

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF SASKATCHEWAN
Fifth Session — Tenth Legislature
Day 3

Monday, February 9, 1948

The House met at three o'clock p.m.

Mr. A.T. Procter

On Orders of the Day:

Mr. Speaker: — As the rules of the Assembly require Members to stand while addressing the House, and as the member for Moosomin has been very ill, it would very probably be deleterious to his health; so I think the Members will agree with me to set aside that procedure in his case and ask him to remain in his seat, and that we will receive any of his comments and speeches, either in the House or in Committee .

I think we are all agreed that we feel the hon. member has more or less overdone his duties to his constituency in being here at this Session, and I am sure you, with me, wish him a speedy recovery and that we will do everything we can to make his burden as light as possible.

Hon. Mr. Valleau (Melfort): — Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, I would like to draw to your attention, Sir, and to the attention of the House, a typographical error which crept in to the Speech from the Throne, in the seventh from the last paragraph; the paragraph dealing with the Automobile Insurance Act stated that during the year there were 27,788 collision claims. That is incorrect: it should be 2,788. Will you have that correction made?

Hon. Mr. Phelps (Saltcoats): — Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, I beg to lay on the table the annual report of the Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development.

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

Motion for Address in Reply

Mr. M.H. Feeley (Canora): — I have the honour to move, seconded by the hon. member for Hanley, (Mr. Aitken):

That an humble address be presented to His Honour The Lieutenant Governor as follows:

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To “His Honour The Honourable Reginald John Marsden Parker, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Saskatchewan.

May It Please Your Honour:

We, His Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Saskatchewan, in Session assembled, humbly thank Your Honour for the gracious speech which Your Honour has been pleased to address to us at the opening of the present Session.”

Mr. Speaker, at the outset of my remarks, may I gratefully acknowledge, on behalf of the good people of the Canora constituency, the honour done them by the hon. Premier in according to me the privilege of sponsoring this historic Motion for the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne.

The mover of this Address in Reply, traditionally, is expected to set the tone for the entire Session, but it does not always work out that way. He is expected to be, if not non-political, at least as little provocative as possible – sometimes it is difficult to draw the line between the provocative and the non-provocative. However, I will do my humble best to fulfil the requirements, remembering always how nearly impossible it is to please, or to satisfy, everybody.

The Speech from the Throne was one of the most gratifying I have ever listened to in this Legislature, covering mainly past accomplishments and the forecast of a continuation of great progress for the future. I shall deal with it in my summary of accomplishments as I proceed.

But, first, may I make a few comments on the world situation, for most of us now realize that we cannot live unto ourselves, and that what happens, even in remote parts of the world also affects us. The world today, with its unrest, strife, bloodshed, starvation and want – one might be forgiven for wondering whether our civilization is not about to pass into oblivion, as have others in the past. However, I believe we have, in the excitement and stress of the moment, overlooked a tremendous current of development and progress that has, more or less, taken place in many parts of the world to an extent probably never before equalled. From India, for example, comes stories of fighting and bloodshed that so attract our attention that we are inclined to overlook the fact that nearly 400 million people have, without a struggle, been granted complete independence by Britain’s Labour government.

Speaking of India, I feel this opportunity should not go by without mention of the tragic death of Mohandas Gandhi. In his address over the C.B.C. in the series “Week-end Review”, on February 1, 1948, Professor Glen Shortcliffe has this to say:

“The violent death of this man, it seems to me, characterizes our age, for it illustrates the fate of reason, moderation and goodness, in a time given over to bitter conflict. This man’s crime, in the inflamed mind of his murderer, was simply to have desired peace – to have desired peace even with those who had done most to wreck his lifelong dream of a free and independent India. Ours is surely a time in which it is those who live by the plowshare who perish by the sword.”

And again he states:

“The world does move after all, and even in the century of the atomic horror, the fundamentally Christian outlook of such a man as this still has the power eventually to sway the conscience of mankind.

“Gandhi was idolized not only by millions of Hindus but by many Moslems as well, and his martyrdom may well provide an element of unity that India very badly needs. Perhaps we may hope that Mohandas Gandhi will prove as powerful in death as he was in life, for the international reaction to this shocking incident has shown that even in time of bitter social conflict, he who can stir mankind to a remembrance of its own humanity, commands the imagination of the world.”

Even in death great things are often accomplished.

From Great Britain comes stories of austerity and shortages; of their struggles to readjust themselves to changed conditions due largely to sacrifices made during the war and to the pre-war failure of free enterprise to meet successfully, the economic problems of that time. It is encouraging to see that slowly but surely they are forging ahead.

In addition, we also find great social progress being made with a great deal less labour disturbances and less general hardship than during the corresponding period following the first world war, when capitalism was ‘muddling through’. that Britain is making such progress is because the policy of democratic socialism, which the labour Government is carrying out, seeks to create conditions in which a good life may be obtainable by every individual in the community – free from oppression, either by government or by vested interests.

Outstanding among the achievements of the British Government is the fact that for the first time in peace, scientists are working in the national interest to invent and improve industrial processes, and so to increase production. How far this new, and supremely important, use of brainpower has progressed, has lately been revealed in a report by the Hon. Herbert Morrison, on the Activities of the community on Industrial Productivity. Such a constructive program for science could be carried out only under a labour government, prepared as it is, to set the general well being above the consideration of private profit. In other words, ‘humanity first!

In the Western world the United States is struggling desperately to stave off a depression, and from the reports we see in the paper during the past few days, it seems very questionable whether or not they will succeed.

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Here in Canada we, too, have our problems and our Federal Government are trying, in every way possible, to preserve a social order that is in almost complete decay. Their action in removing price controls and subsidies, that had been so successful in preventing inflation during the war, has had the result of a disastrous rise in the cost of living. Lack of any long-term policy for agriculture has left the Canadian farmer uncertain and discouraged, and has left the livestock industry, in particular, a blow from which it will not soon recover.

In the midst of all this, the accomplishment of Saskatchewan's Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government, stands out like a beacon pointing to the rest of Canada the way to a better and a more generous life. In fact, the only bright spots on the horizon today, are where we have socialistic governments in power; Great Britain; New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries, and so forth.

Here in Canada our enemies are striving, in season and out, to frighten people by telling them that under socialism they will lose their freedom and that socialism will lead to Communism, whereas, Mr. Speaker, the reverse is true and I charge that Capitalism, through its failure to prevent depressions will inevitably be responsible for a return to the conditions of the hungry thirties; conditions which will, this time, result either in war or a dictatorship of the right or the Left, and possibly both war and dictatorship.

Democratic Socialism, through its distribution of income, which capitalism cannot provide, is the only way to avoid depression and dictatorship. Therefore, I submit, that in Socialism lies our only hope of combating the spread of dictatorships, either communist or Fascist. And may I point out that while our enemies are continually stressing the dangers of communist dictatorship, they completely fail to point out the more real threat of a Fascist dictatorship, brought on by the very same people who financed Hitler and made possible his rise to power, and who now finance all of our opposition parties; namely, 'big business'.

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In the nations having socialistic governments, these governments, like the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, came to power as the democratic choice of the people. There has been no freedom lost, save the freedom of the rich to exploit the poor. The people have, in fact, a great deal more real freedom than ever before.

In reply to the attempt of our Opposition to prove that Socialism will lead to communist dictatorship, and in support of my claim that the reverse is true, may I quote from the article in "The Nation" of September 13, 1947, entitled "Socialism, communism and the West" written by Margaret Marshall. I quote:

"While civil rights and freedom of thought, speech and inquiry were, for reasons good, bad, and indifferent, not inherent in the October Revolution and are still, after thirty years, non-existent in the Soviet Union, the British revolution was accomplished without the sacrifice of those great Western concepts. On the contrary, they were the machinery by which the change from capitalism to socialism was effected. The great significance of the advent of socialism in Britain is that it offers another alternative, a democratic socialism, democratically achieved. and further, (she states), if British socialism is successful it cannot help being the first step toward a democratic socialist Europe. And again I think that Soviet Communism as it is now constituted could not maintain itself very long in a Europe which had attained democratic socialism; but the pressure which a democratic socialist Europe would inevitably exert upon Soviet communism would be, not the threat the government **le___**, of military destruction but the peaceful and irresistible pressure of people on people.Again, with a democratic Socialist Europe pressing upon it, Eastern Europe could turn out to be not the opening wedge of totalitarian communism moving west but the opening wedge of democratic socialism moving east, bringing in its wake the prosperity, peace, and genuine security in which the police state must wither away."

The fact is that in every country in the world where we have democratic socialism in power, the people have more real freedom. The threat of dictatorship is being removed. Mr. Speaker, the trend toward democratic socialism throughout the world today is a silver lining in a cloud in the sky that would otherwise be black indeed.

I would not like to refer to a few of the accomplishments of Canada's first C.C.F. Government, dealing first with the Treasury. I place it first because the limiting factor in all provincial government departments is the amount of money available. We were warned that a C.C.F. Government would ruin the province's credit. After three and a half years in office, what do we find? Has our credit been destroyed? No. On the contrary, it is the best that it has ever been in all our history. -Saskatchewan bonds, that were selling in the 90's in 1944 are now listed as high as 113. Where reconversion was necessary, we have been able to sell our bonds at the highest figure ever received for Saskatchewan bonds. As at April 30, 1944, Saskatchewan's net debt was \$214,253,111.00. By 1947 the estimated figure is \$144,000,000.00, a reduction of over \$70,000,000.00.

Putting it another way, the per capita debt of the province has been reduced from \$230.00 in 1944 to \$169.00 in 1947, a reduction of \$61.00 for every man, woman and child in the province. The reduction in interest charges is even more striking. Where the 1942 interest charges were \$7,800,000.00, in 1947 they have been reduced to \$4,500,000.00, a saving to the people of Saskatchewan of \$3,300,000.00 every year. Not a bad showing for a group that our Opposition used to refer to as “a bunch of inexperienced teachers and broken-down preachers”.

I well remember, Mr. Speaker, a certain former member of this Legislature, who used to say – “I would not want to trust them with my business. Would you want to trust them with yours?” Today, the Hon. C.M. Fines is recognized as being the outstanding Provincial Treasurer in all Canada, a credit that is justly deserved.

The record of our Department of Public Health, under the dynamic leadership of our Premier, Hon T.C. Douglas, is one of which we may be justly proud. The slogan of this Department could be – ‘The Best Possible Health Services to Everyone in Saskatchewan, irrespective of his Ability to Pay.’ Perhaps the most outstanding achievement of this Department, so far, is the inauguration of our complete, prepaid hospital services for all Saskatchewan citizens, the first of its kind on the North American Continent. It has been so successful, and is giving such general satisfaction, that even the local Press gives it faint praise. It has aroused interest and favourable comment from many parts of the world.

May I at this point pay tribute to the members of the Health Services Planning Commission, who, along with their many other duties, are responsible for its smooth operation. Six health regions are already established, with financial aid from the government, and Health Region No. 1 at Swift Current is supplying medical services for the entire population, and dental care for the children. It is the largest area in Canada providing these services.

Encouragement and financial aid has been given local authorities, with the result that hospital capacity has been greatly expanded. Work has begun on the Medical College at the University, to enable doctors to get their training here in Saskatchewan.

All mental health services are now completely free. One of the blackest pages in the history of the province is our treatment in the past of our mentally ill patients. I wonder how many of you have ever visited one of our mental hospitals? I did shortly after this Government took over, and I am certain that if you could have visited with me you would have come away, as I did, determined that you would never rest until conditions there had been changed. But you need not take my word for it – let me quote from an article in the January, 1948 issue of The Canadian Forum, entitled “Our Shameful Mental Hospitals” and written by D.M. LeBourdais:

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Mr. LeBourdais was for six years director of the Division of Education for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in Canada.

“Perhaps the greatest overcrowding in any Canadian mental hospital existed in the Weyburn Hospital in Saskatchewan up to a year ago, the culmination of twenty years of neglect. At that time the hospital contained six hundred children who should never have been there at all, and against whose presence social workers and others had been complaining for years. The Douglas Government, however, has taken hold of the situation in a determined manner. Its first step was to make mental hospitals free to all patients; then the children were evacuated from Weyburn to a place especially prepared for them; and a new hospital is being planned.”

Again, in the much publicized Liberty magazine of March 8, 1947, Mr. LeBourdais had this to say after describing conditions in several provinces:

“Nevertheless, for the miserable wretches in Saskatchewan hospitals there is hope. The government seems determined to come to their rescue. Although this will take some time, they have something to look forward to. I wish I could say the same thing for those who crowd the mental hospitals of Alberta.”

“After talking with many Ministers, I am convinced that the whole thing depends upon whether the government -- sometimes merely the Minister directly responsible -- is sufficiently alert to the need for mental health.”

Whereas previously attendants were required to work long hours at low pay and as a result their average ability was not high, today hours have been shortened, pay increased, personnel is carefully selected. In-service training is provided for them. They are organized into unions of their own choice and the overall picture is vastly improved.

Mental illness is sickness, the same as any other, and can happen to any one of us or to our families. If this government had nothing more to its credit than the improvement of conditions in our mental hospitals, it would have justified its existence, and all of the work and sacrifices it has cost its supporters.

The case of the children in the mental hospital at Weyburn is a very touching one indeed; whereas previously little was being done in the way of special training, great strides in that direction are now being made. It is our hope that most of these boys and girls can in time be made useful citizens. It is surprising how in many cases nature appears to have, in a measure, compensated them for their other deficiencies by giving them special physical aptness. Some can be trained as cabinet makers; others have special talents as gardeners; and others can work wonders in caring for livestock, etc. All of these talents they will now have an opportunity to develop. Again, Mr. Speaker, in this great work we find we have a dollar deficit but huge

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returns in human welfare. Once more we have placed 'Humanity first'.

It may be well to add that by rehabilitating these unfortunates now, in time it will turn out to have been a good financial investment as well. Medical authorities say we can virtually empty our mental hospitals – if we care enough.

We are being accused of extravagant spending. The costs of our improved care of mental patients are, I admit, rather high. Will anybody suggest that we should return the former conditions in order to save money? I think not.

Another field in which this government has pioneered in order to serve the people, is our flying ambulances. It has attracted attention from many parts of the world. The National Film Board has just completed a picture of it entitled "Mercy Flight" which will be shown all over Canada and in the United States.

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We now have three planes fully equipped to give emergency first aid, trained nurses and attendants, the most capable pilots in Canada, and these planes fly to remote and isolated parts of the province, pick up emergency cases and fly them out to receive the hospital attention that they need. All at a cost of only \$25 to the patient. Today a total of 800 patients, and over 100,000 miles have been flown and no person has been refused because they have not the money.

I would like to quote just two of the many cases, to give you the contrast between former conditions and conditions as they are now with this wonderful service available. yesterday a man from my constituency – who is, I believe, in this building today – told me of the time in the hungry thirties, when free enterprise had full play. When his wife became ill in the dead of winter, she was loaded into a sleigh, covered with blankets, and in 30 below zero, and wind, her husband drove her the 30 some miles to the nearest hospital. Changing horses three times on the way he arrived there in the middle of the night. But, Mr. Speaker, he was held up at the door of that hospital until arrangements could be made to have the hospital bill guaranteed. Now, Sir, that was not the fault of the hospital authorities, they had already bankrupted themselves giving services to people who could not pay. Pretty grim, Mr. Speaker, but let us never forget, that under free enterprise the limiting factor is always the almighty dollar.

In contrast may I now list another case. It occurred on January 31st. last. On January 28th. a doctor at Spiritwood phoned for a plane to take a patient to the San; this was a case that could wait for a time. On January 31st. at 8:30 a.m. at Melfort, a doctor phoned, a lady with a fractured spine, an emergency. The accident had occurred at the school house the previous evening and they dared not move her until the plane arrived. The same day at 11:05 a.m. another phone message came from a doctor at Rose Valley. An eight-year old baby with dysentery had to be taken to Saskatoon. One plane was undergoing repairs at Saskatoon, another had left Regina at 7:20 a.m. carrying repairs for the plane at Saskatoon. Contacting Saskatoon this plane left there at 11:05 AM, flew to Spirit Wood, 87 miles, picked up a patient, left there at 12:25 P.M., arrived at Meskanaw, 125 miles at 1:30 P.M. and left Meskanaw at 1:50 P.M., arriving at Rose Valley, 65 miles at 2:20 P.M., picked up the infant and its parents, left Rose Valley at 2:45, delivered the first person to Fort San, 105 miles at 3:45 P.M., the second patient delivered at Regina, 46 miles at 4:30 P.M., the third person was transferred to another waiting plane and was in Saskatoon by 6:00 P.M., just nine and one half hours after the first emergency call was received, and six hours and 55 minutes after the plane took off from Saskatoon. Three patients

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for widely scattered parts of the Province had been delivered to the hospital. That, Sir, is an example of service under the C.C.F. No loss of freedom here, but strong evidence of humanity first.

Again, our air Ambulance Service shows a dollar deficit but a great credit on the side of service to our people.

This Government has made a courageous attack on the question of education, and may I here, Sire, express my regret that certain groups in the Province are attempting to make political capital out of increased educational costs, something which the Government, as is well known, has little or no control. May I further suggest that if economies become necessary, our educational system should be the last rather than the first to suffer.

We believe that every child has the right to a good education, and to this end we have, among other things, established 45 larger units of administration. We do not suggest that the establishment of these will solve all our educational problems, but they will help in many ways. For example they make possible, more efficient administration and most units have started extensive building programs. In the 45 units, 206 new schools with 289 rooms have already been built and 131 new classrooms added to existing schools, 247 new teacherages have been constructed and these, Mr. Speaker, are not the open-air type that we formerly had in so many places throughout the province. 174 new basements and 225 new stables were built, repair programs averaging \$37,000 per unit have been carried on. Mill rates in units compare favourably with those in non-unit districts. Other outstanding improvements include teacher training, improved educational services that have been provided in the far northern districts of Saskatchewan, make a thrilling story all by itself. Grants have increased with a total of \$2,765,693 in 1943 and '44 an estimated, \$4,818,490 in 194 and '48. In making these grants the deciding factor is the financial need of the district involved, plus their ability to meet that need. In some of the poorer districts, this Government is paying as much as 75 per cent of all cost of education.

Turning now to Social Welfare. Not only has the Government, through the Department of Social Welfare provided increased financial aid through increased Mothers' Allowances, increases for Old Age Pensioners and other groups, and most important of all, complete Health Services free for all in these groups, something that cannot be computed in dollars and cents, but in terms of peace of mind and freedom from fear.

These people are no longer made to feel that they are receiving this help as charity, but rather as their just due in a Christian democracy. I regret the failure of Ottawa to accept its responsibility to provide adequately for our Old Age Pensioners, particularly in view of the fact that the increased costs of living which bear so heavily upon them, are the direct result of the

weak policies of the Federal Government.

The Minister of Social Welfare has also been responsible for the inauguration of our Automobile Accident Insurance – another “first” for this government – which gives security to the victims of auto accidents in Saskatchewan, in addition to providing compensation for collision damages. The objective of this plan is to provide protection against loss caused by motor vehicles, at the lowest possible cost.

Since few statistics were available, we proceeded cautiously at first. Last year, finding we had a surplus over necessary reserves, we expanded the protection, and I am pleased to note that it is planned to give still wider coverage this year without any increased cost.

The outstanding features of this insurance are: (1) Protection, wider than that obtainable from any other insurance company at any price, at a cost that is by comparison, ridiculously low; (2) The fact that personal health benefits are increased in accordance with the number of dependants concerned – again “Humanity First.”

May I quote two outstanding cases out of many that have been dealt with:

In the case in the Swift Current district, a man failed to stop at a stop sign for a railway crossing. His car was hit by the CPR mainline train, the man was instantly killed. He was survived by a widow and six children – all daughters. They received a supplementary allowance of \$10; funeral expenses of \$125; the wife as the primary dependant received \$3,000; five of the children were dependants and they received a total of \$3,125. In addition, \$800 was paid as collision insurance on the car. As a result this family received a total of \$7,060.

In another case, a driver applied for and received his licence and driver’s licence, which included insurance. The same day his car overturned on the highway, and he was instantly killed. The next day his son, not realizing that the licence in Saskatchewan now included insurance, went in to apply for a refund of the licence fee. To his surprise, he found that the dependants were eligible for insurance benefits. The wife as primary dependant, received \$3,000; the secondary dependants, 3 children, under eighteen, the total of \$1,875; funeral expenses of \$125 were also paid. Thus they received a total of \$5,000, not including payments because of the collision damage suffered by the car. This policy is another example of humanity first. Were it not for our accident insurance, there would have been no protection in either of these cases.

It is a matter of pride to me, as a farmer member of the Legislature, that this government, consisting largely of farmers, has enacted the most advanced labour legislation in all Canada. We recognize that only well-paid and prosperous workers will be able to provide a market for our agricultural products.

With the expanding use of motor transportation, particularly in a province with such wide distances as we have in Saskatchewan, highways and market roads play an every-increasingly important part in our economy.

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Recognising that fact, our Department of Highways have been allotted much larger sums of money than was formerly the case, in order to meet the emergency in which we found our provincial highways. This was made necessary because of the fact that our highway system had been allowed to deteriorate to a point where almost the entire system had to be rebuilt. That this money has been wisely expended is shown by the fact that since 1944, 232 miles of bituminous pavement have been constructed; 710 miles of new grade have been built; 1,680 miles of worn out gravelled highway has been re-gravelled; 1,810 miles of earth road gravelled; 950 miles of worn out grade reconstructed; 242 bridges of timber and 22 new concrete bridges have been built.

Because of the elimination of patronage, letting contracts for construction on bids instead of hiring out bids by the hour, as was previously done; by purchasing our own equipment as far as possible and doing as much of our own construction work as possible, we are now building a much better type of highway and, in addition, effecting material savings. We found, for example, that with our own equipment and construction crews, we can construct our highways at greatly reduced costs, as compared even with contract work, and it is the intention of the Department to continue to do more of our own construction work as rapidly as we can secure equipment and personnel.

I believe that owing to ever increasing dependence on motor traffic transport, it is going to be necessary to spend a lot more money on our highways and, here again, the Federal Government should aid us. In Montana – just South of us – where their problems are quite similar to ours, the United States Government is granting 8 million dollars a year for 3 years, in order to help them meet their highway problems.

We are the only government to establish a Department of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation and may I say that no more ready and able champion of our service people could be found than Jack Sturdy, the Minister in charge of this department.

Do you remember the days of the hungry thirties when these boys, and sometimes the girls, were being herded back and forth across Canada in box cars, unwanted, often cold and hungry; when our free enterprise that we hear so much about, just now, failed to give them an opportunity to earn a living and live normal, decent, human lives; when the only freedom we had was the freedom to starve, or be herded into concentration camps? Then came the war, and overnight they became heroes – we had plenty of money then. Well, Mr. Speaker, the war ended but the Government of Saskatchewan – yes as our Opposition is fond of calling us, the C.C.F. ‘Socialist’ Government – felt a responsibility to give these boys what aid our limited means in the Provincial Government allow.

Just to mention a few of the things our Department of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction has done for them: we have made 550 housing units available in various cities and towns. Outstanding in the Provincial Government's housing program is the community apartments development, established by the Government at Saskatoon for the veterans attending the university, taking Canadian Vocational Training. Here suites for 185 families have been provided; there are 370 adults living there, organised co-operatively and govern themselves through an elected council. A community dining hall cafeteria provides meals at cost. A supervised nursery is provided for the 125 children, most of whom are pre-school age. Rentals are from \$15.00 to \$35.00 per month.

The Reconstruction Corporation has purchased vast quantities of material from war assets and made them available to hospitals, municipalities and co-operatives, at very low prices, saving many thousands of dollars for these organizations.

As a farmer member I am justly pleased with the progress made in improving the lot of farmers and their families in this province. Our crop failure legislation; provision of security for a farmer on a quarter section on which he resides; extension of the agricultural representatives services; aid to the livestock breeders through our veterinary services Act; making grants available to help pay costs and encourage veterinaries to take up practise in various centres in the province; the feed and fodder conservation program and many other innovations made by and through the Department of Agriculture, have been of direct benefit to all farmers.

There is a tendency on the part of some to suggest that our only aid to agriculture is action taken by the Department of Agriculture. They think that agriculture consists solely of hay, wheat, pigs and cattle. We believe that the most important factor in agriculture is the farmer and his family. No other group in Saskatchewan economy benefits so greatly from improved health services, better educational facilities, better roads and highways and, in fact, general improvements of any kind are directly or indirectly aids to agriculture. Therefore, speaking as a Saskatchewan farmer, I wish to express my appreciation to the Government, not only for the direct aid provided for farmers through the Department of Agriculture, but for the even more important benefits that the farmers' family receive from other services, provided by other Departments of the Government.

Having complimented the Minister on the good work of his department, I feel that I must again call his attention to a serious situation that is developing throughout a large part of the north country, namely: the rapid destruction of our tree growth there. I suggest that an intensive campaign of publicity, which is the least that should be done, to encourage farmers to retain a certain amount of the native timber on farms throughout the Park area; preferably in strips, rather than in blocks.

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In the past, when land was cleared – largely by hand – natural growth pretty well kept pace with the clearing, but now powerful ‘cats’ and brush-cutters are clearing millions of acres and unless some plan is adopted to preserve at least a portion of our trees, we shall soon have all the ills experienced in the south during the drought years. We have no heavy rain falls, only the protection against evaporation by our trees enabled us to grow crops while other parts were dried out.

Among the more important developments throughout the world today is that of the co-operative movement. The C.C.F., as the name applies, is a firm believer in co-operation as a solution to most of the world’s economic problems. It is, therefore, not surprising that we have established a Department of Co-operatives, under a responsible Minister, to which every aid and encouragement has been given to co-operation in all its branches, with the result that great progress in co-operative development has taken place.

One of the fundamental differences between the C.C.F. and the other major political parties in Canada is that while other parties claim they are opposed to Government interference with, or control of, industrial enterprises, the C.C.F. believe that in all cases where a monopoly control exists, (statistics prove that this covers a very wide field indeed) people should own and operate those industries through Government Departments and Crown Corporations. We also believe that the natural resources belong to all the people of the province and should be developed in the interest of the people of the province. In both cases, the profits derived from these industries and resources, instead of going to enrich a few, should be used by the Government to provide social services for the many. To this end a number of Crown Corporations have been set up. It is encouraging to learn that in spite of many difficulties encountered, and the fact that they are only now getting well started, very satisfactory reports are being received, both as to service given, the amount of additional employment provided, and the profits from them, that are being made available for either further development or to provide funds for social services.

Possibly the proper slogan for the Department of Natural Resources’ new policies would be ‘planned conservation’, to the end that our natural resources would become and remain for all time a source of revenue for the people of Saskatchewan. Our forest resources, in particular, have been exploited for the profit of the few to the extent that – according to the Forestry Royal Commission -- chief lumber species would not have lasted more than another five years. Today all logging on crown land is on a sustained yield basis. Lumber is handled and sold by the Saskatchewan Timber Marketing Board and the profits made are either ploughed back into the development and protection of our forests, or used to pay for increased social services.

The fur industry was in much the same unsatisfactory condition as the forest industry. We now have the larger part of the province organized into fur conservation areas, where trapping is on a quota basis, thus providing a sustained income for the trappers, as well as some increase in provincial revenues. A program of transplanting beaver was undertaken and in 1947, 627 beaver were transplanted into new areas, the largest undertaking of its

kind in the world. Already these industrious little animals have been responsible for constructing dams and raising water levels that will aid in protecting our forests from fire hazards as well as being beneficial in other ways.

May I now refer, for a few minutes, to my own constituency of Canora – situated as you all know in the N.E. portion of the province, ‘Where all of nature pleases and only our economic system is vile’.

The topography of that part of Saskatchewan, together with a few stones and other handicaps make farming more expensive than in some other parts of the province. Nature, however, has compensated us by providing rainfall and wind protection as a result of which we have never had a complete crop failure.

By hard work and economy, the people have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties mentioned, to such an extent that it is now known as the garden spot of Saskatchewan. One of the outstanding characteristics of our people is their Co-operative spirit as illustrated by numerous flourishing co-operative enterprises, both producer and consumer, and many community halls scattered throughout the district. All the result of local co-operative effort.

Development was at first rather slow, but nevertheless steady and considerable increase in population resulted from the farmers moving in from the drought areas during the late thirties. With increased population came problems, such as roads, schools, hospitals, which were not properly recognized by former governments.

That our health needs were inadequately met is shown by the fact that we had just over two hospital beds per thousand of a population – less than half the number estimated to be needed. However, may I say that during the depression even these were not all occupied. In those days, people without money had difficulty in getting into hospitals. In many cases they just stayed home and died.

This Government provides generous grants to aid in costs of construction, and in various other ways encouraged communities to expand hospitals, with the result that when we have completed our present building program – sometime this year – we shall have approximately five beds per thousand. The number, medical authorities advise us, should about meet our needs.

Through grants to rural municipalities to aid them in paying the salaries of doctors, they have been encouraged to engage municipal doctors, with the result that we now have more doctors than we ever had before, which taken together with our prepaid hospitalization (and free hospitalization for those unable to pay) and other services provided for the entire province, we

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shall, by the end of the present year, be fairly well equipped in so far as medical needs are concerned.

Next in importance to health needs come education. Again, I think our part of the province was the most poorly equipped to meet our educational needs. This applies particularly to the north part of my constituency. In fact, it was general throughout most of that part of the province bordering on the forest reserves.

Early in 1945 the Sturgis Larger Unit of Administration was established – no vote having been asked for. This larger Unit of Administration lies along the Thunder Hill branch of the CNR. Almost paralleling it to the South is the Canora Superintendency, which is still unorganized into a Larger Unit. Because of their similarity, we have a very good opportunity to make a comparison between the two systems.

First as to cost.

It is interesting to note that in the Larger Unit, while it is true levies on the more highly assessed property have increased, the average assessment in rural districts for 1944 was 16.6 mills, and in 1947 it was 17 mills, an increase of only .4 mills. May I say that at that time in 1944, while the average assessment was 16.6 mills there was a tremendous spread. We had some school districts as low as 5.8 mills and other school districts with levies as high as 40 mills.

In the Canora Superintendency the average rate in 1944 was 12.1 mills and in 1947 it had increased almost to 17 mills – an increase of 4.8 mills.

In the Larger Unit more services are provided. In addition there was expended in 1947 on construction and repairs, in the Larger Unit, \$58,061.87. \$20,000 of which was spent on the new composite school at Sturgis, which when completed will enable about one hundred boys and girls to obtain technical education, who otherwise, would have been denied this type of education in most cases.

This expenditure that I mentioned as compared to the expenditure in the Canora Superintendency, an expenditure of \$16.618. Remember, Sir, I pointed out the fact that the levy had increased by over 4 mills in the Canora Superintendency. In expenditures they have \$57,000 in the Larger Unit and \$16.618 total spent on capital expenditure and repairs in the Canora Superintendency.

In the matter of gravelled highways and market roads, Canora has again been neglected. When we came to power in 1944, my constituency had only 15 miles of gravelled roads. When the program for 1948 is completed we shall have approximately ten times as many miles of good highways built and gravelled. Two highways, No. 49 and No. 5 cross it from east to west; and No. 9 crosses it from north to south.

Generous grants have been provided to aid municipalities to construct market roads, and political patronage in this case, as in all others is no more. All grants are made on the basis of need, and as a result, two of the rural municipalities in the Canora constituency get two of the largest grants in the province.

While we in our part of the province appreciate the greatly increased aid we are receiving, and realize the limitations of the financial resources of a provincial government, especially in Saskatchewan, we ask that both the provincial government and all other groups in the province join in presenting to the Dominion Government the case for increased financial aid from them in order that our social services may be properly financed – especially in the case of Health and Education.

In conclusion, Sir, in fairness to previous governments, it should be stated that we have had certain advantages that they had not. Advantages, that those responsible for the drafting of the CCF deemed essential.

1. The CCF had a platform that had been hammered out, plank by plank over many years, by conventions of democratically elected delegates; conventions held annually, Mr. Speaker, not once in every twenty-eight years.
2. Realizing that, 'he who pays the piper calls the tune', money to pay election expenses were contributed by thousands of people from every corner of the province, each paying in accordance with his ability, with no strings attached.
3. Because our supporters had agreed that employment in the Civil Service must depend upon the ability to do the required work, without regard to party affiliation, this government has not been hamstrung by patronage and its resultant inefficiency.

Admitting these advantages, without which little progress could have been made, the record of accomplishments of this Government, in just over three and a half years, is still remarkable.

And, Sir, it is with the utmost pride, that I now move, seconded by Mr. Aitken, that an humble address now be presented to His Honour The Lieutenant Governor, as herewith submitted.

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Mr. J.S. Aitken (Hanley): — Mr. Speaker,, in rising to second the Motion of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, I would first of all wish to congratulate the mover, the hon. member for Canora (Mr. Feeley), on the fine address to which we have just listened. Those of us who know the hon. member know that for long years he has been a student of those problems which confront the people of Saskatchewan. To them he has given long and serious study, and this afternoon, out of that study, he has given us of his best, and I am sure we all appreciate it.

I believe it is a time-honoured parliamentary custom in this debate, for those who take part in it to say a few words regarding their own constituency, and I do so with pleasure. I might say that when I was honoured by being asked to second this motion I could think up more reasons for declining the honour than I could for accepting it, and I finally thought that perhaps it was due to my constituents to accept it, and I accept it, and I accepted as a tribute to them. In Hanley constituency we are not quite so much favoured by nature as I gather the constituency of Canora is. We are not quite so much favoured by nature; nature, when those processes which went to form our prairie soil, was not too generous with Hanley constituency.

We have all types of soil there, from the best to the worst. In one area, around Aberdeen, we have a particularly fine area of rich soil, an area in which there is hardly ever a crop failure. Then we have other areas such as that which is now the Military Camp at Dundurn, which is utterly unfit for agriculture. But in between, we have a lot of very good soil, but it does need rainfall and lots of it, and at the right time. In 1945 it was light, in 1946 it was light, and this last year, in 1947 it was very scarce indeed, so much so that we have suffered from drought conditions. And so the financial condition of the farmers of my constituency have not been as good as I would like. Yet, someone driving through there would think this is a very prosperous country, because if they drove through there at the present time they would see more empty farm buildings than there have ever been in that constituency – empty houses and empty barns. Some of the farmers have gone to British Columbia, some to Saskatoon, and it is regrettable that these things are happening – that the trend is in that direction.

Instead of giving you a description of general conditions, I think I will give you an outline of one specific instance of what happened this fall, something which tends to the direction of part-time farming. If it was only an isolated instance, I would not bother, but because I think it is typical of what is happening all over a large area of Saskatchewan, I will tell you about it.

After the small harvest was reaped, it was realized that some feed grain would necessarily have to be imported. In my own constituency one councillor called a meeting of the farmers of his division so that

they could talk things over and buy their grains co-operatively. I happened to be present at the meeting. There were about twenty farmers there, all of them had some livestock for which, in order to carry through the winter, they would have to purchase feed grains.

Our agricultural representative was there, and the Pool Elevator Agent, and among them all they arranged to purchase several cars of oats and barley. It was quite a complicated business – we had the Municipality, and the Provincial Government here – but they got it arranged and I believe one car of oats was shipped in and the price agreed (and the price was a serious factor). These men, remember, had had two light crops and one almost crop failure, and to finance it – well, there may have been one or two of them who could put some cash down, but the others said, “We will put the grain in the elevator and I will get a few loads, and when I have fed so many hogs or cattle I can sell these and come back to the elevator and buy some more grain.” they were working, you see, on a pretty narrow financial margin.

Well, they had just got one car of oats delivered when oats and barley were thrown on the open market. Oats went up about twenty cents and barley about thirty cents, and the arrangement was all shot. I do not know what they did. But you see these were the same conditions which confronted thousands of farmers all over the drought-stricken part of north Saskatchewan, and these men were asked to take a gamble in feeding that livestock. At the old prices they might have broken even, but the new high prices – neither they nor anyone else could tell how they were going to make out; and can you blame these men if they decided that one gamble – one gamble of growing a crop was enough and that they were not going to gamble on raising livestock, and so many of them disposed of their livestock, for in that rush of livestock to the markets, after the stroke, and after the prices of coarse grains went up, it was more than the usual fall rush – it was also a clearance sale. The farmers are sick and tired of working for nothing, they have had too much of that now and they do not want any more of it; and so you cannot blame them if they pack up and go to British Columbia for the winter, or go in to Saskatoon. And here may I say that those men who do go to Saskatoon do not go as many people think they do, to retire and have an easy time. I know quite a number who are working in Saskatoon, and they will come back to their farms and put in their crops in the spring.

The constituency of Hanley, unfortunately, was last year visited by those twin demons of destruction, flood and fire. they came in that order. When the ice went out of the South Saskatchewan River last fall you all remember the serious flood conditions. The district of Moon Lake was flooded, and some farmers there suffered serious loss in grain and property damage. Fortunately there was no loss of life, but one young lad

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had quite a narrow escape. The flood caught him while he was driving his tractor, and he just managed to leap on a huge cake of ice and float down the river to safety.

The fire in Hanley town destroyed the main business section of that town. Again there was no loss of life. Well, sometimes out of calamity good comes, and I was pleased to see that out of that flood at Moon Lake, there is going to be an irrigation project undertaken in that district and the neighbouring district of Pike Lake. I believe the level of these lakes is to be raised and some irrigation work is to be undertaken, thanks to our Department of Reconstruction and to the P.F.R.A., jointly working on that project.

Here will be a good place for the new division of the Department of Agriculture, this Irrigation Branch – a fine place for them to do some experimental work this summer, and I am sure they will do the best they can. The soil of Moon Lake district is eminently suitable for market gardening, and I am sure that at this time, when vegetables are so scarce under this austerity program, that this irrigation project in Moon Lake will be very opportune. With the co-operation of the producers and consumers in the City of Saskatoon and elsewhere, I hope there will be an abundant supply of cabbages at less than nine cents per pound.

Now, coming to the Speech from the Throne, which has been so ably dealt with by the Mover, the opening paragraphs are most admirable for clearness, conciseness and accuracy in the summing up of world conditions, and it is not a pleasant picture. It is a picture of a world in which hunger and fear and insecurity are still all too prevalent; and here, it seems to me we agriculturalists of Canada, we farmers, have a part to play. We are a food-exporting nation, and here is a hungry world. The question is, are we doing everything possible? Are we doing all we could do to remedy that desperate situation? I do not think we are.

For one thing, I believe our farmers have not the confidence they should have, to go ahead and put in an all-out program for production. Now I admit I do not know the feeling of the farmers as well as I should; owing to personal reasons I do not even know my own constituency as well as I should, and so I am going to fall back upon the opinion of a gentleman who should know – the Leader of the Opposition in the House of commons, Mr. Bracken. Mr. Bracken, as you know, is an ex-Professor of Agriculture, and he does understand conditions. In Hansard, of Monday, December 8, Page 50, Mr. Bracken has this to say:

“I have mentioned the critical condition of our primary industry. Never before in Canada have I seen the farmers so disturbed or so disillusioned and with so little faith in the future of the industry. They feel that they have been led down an empty trail. In Western Canada the hog industry is back to where it was before the war. Here in Ontario it is rapidly getting back to that position, and the same is true all over Canada in all branches of the livestock industry – beef, hogs, dairying and poultry; and this situation, remember, is in the face of a world that is desperately in need of food.”

Now Mr. Bracken goes on to lay the blame at the door of the Federal Government. I am not concerned in defending the Federal Government although I think some blame can be attached – but I do think there is more than that – I think the cause goes deeper. It may be said that there is enough inducement in high prices for the farmer to produce. Well, prices are high – it must be admitted that they are, but the farmer knows from long experience that that is not the whole answer. There is an old Scottish proverb, very terse and very short, which says: “A Burned Bairn Dreads the Fire”. If you want me to interpret that, it means that the child who has once been burned is ever afterwards afraid of going near the fire. The farmer is in that position today. He has been singed by inflation and scorched by deflation and he dreads the future. He has not the confidence to go ahead and produce as he should in the face of world conditions.

If this were only a Canadian condition, Mr. Bracken might be right in attributing the blame to the present Federal Government, but it is not. If there is any country where the people should be secure and happy, producing confidence, it is in the great Republic to the south of us. They are prosperous, sure, and yet this is the opinion, the summing up of a well-known American writer, George Seldes. This is his summing up of the situation:

“The world moves into opposing camps, and there is not only talk of a coming war, but vast preparations. Nations are impoverished because billions of dollars voted in the annual budgets for war supplies for maintaining armies and navies, for the scientific search for weapons more powerful than the newest, untried atomic super-bombs. Reaction is on the march in many countries. Fascism still exists in some. It is being revived in others. Socialism has been adopted by several nations. Communism has spread throughout a large part of Europe and Asia, and in the United States, for the first time in history, there is a growing doubt that capitalism is the best way of all, the well-advertised American way of life. There is not only great doubt, but even greater confusion in America.

One of the reasons, I think, for this lack of confidence in among the farmers and everyone else is, to some extent, the disappointment that we all feel today. In those long, terrible years of war we

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all buoyed ourselves up with the hope that out of all that misery, out of all that blood and sweat and tears, something better would emerge, something better would come. We have been disappointed. You remember the high hopes that were raised by the Atlantic Charter – that great statesman and great President, Roosevelt, who said that in the New World there should be no want and no hate; and here we are in a world of fear and want and widespread depravity. But Roosevelt did make an attempt to remedy that terrible situation. Roosevelt called a conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, which laid the foundations of an organization which came to be known as the Foods and Agricultural Association, and the objects of that Association were, first of all, to increase agricultural production, and then, if those surpluses did accumulate, the foods and Agricultural Association was to devise ways and means of distributing that surplus to the hungry people of the world who could consume it.

You see, that had been the problem in the pre-war days. Our problem today is as real, however. There is no question about that, the food does not exist; but in those days there was hunger and the food did exist, and we do not want a repetition of that if we can help it, and I do not see how it can be helped. There were some men who said that it could be, and one of them was the head of the Foods and Agricultural organization, Sir John Boyd-Orr. He was a scientist who had made a study of nutrition, and he had found that food and health were linked up. He published a book – I think it was in 1935 – which shook the conscience of the British public. In that book he proved conclusively that half the people in Great Britain had not enough money to buy the food they needed.

Well, that effort of Sir John Boyd-Orr has not been wasted, for I believe that his scientific knowledge which he spread at that time is being used today by the British Labour Government in making available to the people the best possible diets with what food they can get. they cannot get enough, but under Sir John Boyd-Orr's findings they are distributing that food so that it is being made the best use of.

A similar survey in the United States showed almost similar results, and yet today that is one of the fears at the back of the minds of the farmers – What if we do go ahead? What if we do produce? We will all be faced with a surplus, and a surplus means low prices, and I do not see anything to prevent it.

Had the plan which was laid by Sir John Boyd-Orr been carried out, surplus could have been disposed of. Boyd-Orr said that there was no need for farmers to go on producing until they produced themselves into bankruptcy, it was simply foolishness. but what has happened the F.A.O. I am not quite sure, it seems to have faded into the background and free enterprise is once more in the saddle riding high and handsome, and I do not know where it is going or do I think anyone else does.

Here I deplore the lack of leadership in Canada today, because it is the same old group who are saying or doing nothing but marking time. We should be making progress but we are not. Outside of the CCF, platform and policies, and leadership which it is giving, I see no hope at all. Politicians are just carrying on as politicians used to do – the same old way – if anything needs to be done, we'll appoint a committee and let the committee bring in the report and then shelve the report. That is what we are doing today about the high cost of living.

And if we turn to the press there is no leadership in our capitalist prices. We have just one plan and one program, and that is to oppose every progressive measure that is being brought forth.

As I read these papers, as I see the slanted and distorted headlines, and as I read those clever and unscrupulous editorials, I am reminded of a little verse which a British Socialist wrote about the British Press and it applies quite appropriately and probably with some force even to our Canadian Press. This is the verse.

“You cannot hope to bribe or twist,
Thank god, the British Journalist,
But seeing what a man will do, unbribed,
There is no occasion to.”

The mover of the motion said many fine things about our Democratic system, and the Democratic philosophy behind our CCF. Yes, it is a great system, this Democratic system. It can do wondrous things in the way of change, a government can be in power one day and it can be in the opposition the next. In the course of the long years, we have come to regard that as quite in the Democratic condition and we do not object – it is Democracy.

Here in Saskatchewan, the government at that time faced an election and in a few days found they were in the opposition. Well it is usual in such cases, for the defeated party to meet the situation with as much good grace as they can command. It always seemed to me that our opposition never had a very large measure of that good grace and never did seem to accept it democratically. As the time goes on the measure of good grace seems to be coming less and less, and more and more they are trying to infer that this movement is something alien, something foreign and something subversive. Well

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our social democracy is not alien and is not foreign. It is an old philosophy – quite old – it is at least 160 years old and might be more, but I know that 160 years ago, a great poet – his name was Burns – summed up social Democracy this way.

“The wretch who would a tyrant own,
And the wretch his true born brother,
Who would set the mob above the throne,
May they be dammed together”.

“Who will not sing, God Save the King,
Shall hang as high as the steeple,
But while we sing, God Save the King,
We’ll not forget the people”.

And there you have it, written a hundred and sixty years ago but it might have been written yesterday, because you have there a description of the two dictatorships, a dictatorship of the right, the tyrant, and then the communistic dictatorship, ‘who would set the mob above the throne’, is a good description.

Coming down to a later date, we have another great democrat who also stated our philosophy very clearly. He said, whenever there is a conflict between human rights and property rights, human rights must prevail’. Now to our opponents that might sound like a quotation from Karl Marx, but I assure you it is not, it is the words of the greatest democrat this North American continent ever saw, Abraham Lincoln.

I would say to those who say we are a foreign organization, it is nothing of the sort.

Our neighbours to the south who seem to have a special ability for making slogans of one kind and another have recently produced one, they speak about the grass roots, well it is true today that the C.C.F. has its grass roots in Saskatchewan. As long as I can remember I always seemed to know some man who had lost all faith in the two old parties and said that someday the people of this province would elect a third party, a peoples’ government.

The first record which I have is dated February 19, 1914; this was a third party debate at the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Convention, held in Moose Jaw on that date. But, as I recall, there were debates before that time but this is the first of which I have any record. At that convention, the following resolution was made; whereas the present political party system tends to disunite our forces, unimportant questions, vital to the farmers. Therefore let it be resolved that this convention is in favour of a farmers party being brought into existence to be financed by voluntary contributions from local Grain Growers Associations. That you see, was long ago, there was this dissatisfaction with the two old parties, and it increased and grew as the years went by until – well you all know – what happened in June 1944, and I am sorry for the victims of that disaster...

I would say to them, however, that they should not take it too seriously, because it was destined and it was not their fault. It was just a long accumulation all through these years until finally it fell upon them and that was their misfortune. The mistake that the two old Parties always made was that they underestimated the intelligence of the people of this province. They made many mistakes of one kind and another, but that was the fatal one. they realize now, I think, that you cannot fool all the people all of the time – it just cannot be done.

Well, the Mover of the Address reviewed in detail the record of the various departments. He made a very fine job of it, and so I will say nothing more than that I agree with what has been said; but in paying tribute to all these departments I would just say that while it is all true I wish also to pay a tribute to a group of men who are often criticized by our opponents – they usually refer to them as ‘those imported Socialist planners’. We are much indebted to these men, because of the ability and experience which they have given to our problems and our success, I am sure, is to a great extent due to their efforts.

Why our Opposition is so bitter about these ‘imported Socialist planners’ I do not know, because they know quite well that all governments have experts of one sort or another, and that the Federal Government at Ottawa has plenty of expert advisers, but they do not seem to be making a very good job of it. I do not think they have the right kind of planners down there. They may be ‘imported’ – I do not know where they got them – but I would suggest that they get some Socialist planners and then they will have something worthwhile, some constructive program in this Dominion of Canada.

The Speech from the Throne refers to some of our legislature which has been contested in courts and which is at present in an uncertain state, some of it going to the Privy Council. I am very sorry that among those measures is The Farm Security Act, because that is a piece of legislation which we farmers felt very proud of – I know I did. I felt when that Act was passed that here was something that we had accomplished; if we never did anything else we had put the indebted farmer in a more equal position with his creditors.

Three thousand years ago a very wise man said a very wise thing. He said – “The borrower shall be servant to the lender.” It was true then, and it is true today, but I do think that we have been too

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much the servants of the mortgage companies, and the mortgage companies have been too much our masters. I believe that it is not so much the fact of what the mortgage companies are going to lose, that they are worrying about, but they are worrying about losing their power – they are not going to be the masters that they were in the past, if this legislation goes on the Statute books, as I hope it will.

Then, some of our labour legislation has been contested. As a farmer, I would like to follow the example of the Mover of the Motion in saying a few complimentary words about labour.

We have been told for so long, by wise men both of the East and probably of the West, that labourers and farmers could never get along, could never agree. Well, this group is giving them the lie. Whatever happens to us old farmer M.L.A.'s in the days to come I do not know, but one thing I am sure of, that we, in looking back upon the time we spent here, will always recall with happiness our associations with those men who represent labour. Our relations have been very cordial indeed – and why should they not be? We of the C.C.F. understand the philosophy of labour. We understand that when labour is not unionized it is generally (not always, but generally) underpaid, underfed and underprivileged. We do not want conditions like that in Saskatchewan, and so among the first things this labour government did, this C.C.F. Government, was to go out and organize as many labour unions as possible. I am not going to try to outline that legislation. Labour legislation is quite complicated, and frankly, I probably have not paid the attention to it that I should have; but I would like to say something of the philosophy of labour.

I remember reading a book by a man called Huxley – he called it, I think, *The Brave New World*. It was a fantastic, nonsensical sort of thing, and at first I thought of throwing it aside, and then I realized that he had something, because in this 'brave new world' he was writing about, there were two classes – the one class was the masters and the other class was the workers. But these were not ordinary men, they were created by some special scientific process which left them near roots. they were men without souls. And I have often thought that that was what capitalism would really like to have as workers – men who were only bodies, and with the souls crushed out of them; and in the long and dark history of capitalism, that has too often happened. but you see, a working man has a soul too, as well as his master.

One day Robbie Burns was out walking somewhere and he saw a poor working man asking a neighbouring rich landlord for work, and as we would say, he was given the 'brush off', and so burns went on burning with indignation and he wrote those lines:

“For if to be yon landlord’s slave,
By nature I’m designed,
Why was an independent wish,
Ere planted in my mind.”

And all the long years since that have not given an adequate answer, but we are coming nearer to it.

The day is coming, I believe, when labour will be in full partnership with capital and they will have something to say a bout the production and management and all the rest of it.

I am not trying to suggest that the problems before us are of easy solution, and you could elect a CCF Government in every province in Canada, and in the Dominion House in Ottawa, and we would still have a lot of problems.

The biggest problem of all is to reconcile two things; is to reconcile what I have just been saying, that is to establish an economic order which will be so regulated that it will function efficiently, and still leave men with that measure of freedom and liberty to which he is most justly entitled.

Again, I make no apology for quoting Robbie Burns:

“Preserve the dignity of man,
With soul erect,
And trust the universal plan
Will all protect.”

If I had my way, Mr. Speaker, I would have those lines engraved over the doors of every parliament everywhere, whether it was Moscow or Washington; London or Regina, because that is the supreme task which confronts all Legislatures, to preserve the freedom and then, to yet give them economic security.

I have much pleasure in seconding the motion.