

social services to our citizens. Measures of this kind have been loaded upon them after every war. The very same conditions arose in 1803, when the Addington administration came into power, and the same thing has occurred since—a demand for material things of all kinds. The materialism of the age has become apparent; people want the government now to look after all sorts of agencies. As I said last night, prior to the South African war one of the glories of the Victorian era was the belief that the state had no money except what came from the taxpayers. The Victorian era built up assets for the future, which we have squandered on many services, some unnecessary. In those days the people kept the state. To-day, with the teachings of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation we are heading for the time when the state will keep the people. Let us get back to basic principles in connection with this bill. The first thing to be done is to eliminate the duplicate control system and do away with all these big bureaux here in Ottawa. The relief bureaux of our municipalities can do this work. We made a start in 1935, on my select committee, the committee "on housing and reconstruction", which made a report to the previous administration. When the new government came in, it adopted very largely a low cost housing scheme, on which it spent \$80,000,000. We should spend \$200,000,000 on housing immediately, because under this legislation not one cent will be spent until after the next election. The first payments will not be made until July 1, 1945. In the meantime aid housing and a fuel supply. The interval between now and July 1, 1945, should be devoted to further investigation of all provisions of the bill in the manner I indicated last evening, namely, at a conference with the provinces and larger municipalities.

The burden of debt of these social services of all kinds must be lifted from the municipalities, because the ordinary municipal tax rate contains at least three to five mills for purely social services, and some of the burden of debt must be removed from real estate. We must have low cost housing, cheap light and power, transportation services, hospital accommodation, and so on; and all these matters could be dealt with at a conference such as I have suggested. I do not want the government to consider this matter ended with the hip, hip, hurrah of the vote this afternoon. It takes far more than an act of parliament to secure a cent for the poor from this bill. This is far from the end of it. The government need not go throughout the country and say, "We did it", and all that sort of thing. The whole bill is nothing but a gesture to the left, and I have never yet made any gestures to the

left. I can tell you this, that if we adopt the proposals of the C.C.F. we shall have a totalitarian socialist state in which everybody will work for the government and under which all liberty, all freedom, and ownership of private property will go.

We have not a perfect bill here; far from it. As I say, no allowance will be paid until July 1 of next year. In the meantime the government have a chance to do something for the municipalities by assuming the whole cost of all social services, including hospitalization, relief, and the burdens now on the municipalities. One result of the vote to-day will be to dry up all subscriptions to charities, churches and other organizations. I believe we could cut down the cost of this legislation considerably by providing gainful employment, social security and aid along the lines I have indicated. The state has no money for all these ventures, except what it gets from the taxpayers; one of the sections of this bill provides that parliament must vote annually the necessary funds. We should let the federal authority take over the whole cost of these social services from the municipalities. Let the federal authority pay for them and in that way relieve the municipalities and real estate of the cost, and help as a substitute for this bill by extension of these social security measures.

Last evening the junior member for Halifax said I had stated that we had power to make these payments. I did not say anything of the kind. I referred to the various reports that have been made during the last number of years; to the work of the committee on industrial relations in 1926, 1927 and 1928, and to the references to the courts and then to the privy council, to the Rowell report, and so on, and said they all came back to the words "public debt and profit" back to the basic principle of the federal authority to vote all funds they wanted under these words. I discussed the question of whether, by agreement with the provinces, we could vote any sums of money we wished to meet the cost of social services, in connection with technical education, old age pensions and that sort of thing, under the words "public debt and property", feared that, unless improved, the bill would wind up in the law courts.

I am opposed to a socialist, totalitarian state, the doctrines of which would be foreign to the will and soul of Canada, as they are foreign to the will of the mother country. The key to happiness, as it has been in the past, should lie in the ownership of private property, and we must work to relieve private property of the burdens in restraint of trade which have been placed upon it. The key to