

supporting the resolution. Though I do not agree for one moment with what they propose in the way of a remedy for existing conditions, I think they are right in believing that the great question of the present day is the social problem, the problem of how the masses of the people are to live. They have been stressing that point, and rightly so, but may I say to them that they are not the only ones who feel keenly about it. There are many men and women in this country who have not attached to themselves any particular label and who are not making any professions but who nevertheless are deeply exercised over the question of how the great body of men, women and children are to live under conditions as they are at the present time. All are under obligation to those who help to bring home to this House of Commons and to the country an appreciation of the fact that the social problem is the outstanding problem before Canada at the present time. How the masses of men and women who have very little in the way of means, some of them nothing at all, are to continue to live, is a tremendous problem. Anyone who helps to bring that question to the fore and to impress it upon the mind of parliament is rendering a distinct public service.

May I say that I agree also in their emphasis of the fact that the problem of industry is the central feature of the social problem. The social problem is above all else an industrial problem; its root causes and consequently its remedies are to be found very largely in industry and the organization of industry. I think they are right when they stress the condition in industry as being the all-important problem to which parliaments and public bodies generally should be turning their attention. What do we mean by industry? If I may be permitted, I would define industry as the process by which the great natural resources of the country are transformed through human effort, aided by tools and machines, in other words, by capital, into commodities and services available for human use. Production is the basis of this vast process and exchange and distribution are derivative and contributory factors. That being the nature of industry, it follows that the problems of industry have to do with those who are carrying on these operations.

The most significant thing of to-day, next to the unfortunate conditions under which so many are living, is the fact that so far as industry is concerned with production that part of the problem presents little in the way of difficulty. That part has already been largely solved. After all, that is an amazing

fact because for many years we believed that population tended to outrun subsistence. This belief was the despair of economists and humanitarians. They failed to see how a solution of any social problems could be had because they believed that production could never keep up with population, that the one would outrun the other. To-day we have in the facts as known a direct denial of that condition; we have the knowledge that production is more than equal to the task. As I said a moment ago, Providence has done its part, and it is now for man to do his. If, under our present system we have been able to solve the major problem of production, surely the same calibre of minds and the same genius will be able to solve the less difficult problem of distribution. If there were scant production or inadequate production, the problem of distribution would be great indeed, but where production is plentiful, the problem of distribution simply comes down to a matter of the sufficient understanding of the forces at work and how to control them properly.

In trying to solve the problem of industry, in so far as the problem relates to an equitable distribution of the wealth produced, we fortunately have a key which gives us every reason to hope for a successful solution and which leaves no ground whatever for despair. The central problem of industry is the problem of the control of industry; the direction and control of industrial policy; it is essentially a problem of the government of industry. My hon. friends who support the resolution before us think that this problem can be solved by transferring the government of industry generally into the hands of the state and letting the state determine the whole policy of industry. I think they are right in believing that the control of industrial policy lies at the very heart of the solution of the whole situation, but I believe they are mistaken in their desire to transfer the determination of industrial policy to the state. May I say that in that particular the problem of government in industry is no different from the problem of government in the state itself. By following what has been done in solving the problem of government in the state we shall find out what should be done in solving the problem of government in industry.

Let me illustrate. To-day every man and every woman of twenty-one years of age and over, regardless altogether of the position that he or she may occupy in life, is part of the government of the country or has some right of control over the government. That control is exercised through the system of direct representation as we have it in this parliament