

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF SASKATCHEWAN
Fourth Session – Twelfth Legislature
10th Day

Wednesday, February 22, 1956

The House met at 2:30 o'clock p.m.

On the Orders of the Day:

DEBATE ON ADDRESS-IN-REPLY

The House resumed, from Tuesday, February 21, 1956, the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Brown (Last Mountain) for the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne.

Mr. S.H. Carr (Rosthern): — Mr. Speaker, before I adjourned the debate yesterday, I said some things in the Throne Speech pleased me. Today I would like to speak about some things that I regret. The first thing that I would like to draw to the attention of the House is my impression of the debate so far.

Some of the speeches, particularly from the Cabinet Ministers, in my opinion, have been beneath the standard expected of statesmen. Some of the vicious attacks on the Opposition have been unworthy of representatives of this Government of the people of Saskatchewan. I had expected, in view of the fact that we would be having an election this year, as everyone expects, that the Government, particularly the Cabinet Ministers, would present to this House their proposals for the development of Saskatchewan during the next four or five years.

Instead of that, a great deal of time has been taken up in attacking the Opposition, and particular attention has been given to the Leader of the Opposition. Those same tactics were used in 1948 to attack the Leader of the Opposition, to criticize him, to put him down in the opinion of the people, and the same tactics are used now.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank (Minister of Natural Resources): — I imagine that's why he isn't here.

Mr. Carr: — I would like to serve warning on this Government and the C.C.F. Party that the people of Saskatchewan are sick and tired of that kind of politics in this province.

Now it appears to me that there are three points that are bothering the Government, and they arise out of suggestions that have been made by the Opposition. The first one is that the Liberal Party is sabotaging industrial development in this province.

Some Govt. Member: — Yes.

Mr. Carr: — The hon. members agree. And the second one is that the Liberal Party does not care what happens to the farmers.

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Some Govt. Member: — Agreed.

Mr. Carr: — They agree. The third one is — and this is bothering the C.C.F. a great deal, and bothering this Government a great deal, perhaps because the thing is sound, and that is because the Liberal Party has undertaken to bring power to the farmers without capital outlay for the distribution system, and to refund the cost paid by farmers who have had power installed.

The fourth one is the Liberal Party's contention that the municipalities in Saskatchewan are not getting a fair deal from this Government and that this Government has failed to solve the problems facing the municipal councils in Saskatchewan.

The Government has endeavoured to prove that they have been very kind to the municipalities. The Government has endeavoured to prove that it is impossible to bring power to the farmers without charging them at least half of the cost of the distribution system; they have endeavoured to prove, as I mentioned, that the Liberals do not care about the plight of the farmers, and that the Liberals are sabotaging industrial development.

I would like to deal first with the question of industrial development, and who is sabotaging it in this province. The hon. member for Pelly (Mr. Feusi) yesterday brought into his remarks the Weston Bakeries. He made some to-do about the fact that they had made a profit, that they had sufficient funds to buy a chain of grocery stores in the United States at a cost of \$3 million. He went on to say that the problems in Saskatchewan were aggravated by the fact that the Federal Government took off price controls. Several other members on the other side said that our problems were aggravated because the Federal Government had removed price controls.

Hon. Mr. Kuziak (Minister of Telephones): — And increase all our taxes!

Mr. Carr: — Now, it is quite apparent to everyone in this House that the C.C.F. believe that price control is a sound, economic measure. That is price control on the things that industry has to sell. They are absolutely opposed to control of wages. Now if wages are uncontrolled and the price of the product that the manufacturer has to sell is controlled, then there will be no profits for industry. To now . . .

Mr. Erb (Milestone): — Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon. member a question?

Some Opposition Members: — Sit down, sit down!

Mr. Speaker: — Order! Is the hon. member willing to answer a question?

Mr. Carr: — No, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Erb: — I would like to ask the hon. member . . .

Some Opposition Members: — Sit down, sit down!

Mr. Carr: — Mr. Speaker, our time is limited, limited by action of this Government.

Some Opposition Members: — Hear, hear!

Mr. Carr: — I did not interrupt any speaker on the government side during air time, and I hope that no speaker will interrupt me during air time. I will answer any questions after air time, but I won't be able to now. If the House will give me permission, I will answer any questions after air time.

Mr. Speaker, I said that the policies advocated by the C.C.F. Government would destroy the profits of industry. How are you going to induce industry to come to Saskatchewan if the fundamental policy of the C.C.F. is that they cannot make a profit?

The hon. Minister of Agriculture in a very bitter attack against the Liberal Party yesterday, a very bitter attack against the Leader of the Opposition, said many things that I won't have time to deal with today. But one thing he did say, "Mr. Nollet contended, according to the 'Leader-Post', that without the Dam, there was no possibility of industrial development in Saskatchewan. Without power there is no opportunity for industrial development." That may be a very sound observation, but what does the industrialist in eastern Canada and the United States think when a Minister of the Crown says that there isn't sufficient power for industry here. Well, he says: "I will write off Saskatchewan as far as industry is concerned".

Who then is sabotaging industrial development in this province? The policies of this Government and the policies of the C.C.F.

Some Opposition Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Carr: — If this Government wishes to encourage industry to come to Saskatchewan, let them bring in a resolution in this Session that they repudiate the Regina manifesto, that they believe in free enterprise and industrial development. So I think that the people of Saskatchewan know who is keeping industry out of Saskatchewan.

No another point that the members on the other side have tried to put over, is that the Liberals do not care what happens to the farmers. They have made a great to-do about cash advances on farm-stored grain. They accuse the Liberals of not wanting to deal with it, not wanting to talk about it. I do not think that anybody in the Liberal Party needs to be afraid to talk about cash advances on farm-stored grain.

Some Govt. Member: — Walter Tucker is.

Mr. Carr: — When the C.C.F. Party was organized in this province, they believed that it was sound policy to take over and control the means of production, distribution, and so on. Now what have some of the hon. members on the other side said. I believe I read in the paper last fall that the Minister of Agriculture said:

“The farms have done their job, now they should be paid.”

The Premier, the other day, said:

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“They have produced the wheat, now they should have their wages.”

The Minister of Education said:

“Now they should have their wages.”

That is the way they do in Russia. When the people produce the wheat it becomes the property of the Crown. The C.C.F. didn't have the, well, I won't use the word, they didn't have the intestinal fortitude to socialize agriculture. Now they are asking the Federal Government through the Wheat Board to socialize agriculture.

Premier Douglas: — Is that why you voted for cash advances in 1953?

Mr. Carr: — The hon. Premier, Mr. Speaker, has an excellent memory, but he should know that I was not in the House in 1953.

Some Opposition Members: — Hear, hear!

Premier Douglas: — All your colleagues voted for it.

Mr. Carr: — The Liberals do care about farmers, the Liberals are pledged to assist farmers in every way possible, particularly to help them to improve their economic position; that is why the Liberals say at the present time, because farmers are having difficulty, particularly the smaller farmers, that power should be brought to them without capital cost.

The hon. member for Pelly (Mr. Feusi) yesterday said, in praising the Power Corporation, that by the end of this year 40,000 farmers will have received power. That is excellent. The farmers of Saskatchewan and the Liberal Party are pleased that so many have received power, but there are still, according to the hon. member for Pelly, 70,000 farmers who haven't got power. In most cases, through my district and your districts, it is the poorer farmers who haven't got power. If we are to keep them on the farm, it is necessary that means be found to bring power to them, and the Liberal Party has offered the solution to bring them power, without capital cost.

Some Govt Member: — That's about all they are going to do.

Mr. Carr: — Not all the farmers are poor, and not all farmers are rich. The efficient grain farmer has been getting along quite well, and actually is not suffering very much right now. The man who has balanced agriculture, who depends for part of his income on some livestock, is not doing too badly, but if he is to stay in business he must have all the help that the government can give to assist him to mechanize his operations, to cut down his labour costs, so that he can produce his products more cheaply.

That is why we believe that every farmer should be assisted in every way possible.

Mr. Wooff (Turtleford): — That's the way they do in Russia.

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Carr: — Now, now, my hon. friend.

Some Hon. Member: — Why don't you go there if you like it.

Mr. Carr: — Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable said in this House in regard to the assistance, the great help, that has been given to the municipalities.

Mr. Walker (Gravelbourg): — All through with cash advances?

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Carr: — The hon. member asks am I through with cash advances. There has been a Committee set up in this House to deal with this matter. There is a resolution on the Order Paper also. Does the hon. member want us to talk about cash advances in every debate?

Mr. Walker: — I want to hear your views on it.

Mr. McCarthy (Cannington): — If you'll keep quiet we will get a chance to hear him talk.

Mr. Cameron (Maple Creek): — He can't keep quiet.

Mr. Carr: — As I was saying, Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable said in this House about the millions of dollars of help that has been given to municipalities. The Liberals have said that the Government has done nothing to help the municipalities. I am sure that the general public would be rather confused if they didn't know the situation, but I am afraid that they do know the situation; but the hon. members on the other side try by words to convince themselves that the municipalities are in good shape, and that this Government should have the credit for this condition.

I would like to read the last two paragraphs of the brief that the Urban Municipalities Association presented to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. This is taken from the Western Municipal News:

“At the request of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life a brief was presented on behalf of the Saskatchewan Urban Municipalities Association at a hearing of the Commission held on October 8th, 1953. The substance of the brief pointed out the problems being posed to the urban municipalities by the shift from rural to urban life. The following which are the two concluding paragraphs of the brief sums up the arguments.”

This is from the brief:

“The Association feels it can be of little service in analyzing rural trends. It does submit, however, that if the Royal Commission concludes there will be a continuation of the large population shift from rural to urban life, or from smaller to larger urban centres, then it might appear altogether advisable for the Provincial Government to examine very closely and promptly the difficulties which beset the urban municipalities and the limitations under which they operate as creates of government.

“Many students in the field of government have expressed the opinion that vigorous local self government is necessary to maintain democracy in national politics and government. In other words, democracy, like charity, begins at home. It will not be a healthy situation, therefore, if urban municipalities lose that sense of vigorous self government, by operating with a feeling of continued frustration.”

Now, Mr. Speaker in the few minutes that I have I cannot hope to deal with the problems of the municipalities of Saskatchewan in an adequate manner. I can lay only briefly the problem before this House, and discuss some of the things that should be done. The feeling of frustration applies to rural municipalities as well as to urban municipalities.

Now, we say that the government has done nothing. All this Government has proposed to solve the problems of municipalities is a suggestion or a proposal that municipalities be reorganized into larger units. Now, Mr. Speaker, there has not been one shred of evidence brought forward to prove that larger units will solve the problems that are facing municipalities. The Government had that idea several years ago, that larger municipal units would solve the problems of the municipalities, the same as they hoped that larger school units would solve the problem of education in Saskatchewan. In the 194 Session, a Committee was appointed to look into this question of larger municipal units. They heard briefs from various organizations and individuals. I hoped that I could have had a copy of that brief, but it is not available. If the Committee reported to the Government, the Government didn't make its report available to the public. But there is some indication of the Government's attitude in regard to larger municipal units. I have here a copy of a speech made by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, in 1945, the Hon. Mr. Brockelbank, who said at that time speaking on the organization of the municipalities:

“I have had resolutions favouring it and some asking for a vote to be taken. On the question of a vote, I want to point out to you that there was no vote taken when the present municipal boundaries were set up.

“Legislation is being prepared which will be introduced in the House, I believe, which will give to the Minister power to endorse a map of the boundaries.”

No consideration of what the municipalities wanted! That was the intention of the Government.

“How will we get this map? We will do the best we can with your Executive, and I think that we will send it out to the municipalities in Saskatchewan and some will simply throw it away, because you cannot make larger units and have every municipality still exist.

“We will get proposals from the people suggesting changes and some of them will be worthwhile. There will have to be some minor adjustments to the Rural Municipality Act to make it fit into the picture, but that’s the general outline of the legislation being prepared at this time.”

The next year, however, I suppose the Government had had a report, because the Minister of Municipal Affairs at the Convention mentioned that a Committee had been appointed, and he said:

“I want to say, this Committee up to date, if it never does anything more, has done work which has been worthwhile. A great many people have submitted briefs, and discussed this whole question of Municipal Government before the Committee. That in itself has been of definite value.”

Now that was all that was done by this Government for municipalities until 1948. You know, in 1946, the Federal Government, following the Rowell-Sirois Commission report, had got the provinces together to work out some new sharing of responsibilities and new sharing of tax revenue. The Federal Government had realized, as everybody in Saskatchewan had realized, that there must be a change in the responsibilities for the load that was put on municipalities; that the Provincial and the Federal governments must assume some of this burden, that new revenues must be found to pay for the services that were left to be provided, and that there was to be a co-operation between Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments.

Now, I can’t find the words to express the situation more clearly than the Premier did at the Convention of the Association of Rural Municipalities in 1948. He said:

“At almost every turn, people are assisted and affected by government in some form, be it municipally, provincially, or federally.

“It is, therefore, extremely essential that we should have a proper integration among these respective governments and that we should have a proper division of responsibility among these governments, and proper allocation of the financial sources of revenue to which these respective governments should have access.”

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Further, towards the end of his speech, he said:

“We have been discussing the Federal-Provincial arrangement and the policies, the things that the Federal Government would assume and how they would share the revenues with the Provinces.”

He went on, later on:

“We feel that the job is just being begun. We are proposing to have a Provincial-Municipal Conference to do on a Provincial-Municipal level which already has been started on a Dominion-Provincial level.”

Mr. Cameron: — What a hurry they are in. That was four years ago.

Mr. McDonald (Leader of the Opposition): — Eight years ago.

Mr. Carr: — “That is, just as the Dominion-Provincial governments have sat down together, and should sit down together, and should sit down together again, to work out their respective fields of responsibility, and their respective fields of income, necessary to discharge those responsibilities. So we think the time has come for the Provincial Government and the municipalities, both urban and rural, to sit down and work out the same problems. Thus we will be better able to decide who will be responsible for each government function, and where each authority will be expected to secure the money to discharge those particular responsibilities.

“We already have some men who are well qualified to do research on these problems, and as soon as they have gathered sufficient data, so that we can place these problems and some of the recommended solutions before you, such a Conference will be convened, and we will try to work out our Provincial-Municipal relationships so that each of us will know clearly where our responsibility begins and where it ends, and secondly, where we can secure the money to discharge those responsibilities.”

Mr. Speaker, if the Government had done that in 1948 or 1949, the Liberal Party would not now say that the Government has done nothing for municipalities.

Some Opposition Member: — Hear, hear!

Mr. Loptson (Saltcoats): — Very good indeed.

Mr. Carr: — Now, Mr. Speaker, some of the hon. members opposite have said that “it is unfair and unjust for the Liberals to say that this Government hasn’t treated the municipalities well”. The member for Redberry and the member for Kelvington, in their speeches, commended the Government for how it had helped the municipalities. According to the press report the member for Kelvington said that: “In the last six

years under the C.C.F. his constituency had got \$182,462 in assistance from this Government. That is for roads.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are about 45 rural constituencies, if you multiply that by 45, it is more than twice as much as all the grants that were given to the municipalities in those six years.

Mr. Howe (Kelvington): — This wasn't all grants, Mr. Speaker, it was bridges, and grants for special projects.

Mr. Speaker: — Order! Order!

Mr. Carr: — I know, I know, I know all about it, but it's more than twice as much . . .

Mr. Cameron: — . . . campaign funds . . .

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Carr: — Now, the hon. member for Redberry said that in 1952 and 1953 the municipalities in his constituency had got \$70,000 in market road equalization grants, and if you multiply that by 45 it is more than five times as much as the grants that were given in the Province for those purposes.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that while some assistance is being given to the municipalities, it is not being given on a fair and equitable basis. The amounts of grants that are given to municipalities according to what the Minister of Highways told the Executive of the S.A.R.M. was that it exceeded the amount of the equalization grant. Because, Mr. Speaker, grants are given to some municipalities because of their bargaining position. I would like to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if the constituency of Kelvington and the constituency of Redberry got extra grants, it is because they were in a better bargaining position than some other constituencies — my own for instance.

Hon. Mr. Burton (Provincial Secretary): — Humboldt, too.

Mr. Carr: — Speaking at his nominating convention, the hon. member for Redberry, this last summer, said:

“The constituency of Redberry has received more special grants toward the grid system than any other constituency in the Province”.

Now, I mentioned a few minutes ago that if our governments were to give the kind of service that the people wanted, then we must have some kind of co-operation between all three levels of government (Federal, Provincial and Municipal). Our Federal system is based on those three levels of government working together in harmony. Because of the difficult times that we had in the 'thirties' people realize all over this country that there must be a sharing of these responsibilities. The Liberal government at Ottawa has done its part as far as municipalities are concerned.

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Mr. Feusi (Pelly): — Where?

Mr. Carr: — I am glad you asked that. In the constituency of Kelvington from 1939 to 1954, the Federal Government paid in Prairie Farm Assistance alone \$799,999.

Mr. Howe: — I never mentioned Prairie Farm Assistance, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Carr: — I didn't say you did, I am just showing that the Federal Government did far more for you than the Provincial Government did.

Now, the constituency of Redberry received \$3,455,000. Let's take the Premier's seat — his constituency received \$4,283,000.

Mr. Willis (Melfort-Tisdale): — How much did they pay in levies?

Premier Douglas: — Over what period of time?

Mr. Carr: — From 1939 to 1955.

Premier Douglas: — How much did they collect in one per cent levy at that time?

Mr. McCarthy: — About one-third of it.

Premier Douglas: — No, no, in that seat, in that seat.

Mr. Carr: — Mr. Speaker, the Premier thinks I don't know.

Premier Douglas: — I would just like to find out.

Mr. Carr: — In that period — it is going to take up my time, but I will tell you. In that period the total paid out was \$126,895,805, and of that they collected in the one per cent in Saskatchewan, approximately \$50 million. Is that good enough?

Premier Douglas: — No, I was asking by constituencies, but I don't want to interrupt my hon. friend.

Mr. McCarthy: — That's very nice of you.

Mr. Carr: — The Minister of Education mentioned about the help too. The Federal Government helped his constituency far more than the Provincial Government has ever helped it.

Hon. Mr. Sturdy (Minister of Social Welfare): — What did they pay out in salaries?

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Carr: — By \$5,368,000. And the hon. member for Pelly said that the Liberal Party had a deliberate plan to destroy

agriculture. There isn't anything, there isn't any statute that has been passed in Canada that helped the municipalities more than the Prairie Farm Assistance Act.

Some Opposition Members: — Hear, hear!

Mr. Carr: — Another measure that has helped the municipalities a great deal is the Family Allowance. In 1954, if it hadn't been for the Family Allowance there would have been a great deal more paid for social aid in this Province; \$20 million a year. The Province hasn't assumed any of that. The Old Age Pensioners over 70 - \$20 some million a year. These measures have helped the municipalities a great deal. Unemployment Insurance – and now this new plan to assist when the unemployment goes over a certain figure is bound to help the municipalities more. All of these laws have been put in the statutes of Canada.

Now then, sure this Government has assumed certain costs of social aid, this Government has assumed certain costs for the health and welfare of our aged and our unfortunate people, but it is not on the statutes of Saskatchewan. The law of Saskatchewan is that the municipality is responsible for all of these things. The Cabinet could tomorrow decide to discontinue supplementary allowances. It could decide to discontinue paying the medical costs for the aged, without bringing the matter before this Legislature. The burden would be thrown back on the municipalities.

The time has come, Mr. Speaker, when the municipalities must have a new deal. Their responsibilities and their sources of revenue must be clearly defined by law, and this Government can never say that they have helped the municipalities until they have put such laws on the statutes of this province.

Some Opposition Members: — Hear, hear!

Mr. Carr: — Now, Mr. Speaker, my time is almost up, but I would like to say this that this Government has failed to solve the problems of the municipalities and that they are afraid to give the municipalities the help they need, because if the municipalities are free and independent, socialism can never come to Saskatchewan.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, it appears that it is customary in this Session to quote a little poetry. The members opposite are trying to convince themselves, by words, that they have helped the people of Saskatchewan a great deal – the farmers, the municipalities, everyone. Now I think that the hon. members should read some of the books of poetry that the Premier does; I would refer them, Mr. Speaker, to the words of Robert Burns; when they say that they are helping municipalities, that they are the champion of the farmer, that they are the friend of industry, that they are the benefactor of the unfortunate. I would ask them to read just that part:

“O wad som Pow’r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!”

I will not support the motion, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. E. Kramer (The Battlefords): — Mr. Speaker, in rising in this debate, I would like to congratulate all the previous speakers, especially the mover and seconder, the Leader of the Opposition and our Premier.

This document, the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Speaker, is one of the best that has been brought down since I have been sitting on this side of the House. I want to say that all the previous contributors to this debate have acquitted themselves well, considering the material they had at hand. There is not a great deal more to be said in this debate; there is not a great deal new that can be brought in. I hope to be able to say a few words on topics that have not been dealt with a little later on. I feel that I must draw the attention of this House and of the public who are listening on the air, and who will read the press, to some of the statements that have been made by the members opposite.

You know, Mr. Speaker, when the Premier got through, I said there was not a great deal left to be said; and I think by now, the way the Opposition have been squirming, they must be busy on their second pair of pants, and I think the Leader of the Opposition has gone through three pair.

Mr. McCarthy (Cannington): — A nice comparison, eh?

Mr. Kramer: — I would like to say that these hon. members, and especially the Leader of the Opposition, have been, for the last 18 months, going up and down the length and breadth of Saskatchewan suggesting that the only problem that we have in Saskatchewan is high taxes, and that if we could only reduce the burden of taxes on the municipalities, school and municipal, all our troubles would be over. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that that is nothing short of ridiculous.

I wonder how long a man is going to be excused, such as the Leader of the Opposition, who was born and raised in this country, for making the juvenile statements that a 12-year-old schoolchild would know better. He must accept the responsibility. It is not good for people to say that the Leader of the Opposition is a young man, and, after all, he is bound to make a few mistakes, and he is bound to misjudge. When one accepts the leadership of a political party, I believe that they have to forget some of their silly statements and ridiculous behaviour, and get down to some serious thinking.

I don't know how we can continue to be subjected to this type of tripe. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw the attention of this House to the fact that now, I am going to speak for northwestern Saskatchewan and the people in my constituency, and the area surrounding my constituency. The hon. gentlemen opposite have said in this House that nothing has been done. Well, I would like to have them say that up in our area, where there are miles and miles of power lines, miles and miles of new roads; very few of the highways that existed in 1944 have not been re-built. There are a very few miles on No. 29 Highway and a few miles on No. 40 that have not been completely rebuilt since 1944. You also

have the services now, and I think that this is something that we should be made aware of, and the public should have their attention drawn to; the fact that towns and villages, which, a few years ago, never thought of getting out to the larger centres so that they could take advantages of some of the facilities in the larger towns and cities, are now getting, almost 12 months of the year, use of their automobile licences.

Those are the things that the people of Saskatchewan are grateful for, and that is the situation now. On the farms and in the villages they have been brought into a new way of life through improved roads, improved maintenance, extension of various services.

The hon. member for Rosthern (Mr. Carr) made the accusation of favouritism in grants to municipalities, and he referred to the member for Redberry (Mr. Zipchen) and the constituency of Redberry. That constituency of Redberry lies just north of the constituency of The Battlefords, and I want to say that the grants that were received in the constituency of Redberry were far greater than the grants that were received in the constituency of The Battlefords, and rightly so, because there was a far greater need. Due to the complete neglect and disregard of that area by previous governments, not one single mile of highway had been built in that vast area throughout Meeting Lake, and Rabbit Lake, and Mayfair. Nothing had been done through that area, and those people were wallowing in the mud from spring until fall, and then snow-bound for six months of the year. Today, even in a winter such as this, Mr. Speaker, more and more of them are able to get out to the city of North Battleford and have a little touch, a little bit of social contact with the outside world, simply because this Government has recognized the needs of these areas which had been neglected for years.

You only need to take one look at the highway map, and you will see that vast section that was not served. Sure, it is an area that is not highly assessed; and if the hon. member for Rosthern suggests that, for instance, a municipality with some 50 or 60 miles of highway running through it should get the same assistance as a municipality that hasn't one foot of highway in it, I suggest that he is just "off his eggs".

I want to suggest that the hon. member for Turtleford (Mr. Wooff), and the hon. member for Redberry (Mr. Zipchen) have worked very closely together. They know their constituencies like they know the back of their hands, and they know the problems in those constituencies. When they took their places in this House, they commenced working then; they recognized the need for this market road grid, and, because of their work, because they drew the attention of the Department of Highways to the fact that these roads would automatically and absolutely be in the grid because there was no other route, that grid had been started two years previous and is well on the way now to completion. Those people in the Redberry constituency and in Turtleford constituency are seeing some light ahead for an all-weather winter road system throughout their entire area.

I heard the candidate for Redberry constituency speaking not so long ago about a need for a highway in Redberry constituency,

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and that we should have a highway through Redberry constituency. Is he going to suggest that one highway through the middle of that vast area is going to be better for all of the people of Redberry than a network of all-weather market roads that is going to bring roads within two and three miles of most of the people in that area?

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank (Minister of Natural Resources): — Which candidate?

Mr. Kramer: — Mr. Korchinski, the Liberal candidate, I mean.

Mr. McCarthy: — Another political speech, eh? You're not campaigning now, you're in the Legislature.

Mr. Kramer: — Yes, I'm quite aware of that.

Mr. McCarthy: — When's the election?

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — In less than six years, anyway.

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Kramer: — Mr. Speaker, I want to contrast the hard work and diligence of these two members who are my neighbours, to the antics, for instance, of the member for Meadow Lake (Mr. Dunfield). To hear him you would think there was nothing in Meadow Lake constituency but muskeg and muskrats. You would not think, for instance, that the town of Meadow Lake, and the area surrounding Meadow Lake, was a great producer, and one of the best producers, of cattle, hogs, wheat and coarse grains in Saskatchewan; or that it is known, and the people in that area proudly refer to it, as the 'Garden of the North', and it is.

You would never think, to hear the hon. member from Meadow Lake, that there was a problem in wheat, or in livestock, or that there ever has been. The only thing that he can see is a few select friends, some of them who used to sit on top of the pile and exploit the trapper and the Indian up in that area, and dabbles with the people he chooses to speak for in this House. Those are the people he feels he is responsible to; not the vast group of farmers and cattlemen in that area; just a few people who have exploited the north, and have no other interest in it except to continue to do that.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words about an editorial in the 'Leader-Post' . . .

Mr. Danielson (Arm River): — Here we go!

Mr. Kramer: — . . . when they referred to the 'shadow cabinet', these shadows that are looming up — they have more the resemblance of spectres, Mr. Speaker, than shadows. Referring to the proposed Minister of Labour, I want to quote from a speech he made in this House on March 18, 1954, (Mr. Dunfield, the member from Meadow Lake). I would like to quote from what he said just to give you some idea who is going to be in charge of the Department of Labour in Saskatchewan, should, by

some foul chance, the Liberal ever regain power. Here is what he said, quoting from page 17 of the Journals of this Assembly, the third paragraph:

“When prohibition ended in the United States, a great many gangsters lost their most lucrative source of income, and looking around for replacements, they saw within the unions there they could find an incoming power beyond their wildest dreams. They muscled in, and took over by any means, by fair or foul, and it was then that the day of lawlessness in unions was launched.

“I do not think this lawlessness which has become apparent is contributable, in any way, to that great body of men and women who constitute the bulk of the membership of the union, but nevertheless they must be held responsible for that lawlessness.”

That’s the new Minister of Labour for Saskatchewan, Mr. Speaker. Isn’t that a nice start?

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — That’s a real nice start.

Mr. Kramer: — I’m sure the union people in Saskatchewan and throughout Canada will be interested to know what the attitude of the Liberal Party, and their proposed new Minister of Labour, is towards unionists.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote, from a booklet entitled, ‘The Power of Abundance’. It is a booklet containing the submission of Walter Reuther, one of these ‘lawless gangsters’ in the United States that ‘muscled in’ and took over the unions of the United States. Walter Reuther – speaking for labour? No, not for labour, Mr. Speaker; but speaking for agriculture, and bringing in his submission to the House of Representatives on behalf of the farmers for parity prices. Mr. Reuther stated, among other things, that one of the greatest unions in the United States stood fairly and squarely behind the application and the payment of parity prices to the farmers of the United States.

Contrary to the statements that are being made by the Liberal Party, and those who would drive a wedge between labour and farmer here in western Canada, these labour unions in Canada and the United States have come out and said they are for a parity price, or a price based on the cost of production to the farmers because they know, Mr. Speaker, that as long as the farmer is securing a good price, an equitable price, for the things he produces, there will not be a depression on the North American continent.

I would like to suggest this document for reading by the hon. member from Meadow Lake, and the rest of the members opposite; also for the hon. member for Rosthern who says now – it’s quite interesting that in 1953, Tuesday, April 7, every member opposite, including his

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predecessor, the hon. Leader of the Opposition at that time (Mr. Tucker), voted for this resolution. The wording of the resolution was this:

‘That, in view of the fact that present public grain storage and transportation facilities seriously failed to meet the present day conditions arising in part from farm mechanization, and inequalities in the quota system, this Assembly urges that, in the interests of orderly marketing and the stabilizing of farm income, the Federal Government make immediate provision for a storage payment, comparable to elevator storage charges on grain suitably stored by farmers; and the substantial advance payments on grain stored in approved bins’.

The debate continuing, the question being put, it was agreed to unanimously, in this House. Now it becomes “Communitic”, Mr. Speaker, though that is what these people voted for two or three years ago.

Hon. Mr. Nollet (Minister of Agriculture): — All but him!

Mr. Kramer: — All but him! No, he wasn’t here. I wonder what his stand is now? Will he stand up in this House and say whether he is, or is not, for advance payments on farm-stored grain today? We know where they stand, but we want the public to know, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Lopton (Saltcoats): — Well, you’ll know.

Mr. Cameron (Maple Creek): — You’ll know before you want to.

Mr. Kramer: — I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that these people go around whining, and telling through their P.F.A.A. inspectors, the paid political organization of ‘Jimmy’ Gardiner (the Liberals keep their political organization going through the expenditure of public funds). Then he has the nerve to get up here and talk about those payments, Mr. Speaker, that were given under the P.F.F.A. last year. He has the audacity to brag in this House about an Act that has been outdated ever since 1939.

They have done nothing to change that Act. In 1939 when that Act was brought in it was a good Act, and it meant something. We thought we were well on the way then, to a stabilized system of crop insurance. Since that day, it has deteriorated year by year into a cheap, political organization. Just read the 600 and some odd names that are on the P.F.A.A. roster as hirelings and inspectors that go around, doing a job that is totally unnecessary, Mr. Speaker; running through the country, last year, inspecting crops that everybody knew had rotted two months before; going back time and time again to farms and spreading their little bit of political propaganda about taxes, school taxes, and one thing and another, and about this “dictatorial Socialist Government”.

I would like to compare that prepaid crop-failure insurance to our own Saskatchewan Hospitalization insurance, where we have used the existing facilities of municipal secretaries and town clerks to collect that tax, and it has been done with a minimum of expense. What would the 'Leader-Post' and these members opposite have said, Mr. Speaker, had we hired tax collectors to roam around the country, collecting this tax from every Tom, Dick and Harry; going back and forth, running up mileage?

We know, Mr. Speaker, what the cost of the administration of the P.F.A.A. is, and it is completely and absolutely ridiculous, to say nothing about some of the extra 'stooges' that are hired by P.F.A.A. We know about them, too. We have a list of every name and address, and the amount they are paid. There never was a blot of the pages of the history of Saskatchewan like a prepaid insurance scheme such as that.

Mr. Cameron: — Keep it up; you're defeating yourself right now!

Mr. McCarthy: — You're doing fine — keep it up!

Mr. Kramer: — Mr. Speaker, we have suggested, and the farm organizations — the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, a municipal association, too; the Farmers' Union and the Pools — have suggested that last year this Act be up-dated. If they had done that, then, I think and rightly so, the members opposite could have got up and bragged in this House; if they had brought that Act in line with the present cost of production. But they are trying to administer that Act with a 1939 dollar; with a maximum of \$500 per farm, which does not even pay the fuel bill on the average farm today.

Mr. Speaker, I think that is enough to be said about these gratuitous payments that the member for Rosthern talks about, and the wonderful advantages that we are enjoying because of them.

Family allowances? Certainly they are appreciated, Mr. Speaker, but it is strange to say the Act was introduced in 1945, the same time that the Federal Government relinquished price controls. Shortly after that they increased the federal sales tax from 8 per cent to 10 per cent. The returns to the national treasury, due to the increased cost of living, and the fact that we were paying 20 cents where we used to pay 8 cents on every article we had to buy for groceries and clothing; on everything we had to buy, the Federal treasury got twice as much back in sales tax after inflation set in than it ever paid out in Mothers' Allowance, so the result was this: they took it out of one of our pockets, and put it back in another.

Mr. Danielson: — That's just the time the Provincial Treasurer increased the tax by 50 per cent.

Mr. Kramer: — Mr. Speaker, I hope they can find better material to brag about in this House from now on, and I hope that, instead of those members across the floor standing there, throwing up a smoke screen in an effort to protect the Liberal Government at Ottawa; why, Mr. Speaker, you would think they weren't members for Saskatchewan at all. You would think they were members

from Ontario or Quebec, shipped in here to protect the Liberal Government at Ottawa. The antics they go through, and the efforts they make, trying to protect the Liberal Government at Ottawa, and their great god, Gardiner, and his mistakes; and C.D. Howe and his mistakes; it is completely and absolutely ridiculous.

Mr. Danielson: — You're getting worse all the time.

Mr. Kramer: — They sure are getting worse all the time. There's no doubt about that.

Mr. Lopton: — You're certainly doing wonders; you're miring in the mud.

Mr. Kramer: — Mr. Speaker, every farm organization and every business organization in western Canada, or at least in Saskatchewan (we're talking about Saskatchewan), have asked the Retail Merchants' Association that this advance payment on farm-stored grain be paid. The only ones that say it can't be done, or won't be done, are the people who can do something about it — who can pay the farmer the money that he has coming to him. If he had not done the job he was supposed to do — he has bought the tractors; he has bought the expensive machinery which is made in eastern Canada and the United States; he has been up at 5 o'clock in the morning and gone out there and planted that crop; he has reaped and harvested it; paid for expensive storage on the farm in order to get it under a dry roof, and now he sits, Mr. Speaker, waiting for some movement, praying that something will be done by the people who are in a position to do something about it — Mr. C.D. Howe, Mr. Gardiner, and the Liberal Government at Ottawa. Those are the people who can do something about our financial situation. Those are the people who can put money into our hands in Saskatchewan, and if there is any sabotage of western Canada, and the province of Saskatchewan, it certainly is going on now in the policies of the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, you hear (and some of the members on this side of the House have been guilty of it, too) talk about subsidies to the western farmer. I am not asking that they subsidize the farmer in Saskatchewan. I am only asking that they give him some of the money he has coming, and take their monopolistic friends that they are protecting with tariffs and direct subsidies in eastern Canada off our backs. We are paying income taxes, and every other tax here in western Canada, and so are all the rest of the working and agricultural people in Canada, in order to keep 'big business' in business. But, when it comes to one of the mainstays of the country, our agricultural economy, they will do absolutely nothing. Not only will they do absolutely nothing, Mr. Speaker, but they want us to further subsidize 'big business'.

Now, everyone knows — or at least, ought to know — that down in the United States a parity price is being paid, and we also know that the United States used 80 per cent of the wheat they grow. They have to export 20 per cent. The immediate opposite is true here. We only consume 20 per cent of our bread wheat here in Canada. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if these people really want to do something for the western farmers, they take a good look at that particular aspect of the situation. I would suggest that this is what would happen if they did, and you can't tell me that, with

a standard of living across country such as we have, the people of Canada are not prepared, ready, willing and able, to pay a parity price, or a price based on the cost of production for the wheat that the farmers of western Canada raise. We would be getting at least 60 cents per bushel more on 20 per cent of our wheat, and we would have been getting that for the last 10 years. 60 cents per bushel on 20 per cent of our wheat is 12 cents a bushel on all of our wheat. Multiply that by 10 years, Mr. Speaker, 12 cents a bushel on all of our wheat for the past 10 years, and then let Mr. Howe talk about subsidizing the farmers of western Canada! I never heard of a more ridiculous statement; just as ridiculous as the statements they gave us.

Regarding the wheat situation, last fall I held a series of meetings in my constituency so that I could get some idea of what the situation was. I tried my best to get information as to what the storage situation was in the terminals. We were told then the problem was storage space; there was no storage space available in the terminals. Basing my information on the authority of those statements by the people who ought to know, I told the people in my constituency, those farmers who came out to those meetings, that it was because of storage, and that it seemed the only solution would be advance payments on farm-stored grain, to try and get a payment out on the farm.

Well, a month or so later, Mr. C.D. Howe speaks at Edmonton, and he said, "Oh, there's room for millions and millions of bushels in storage; the problem now is box cars; there are no box cars, and we just can't get the wheat moving". Of course, Mr. Gardiner said that too, as well as making a flying trip through Saskatchewan saying, "the only people who were complaining about the bank loan were a few business men". On record throughout our press, throughout Canada, that is what our Minister of Agriculture, who represents a farming area right here in Saskatchewan, tells the people of Canada.

Mr. Speaker, now after the box cars were the problem, we have the man who does know about the situation, Mr. Roy Milner, our Transport Controller, making a statement in the press a few days ago, saying, "There's lots of box cars". When in the world, Mr. Speaker, are they going to get their story straight? When are they going to get down to some constructive thinking, and some constructive leadership that is going to do something for the farmers to alleviate our cash problem, and get a pay cheque into the hands of the farmers of this province? That's what I want to know, and I'd like to hear the gentlemen opposite, who want to protect these people, say something about that.

There's where our problem lies, Mr. Speaker. We have done everything – this Government has done everything to provide social security here in the province of Saskatchewan. We've done everything we possibly could to provide industrialization; but the great problem still is a secure standard of living for our agriculturists, who will and will continue to be for a long time the mainstay throughout this province; we want security for our farmers on the farm.

It is all very well for these people across the way saying that we are not doing anything for the municipalities. It has been abundantly

proved by statistics given here, by the Hon. Minister of Education, by the Premier, and by the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, and by various other speakers, that the tax situation is much better in Saskatchewan than it is in Alberta or Manitoba.

We have a Liberal Government in Manitoba, and a Social Credit Government in Alberta. Now we understand the Social Creditors want to come out and help us out, too. Well, I want to suggest right here and go on record to say that if they want to do something for us, they can clean up our drinking water that they are dumping garbage into, in the Saskatchewan River! If Mr. Manning is so anxious to do something for Saskatchewan, he can make a start there, and the people of The Battlefords will appreciate it.

Hon. Mr. McIntosh: — And in Prince Albert, too.

Mr. Kramer: — The problem we have to face, as the hon. member for Qu'Appelle-Wolseley said, we have to get the attention of the Federal Government. We have to convince them that there is a problem. Heaven only knows why they are so long in being convinced! I hope that they don't have to have the drastic treatment that Harry's mule did, when they had to hit him over the head with a beck-yoke in order to get his attention.

Mr. Lopton: — Better learn your language first.

Mr. Kramer: — I don't speak their language, that's one thing certain. I don't speak the language of the eastern Liberals; but apparently these western Liberals in this House do. That, Mr. Speaker, is what we have got to point out to the people of western Canada. There has been one group that could have done something, if they had had the intestinal fortitude to do so. If the hon. Leader of the Opposition, instead of cow-towing and jockeying for position, along with a lot of other western Liberals — there's so few of them now, that when the 'cushie' positions, the senate positions and judgeships are being dealt out, they have got to really put on a good show for the great god, Gardiner! So they are jockeying for position, trying to say, 'Yes' and "amen' to everything that eastern Canada and eastern monopoly says.

Mr. Danielson: — What's worrying you, anyway?

Mr. Kramer: — And they are failing in their responsibility to present the picture for the people they represent here in the west. They are failing us, and they have failed us; and they will never get anywhere until they stand up on their hind legs. I told the hon. Leader of the Opposition, last year, that he would win the respect of the Liberal supporters who have hidden in their fox-holes now for some 10 or 11 years, ashamed to get out and admit they are a Liberal; if he wants to gain, or regain, the respect of the people of Saskatchewan, let him stand up and speak for the people of Saskatchewan, and not for eastern monopoly, and not cow-tow to those people down there who cannot see beyond that rock pile in Ontario.

Mr. Lopton: — I don't think they are worrying much about Saskatchewan votes.

Mr. Kramer: — They certainly are not worrying about Saskatchewan, or Manitoba, or Alberta. They are not worrying about the agricultural industry.

Mr. Speaker, I want to point out a few things that were said by this “lawless racketeer”, and I would like to quote what he said.

Mr. Lopton: — Who was the lawless racketeer?

Mr. Kramer: — Walter Reuther, leader of the C.I.O.

Mr. Danielson: — Better ask him . . .

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Kramer: — Quoting from page 11 of a pamphlet entitled, ‘Power of Abundance’, Mr. Speaker, I want to quote the words of Walter Reuther:

“We simply say that, as a free people, since we are in fact the last best hope of freedom everywhere, if we in America cannot demonstrate the good sense, and moral and social responsibility, to find a way to mobilize our economic power, a creative genius in peacetime, then the Communists will have to be right in their propaganda.

“I think they are wrong. I think that we can have full employment in peacetime; and yet this whole question of farm prices, the income of farm families, is inseparably tied together with this question of how can we, a free people, achieve and maintain full employment and full production in peacetime, making the good things of life for people.”

That is one of these lawless racketeers that Mr. Dunfield, the hon. member for Meadow Lake, spoke about!

Mr. Speaker, he goes on to speak of the ‘genius of America’. Then, talking about the ancient problems of food, clothing, property and hunger, he says:

“The people of America, free people, can co-operate in creating and sharing abundance; that this is really the genius of America. It is the capacity of the free, human spirit within the framework of a free economy, and a free country, to co-operate together, all economic groups, in creating economic abundance, and then sharing that abundance so that we can go on, creating more together, raising living standards, and finally reaching that place in the human history where man’s struggle to satisfy his basic economic and material needs, will have been met.

“This is really what we talk about when we talk about farm problems. The problem on the farm is the problem that grows out of the capacity to create abundance. Your problem is a problem of abundance”.

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This is one of the most analytic documents that I have read, Mr. Speaker, and the amazing part is that it signifies the trend of the times, where the two great forces, the agricultural producer and the labour man, are finding a common meeting ground so that they can march ahead together, toward a greater and more prosperous economy, and a greater abundance.

A great tribute was paid to this man, when he completed his address to the House Committee, by the chairman of that Committee. I would like to quote from what he said:

“I would like to say that I think you have just made one of the best speeches I have ever heard. I want to compliment you highly for your presentation. I regret that it was not possible for every member of both the Houses of Congress to have heard your speech. I earnestly hope that every member of Congress will read it, will consider it in the same spirit in which you have presented it.

“I especially regret that the president of the greatest farm organization on earth could not have been here this morning to have heard the speech that you have made on behalf of the farmers of our great country. I know that the members of this Committee have enjoyed your presentation, and I hope that it will be read throughout the length and the breadth of the farming areas of our vast republic.

“We have had many farm leaders appear before this Committee during the 20 years that I have served on the Committee, and I want to say that not one of them has surpassed you in the presentation of the farmers’ case. I agree with the sentiment that you have expressed on behalf of the Committee, myself particularly; and I want to thank you for coming here and giving us the benefit of your views.”

Mr. Speaker, that, I think, is a tribute to the labour organizations in both Canada and the United States, because they have both taken up the cry for a better deal for agriculture, and they will continue to do so.

Mr. Speaker, they can say what they wish, but you cannot escape the inevitable fact that the basic problem is to get the pay cheque into the hands of the farmers of Saskatchewan. As far as I am concerned, if that is not the problem, it is the problem as I see it in my constituency, and I will rise or fall on that in the next election, whenever this Government may choose to call it. Once again, Mr. Speaker, I say this Speech from the Throne is a document that I am proud of, as the member for The Battlefords, and I will support the motion.

Mr. J.W. Horsman (Wilkie): — Mr. Speaker, in rising this afternoon to speak in this debate, I want, first, to congratulate those who have already taken part in the debate, and each of them have made

a contribution and, I suppose, expressed the opinions which they hold.

The two hon. members who moved and seconded the Speech did a very good job. I was a little disappointed at the hon. member for Kinistino (Mr. Begrand), being the only French-speaking Canadian in the House; I thought that he would do, as he has done on former occasions, make part of his speech in that great French language. We have a good many French-speaking Canadians in this province and I am sure they would have been very proud to have had the only representative of that race in this House speak to them in his own language. Perhaps he will do it next time.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if there ever was any doubt in the minds of any person in this House, or any person in this province, as to whether or not there would be an election this year, I think that doubt is very well dispelled by now, after listening to the speakers on the Government side of the House who have taken part in this debate up to this time. They are taking full advantage, of course, of the radio time to make political speeches; and I think the campaign is on right now – starting right here in this House, as I listen to what the speakers on the other side of the House say. You know it is a wonderful opportunity for members of the Government to do some of their campaigning now, not at their own expense, or not even at the expense of the C.C.F. Party, but at the expense of the people of Saskatchewan who, after all, pay the bill; and that is what they are doing with their radio time.

We, on the Opposition, are only allowed 25 per cent of radio time, in spite of the fact that, in the last election, we polled 40 per cent of the votes; and I would say that we represent 40 per cent of the people. The Government seems to think that radio time should be divided on the basis of the number of members on each side of the House, taking no regard to the fact of the number of people that each party represents. To us, the Opposition, this seems a very unfair division of radio time. However, as they have us outnumbered here four to one, they are in a position to do as they please, regardless of anything else.

Right from the very first day that the Session opened, Mr. Speaker, it was very plain to anyone that took time to listen or to pay any attention at all, that there was an election coming up this year; and the plan of campaign unfolded very early in this Session. It appears to me that there will be two methods of attack. They will carry on in this election campaign just the same as they are doing in this House. The first thing they will try to do, of course, is to attack 'Hammy' McDonald, the Leader of the Opposition. They will do everything in their power to make him appear as small as possible in the eyes of the people of this province.

The second is an unprovoked and bitter attack on the Federal Government at Ottawa. Most of the speeches, so far, have dealt very little with provincial affairs; most of the speakers have put in all their time, like the hon. gentleman who just sat down, cursing the government at Ottawa for what they haven't done. He did not say anything about what they have done, he just spoke about the things that they should do.

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When the Premier spoke in this debate, Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday last, he did everything in his power to make the Leader of the Opposition appear, in the eyes of the public, almost as a traitor. He spoke about what Mr. McDonald said in Ontario – he said Saskatchewan had missed the boat; and the Premier said he should hide his head under the desk. Mr. Speaker, I do not think ‘Hammy’ McDonald needs to hide his head under the desk from anyone in this province or in this country. He has faced death too often in the defence of his country to be harmed by what anyone can say about him in this House.

He said something about the Saskatchewan River dam – that it wouldn’t be built until we got a Liberal government in Saskatchewan – so the Premier said, and I am not doubting his word. I think the Leader of the Opposition thought he was speaking the truth, because he doesn’t think and we do not think that this Government will be in office long enough to build the dam, provided there is an election this year, and that is reason enough to make that statement. And those ideas, Mr. Speaker, are shared by thousands of people across this country.

Now if we ever expect sufficient capital to come into this country to develop our natural resources we must have a government in power here in whom investors will have confidence. This Government, Mr. Speaker, after 12 years in office, are still standing solidly behind that old worn out political textbook, commonly referred to as ‘The Regina Manifesto’; a document that they still claim is the greatest political document that was ever written. There are embodied in that manifesto certain clauses that are enough to discourage any investor, or at least to arouse his suspicion as to the wisdom of investing money in this province as long as there is a C.C.F. Government in office. I do not wish to state, Sir, that there hasn’t been considerable capital come into Saskatchewan in recent years; I wouldn’t be honest if I said that. I will admit that quite a bit of development work and so on has been done towards the development of our natural resources; but I think that this has been done in spite of this Government, not on account of it; and I believe that development would have been much greater if we had had a different government in the province.

Now when any political party embodies in their platform clauses such as the following, they are certainly not inviting the confidence of any person who has money to invest. I am going to quote you a few lines, Mr. Speaker; I know you know them by heart, from ‘The Regina Manifesto’. In speaking of the evils of capitalism in this Manifesto – and I do not mind admitting that capitalism has some evils – but I still think it is the best political system devised by man up to this time. I am going to quote a line or two:

“We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which the natural resources and principal means of production are owned, controlled and operated by the people.”

By the people, means by the State, or by the Government.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Does it?

Mr. Horsman: — Another clause . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Does it?

Premier Douglas: — Mr. Speaker, my friend cannot misquote a document.

Mr. Horsman: — . . . which says . . .

Premier Douglas: — Mr. Speaker, on a question of privilege, my hon. friend cannot misquote a document. It says “by the people”; it does not say by the State.

Mr. Horsman: — I didn’t say that it did. I quoted you right there. I said “by the people”. I said that in this connection, when you say “the people” that means the Government. Here is another:

“No C.C.F. government will rest content until they have eradicated capitalism and has put into operation a full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.”

Now these quotations from the political platform of the Government, Mr. Speaker, are enough to discourage people who have money to invest, it seems to me; and they can go to some other place and investment their money.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — . . . Oil Company spent \$82 million.

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Horsman: — If the C.C.F. Government of this province, Mr. Speaker, do not intend to eradicate the capitalist system, provided that they can expand this government and their socialism far enough across Canada, then why in the world do they not remove those objectionable clauses from their platform – if they have never intended to act on them. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the members to your right are just as strong socialists as they ever were; and I believe that they would stand up any time and be counted as standing solidly behind the Regina Manifesto. I believe they would.

So how can any government expect to attract risk capital to this province as long as they stand behind such a platform as this? That leads to the destruction of the very system under which these people who have money to invest operate. And I might say under the system under which Saskatchewan has prospered the last 12 years; there is nothing to do with socialism here.

Mr. Walker (Gravelbourg): — Not because of it – in spite of it.

Mr. Horsman: — I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that the Leader of the Opposition in this House needs to fear that our people

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will fall for any kind of political propaganda such as is being spread around the province about him. They know him too well for that. They know his record too well for that.

I was interested in the remarks, the other day, of the Minister of Public Works (Hon. Mr. Darling). I was somewhat surprised to hear him quote from Shakespeare; I would not have been surprised if he had quoted from Robert Burns. This is what he said:

“All the world is a stage, and all the men and women merely players.”

He should have gone on and finished that quotation, Mr. Speaker. The next line is:

“They have their exits and their entrances . . .”

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Are you on your exit?

Mr. Horsman: — Mr. Speaker, this Government has had their entrance; when we have the next election they will get their exit.

Premier Douglas: — You're just whistling to keep up your courage.

Mr. Horsman: — When the Premier took part in the debate he said that, in 1944, when the C.C.F. came into office the municipalities were burdened with a terrible load of debt. They owed more money and they were in worse condition than that of any other province in Canada. Of course, he did not explain that we had come through the worst depression in history and we were just coming out of the worst war in history. That is the reason why the municipalities were heavily in debt. He said the municipalities in Alberta are in a worse position than the municipalities in Saskatchewan. I don't know much about the municipalities in Alberta, except I know they have larger municipal units than we have here – something that has been supported by the men on your right, Sir, for many years; somewhat along the line of the larger School Units. I think that might be one reason why the municipalities in Alberta are in a worse position than we are.

Now I am not going to go into figures, Mr. Speaker – up into the millions or anything like that. I am going to leave all those millions and hundreds of millions to the hon. Provincial Treasurer, because he knows all about that kind of thing, but I am going to speak to you for a few minutes about just a small unit – one municipality that is just an average municipality in this province; and I think I can prove to you what this Government has done to the municipalities of Saskatchewan, because I do think this is just about an average municipality.

This particular municipality has an assessment of about \$2½ million, and the taxes, in the last few years, have just about doubled in that municipality. School taxes have increased from 7½ mills to 25 mills, last year, and I understand there is another raise of 2 mills

this year. Now that is a great increase in taxes. The taxes, in this municipality, in 1924, amounted to \$60,390 – that is school tax, out of a total levy of \$120,674 – a little more than half. I do not intend to mention every item of expenditure that this municipality has, but I do wish to make a comparison between the cost of education and two of the other services in this municipality. They have complete health services, Mr. Speaker; and health services, during the year under review cost that municipality \$14,230; and this amount includes medical and dental care, health region levy, and union hospital levy . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Was that in 1944?

Mr. Horsman: — That was in 1954. The other item that I will mention is Public Works – mostly roads; roads and road machinery, repairs and maintenance; and for that service they paid \$27,681. Now these two items combined amount to \$42,111; while education alone was \$60,390, or \$18,279 more than Public Works and health services combined.

Now I would like some of the members opposite to go down to that municipality and try and tell those people that you have reduced taxes for them, or tell them how much you are going to help the situation.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Give me the number and maybe I will go.

Mr. Horsman: — I'll give it to you. I have . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — You don't know the number?

Mr. Horsman: — Oh yes, I'll give you the statement some day, too, if you want that.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Might I ask the hon. member if he will just give us the number of the municipality, or the name?

Mr. Horsman: — I can give you both. I can give you the financial statement if you want it; I am quoting from it.

Hon. Mr. McIntosh: — Well, will you give us the name?

Mr. Horsman: — As I said before, this is just an average municipality . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Sure!

Hon. Mr. Bentley: — Is it in Saskatchewan or Alberta or Manitoba, or where?

Mr. Horsman: — There are farmers in some parts of this municipality who are paying a little over \$100 per quarter-section per year on school taxes alone, and that is not the whole story, Mr. Speaker. The tragic thing is that the Large School Unit of which that municipality forms a part goes further and further in debt, and some further means must be found to raise money or I don't know what will happen; and I wonder where the end is going to be.

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Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Do you know what School Unit it is?

Mr. Horsman: — Yes, I know that, too. It should be apparent . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — You won't tell, though.

Mr. Horsman: — . . . to every member of this House . . .

Hon. Mr. Bentley: — It's a secret mission.

Mr. Horsman: — . . . that the only way to help a situation of this kind is by increased government grants for education.

Some Opposition Member: — Hear, hear!

Mr. Horsman: — And I do not believe that any fair-minded person would expect that a municipality that pays those kinds of taxes for school purposes could be expected to have them raised any higher. I don't think you could even expect that.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — That's just your radio speech you made the day before the House opened.

Mr. Horsman: — And it is true that the standard of education in this province is no higher than it was at the time this Unit was born — not a bit higher.

Mr. Cameron: — You do listen to our speeches then, Brock?

Mr. Horsman: — We have had great difficulty in getting qualified teachers — lots of difficulty. Many schools have had to settle for study supervisors. Now the principal reason for the scarcity of qualified teachers is the low salary rate. I know as well as everyone does that school teachers' salaries have increased a great deal in the last 10 years; they have increased a lot; but other salaries, for other professions and so on, have increased much more than teachers' salaries have. Any bright young man or woman, today, can go out in the world, even if he has very little education, if he is not afraid of work, and can make more money than a school teacher — than the average young school teacher could get. But you can go right out here in Saskatchewan and get work on these oil drills or something like that, and any young man who is not afraid of work can get a job that will make him more money than any school teacher gets. And I am sure that if we are going to have qualified teachers in this province that the Government of this province must put up more money to help out in the education of the children of the province.

Increased grants is the only answer. I believe that the C.C.F. Government, out of the greatly increased revenues they have had in recent years, could afford to increase these grants substantially. I think they could. I believe they have been shirking their duty in this line long enough. I think that they should pay at least 50 per cent of the cost of education.

I will give you another set of these small figures — not

millions, only hundreds. If you take a farmer in this municipality that pays \$100 per quarter-section school taxes alone, and as I said, this amounts to about half his total tax, that would make his tax about \$200 on a quarter-section. Most people around that country summerfallow about half their land each year. That would leave him 80 acres of crop land, and on 80 acres of crop land, a quarter-section, he would pay \$200 in tax which would make the tax per crop acre \$2.50 - \$2.50 per crop acre. Now no member of this Government could tell those farmers that they have eased the burden of taxation. I have seen many years when the net crop in that area wasn't worth \$2.50 an acre; I hope we don't see those days again, but I cannot help but feel that we are very likely to, sooner or later.

Now I am going to say a word about the school buses. We have a few of them, but not very many; and when we get into a winter like this the children are home when the roads are blocked and it is absolutely impossible to get them to school. I think this is something like putting the cart before the horse. Now I am not talking about the Larger School Units; I see a good many advantages in the Larger School Units, but this thing of running these school buses when they have no roads to run them on is where I find a great deal of fault with the system. Unless you have some kind of vehicle in the winter time that can go over the snow it is just impossible to get the children to school. School buses plowing through snowdrifts in the winter and mud in the summer time on the bad roads that most districts have won't last more than two or three years; and then you have to turn around and pay \$6,000 for a new bus. Many schools have been closed and moved away and so on. I think this is a case of putting the cart before the horse.

A great deal has been said about rural electrification. It is true considerable progress has been made in this very important service, but the plan under which the Government of Saskatchewan is working is very well known to everyone in this House and to the people of the province. I believe that most members will agree with me when I say that, prior to the last ten years, a very small percentage of the farmers of this province could have afforded to pay the price that they must pay now to have electricity brought into their farmyards. They have to pay \$550 to have the power brought in, then wire their buildings and everything, and ultimately it takes about \$1,000. I remember, as many of you gentlemen do, when, if a man had \$1,000 in this province, he would be considered pretty well off. I know there are farmers in this province today, and lots of them who cannot afford to pay this price to get farm power into their yards. I think it is altogether too expensive. You pay for the transmission line - I remember asking the Minister of Public Works a question (I think it was last year) as to what it cost to build one mile of single power line; his answer was about \$700. Well on any installation that have been put in that I know anything about, they insist on an installation about every seven-tenths or seven-eighths of a mile; I am not sure which; but at \$700 a mile, \$550 would just about pay for the construction of that portion of the line. Then they have to pay for the use of the line after that, and the Power Corporation, being a monopoly and having full control of production and distribution of power in this province, can set their rates where they are sure to make a profit.

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Hon. Mr. Kuziak: — What were the Liberal rates?

Mr. Danielson: — Don't make yourself sillier than you are.

Mr. Horsman: — I am not trying to suggest that the Power Corporation should be placed under private control. I am not suggesting that. I am saying that it is a Government monopoly and it could become just as vicious as any other monopoly if it is not properly handled and carefully handled.

Mr. Walker (Gravelbourg): — It's a good thing it is under the C.C.F.

Mr. Horsman: — No private company could get away with that; if they wanted to build a line they would certainly have to build it themselves; the farmers wouldn't have to build it.

Some Hon. Member: — What about across the border, in Alberta?

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Horsman: — Now then, being a monopoly, as I say, the Power Corporation has no competition and I sometimes wonder why it becomes necessary to do so much expensive advertising on radio programmes, television programmes and everything else, when they have no competition. Most companies advertise for a purpose; they try to show prospective buyers that they have a product that is as good and better than what their competitor has to sell. In this case, Mr. Speaker, there is no competition. They have no competitors, and it seems to me that to spend thousands and thousands of dollars of the people's money every year on this sort of advertising is not good business. Of course, other departments of the Government do the same thing; the Saskatchewan Insurance Office does, but they haven't a complete monopoly, but they have a very good partial monopoly at least. A great share of the business that they do they have a monopoly on and the business can go nowhere else. Although there might be some loopholes for the Insurance Office, there are certainly none that I can see for the Power Corporation.

I think this advertising is done for purely political propaganda purposes.

Mr. Cameron: — Hear! Hear! There is no question about it.

Mr. Horsman: — That is why I think it is done, just a way to put it across at public expense; it doesn't cost the party a cent.

The Federal Government of Canada extend many various services over this country, over Saskatchewan and all the other provinces, but I have yet to hear a radio programme or see a television programme sponsored by the Government of Canada to tell the people what they are doing for them. I have yet to see that done.

We have another example here, too] of a monopoly in Saskatchewan and that is the Timber Board. The Timber Board purchases lumber from the operators at a certain price, and they tell them what the price is. Then

they market it through the country . . .

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — You are wrong!

Mr. Horsman: — . . . at prevailing high prices. I am not wrong on how you sell it.

Mr. Danielson: — You set the price.

Mr. Horsman: — Now this system is making it increasingly difficult for private operators to work in northern Saskatchewan. You wouldn't admit that either, would you? It has already been pointed out to members of this House that one of the largest companies in northern Saskatchewan left and went to Alberta.

Mr. McDonald: — To B.C.

Mr. Horsman: — Yes, to British Columbia, just to escape the vicious regulations laid down by the Timber Board, making it impossible for them to operate successfully.

Hon. Mr. Kuziak: — That's falsehood.

Mr. Horsman: — I don't think a system like this has the effect of attracting industry to this province. I think it has the very opposite effect.

Now we hear a great deal about the desperate position of the farmers here in this province. I am not going to go into this thing very far because we have a Committee appointed from this House to study this very carefully. They are caught in a price squeeze — falling farm prices and higher farm operating and living costs. That is true, Mr. Speaker. No one knows any better than I do the truth of that assertion. The big difficulty in our country, of course, is that we cannot market our wheat, but there are many parts of this province where they have no wheat to market and the situation is somewhat different there. I cannot help but feel, though, that the farmers think they are pretty secure as long as they have a few granaries full of wheat. But last fall, when the crop was harvested, one of the greatest problems that presented itself to the farmers at that time was storage on the farms — some place to put their grain. They had to go out and buy lumber provided they could get the money to buy it with — many of them couldn't, and had to put their wheat on the ground. Now it would appear to me that that was a wonderful opportunity for the Government of Saskatchewan to have come to their assistance through the medium of the Saskatchewan Timber Board. They handle all the lumber that comes out of northern Saskatchewan and they could have sold farmers that lumber at least at cost to help take care of the crop that was taken off, last fall. There was nothing of that nature done, or no other move that I know of was taken to help the farmers with that problem.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Could I ask the hon. member a question? I take it

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the hon. member would prefer that the lumber industry was handled by private enterprise. Would he suggest, then, that the private enterprise would sell it to the farmers at cost?

Mr. Horsman: — No, no, I wouldn't expect them to. In fact, I know, Sir, they would not; but this is different from the private operators. This is a Government Crown Corporation, handled by a government that is supposed to have the best interests of the people of this province at heart.

Hon. Mr. Brockelbank: — Agreed.

Mr. Horsman: — And when the farmers were up against it for lumber, last fall, why didn't you do something about it. You had the chance; you had the lumber, but you didn't do it.

You know the Premier said, the other day, that when the C.C.F. came into office they took over a bankrupt province . . .

Some Govt Members: Hear! Hear!

Mr. Horsman: — That was a very unusual statement. I didn't think he would make a statement quite that broad, because it takes in a lot of territory. Certainly, the province wasn't in very good shape, after coming out of a war and coming through the depression; you must admit that.

Hon. Mr. Kuziak: — It had nothing to do with the war.

Mr. Speaker: — Order!

Mr. Horsman: — The foundations of government and everything had been well laid here long before that. Schools were built, these Parliament Buildings were up, the University was built, roads were built to some extent; and the country was developed. Here is the way it looked to me when this Government took over this province; it was just like a farmer who goes out and works most of his life, breaks up his farm, gets it in good shape and then turns it over to his son as a going concern and he goes in and takes over from there. That is what this Government did in this province. This country was taken over first, Mr. Speaker, by the Liberal government that handled it first; it was a wilderness at that time and it was turned, in less than 40 years, into one of the greatest grain-growing areas in the world — long before we had any C.C.F. Party.

You hear a lot of talk about money to start young men out farming and in agriculture; that there should be loans made to them. This Government, Mr. Speaker, has never made any move in that direction, to help young farmers get started in agriculture, if that is what they wish to do. But they can go out and guarantee bonds for a company that is going to put up a cement plant here — bonds of \$5,500,000, Mr. Speaker. Now I am not arguing against the wisdom of doing this, either; it may

be a good investment and I think a cement plant is needed here; but it just shows the difference between their attitude toward men such as are going to put up the cement plant and agriculture, or the farmers concerned.

It is very easy to attract industry to a province, Mr. Speaker, if the Government guarantees the bonds for them to build their industries. Now I say, in this case, it may be a good thing; it may be; but you can see on the fact of it that it would be easy enough to attract industry anywhere if someone else put up the money to build the factories with.

I am not going to start defending the Federal Government but I am going to mention one or two things, because members opposite – every one of them – have gone out of their way to criticize, in every way they could, the Government of Canada. Not one of them expressed any appreciation whatsoever for anything that the Federal Government has done, or any good legislation that they have passed in recent years. They never mentioned the Old Age Pension or the Family Allowances, payments under the Provincial Tax Agreements and so on. Well, maybe they don't amount to anything, but there is one thing that the Federal Government has done in recent years – and that everyone who is a farmer or knows anything about agriculture at all must admit, that has been a great boon to the farmers of this province – and that was the Farm Improvement Loan Act. You probably saw this little item in the paper last night; probably you may have read it. In case you didn't, I am going to read it to you:

“Repayment of Farm Improvement Loans indicate western agriculture basically must be in a fairly healthy condition, says B.M. Macrae, supervisor of the Farm Improvement Loan Act, in a press release.

“Of the loans made to farmers throughout the country 30 per cent were made in Saskatchewan. Canadian farmers repaid a total of \$66 million under the Farm Improvement Loan, in 1955. During the period \$67 million in new loans were granted in 1955. Since the inception of this legislation some 12 years ago approximately \$580 million has been borrowed, of which approximately \$450 million has been repaid.

“The Farm Improvement Loan Act was set up with the objective of providing intermediate term and short term credit suited to the individual farmer's resources which would improve his farm by enabling him to install modern labour-saving equipment, to procure more and better livestock and to make other improvements that would increase productivity.”

Mr. Loptson: — And they did that in spite of the C.C.F.

Mr. Horsman: — Now I think if the Government at Ottawa never did anything else for agriculture in this province, that that alone should win them the gratitude of the people of Saskatchewan, and, Mr. Speaker, as you probably expect after my few halting sentences, I will not support the motion.

Hon. L.F. Mr. McIntosh (Minister of Municipal Affairs): — Mr. Speaker, in the fourth session of the 12th Legislature, I note with a great deal of interest the programmes as suggested in the Speech from the Throne. It is rather interesting to go back over the 50 years of the history of the province of Saskatchewan and check the Speeches from the Throne from 1906, the first session of the Saskatchewan Legislature, on to the fourth session of the 12th Legislature. If the hon. members opposite would take that trouble, I think they would find it very interesting, they would appreciate the 10th, 11th, and 12th sessions of the Legislature, and the Speeches from the Throne in connection therewith, will indicate that from 1944 on, a substantial amount of progress has been made in developing for citizens of the province of Saskatchewan, the heritage that is rightly theirs.

This being the 4th session of the 12th Legislature of the province of Saskatchewan in its 52 years of history, suggests, Mr. Speaker, that there have been some sessions that went beyond the four years. It probably would indicate that some sessions might have gone the life of the Legislature, or on the other hand it might also suggest that some sessions went beyond the life of the Legislature.

The present Speech from the Throne that is now under debate makes reference to our Golden Jubilee celebrations, and I think has been amply dealt with, Mr. Speaker, by those who have taken part in the debate up to the present time. I believe it is worthy to note that from one end of the province to the other, our present citizens joined in a community effort to pay tribute to the men and women that made such a substantial contribution to the development of the province of Saskatchewan.

The Speech from the Throne also makes mention that the freight rates division of the provincial government has made representation to the Board of Transport Commissioners during the fiscal year under review, relative to equalization of freight rates and also in connection with the increase for domestic grain rates.

I do not think I would like this opportunity to pass without making mention of what the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway stated to me in person during mid-summer of last year. I think this House will recall that freight rate increase cases started back some eight years ago, and at that time the government of this province was fortunate enough in securing the services of Mr. M.A. MacPherson as counsel. The President of the Canadian Pacific Railway stated to me last year that had it not been for the excellent services rendered by the counsel chosen by the province of Saskatchewan to present their case before the Board of Transport Commissioners, he was confident that it would have cost the consuming public, which includes the farmers of the province of Saskatchewan, many millions of dollars more, as a result of further increases in rates.

The Speech from the Throne makes mention of the emergency condition that existed throughout a very large number of municipalities, as a result of the floods that took place in the early spring of 1955. It also makes mention of the fact that the Government of the province of Saskatchewan used its resources to the limit to assist the rural municipalities in the repair of the public works programme, and assisted very large sections of this province in launching a draining programme. Mention is also made here of the plan of the Government of Saskatchewan to assist the rural municipalities in the construction of 12,000 miles of all-weather main market road grids.

It is interesting to note that the Speech from the Throne brings out very clearly the tremendous development that has taken place in northern sections of the province of Saskatchewan, in the mineral areas of this province. It makes mention of the exploration and the development of the Uranium and Beaverlodge areas. It makes mention of the exploration that has taken place in and around Lac La Ronge, Stanley Mission, and in the Creighton area, over on the east side of the province. It is because of the very substantial development that has taken place in and around Uranium City that the Government felt it advisable to introduce legislation whereby the people of Uranium City and community would be able to develop their own government, and that Act, which will be brought before the Legislature, and which is mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, will be a unique type of legislation in the history of the province of Saskatchewan, giving the people within the corporated site of Uranium and the surrounding community, the right of local self-government in the field of municipal, health and education.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think I should let this opportunity pass without making mention of the proposal for the training school. That in itself is a very strong indication of the industrial development that has taken place in the province of Saskatchewan. An increasing number of citizens are paying a tribute to the university hospital and its staff, and I have heard on more than one occasion that the university hospital is now staffed with the type of medical people, type of nursing; and has laid down a programme to assist the ill and the sick, that will equal any type and kind of hospital anywhere in the Dominion of Canada.

It is also interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that the Speech from the Throne makes mention of a new women's gaol. It is actually my hope that this gaol will be located, not at a place where it might be most needed, but at a place where those that might find it necessary to stay in such an institution for a few weeks, or a few months, will enjoy the environment and the atmosphere that is characteristic of the young and developing northland of the province of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to adjourn the debate.

The Assembly then adjourned at 5:30 o'clock p.m.