we will be able to discontinue to a considerable extent, these repeated requests and urges for Ottawa to do this for us and to do that for us and to do the other thing for us, most of which we should undertake to do for ourselves.

The Minister of Highways promises us that he is going to do better next year and he has lots of room for that. I do not suppose any Minister of Highways in the history of the province has talked so much, spent so much and done as little as the present Minister of Highways. I have to withdraw that, of course, in connection with his own constituency of Rosetown. But we will be looking forward to him carrying out, next year, his undertakings and his promises about the marvelous road system he is going to provide us with. We know he has had a difficult time this winter and he has not been able to live up to his pre-election promises about snow removal; but, of course, then the conditions were reversed, there was no excuse at all for the Government of the day not keeping the highways of the province open every day in the year and 24 hours a day.

The Crown corporations — for some reason or another the box factory is not included as one of the commercial activities of the Government. I presume that was merely an oversight. Well, the conditions under which it was procured, the very substantial nourishment that it was nurtured with when it was taken over from the previous owner, ought to give some hope and expectation of its health.

Mr. Phelps: — It is a fairly healthy child.

Mr. Patterson: — Well, we paid more than Mr. Shumiatcher had decided and I am rather surprised that the decision and pronouncement of the legal advisor to the Government should have been departed from to such a degree.

Mr. Procter: — You paid more than you said you would.

Mr. Sturdy: — It was not confiscated then?

Mr. Patterson: — The Speech from the Throne says something about the Crown corporations. It is true that industrial activity is a stabilizing factor. I do not know that the Crown corporations have provided that. It has been long recognized and accepted that industrial development in the Province of Saskatchewan would, should, and could be a good thing. Another statement is that ownership and control by the people through their Legislature can be effectively achieved. Well, so far, we have not had any financial return or any official statement to indicate the success that has been achieved by Government ownership and control; but I must point out that there is no control by this Legislature. There is not a single one of the commercialized activities listed in the Speech from the Throne of which this Legislature had a single word to say prior to, or approving of, its establishment. There was no legislative control. These things were determined, according to the Minister of Natural Resources last Session, first of all by the Economic Council then by the Government and finally by caucus. I presume

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then that means that proposal to establish a rock wool industry has gone through those stages; but certainly I do not expect, or anticipate, that the Legislature as such will have a single word to say about it. So when we talk about Crown activities operated under legislative control or control by people through their Legislature, how much did the people or their Legislature either have to do with the establishment of any one of these industries with the single exception of the Government Insurance Office, which was established by Act of the Legislature? Here again is a development in governmental policy. You will remember that when the Government came into office first and they were going to embark on this far-flung industrial campaign or plan, they were disposed to establish new industries like the woollen mill and the shoe factory. Then as time went on they rather switched to the purchasing of existing businesses, such as the box factory and there is another one I cannot think of just at the moment. Now the policy appears to be to wait until some private concern has established some particular line of industry in a successful way, then the Government goes into that line of business in competition with the private operators. That is true, for instance, of the sodium sulphate plant which was started at Chaplin last year. There are already some two, three or more fairly large sodium sulphate operations in Saskatchewan, which have been carrying on for some time. Now the Government goes into the business with the advantage of its taxing position, or freedom from taxation position, with the assistance of Government finances. The sodium sulphate plant at Chaplin under Government operation, Government financing, no doubt ultimately can put the private operators out of business. There has been a rock wool mill in this province for some time. There, again, the private owners took a chance, established the industry, demonstrated that it could be successfully operated; now they are faced with Government opposition and Government competition.

I see no reference in the Speech to the Government going into garages. There have been some stories going around that it is in connection with their extension of the Automobile Insurance to cover collision damage; that they want garages owned by the Government to repair the cars for which they have to pay the damage. Whether there is anything to that I do not know; but I do notice that the industries the Government was talking the most about a couple of years ago are entirely forgotten. What, for instance, has happened to our pulp mill, our industrial alcohol factory, the manufacture of plastics and the manufacture of vegetable oils, glucose, starch, paints and all of these things. The Government shifts its position from year to year. We are told that the Government is considering going into the supply of natural gas; but where a deposit of salt has been definitely established and the Minister tells us it will involve a million dollar industry, where there are no people in that line of business in the Province of Saskatchewan, then the Government turns that particular development over to one of the so-called big shots. According to the Speech from the Throne this blank check method of establishing commercial activities and industrial activities is to be continued. We are going to have a fund and all that the Legislature will have to say about it will be the total amount and to vote the amount that is requested. Once the money is in the fund, as has been the practice in connection with the Estimates for the last two years, the Government is, in effect, given a blank cheque to allow it to carry on, to undertake, to embark upon any commercial or industrial activity it sees fit and yet it is presumed to be under the control of the Legislature.

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One of the most surprising omissions of all from the Speech from the Throne is the entire, or at least the practically entire, omission of any reference to Social Welfare. They are going to transfer the administration of the jails and the industrial schools from the Department of Public Works to the Minister of Social Welfare. When we remember the radio speeches and the literature which was distributed, speeches which were made from the public platform, the private promises which were made prior to June, 1944, one can hardly understand what has happened. Where are the promises gone? Have they been forgotten — the provision of houses and all of these things I mentioned a while ago; electric washing machines, bathtubs?

Mr. Douglas: — Bubble-gum.

Mr. Patterson: — Two ladies came to a town in my hon. friend's constituency in the campaign of 1944 and they spent most of their time lamenting the shortage of bathtubs in that particular town and telling how many they would have if a CCF Government was elected. It so happened that the people in that particular little town were not particularly pleased with the suggestion that they did not use bathtubs; but I don't think there is one more bathtub in that particular town, today, than there was on the occasion of that particular meeting.

Mr. Douglas: — And harder to get soap, he couldn't hear that.

Mr. Patterson: — If those people are anticipating having bathtubs installed in their house by a Socialist Government in 1947, I am afraid they are going to be disappointed at least from any evidence we can obtain from the Speech from the Throne. But, of course . . .

Mr. Benson: — Bathtubs are no good anyway without water from Ottawa.

Mr. Patterson: — Well, I was just coming back to that. The regular practice that has been developed in the last couple of years is, if you think it is something you would like to have, ask Ottawa for it. There have been and are being developed, two or three methods of procedure in this province entirely contrary to what people were led to expect. The first is that the Government of Saskatchewan is going to make its principal duty the job of propaganda, publicity and putting out its ideas and its theories, popularizing its centralization and intervention and the establishment of a socialistic system; second, when anything is to be done in a practical way that costs money, or some workable scheme has to be worked out, then ask Ottawa to do that; and the third thing is that if this Government does undertake to establish or to provide any special services, then taxes have to be imposed on those who receive the service, to pay for it, although as I say, it is entirely contrary and the very opposite of the policy they were stressing in the pre-election campaign, 1944.

Another reference in the Speech from the Throne which leaves an entirely wrong impression; the reference to Public Health, something about "four health regions are now giving complete public health services."

Mr. Douglas: — What's wrong with that?

Mr. Patterson: — Nothing, technically it is absolutely correct. If it is the right thing, if it is a thing to applaud, to make a statement that may be technically correct but leaves an entirely wrong impression, then this statement is to be applauded and to be approved.

Mr. Douglas: — Most people know what public health is.

Mr. Patterson: — Yes, the Minister says that most people know what public health is. But this says "Complete Public Health Services." I know what he means. He means that services which are given in the city of Regina by the Public Health Officer and for isolation for communicable diseases, inoculations, vaccines, sanitary conditions and things of that type. True, people who have made some study of questions of Public Health fully appreciate it; but a great many people in the Province of Saskatchewan and particularly in view of all the propaganda there has been, in their mind "Complete Public Health Services" means the provision of medical services, hospital services and all that goes with it.

Mr. Douglas: — That is a reflection on the intelligence of the people of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Patterson: — It is not a matter of intelligence; it is a matter of propaganda and as I say it was making use of a term or an expression which within a strict interpretation of the words is correct, but which leaves a definitely wrong impression and that people could be excused for obtaining a wrong impression from it.

During the past year the propaganda publicity matter has continued to pour forth from the Bureau of Publications, from the Department of Adult Education, from the Department of Public Health, by the tons, all, of course, paid for at public expense. A great deal of it is glorifying the Government, members of the Government and all that sort of thing. That may be proper and honest administration and expenditure of the public money; personally, I question it.

Mr. Sturdy: — How does it compare with Ottawa?

Mr. Patterson: — Once again, we are going to undertake to correct all of the things that are not being done correctly at Ottawa. When we get Ottawa all straightened out then perhaps we will have time, Mr. Speaker, to come back to clean up some of the situations in Saskatchewan.

Recently, the first Minister has delivered some rather pessimistic radio and public addresses, promising darkness and depression. It is true, Sir, that Saskatchewan is a province of one industry and for that reason, perhaps, we are a little more subject to difficulties because climatic difficulties may create just as much a problem for us as an economic. Insofar as the problem is created by weather and geography, the Federal Government has gone a very considerable distance to meet them,

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in part, through the PFRA, through the PFAA, through the contracts which have been made for our agricultural products with Great Britain, and I think some other countries, through the establishment of the Stabilization Board. They have done very much to remove these hazards of agriculture. If the Provincial Government had done as much it would have something to congratulate itself for. However, despite the fact that Saskatchewan suffers the hazards that apply most to any country that is engaged very largely in one particular industry, I still have a great deal of confidence in the Dominion of Canada and I can hardly believe that a country that made the contributions to the war effort, that came through the War years as successfully as Canada did, and that has made the contribution to world goodwill, to world betterment, since the War that Canada has — I am certainly not too pessimistic about the future of the Province of Saskatchewan.

So far as I am concerned I do not propose to vote for the motion because I have already said it supports three policies or principles that have been developing in this House and in this province. Spend our time and our money on publicity and propaganda; let Ottawa do all the practical things and pay the bills or if we happen to do anything then tax the people that are going to get it. Those policies have become firmly established as a part of government policy in the Province of Saskatchewan. This Legislature has allowed itself to become a party to it and to that extent is subject to some criticism and to some censure.

I shall not support the motion.

Hon. T. C. Douglas (Premier): — Mr. Speaker, I should like my first words to be of congratulations to the mover and seconder of the motion in reply to the Speech from the Throne. I should first like to congratulate the mover (Mr. Gibson) who, I am sure, made yesterday what is one of the best maiden speeches which most of us have heard for many a day. I am sure that the people of Morse who sent him here, had they heard him yesterday, would have felt that he was a worthy representative. His presence here constitutes a vote of confidence in this Government and in the policies which it is pursuing. Last June when the by-election was called in Morse, both of the old line parties were very quick to say that they would consider that by-election a test of the people's confidence in the Government. It was pointed out by some of the newspapers that, in Wadena, the Liberal Party had not contested the by-election; and Shellbrook had been a northern constituency; but in Morse, there was an agricultural constituency which represented a good cross-section of the people of Saskatchewan and it could be accepted as fair fighting ground. Well, in that by-election, I think that those who were criticizing the Government, and those that are still criticizing it, had a very good answer, as the presence of the Member for Morse here testifies. His presence is a clear vindication of the policies which this Government has sought to implement.

I want also, to extend my congratulations to the seconder (Mr. Howell) who gave us a picture of conditions in Northern Saskatchewan which, I think to most unbiased listeners, will carry a good deal more weight than those of some of the fly-by-night speakers who decry conditions in the North when they are speaking in the South and who decry conditions in the South

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when they are speaking in the North.

Mostly, I wish to say just a word of congratulation to my hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition who has just taken his seat. I think his remark with reference to the seconder of the motion, that he could make a good deal out of very little, has been further demonstrated in his speech today. That fact is that for two hours he combed the Speech from the Throne from end to end and all that he has been able to say is not that there is anything wrong with it, but that some person or other might misunderstand the wording of it. Well, I am perfectly satisfied to leave it to the intelligence of the people of the Province of Saskatchewan to understand what the wording in the Speech from the Throne means, and if that is the best my friend can do after honeycombing it for two hours, I am afraid that he has got a rather tough case on his hands.

However, I would like to say this to my hon. friend: he made reference, this afternoon, to the fact that he has retired from the position of Leader of the Liberal Party in this province. In doing so, I am sure I reflect the views of the Members of this House and the people generally, when I say that it is with genuine regret that most of us saw him resign from that position; I feel that I reflect the views of most in the province when I say to him that on this occasion the people of Saskatchewan express their thanks and their appreciation for his contribution to the public life of Saskatchewan.

There is too great a tendency in public life today to sneer at men in public office. That does not mean that we cannot honestly differ with each other's views, that we cannot honestly criticize either constructively or destructively — as my friend has done this afternoon — but to make the basic and unwarranted assumption, which some do, that all men in public life are either crooks or fools, will have the tendency to drive out of public life men and women of ability and integrity and who are conscientious in the discharge of their duties. It will be a sad day for democracy when that happens and, therefore, I would very sincerely and very honestly, like to extend to my friend, what I am sure would be the wish of the people of Saskatchewan, almost as a whole, and that is the genuine regret that he is leaving this office and their thanks and appreciation for a quarter of a century of service to the people of this province.

Now, as to why my hon. friend finds it necessary to leave the work which he was doing so well is, of course, none of my business. The Leader of the Opposition says that it was because of his age and that, of course, is a decision which he himself must make. However, most of us feel it perhaps strange, that at 60 years of age, the Leader of the Opposition should think that age is a detrimental factor at a time when the Hon. James G. Gardiner, who is three or four years older, is feverishly working to take the toga of Mr. King, when Mr. King gets ready to lay it down.

However, be that as it may, the fact remains that for some reason or other the Liberal Party, largely in the person of Mr. Gardiner, decided last July that the party should have the leader of its choice. If one reads the report of the Saskatchewan convention, one finds there was considerable resentment on the part of the rank and file at the obvious domination from Ottawa. As a matter of fact, one newspaper man told me that had the election of leaders been left for but another day, it is very

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doubtful that the present leader would have the position which he now occupies. As it was, the rank and file grew so angry over it that they had to postpone the election of the leader for several hours and even then the vote was comparatively close. So the situation we have in Saskatchewan — let us face it frankly — is that you now have in this province the Leader of the Liberal Party selected and chosen by the Liberal administration at Ottawa and whose function it will be, very likely, to play Charlie McCarthy to a Gardiner Bergen. Now that presents a good many difficulties, because it is always difficult to have two leaders of a political party. We have the position now of always wondering as to who is speaking for the Liberal Party. My hon. friend has made a very excellent speech, this afternoon; but we are not sure whether this is the point of view which the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan supports, or whether the speeches made by Mr. Tucker — which are very different as I shall point out later on — purport to speak for the Liberal Party in the Province of Saskatchewan. For that reason it has usually been considered desirable to have, where possible, the leader of a political party in the Legislative Assembly or in Parliament, where he can speak for his party, where he can enunciate the policy of his party and where he can answer any criticism of his party.

Mr. Procter: — You ought to know.

Mr. Douglas: — This was demonstrated and supported very well some years ago when the Conservative Party at Ottawa elected Mr. Bracken. Mr. King, the present Prime Minister, was very anxious to get Mr. Bracken to come into the House and he was very indignant when he could not get Mr. Bracken into the House, and Mr. King can act very indignantly when he chooses to put on a demonstration of righteous indignation! One can go through the pages of Hansard all through the years 1943 and 1944 and find speech after speech, which the Prime Minister made regarding the despicable thing which the Conservative Party was doing by keeping Mr. Bracken out of the House and denying him the right to lead his party in the House of Commons. Let me point out one or two: On January 28, 1943, pages three and four of Hansard in the very opening debate of the House, the Prime Minister says:

We have, today, my hon. friend the Member for Peel (Mr. Graydon) who is acting House Leader, leading the Opposition in this House, for the chosen leader of the party is without a seat in this House. I mention this because in connection with our Parliamentary institutions, I hope that such a practice is not going to be permitted to grow into a custom. I take no exception to the compliment which the party of my hon. friend pays us on this side of the House in having two or three leaders. I do believe that the British Parliamentary system more or less demands that a political head of the party which occupies the position of an official Opposition should be occupying a seat in Parliament. Although I do not wish to have my hon. friend believe that we are anxious to see him leave the position he now occupies, I hope that in the interests of Parliamentary practice the chosen Leader of the Opposition will seek a seat in the House at an early date.

Then again, on page 30 of Hansard for the year 1944:

I say, standing here speaking for the rights of the people

in their Parliament.

Mr. King is always standing for the rights of the people if it doesn't cost anything and in this case it did not cost anything.

Standing here speaking for the rights of the people in their Parliament, that the only man who has a right to speak in the name of the people as a Leader, is one who occupies a seat in this Parliament or who has received the approval of the electorate giving him the right to speak as a representative. The fact that Mr. Bracken sat in a provincial Legislature for a number of years does not entitle him to be regarded as a representative of the people of Canada at this time, in dealing with the public affairs of this Parliament, much less does it entitle him to put forth bills of rights and have those bills of rights quoted in this House of Commons, when he himself is not here to stand up for them . . . What is to become of parliamentary institutions if we begin to substitute for membership in the House of Commons itself, or in Parliament itself, some form of absentee leadership?

Then this:

I may say that any leader who cannot obtain a seat is not one who ought no longer claim the right to lead a political party.

And so on and on, pages and pages of it all through the Sessions of 1943 and 1944.

But the views of Mr. King were not held by him alone. We found that on August 9th, shortly after the election of the Leader of the Liberal Party, the Regina Leader-Post, on the editorial page, ran an article entitled: "Leadership Full-Time Job." I shall just make one or two brief quotations from it:

Mr. Tucker, if he is going to fill his post to the satisfaction of himself, the party and it is hoped the people of Saskatchewan, must make his Saskatchewan job a full-time job. In a short statement immediately following his election as leader, Mr. Tucker said he planned to return to Ottawa to resume his duties as a Member of Parliament and as a parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Veterans' Affairs. He said this would be for the time being, at least. At another time during the convention, Mr. Tucker said he would heed the advice of party advisors. (They have advisors too, apparently) . . . he would heed the advice of party advisors and the association executive and, if they deemed it necessary, he would put his full time in on the Saskatchewan leadership. It is to be hoped that the Saskatchewan advisors and the association executive will face up to the Provincial Liberal situation realistically and suggest to Mr. Tucker that he drop his Ottawa duties completely in order to handle his Saskatchewan task. No man, however able, however willing, can get satisfactory results by trying to work on two jobs.

Then it closes with this:

It may be that the resignation of his Ottawa posts may entail some personal sacrifice on Mr. Tucker's part. But Mr. Tucker accepted the nomination for leadership; he won;

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and now he should be prepared to do everything he can to meet the party's needs. If Mr. Tucker does not return to Saskatchewan, how then is the party going to capitalize on its new leadership, its new platform, and start at reorganization? This job should not be left to Lieutenants, no matter how eager or how able they are. The Saskatchewan Liberals have every prospect of making headway, but absentee leadership will simply nullify all the advantages, the improvements and hopes, which the party now has.

Well, those views were shared pretty well by the Government. We felt that if Mr. Tucker was going to lead the Liberal forces of this province, he ought to have a seat in this House where he could criticize the policies of the present administration and where the present administration would have an opportunity, in turn, to question him and to see to it that he stuck to the facts in his criticism. For that reason the Government announced, immediately after Mr. Tucker's election and wired Mr. Tucker stating, that we were prepared to call a by-election although the legislation in this province does not make it mandatory to call a by-election. We were prepared to call a by-election in a seat which any one of Mr. Tucker's colleagues made vacant for him. In the constituency of Rosthern, the CCF supporters went even further. They said that if Mr. Tucker wanted to get into the House — since Rosthern was his home town — if he wished to run in that constituency and Mr. Hooge, the present Member, was prepared to give his seat to him, the CCF would not oppose him, but would permit him to be elected by acclamation in order that he might be here in his place when the Legislature opened.

Mr. Tucker and his advisors apparently have decided that that is not the thing for Mr. Tucker to do and in vain they are striving to find reasons and the reason now given is that Mr. Tucker is emulating me. This is the first time, on record, that Mr. Tucker has ever taken me as his model; if this is to continue, of course, I expect to see a decided improvement in his conduct; but his emulation of me is not altogether accurate on this occasion. As a matter of fact, in 1944 and appearing on page 299 of Hansard for that year, while I was speaking in the House of Commons and pointing out to the Federal Government that the failure of the Saskatchewan Government of that day to call an election, and its action in extending its own life without a mandate from the electorate was unconstitutional, the Prime Minister took the liberty to twit me a little and he said:

Would my hon. friend when he suggests that we should tell the Saskatchewan Government what they should do, also say that I should raise, at the same time, a question about absentee leadership and if they approve absentee leadership, whether it be in the leadership of the Opposition in the provincial or in the federal field?

My answer to the Prime Minister is on the record. I could say quite honestly:

May I say to the Prime Minister, that the only reason why I am at the present time an absentee leader in Saskatchewan is that the Liberal Government of Saskatchewan has not dared to call any of the four by-elections that are due, or a general election of that province.

As a matter of fact Mr. Tucker has never emulated me in this regard. When the CCF did me the honor of selecting me as

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provincial leader in this province, at no time did the Government of that day offer to call a by-election in the event of a seat being made vacant. Now it is true that the Leader of the Opposition has since said that they were never asked to call a by-election. Well, surely he is familiar enough with the amenities and courtesies of public life to know that nobody ever asks the Government to call a by-election. That is one of the courtesies that are extended by a government. Unfortunately courtesies and amenities have never been very characteristic of the Liberal Party, either in office or in Opposition, and no such offer was ever made. In 1944 there were four constituencies unrepresented and four seats vacant and the Government of that day made no move to call a by-election in any one of them, nor to call the general election which at that time was almost one year overdue.

Mr. Feeley: — Maybe they did not want you here.

Mr. Douglas: — Well, whether they wanted me or not, the fact does remain that we want Mr. Tucker here and it seems very difficult indeed to get him here. Now, of course, the reason for Mr. Tucker not being here is not because he is emulating me. My actions have never deterred Mr. Tucker in the past and are not likely to deter or influence him in the future. Mr. Tucker is not here in the first place because if he were here, he might have to answer for his record as a Member of the House of Commons during the last 10 or 11 years, a record which most of the Members of this House know very well, a record of a Member who has consistently spoken like a radical and voted like a reactionary, who has championed the cause of higher old age pensions, higher prices for wheat, lower freight rates, lower prices on farm machinery, the use of currency and credit issued by the Bank of Canada to put people to work — he has championed all these on the floor of the Commons and then voted against them, one after the other, time after time, on the motions and amendments which were introduced. Constantly he was torn between loyalty to the interests of his constituency on the one hand and his party on the other — the party which alone could give him the judgeship or that place in the Senate Chamber, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, or some other sinecure so often given by the present administration at Ottawa to their good and faithful servants.

Another reason, of course, why Mr. Tucker does not want to be in this House is, because he would not here be able to make the irresponsible and inaccurate statements, which he has been able to make and has been making, on the hustings and over the radio. I shall deal with some of those statements later in this speech and sometime later during the Session.

I heard him speaking on the radio broadcast the other evening, when characteristically he proceeded to compare, for the benefit of his listening audience, the Budget of Saskatchewan and the Budget of Manitoba. But he compared, in the Budget of Saskatchewan, the total current account and the total capital account added together with only the current account of the Manitoba Budget. He knows that in Saskatchewan the Budget is a gross Budget including all grants which are paid by the Federal Government including contributions for old age pensions and so on. In Manitoba there is listed only the amount which is actually spent by the Provincial Government. Knowing those facts,

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he could not get away here with that type of legerdemain; but speaking over the radio where no one could interrupt him, of course, he is easily able to do that sort of thing.

Mr. Tucker feels that he can be far more effective in manipulating figures and in thus stating facts if he stays out of this House, than if he has to come in here and answer to the criticism of those who are in a position to set him right. Of course, Mr. Tucker has no monopoly in that particular regard. I noticed in the Leader-Post of November 21, 1946, the speech made by Mr. Culliton, who is now one of Mr. Tucker's lieutenants.

Mr. Culliton was speaking on the education tax and he makes this profound remark. He said that the removal of the tax on foodstuffs should be labelled as "purely a political gesture" from which the only people who would receive real relief were those who take their meals at cafes and restaurants. The first lieutenant of the Liberal Leader does not know that the legislation which took the tax off meals in restaurants and cafes also took it off foods in the grocery store. Every housewife in the Province of Saskatchewan knows that. He does not know that it is taken equally off food sold in the store as well as food sold in a restaurant or a cafe.

Here is a speech by Mr. Paul Prince of the same sort. Mr. Prince is a past president of the Liberal Association in the province. This was made on January 23, 1947. Mr. Prince, after stating a long series of promises which the Liberal Party was going to carry out, made these pronouncements as reported in the Leader-Post: "He said the party also favored pensions at an earlier age and the extension of unemployment insurance to all workers." Is that a provincial matter? Can a Provincial Government lower the age for Old Age Pensions? Can a Provincial Government extend the unemployment insurance to all workers? Either the gentleman, who is speaking here for the Liberal Party, did not know the field of jurisdiction as between the Federal and the Provincial Governments, or he was deliberately trying to fool the people who were listening to him; and the reason some of these gentlemen are none too keen about coming into this House is because they must take refuge in the security of the radio room or in the security of the public meeting on the hustings, where they will not have to answer for some of these irresponsible and inaccurate statements.

I think, of course, there is another reason why Mr. Tucker does not want to come into this House. That reason is that he does not want to be put in the embarrassing position of having to reconcile this new Liberal platform with the attitudes and the voting of the Liberal Members who are already here. He is going to find it very difficult, for instance, talking about his new farm security program, to sit with colleagues who have voted against every piece of farm security legislation that has been brought into the House. He will have a difficult time talking about his new 40-hour week clause in the Liberal platform, while sitting beside Members who voted against every constructive piece of labor legislation which this Legislature has enacted.

The Leader of the Opposition has made a great to-do, this afternoon, about the fact that many Private Members here have brought in resolutions which have reference to federal matters and, that whenever we face a difficulty we run to Ottawa for help. Well, whether I can convince him or not I think I will show, at least, to my own satisfaction before I finish this

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address, that the things which we undertook to do, we have done in whole or in part without any assistance from Ottawa and in some cases in spite of decided obstruction from Ottawa. But it was interesting to me to hear this reference to aid from the Federal Government because I find that almost every plank in the Liberal platform passed last summer at Saskatoon, depends upon Ottawa carrying the load for the provincial party. For example:

Irrigation: The Saskatchewan Liberal Party pledges itself to co-operate with the Federal Government in utilizing all available water for irrigation projects in the various parts of our province in order to create more profitable communities in those areas which have suffered from drought.

Marketing: The Saskatchewan Liberal Party believes that one of the most effective methods of maintaining farm production is the assurance to the producer of the orderly marketing of farm produce at fair prices . . . The Saskatchewan Liberal Party pledges itself to support a request to the Federal Government that a Federal Agricultural Marketing Act be set up providing for the marketing of different farm products.

The fact remains, of course, that there is not much use of them asking the Federal Government for it because the Federal Government inherited one of the best Marketing Acts ever put in the statute books of Canada. In 1935 they inherited the Natural Products Marketing Act passed by the Bennett Government and the very first thing Mr. King's Government did was to send it to the courts. Not even trying to implement it, not even waiting for anyone to challenge it, they sent it to the courts and it was ruled ultra vires.

On the matter of "Co-operation" again:

The Liberal Party pledges itself to recommend and to urge on the Federal Government the need for the enactment of a Dominion Co-operative Act.

Well, Mr. Tucker does not need to get elected in this province to urge anything on the Federal Government. He is now in the one place where he can urge things upon the Federal Government. He has been urging things on them for 11 years and he has been a voice crying in the wilderness. Now electing him in Saskatchewan is not going to make his voice carry any farther than it does when he is down in the Chamber in Ottawa.

And so I could go on:

Highways: The Saskatchewan Liberal Party believes that there should be in the province a system of interprovincial federal highways to be constructed and maintained by the Dominion Government and when returned to power it will negotiate an agreement with the Federal Government with a view to turning over to the Dominion certain specific trans-provincial highways as a part of the Canadian-wide hard-surface system.

So it goes on, yes, in the matter of "Veterans" the same story. In the matter of "Pensions":

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The Liberal Party pledges itself to the establishment of a contributory pension scheme.

This, again, is federal and, of course, again they would have to make application to the Federal Government to carry out this promise. They pledge themselves to a revision of the unemployment insurance scheme making it applicable to employable persons regardless of income and making possible more adequate benefits to the temporary unemployed. They pledge themselves “to encourage the bringing about of a basic 40-hour week such legislation not to be applicable to the agricultural industry,” and so on.

Well, Mr. Tucker would have a pretty hard time reconciling that program with the views that have been expressed, for the last three Sessions in this House, by his colleagues. So, the much more happy arrangement has been hit upon, that is, that Mr. Tucker will continue to make his speeches in the country posing as a radical reformer, while the Members of the Liberal Party in the Legislature will continue to follow a policy of caution and retrenchment that will recommend itself to the Manufacturers Association and the Dominion Loan and Mortgage Association.

We have listened, this afternoon, to a good deal of talk about propaganda, about indoctrination and, I presume, if one can judge by the controlled Press, we are going to listen to a good deal more during this Session. I should like, however, to put just one or two facts before the Members of the Legislature.

When the Liberal Party talks about propaganda and about indoctrination, let us have a look at the facts. The fact is, first of all, that all of the newspapers on the Prairies are owned by the Sifton Press or the Southam Press. The Sifton Press, of course, has supported the Liberal Party in season and out of season. This Press carries their every statement, applauds their every action, echoes their every sentence. Yet the moment that this Government, or for that matter any other government that is not a Liberal Government, seeks to put its point of view before the public, it is labelled propaganda, always propaganda. Well, this afternoon, we have had the Leader of the Opposition say what is happening in Saskatchewan — that waves of propaganda are constantly going out. Why, he says, this sort of thing is duplicated in Poland; it is duplicated in Russia and in many other places it is duplicated. The one place he left out — I wonder if he ever looked — was Ottawa! For if ever there has been a place from which a constant flood of propaganda has gone, it has been the Dominion Capital.

I wonder if our hon. friend has ever taken the trouble to go back over the expenditures: millions, not a few thousand, but millions for propaganda paid out by the Dominion Government. The amount of money which they spend through their so-called Travel Bureau Service; the propaganda which has gone out from their Wartime Information Board now called Public Information Service — which is not to be confused with Public Information Association which is run by Trestrail and Gladstone Murray. It has the same objective and the same masters, but it is a different group; the Public Information Service is official, the other is unofficial. But Public Information for which there was spent in 1945, about \$2 million — \$1,909,707 to be exact; or the National Film Board. The National Film Board has done an excellent piece of work; I am not criticising any of the work

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that it has done. But I went to see a film one night, put on by the National Film Board — a picture of the north country. It was a very good film. I am making no complaint about it at all; I want that understood. But the whole purpose of the film was to demonstrate the value of family allowances and what they had done for life in the north country. I have no objection to that; but if it had been done by this Government it would have been labelled propaganda.

I listened the other evening to the radio broadcast “On Parliament Hill” which, as you know from time to time, allows the Members of Parliament to speak to their constituencies. The broadcast the other evening was made just at the opening of Parliament and so it featured a commentator who proceeded to give a bird’s eye view of the Session which was just beginning and the Members participating. I listened to it from beginning to end and I suppose he talked about 14 minutes. In the whole time the Leader of the Opposition, the leader of each of the other parties were never mentioned; they might as well not have been in Parliament at all. The whole 14 minutes was taken up with telling the people of this country that Mr. Abbot was a bright and personable young man; that Mr. Claxton was one of the most aggressive personalities; that Mr. Paul Martin was a very fine administrator — all of which may be perfectly true — but certainly had we been spending public funds for a broadcast of that sort, it would have been propaganda.

In the two previous years, the Federal Government has spent for these agencies alone, \$9.5 million. Now, that does not take into consideration all of the extra votes that are contained in each department for public relations and for publishing literature; that is taking only these public agencies which I have mentioned. When my friend talks about indoctrination and propaganda, he had better go to some of these friends of his who have spent not a few thousand, but have spent millions of dollars of the people’s money telling the public what they are doing or what they have done, or what they hope to do.

Now that leads me to say something about the whole question of the media by which public information is disseminated. There is a great deal of glib talk — I listened to some of it this afternoon — about freedom of the Press and freedom of speech. What freedom of the Press is there?

Mr. Danielson: — The Commonwealth.

Mr. Douglas: — My friend across here says The Commonwealth. I would like to tell my friend that despite the fact that the Liberal Party controls every daily paper in this province and has those daily papers constantly echoing their sentiments, one would think they would be satisfied; but when one daily paper in Toronto, which supports the Liberal Party, but which has a sense of fairness, reprinted articles, not written by us, but articles written by their own correspondent regarding what he had seen in this province, the present Leader of the Liberal Party protested to that paper because we were being given too much publicity.

Mr. Patterson: — Are you referring to me?

Mr. Douglas: — No, no, no, certainly not! I am referring to Mr. Tucker

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and to his public relations man, Mr. Davis, who protests though all the papers in the province are at their disposal. Yet when one paper 1,500 miles away chooses to tell something of what is being done in this province, they protest. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, the media of public information in this country are rapidly falling into the hands of fewer and fewer people, some of whom, I fear, have dangerous and sinister motives. Let me give an illustration.

Members of this House are familiar with the fact that when the Legislature rose, last spring, some exploratory discussion had been carried on with a view to enabling the Saskatchewan Government to purchase a radio station in Moose Jaw, station CHAB, which was, we understood, likely to be offered for sale. I have here all the correspondence. The Government was told by the Federal Minister of Reconstruction, both in correspondence and in conversation which my desk mate and I had with him, that the matter of securing a licence to operate a radio station on behalf of the province did not come under his jurisdiction; that it was merely a matter of "My putting a rubber stamp on whatever recommendations are made by the Board of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. That Board is an independent board, makes its own decisions; make your application to them," he said.

Well, my colleague, the Attorney General acting for the Government, made application for a licence to the Board of Governors of the CBC. I do not know what the decision of the Board of Governors of the CBC was. I have heard that it was favorable; but I do know that it is confirmed in correspondence that instead of a decision by an independent administrative board, the application became a matter for Cabinet consideration. My friend talks about interference and dictatorship. Here is a board set up by the Parliament of Canada, charged with the administration of radio, because radio is such an important medium of public information and when an important decision as to the granting of a licence is to be made, because a government of a different political complexion than the Government at Ottawa was involved, the Dominion Cabinet interfered. Now, it was not because this application might set a precedent; it was not a precedent. The Government of Manitoba owned, and still owns as far as I know, two radio stations; Alberta owns a station. It was not a precedent therefore. We were merely asking for what had been granted to other provincial Governments but the moment we made that request, it became a Cabinet matter. Where was the independence of this Board of Governors? Where is the autonomy of this non-partisan, non-political body? No person wants to say these things less than I do, Mr. Speaker, but as I have supported, ever since I went into public life, public ownership of things like our railways, our banks and radio; and I suppose that the records of the House of Commons will show and the records of the radio committee on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will show, when there were those who sought to turn radio back to private enterprise, I supported public ownership; yet when I see politicians, for their own political purposes, interfere with what is supposed to be a free, self-governing, independent board, I feel the time has come to place the facts before the people of this province and before the people of Canada and question the Dominion's policy. What did Cabinet decide?

Well we do not know all that they decided but we know the two decisions that came out of the radio committee. The two

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decisions were: first, that from now on they would not only refrain from issuing licences to Provincial Governments — although why a Provincial Government should not operate a radio as well as the Federal Government or a private company, I have never been able to find out providing, of course, it complies with the Federal Government's regulations. First then, they would not only not give licences to Provincial Governments, but they would cancel the licences of those Provincial Governments which had a licence. That was the first decision.

The second decision was that they would stop the practice of allowing newspapers to get hold of radio stations because of the fact that there was recognized the tendency toward a monopoly of those media by which public information is disseminated to the public. Well, Mr. Speaker, what has happened to those two decisions? First, at the last information I have — which I think is the correspondence of November — Manitoba and Alberta still own and operate their radio stations. The Federal Government has not taken them over. Secondly, radio station CHAB, which we were seeking to purchase, has been purchased by — of all things — two newspaper publishers.

Now, when my friends talk about propaganda, when they talk about dictators, I ask you to look at the Dominion of Canada today and look particularly at the Province of Saskatchewan where freedom of speech depends upon having enough money to buy a radio station and what is harder still, enough political pull to get the Dominion Government to give a licence and freedom of the Press depends on whether or not you have enough money to buy a newspaper or whether you belong to a political party which happens to have that newspaper under its wing. What is happening in the Dominion of Canada today, is that increasingly the media of public information are being gathered into the hands either of large corporations and powerful newspaper barons on the one hand, or are being gathered into the hands of the Dominion Government which, today, controls the radio system in the Dominion of Canada.

So when my friends come and talk about propaganda I want to remind them of the Liberal Government at Ottawa and the Liberal Party at home. I have in mind, too, the times they used to shout across the floor of the Commons that Mr. Bennett was a dictator; because this cry dictatorship, of course, is not new to the Liberal Party. Every time they are in Opposition, all governments are dictators. They are probably the poorest losers of any political party in Canada. Everybody else is a dictator the moment the Liberals are in Opposition. I sat in the House with Mr. MacKenzie King during the War and he made Mr. Bennett look like a piker as far as dictatorship was concerned — 53,000 Orders-in-Council my friends because of the necessity of the War! Why even your Liberal Press finally began to balk at the Orders-in-Council deporting the Japanese and the Orders-in-Council by which the spy inquiries were carried on. Even the Winnipeg Free Press, which has a good thick skin, could not stomach that one.

When I think of all the fine speeches that have been made about liberalism, the liberalism of William Ewart Gladstone, speeches that have been made about parliamentary institutions, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, and when I look at what is happening, today, in the field of radio, in the field of the Press and I see the sums of money which are being spent by the Federal Government to put out

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literature, to put out films and to put out broadcasts, I would say, Mr. Speaker, that it has been left for the Liberal Party in Canada to lay the prerequisites of what could be, very easily, a Fascist state — not a Fascist state with ‘black shirts’ (you can see Fascist states with ‘black shirts’ and ‘brown shirts’), but a Fascist state with dress shirts, not with the media of public information owned by governments — that is bad enough if they are dictatorial governments — but where the media of public information are owned by vested interests and by powerful corporations speaking through their smear campaigners like Trestrail and Gladstone Murray. So, Mr. Speaker, I hope that if my hon. friends want to continue this propaganda argument throughout this Session they will be prepared to get a good deal more of this, which can very easily be dug out of the records, and we will begin to see who in this province and who in Canada are really fighting for freedom and for human liberty.

It being almost six o’clock, Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to move the adjournment of the debate for today.

Debate adjourned.

The Assembly adjourned at 6:00 o’clock p.m.