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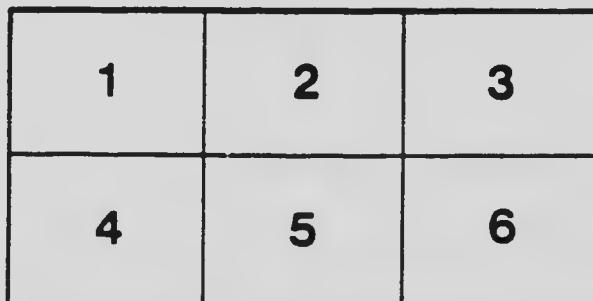
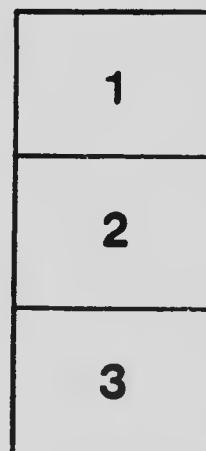
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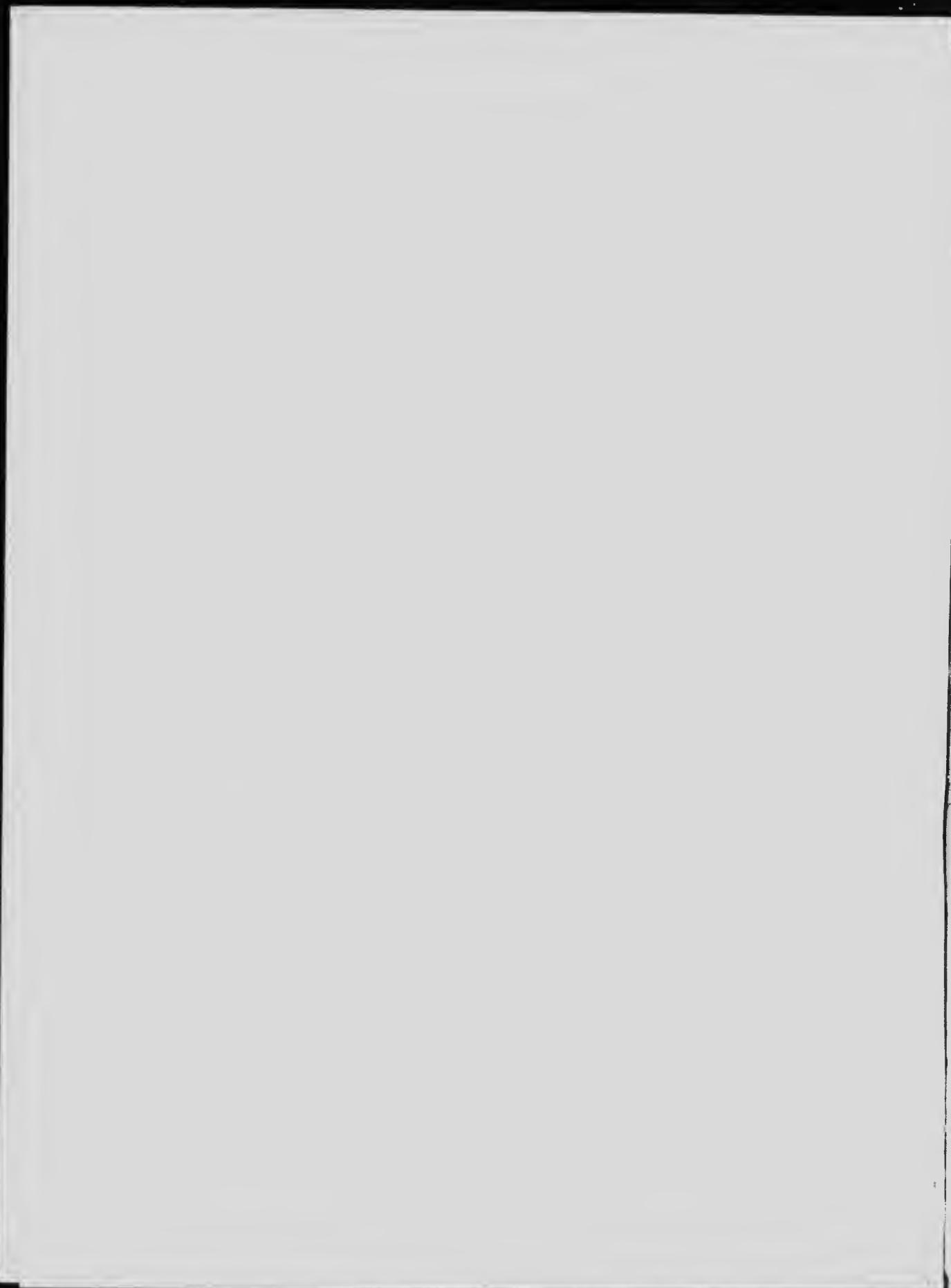
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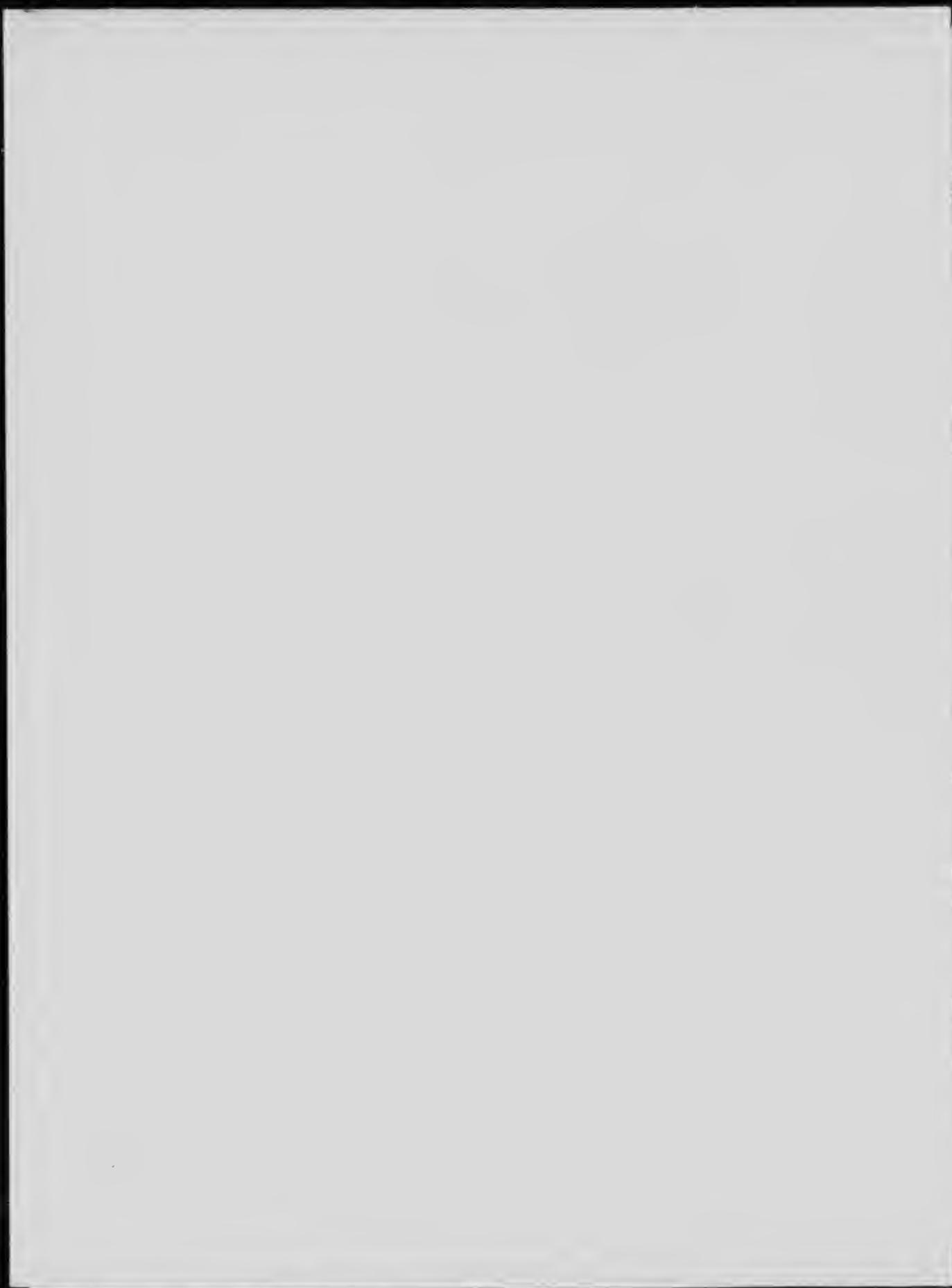
# National Liberal Convention

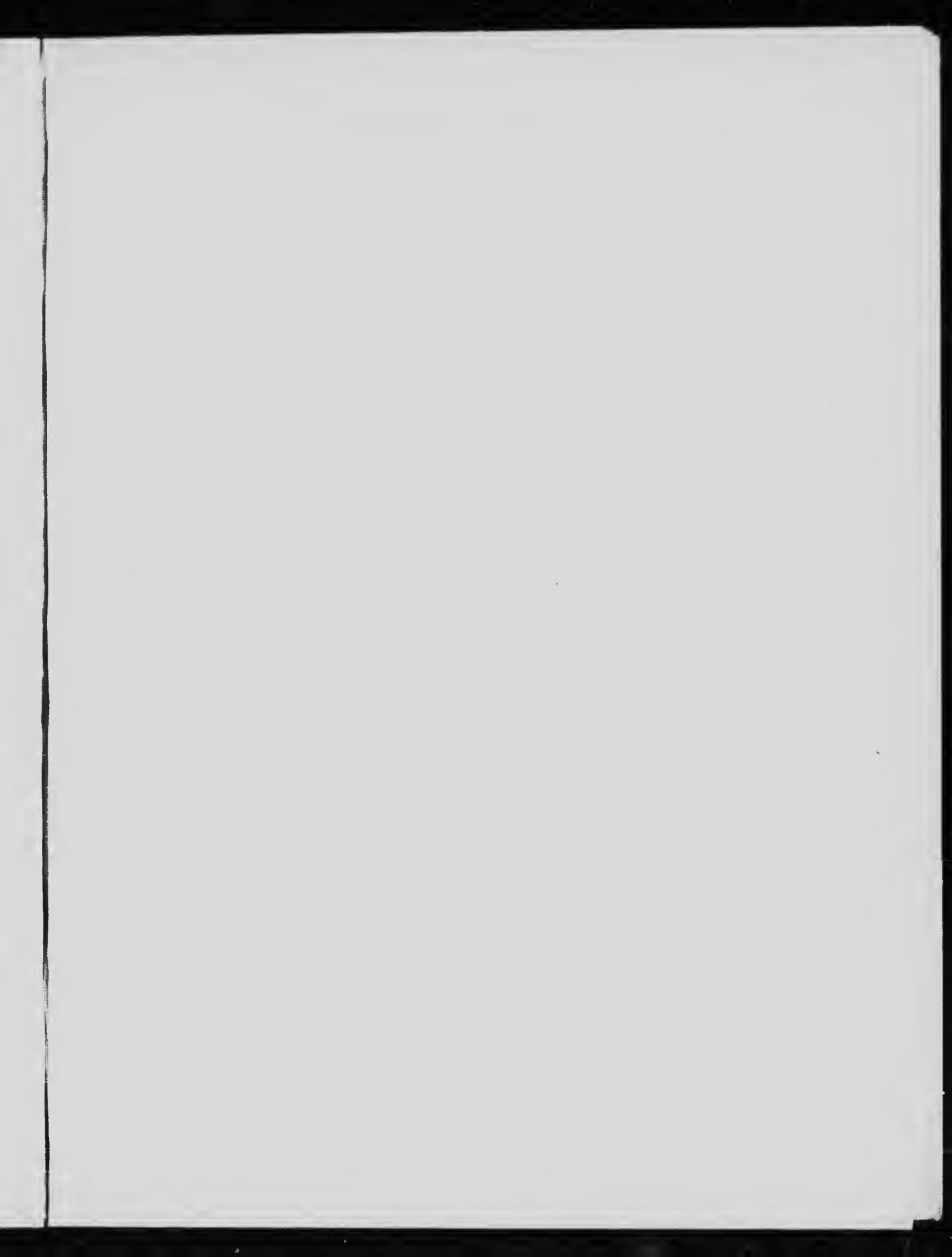
*August 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1919*

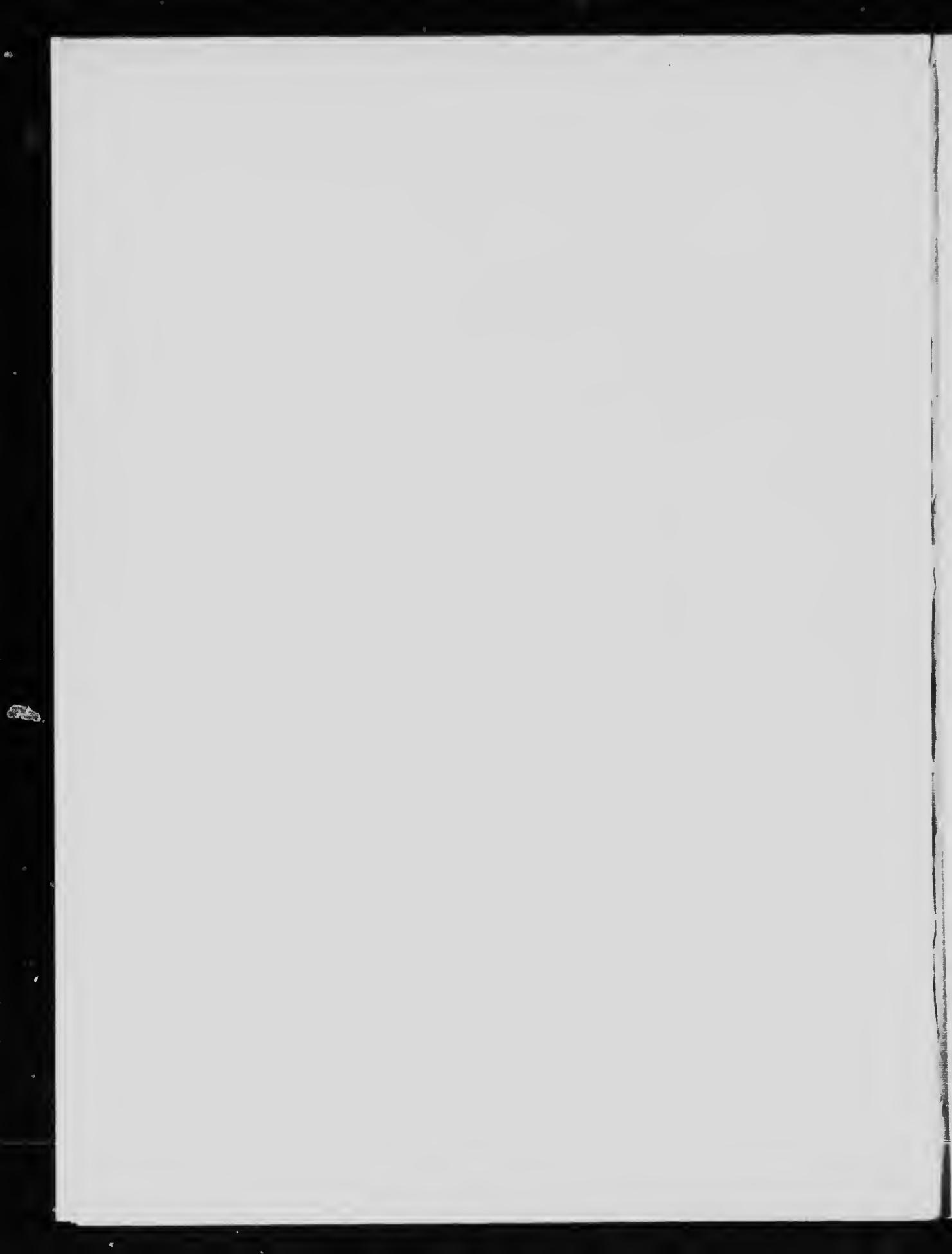
## Resolutions, Recommendations & Suggestions for Platform and Programme

Submitted by Delegates & others  
for consideration by the Convention  
through the regularly Constituted Committees

The subjoined or following pages contain copies of and references to  
Resolutions, &c. submitted by Delegates to the National Liberal  
Convention and others for consideration by the Convention through  
the usual channels.







## **LIBERAL TARIFF PLANK OF 1893**

Resume of the Tariff plank of 1893 and brief statement of Liberal Tariff record since that date.

See proceedings of Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa, January 14, 1919, printed in both English and French, for tariff and several additional resolutions.

## **WINNIPEG LIBERAL CONVENTION, 1917, COVERED BY LATER RESOLUTIONS**

In the month of August, 1917, a Convention of Liberals for the four Western Provinces was held in Winnipeg. A number of resolutions on the tariff and closely allied topics were passed. These are not herewith printed, as these subjects have by other Western gatherings since held been dealt with and resolutions adopted.

## **THE U. S. TARIFF CONTRASTED WITH THE CANADIAN**

The American Tariff, known as the Underwood Tariff, adopted in 1913, is lower than the Canadian Tariff, and does not apply to as many articles as are customs taxed in Canada. See speech of Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P., Session 1919. The following is an adaptation of the Democratic Platform of 1912 on the Tariff:

We favour the immediate downward revision of the existing high and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust controlled products and articles of Canadian manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favour the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in the home. We take issue with our opponent's charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the party in power and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessities of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

To create public monopolies, suggestions have been made to make Insurance a Government public monopoly for the benefit of the people and that a campaign be immediately conducted to develop the Government annuity plan put on the Statute books by the Liberals. It is also suggested that the tobacco industry and trade be made a public Government monopoly so that the people may get the benefit of the taxes and profit therefrom.

## **CANADIAN RAILROADER SUGGESTS PERMANENT TARIFF COMMISSION**

The *Canadian Railroader* strongly urges that a permanent Tariff Commission be appointed and advocates the proposal with considerable detail.

## **RESTAURANTS**

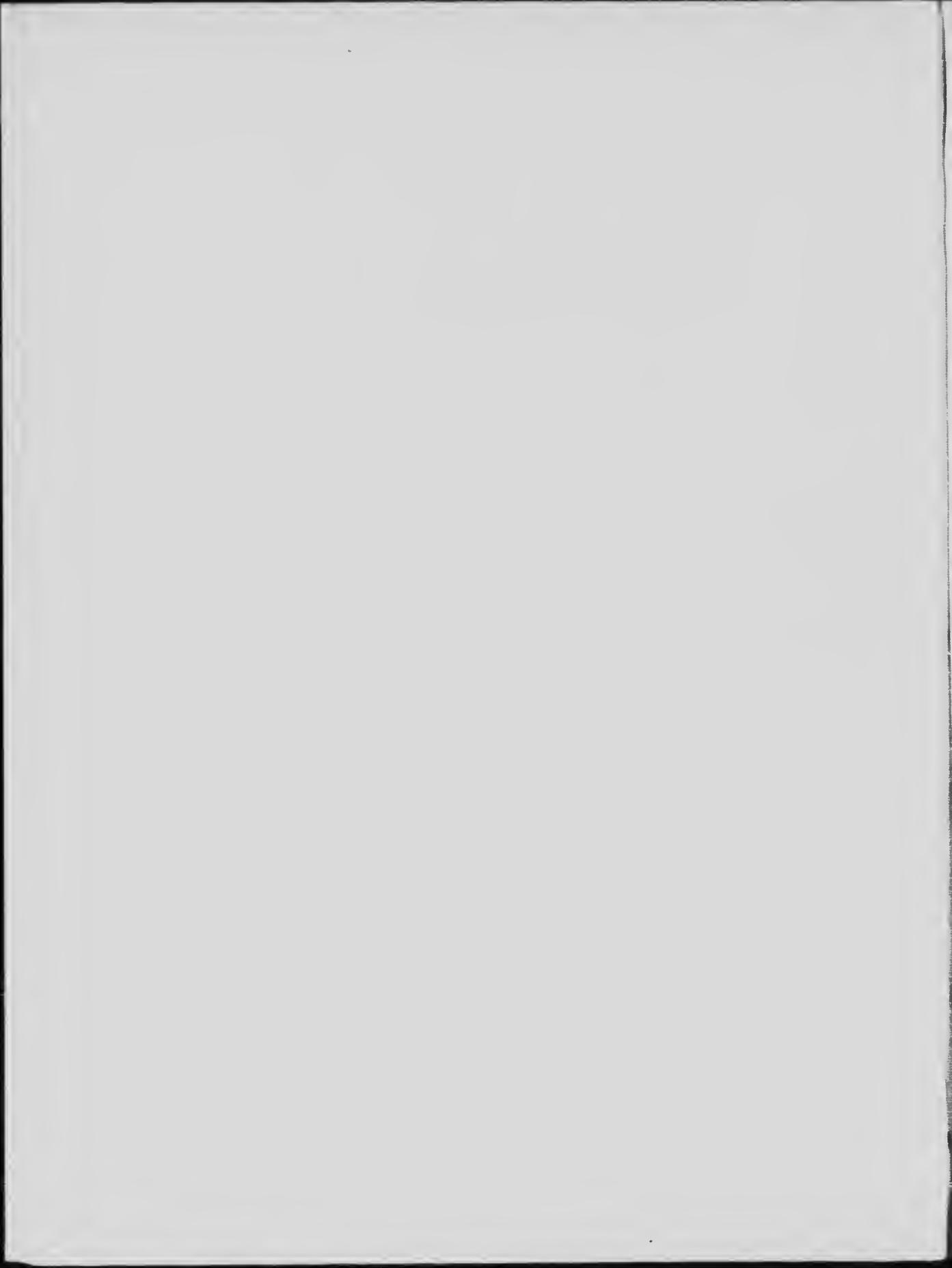
A gentleman writes from Montreal urging that restaurants be controlled and food prices regulated. He states that in Great Britain and France food is supplied to patrons at cost.

## **CANADIAN NAVY**

The Canadian Navy question is a matter which again is receiving considerable public attention and will receive more as the facts of the past few years are more clearly brought to light. No specific resolution has been submitted solely on this question.

## **PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION**

Literature has been received on the question of Proportional Representation, and by the parties submitting the same it is desired that some one be given an opportunity to explain this system of voting for candidates.



## THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

At a meeting held in Winnipeg, Man., November 29th, 1918, the following resolutions were passed:

### THE FARMERS' PLATFORM

1. A League of Nations is imminent, and we believe it is of paramount importance to the world's peace by removing old causes of conflict.

2. We believe that the further development of the British Empire should be sought along the lines of partnership between nations free and equal under the present governmental system of British constitutional authority. We are strongly opposed to any attempt to continue Imperial control. Any attempt to set up an independent authority with power to bind the Dominions, whether this authority be termed parliament, council or cabinet, would hamper the growth of responsible and informed democracy in the Dominions.

### THE TARIFF

3. Canada is now confronted with a large national war debt and other greatly increased financial obligations, which can be most readily and effectively reduced by the development of our national resources, much of which is agricultural lands.

4. And while it is desirable that an agricultural career should be made attractive to our returned soldiers and the large anticipated immigration, and owing to the fact that this can best be accomplished by the development of a national policy which will reduce to a minimum the cost of living and the cost of production.

5. And while the war has revealed the amazing financial strength of Great Britain, which has enabled her to finance not only her own part in the struggle, but also to assist in financing her Allies to the extent of hundreds of millions of pounds, this enviable position being due to the free trade policy which has enabled her to draw her supplies freely from every quarter of the globe and consequently to undersell her competitors on the world's markets; and because this policy has not only been profitable to Great Britain, but has greatly strengthened the bonds of Empire by facilitating trade between the Motherland and her overseas Dominions, we believe that the best interests of the Empire and of Canada would be served by reciprocal action on the part of Canada through gradual reductions of the tariff on British imports, having for its objects closer union and a better understanding between Canada and the Motherland and at the same time bring about a great reduction in the cost of living to our Canadian people.

### POSTERS COMBINES

6. And while the Protective Tariff has favored combines, trusts and gentlemen's agreements, and almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise by means of which the people of Canada, both urban and rural, have been shamefully exploited through the elimination of competition, the ruination of many of our smaller industries and the advancement of prices on practically all manufactured goods to the full extent permitted by the tariff.

7. And while Agriculture, the basic industry upon which the success of all other industries primarily depends, is unduly handicapped throughout Canada, as shown by the declining rural population in both Eastern and Western Canada, due largely to the greatly increased cost of agricultural implements and machinery, clothing, boots and shoes, building material and practically everything the farmer has to buy, caused by the Protective Tariff, so that it is becoming impossible for farmers generally, under normal conditions, to carry on farming operations profitably.

8. And while the protective tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue, because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests, thereby building up a privileged class at the expense of the masses, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

9. And while the Protective Tariff has been and is a chief corrupting influence in our national life because the protected interests, in order to maintain their unjust privileges, have contributed largely to political and campaign funds, thus encouraging both political parties to look to them for support, thereby lowering the standard of public morality.

### DEFINITE TARIFF DEMANDS

Therefore be it Resolved that the Canadian Council of Agriculture, representing the organized farmers of Canada, urges that as a means of remedying these evils and bringing about much-needed social and economic reforms, our tariff laws should be amended as follows:

(1) By an immediate and substantial all round reduction of the customs tariff.

(2) By reducing the customs duty on goods imported from Great Britain to one half the rates charged under the general tariff and that further gradual,



uniform reductions be made in the remaining tariff on British imports that will ensure complete Free Trade between Great Britain and Canada in five years

(3) That the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, which still remains on the United States statute books, be accepted by the Parliament of Canada

(4) That all food stuff not included in the Reciprocity Agreement be placed on the free list.

(5) That agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils be placed on the free list, and that all raw materials and machinery used in their manufacture also be placed on the free list.

(6) That all tariff concessions granted to other countries be immediately extended to Great Britain

(7) That all corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected by the customs tariff be obliged to publish annually comprehensive and accurate statements of their earnings

(8) That every claim for tariff protection by any industry should be heard publicly before a special committee of Parliament

#### TAXATION PROPOSALS

4. As these tariff reductions may very considerably reduce the national revenue from that source, the Canadian Council of Agriculture would recommend that in order to provide the necessary additional revenue for carrying on the government of the country and for the bearing of the cost of the war, direct taxation be imposed in the following manner.

(1) By a direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources

(2) By a graduated personal income tax

(3) By a graduated inheritance tax on large estates

(4) By a graduated income tax on the profits of corporations

(5) That in levying and collecting the business profits tax the Dominion Government should insist that it be absolutely upon the basis of the actual cash invested in the business, and that no considerations be allowed for what is popularly known as watered stock

(6) That no more natural resources be alienated from the Crown, but brought into use only under short term leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, such leases to be granted only by public auction.

#### WITH RETURNED SOLDIERS

5. With regard to the returned soldier we urge

a. That it is the recognized duty of Canada to exercise all due diligence for the future well-being of the returned soldier and his dependents.

b. That demobilization should take place only after return to Canada

c. That first selection for return and demobilization should be made in the order of length of service of those who have definite occupation awaiting them or have other assured means of support, preference being given first to married men and then to the relative need of industries, with care to insure so far as possible the discharge of farmers in time for the opening of spring work upon the land

d. That general demobilization should be gradual, aiming at the discharge of men only as it is found possible to secure steady employment

e. It is highly desirable that all physically fit discharged men should endeavor to return to their former occupation, and employers should be urged to re-constitute such men in their former positions wherever possible

f. That vocational training should be confined to those who while in the service have become fitted for their former occupation

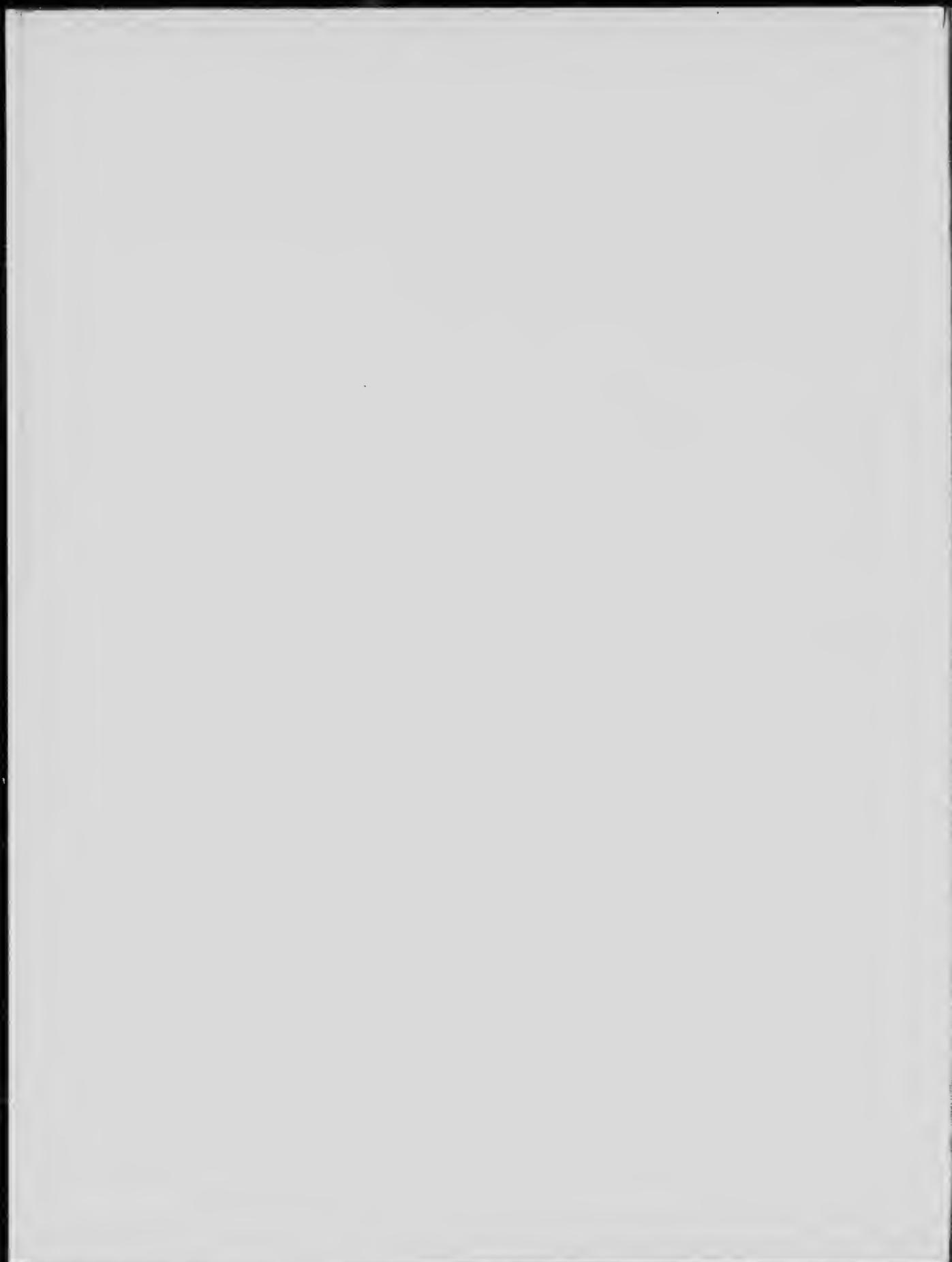
g. That provision should be made for insurance, at the public expense, of discharged men who have become undesirable insurance risks while in the service

h. That facilities should be provided at the public expense that will enable returned soldiers to settle upon farming land when by training or experience they are qualified to do so

i. We recognize the very serious problem confronting labor in urban industry resulting from the cessation of war, and we urge that every means, economically feasible and practicable, should be used by federal, provincial, and municipal authorities in relieving unemployment in the cities and towns and, further, recommend the adoption of the principle of co-operation as the guiding spirit in the future relations between employer and employees - between capital and labor

#### LAND SETTLEMENT

7. A land settlement scheme based on a regulating influence on the selling price of land - owners of idle areas should be obliged to fix a selling price on their lands; that price also to be regarded as an assessable value for purposes of taxation



8. Extension of co-operative agencies in agriculture to cover the whole field of marketing, including arrangements with consumers' societies for the supplying of food-stuffs at the lowest rates and with the minimum of middle-man handling.

9. Public ownership and control of railway, water and aerial transportation, telephone, telegraph and express systems, all projects in the development of natural power, and of the coal mining industry.

#### OTHER DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

10. To bring about a greater measure of democracy in government, we recommend

The immediate repeal of the War Time Election Act.

The discontinuance of the practice of conferring titles upon citizens of Canada.

The reform of the federal Senate.

An immediate check upon the growth of government by order in-council and increased responsibility of individual members of Parliament in all legislation.

The complete abolition of the patronage system.

The publication of contributions and expenditures both for and after election campaigns.

The removal of press censorship upon the restoration of peace and the immediate restoration of the rights of free speech.

The setting forth by daily newspapers and periodical publications of the facts of their ownership and control.

Proportional representation.

The establishment of measures of direct legislation through the initiative, referendum and recall.

The opening of seats in Parliament to women on the same terms as men.

#### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The conclusions which the Council arrived at as the result of its discussion of various matters which came up for consideration, in addition to the formulation of the Farmers' Platform, are embodied in the following resolutions:

That this Council places itself on record as opposed to the Government of Canada entering into any agreement with any class of immigrants relieving them from any of the necessary duties of citizenship.

That this Council recognizes the great importance of such an educational system as will train the rising generation in the highest ideal of citizenship, and that we co-operate with those who are promoting a national congress on education.

That this Council approve strongly of the work done by the laboratory in Winnipeg and urge upon the Dominion Government the elaboration and extension of the system of laboratories for making accurate milling and baking tests of Canadian wheat, in order to secure more nearly the intrinsic value of the wheat upon the market.

That this Council expresses its cordial sympathy with organized labor in its demand for economic justice, and that we encourage the various organizations affiliated with this Council to become better acquainted with the labor organizations, and the labor problems of Canada, with the purpose in view of finding a common ground for mutual effort.

That the executive take steps to investigate the conditions surrounding the marketing of live stock, particularly the various items of expense that are charged against shipments.

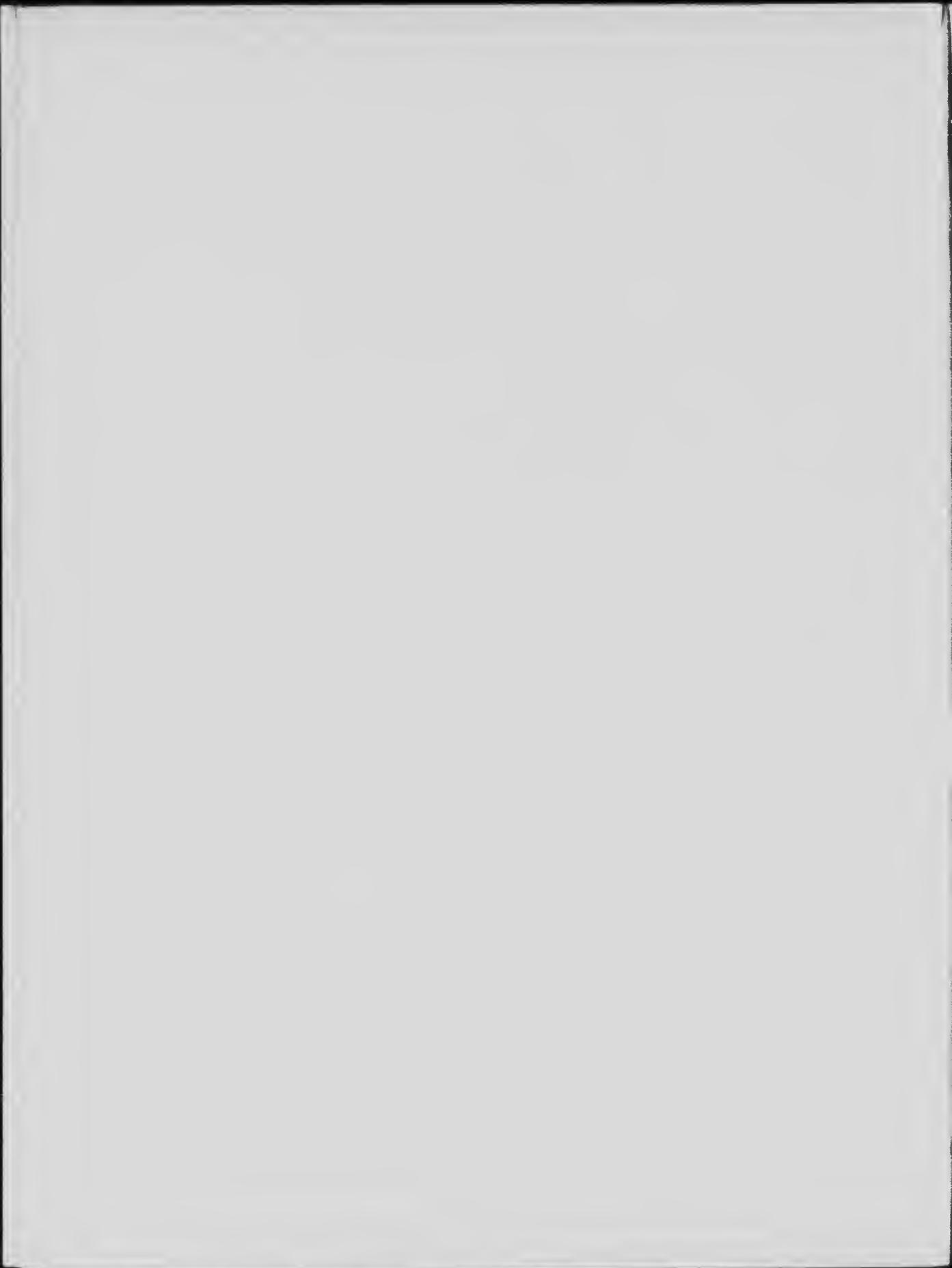
That the post-discharged allowance to returned soldiers be increased to cover a period of six months instead of three months, which we understand is the practice at present.

That the executive be instructed to deal with the matter of arranging conferences between the Canadian Council of Agriculture and labor organizations.

That the executive be given authority to take action in connection with any movement towards national standardization of text books in the schools of Canada.

That the platform be submitted to provincial organizations for submission to their members in accordance with their respective methods of government.

That this Council recommends to the provincial associations that they take action in whatever manner they deem advisable to secure the nomination and election of candidates at the next federal election who will endorse and support the platform adopted by this Council.



## SASKATCHEWAN LIBERALS AND UNANIMOUS LEGISLATURE

At a Convention of Liberals for the Province of Saskatchewan held at Moose Jaw in March, 1917, the following platform was adopted:

*Tariff and Markets.* free access for the grain products of Saskatchewan to the markets of the United States and of all other countries willing to grant such free entry.

The admission into Canada, free of customs duties, of farm machinery, and all things essential to the raising of grain and live stock products.

A general lowering of the customs duties on all necessities of life.

The immediate reduction of the customs duties on all goods imported from Great Britain to one-half of the rates charged under the general tariff, and a policy of further gradual reduction with a view to the elimination of all trade restrictions within the Empire.

New outlets for our farm products and especially a speedy completion of the Hudson's Bay Railway, owned and operated by the Government of Canada, and that provision be made for the operation of suitable steamers to be run between the Bay and Great Britain.

At the last session (1919) of the Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan the following resolution was unanimously passed:

2. The amending of the tariff laws in the following particulars:

(a) An immediate and substantial all round reduction of the customs tariffs.

(b) The reduction of the customs duty on goods imported from Great Britain to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, and that further gradual uniform reductions be made to the remaining tariff on British imports that will ensure complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada in five years.

(c) The acceptance by the Parliament of Canada of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, which still remains on the United States Statute Books.

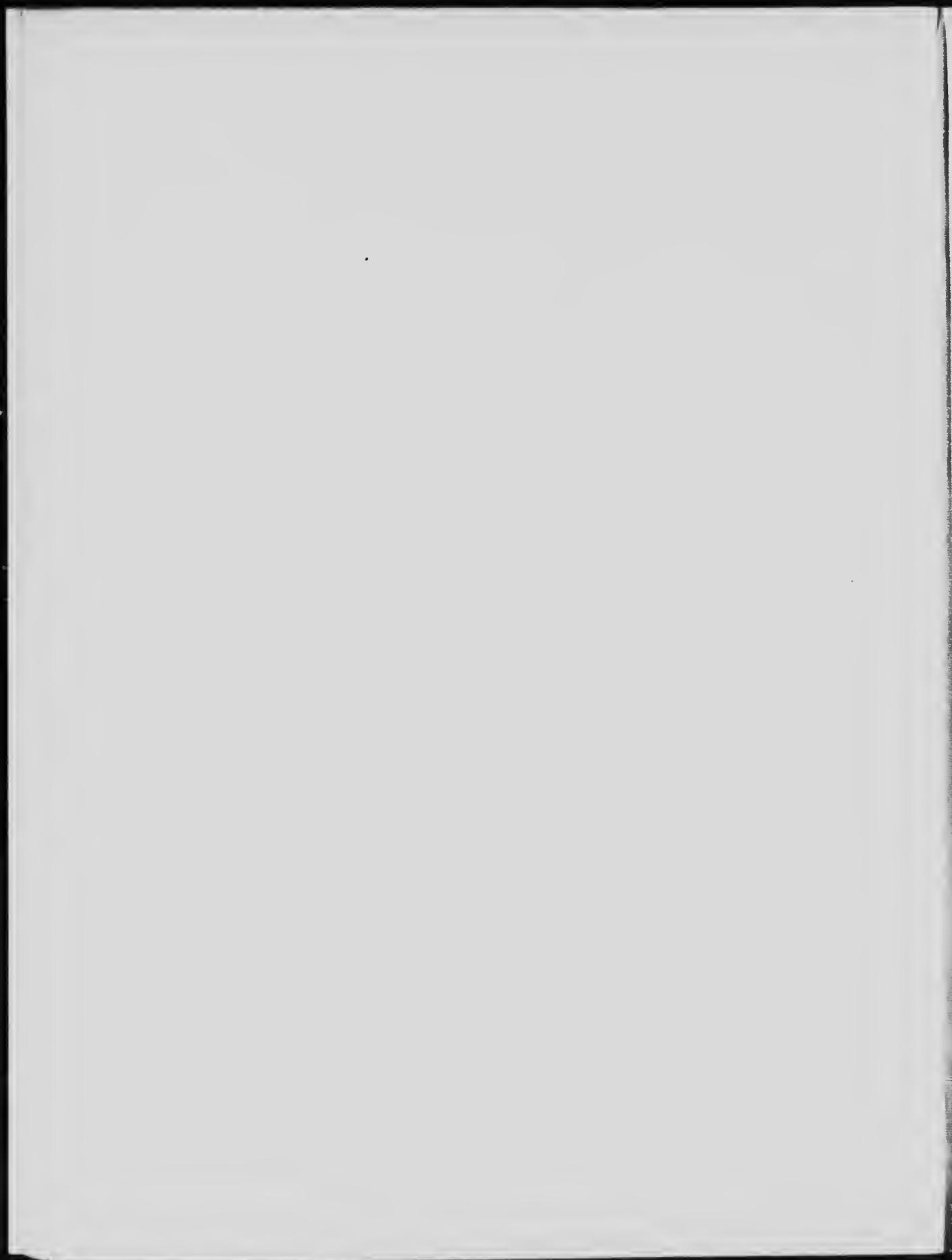
(d) The placing upon the free list of all foodstuffs not included in the Reciprocity Agreement.

(e) The placing on the free list of all agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilisers, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils, and all raw materials and machinery used in their manufacture.

(f) The immediate extension to Great Britain of all tariff concessions granted to other countries.

(g) The obligation upon all corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected by the customs tariff to publish annually comprehensive and accurate statements of their turnovers and earnings.

(h) The public hearing before a Special Committee of Parliament of every claim for tariff protection by an industry.



## ALBERTA UNITED FARMERS' RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed by the Alberta United Farmers' Association at their eleventh Annual Convention, held in Edmonton during the week of January 20, 1919:

### OPPOSE FIXING PRICE OF WHEAT

WHEREAS, the fixing of the price of wheat was a war measure for the steady ing of the market and the keeping down of the high cost of living;

WHEREAS, while we view with a large measure of concern the restoration of an open market that will make speculating possible in the handling of our chief food product, yet we realize that the continuation of a fixed price on wheat might unduly bear on the consumer, and,

WHEREAS, we, as producers, are willing that the prices of our products be governed by the law of supply and demand, but protest against scalpers and speculators taking toll which frequently amounts to more than the profits to the producers.

Therefore, we, the U. F. A., in convention assembled, demand that legislation be passed confining the dealing in all grain in exchanges or elsewhere to cash grain and sales for actual future delivery of grain and grain products.

And that steps be taken to provide the necessary credit to finance all farmers who have grain for sale until such time as they desire to market same.

### SEED OATS STANDARD

WHEREAS, the standard of No. 1 U. S. seed oats may contain approximately two grains of wild oats to the pound, and also may contain one per cent of other cereal grain,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the United Farmers of Alberta, in convention assembled, request that the Department of Agriculture and the Dominion and Provincial Governments assist in passing legislation for the purpose of establishing another grade to be known as Extra No. 1 Seed, to contain no wild oats and no more than one-half of one per cent of other cereal grain, and must contain 99 per cent white oats. Also it must be free from noxious weed seeds within the meaning of the Seed Control Act, and weigh not less than 38 pounds to the measured bushel, and must show not less than 90 per cent germination.

For this grade of seed there should be paid a premium of 23 cents a bushel, based on Fort William.

### DAYLIGHT SAVING

That we, the members of the Clover Bar local, are not in sympathy with the daylight saving scheme, and would therefore ask that the regular standard time be used throughout the year.

### SOLDIERS' LAND SETTLEMENT

WHEREAS, it appears that there are many returned veterans who are anxious to secure desirable homesteads, and whereas it appears that most of the desirable vacant land in the west is held by speculators who secured it from the Government for a small fraction of its true value,

Therefore, we, the U. F. A., resolved, that we ask the Dominion Government to commence sale land at prices paid by these land companies for same and open them for settlement by said returned veterans and nursing sisters.

### SEED GRAIN LOANS

Resolved, that this Convention protest against the practice of farmers having mortgages on their farms being obliged to get their seed through the loan companies.

### COMPLETION OF RAILWAYS

Resolved, that we urge the Dominion Government to at once proceed to complete all railroad lines, branch, connecting and feeders that have already been begun, and, further, that the same procedure be applied to such applications for water, either domestic or irrigation purposes, the board being commissioned to carry this into effect.

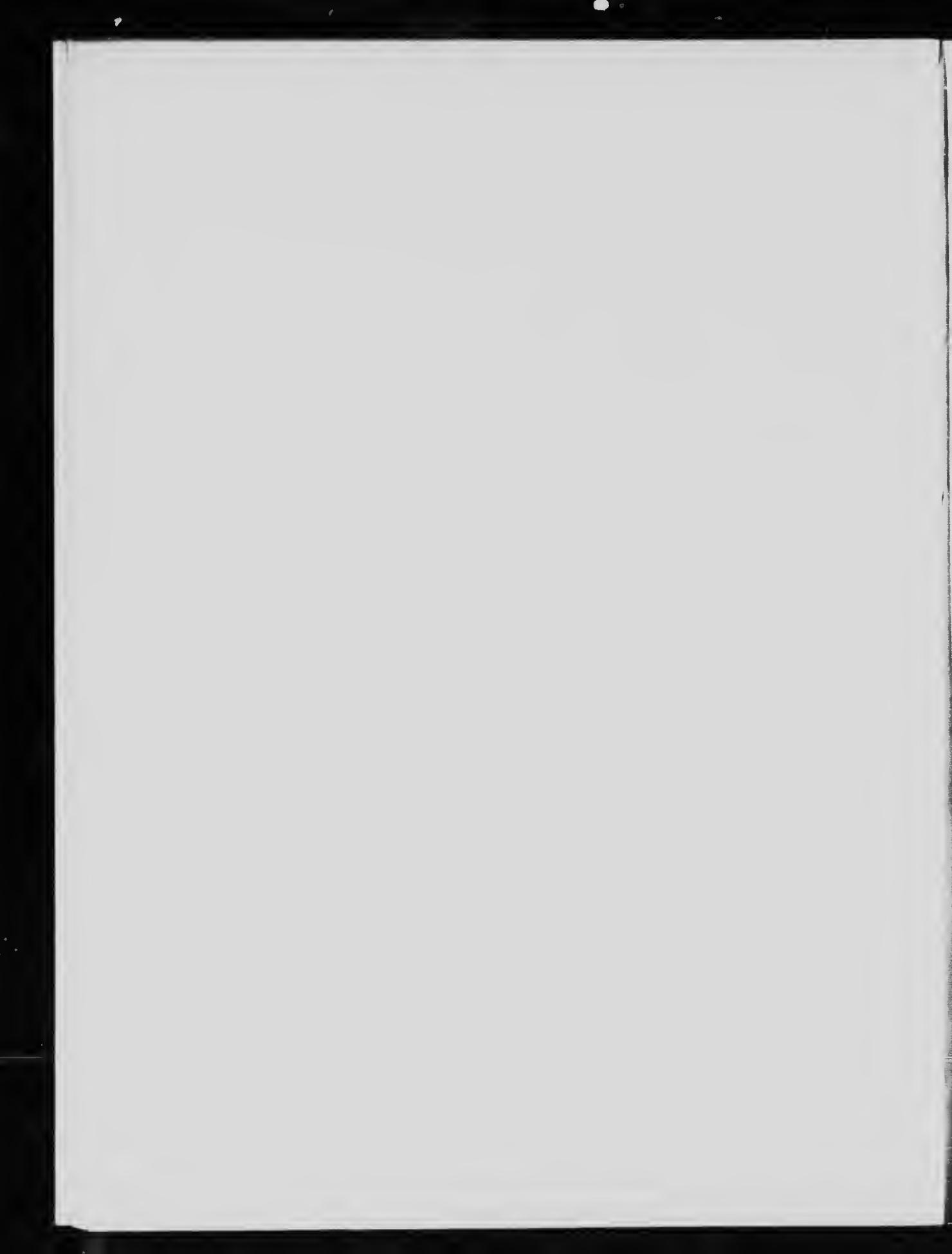
### WOMEN M.P.'S

It was moved and carried,

That this Convention forward to the Dominion Government the request that their recent enactment of the federal franchise for women be so amended as to include the right of women to sit in the Dominion Parliament on equal terms with men.

### OLEOMARGARINE

WHEREAS, your committee appointed by the executive to investigate the effect the bringing in of oleomargarine is having on the production and sale of butter in this province without any substantial benefits to other interests;



Therefore we recommend the following resolution:

Resolved that the order insuring admitting oleomargarine to Canada as a war measure be now repealed, and its manufacture and sale be prohibited in this country.

#### BETTER CATTLE GUARDS

The convention unanimously passed a resolution in regard to better cattle guards, as follows:

Whereas the railway companies are allowed to use cattle guards which do not serve the purpose for which they are named, such guards being useless as far as turning stock is concerned, and

Whereas horses and cattle are able to walk over these guards without hesitation or the least inconvenience, and

Whereas some of our members have spent large sums of money trying to collect damages for stock killed within the fences of the railways, but were advised by their solicitors that the Railway Commission had passed upon these guards as being legal, consequently there had no redress and were the losers thereby,

Therefore be it Resolved

1. That the Government be asked to have the Railway Act so amended that the present style of guards be declared illegal, thereby forcing the railway companies to install guards that will turn stock.

2. That the Government be asked to have the Railway Act so amended that the railway companies will be made responsible for any damage caused to any stock within their fences.

3. That the Department of Justice, Ottawa, be asked to send out an impartial inspector to report on these conditions and to secure pay for stock that has been killed.

#### SOLDIERS' DEPENDENTS

Whereas in all cases where here have been dependents of the boys who have made the supreme sacrifice in this great war, the Government has made provision for them, but no provision nor any recognition has been made to those parents who have not been wholly dependent upon their boys who have sacrificed their lives.

Therefore be it Resolved that the Dominion Government should make some tangible consideration for the parents of those boys for the sacrifice they have made.

#### LAND TAXATION PROTESTED

Whereas the revenue of this province is supplemented by a tax levied exclusively upon land, and whereas the Act imposing such tax discriminates against rural land.

Therefore we, the United Farmers of Alberta in convention assembled, protest against the unjust discrimination of placing a special burden on a special class; and further, apart from the injustice, we question the wisdom of a fiscal policy that imposes the main burden on land, used almost exclusively for the production of food.

#### CHIROPRACTORS

Whereas by recent decisions of the courts chiropractors cannot legally practise under the laws of Alberta, and whereas these practitioners have successfully treated and cured patients suffering from complaints pronounced incurable by medical doctors, such as infantile paralysis, spinal meningitis and other disorders, and

Whereas many of these practitioners are, in our opinion, performing a very beneficial service to the community.

Therefore be it Resolved that the United Farmers of Alberta petition the Alberta Legislature to amend the laws of the province so as to allow qualified chiropractors to administer their treatment under proper regulations.

#### CHILLED MEAT EXPORT

Whereas the future of Canada depends to a very large extent on the successful development of agriculture, and

Whereas stock raising is a very essential branch of the industry, which must be more fully developed so as to prevent the impoverishment of the land, thus assuring profitable crops, and whereas the farmers will be called upon for greater production to provide greater volume of export produce to meet the great burdens of taxation placed on Canada by the war;

Therefore be it Resolved that we request the Dominion Government as soon as possible to take steps to provide with Great Britain the chilled meat export trade, thus providing a staple market for our beefs, which will at the same time insure us a profitable price for coarse and damaged grain as same could be



fed to cattle and so finish them in first class shape for the British market). That we ask the convention to endorse this resolution, and that a copy be sent to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa.

#### CALGARY STOCK ARDS

WHEREAS at present the C. P. R. control the sole means of access to the stockyards at Calgary; and

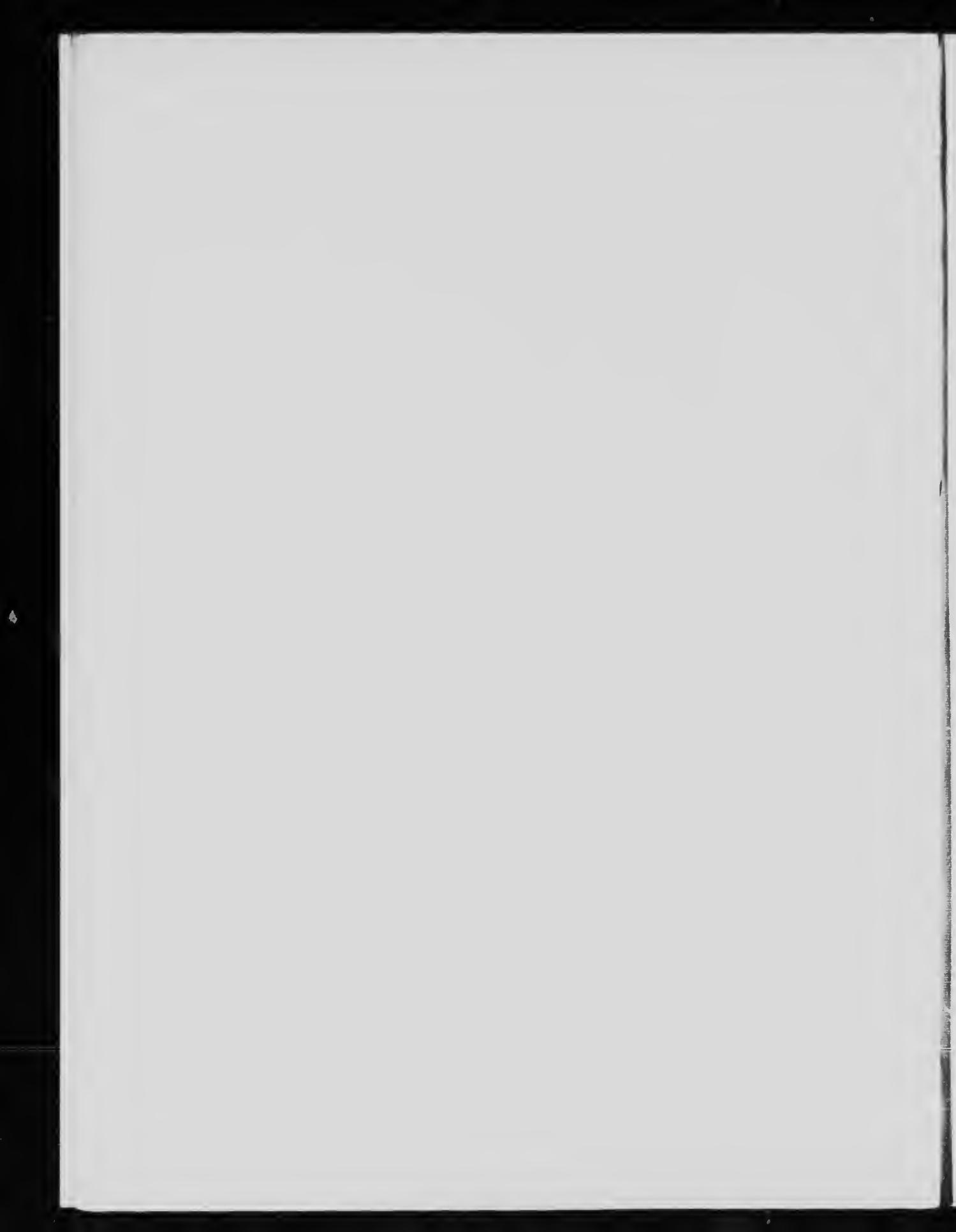
WHEREAS this entails considerable delay and loss as well as extra charges to farmers shipping livestock over the C. N. R.;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this association lay this matter before the Board of Railway Commissioners with a view to obtaining a direct spur from the C. N. R. to these stockyards.

#### BANKING REFORMS

WHEREAS the present system of chartered banks is not able to meet satisfactorily the credit of the agricultural community;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this convention recommend, in the interest of agricultural development, that the present banking system be supplemented by a system of banks created by the Provincial Government, which Government shall have plenary power to create, regulate and control, with minimum requirements of \$10,000 paid up capital, and with power to take deposits.



## MANITOBA GRAIN GROWERS' ASSOCIATION

The following resolutions were passed at the Annual Convention held in Brandon, January 8, 9, 10, 1919.

### POLITICAL ACTION

WHEREAS it is expedient in the best interests of our nation that the reforms advocated in the Farmers' Platform as set forth by the Canadian Council of Agriculture be enacted into legislation at the earliest possible moment;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we urge our district associations to take the following action:

First, to immediately obtain a pledge from their representatives in the House of Commons to work and vote for the enactment into legislation of the reforms embodied in the Farmers' Platform, at the next session of Parliament unless some great national issue which supersedes all domestic issues should arise;

Second, that should the sitting member refuse to take this pledge, or should he fail to support the principles of the platform during the next session of the Dominion Parliament, district associations are urged to immediately take steps to call an open convention of all the electors in their constituency who support the principles of the Farmers' Platform, to make all arrangement to nominate, finance and elect a candidate to support this platform.

### OPPOSES FIXING PRICE OF GRAIN

WHEREAS the fixing of the price of wheat was a war measure for the steady- ing of the market and the keeping down the high cost of living; and whereas, while we view with a large measure of concern the restoration of conditions which make possible speculation in the handling of our chief food product, yet we feel that the continuation of a fixed price might unduly bear on the consumer and thus afford a measure of protection to the producer; therefore, be it resolved that we reaffirm our stand taken at previous conventions, and which is on record, as being opposed to any form of protection, and that we do not ask for a fixed price for 1919.

### CLOSER CO OPERATION WITH LABOUR UNIONS

WHEREAS our association aims at the making of better citizens and the building of a truer democracy; and whereas we realize that this object can only be fully attained by working in union with those workers who support these principles, therefore be it resolved that we strive for a closer co-operation with labor unions and returned soldiers and all kindred associations, and to that end ask that a strong committee be appointed by Brandon Convention to devise ways and means of bringing about a better understanding between these bodies and organized farmers.

### MILLING AND BAKING LIST\*

That the Dominion Government be urged to extend and elaborate the systems of milling and baking lists of wheat, that full publicity be given to the results, and that the results of these tests be used in fixing the grades.

### SALE OF GRAIN AND PRODUCE

That this Convention demands the Government should, at the next session of Parliament, so revise the law pertaining to the sale of grain and produce that the rights of the seller may be properly protected to prevent the recurrence of such losses as have been sustained by farmers in the default of the Canadian Farmers' Hay and Produce Exchange.

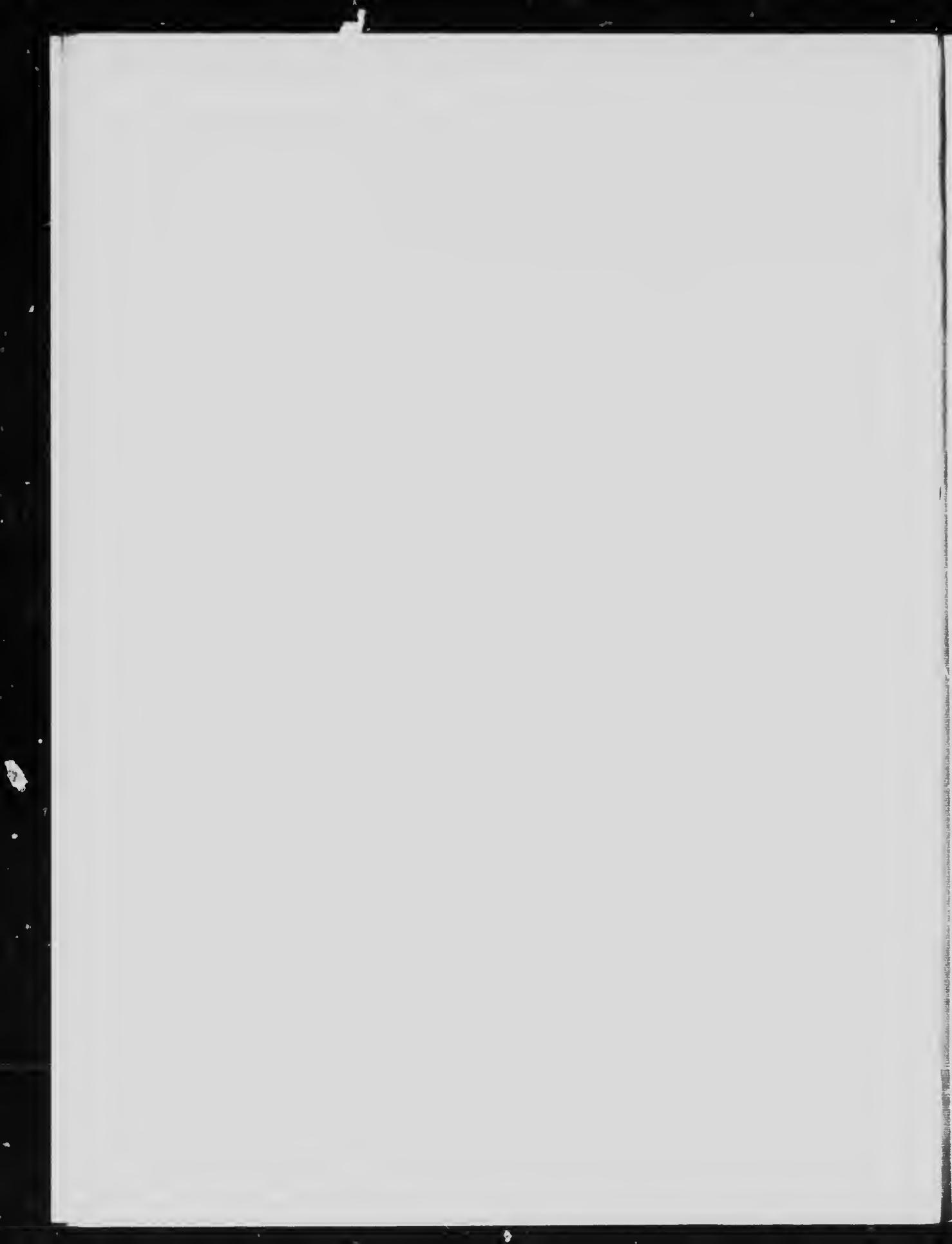
### HUDSON BAY RAILWAY

WHEREAS the cost of transportation is an important factor in the cost of production of farm products, and whereas we have been looking to the Hudson Bay Railway as a means of cheapening transportation; therefore be it resolved that we urge upon our Federal Government the necessity of immediately completing the railway to Hudson's Bay with all the harbor and terminal facilities required to handle a large portion of the produce of the prairie provinces.

### FARM ENGINES

THAT WHEREAS the gasoline engine is becoming more and more of a necessary part of farm equipment, and whereas the determining of horse power from dimensions of and speed of engines is something the average farmer is unfamiliar with, and whereas the rating on engines is entirely in the hands of the manufacturers of them; therefore be it resolved that we urge that steps be taken to have the rating of farm engines brought under Government supervision in order that their horse power rating, both belt and drawbar, be according to one standard.

THAT WHEREAS it is the intention of the Department of Agriculture, that all steam boilers constructed previous to a certain date be allowed to possess



of less than 140 pounds per square inch, and whereas a great many boilers that would come under this list are still capable of carrying a greater pressure than 140 pounds, and whereas it would mean a great hardship to threshers and others who have boilers that are good for a great many years; therefore be it resolved that this matter be brought to the attention of the Brandon Convention with a view to having the matter brought to the attention of the Department of Agriculture.

#### FREIGHT RATES IN ADVANCE

RESOLVED that this Convention of Manitoba Grain Growers' Association protests vigorously against the manœuvring of the railroad companies to secure the payment of freight rates in advance and that we urge our executive to do everything in their power to prevent the Government from granting them such an unreasonable privilege.

#### WHEAT PRICE FIXING NOT WANTED

WHEREAS the fixing of the price of wheat was a war measure for the steady-ing of the market and the keeping down the high cost of living, and whereas while we view with a large measure of concern the restoration of conditions that make possible speculating in the handling of our chief food product, yet we fear that the continuation of a fixed price might unduly bear on the con-summer and thus afford a measure of protection to the producer;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we reaffirm our stand taken at a former convention, and which is on record, as being opposed to any form of protection, and that we do not ask for a fixed price for 1919.

#### LAND FOR SOLDIERS

RESOLVED that having heard the outlined plan of the Soldiers' Settlement Scheme as it involved in the purchase of unoccupied lands throughout Manitoba and the Canadian West, and also that it would appear that a some what arbitrary value may have to be set upon these lands;

BUT THEREFORE RESOLVED that all unoccupied lands included within districts of uniform proximity to railways, or other advantages likely to affect values, be listed at a uniform price, such price to be made public in advance of the date of the purchase thereof by the said Soldiers' Settlement Board.

#### DAYLIGHT SAVING

Now that the war is over and the daylight saving scheme as adopted by the Government as a war measure has proven a disadvantage to the farming community generally, therefore the Beresford Grain Growers' Association requests this Convention to urge the Dominion Government not to re-enact this legislation.

#### DOMINION PROHIBITION

WHEREAS, the restrictive legislation on the liquor traffic enacted during recent years in the province and Dominion Order-in-Council wholly prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of liquor has operated to the general improvement, moral and social as well as material conditions among our people, therefore be it resolved that we urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity of safeguarding that improvement and of removing evil conditions incident to remnants of the traffic still existing in some parts of Canada by permanent enactment of the restrictive measures, and of moving as rapidly as possible to the establishment of full prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants.



## THE ONTARIO FARMERS' PLATFORM

The following is the Platform of the United Farmers of Ontario as passed at their Convention held in Toronto during the week of December 16, 1918.

This Platform except for a few slight amendments is similar to the Platform adopted by the Canadian Council of Agriculture at their Annual meeting held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, on November 29, 1918:

1. A League of Nations as an international organization to give permanence to the world's peace by removing old causes of conflict.

2. We believe that the further development of the British Empire should be sought along the lines of partnership between nations free and equal, under the present governmental system of British constitutional authority. We are strongly opposed to any attempt to centralize Imperial control. Any attempt to set up an independent authority with power to bind the Dominions, whether this authority be termed parliament, council, or cabinet, would hamper the growth of responsible and informed democracy in the Dominions.

3. WHEREAS Canada is now confronted with a huge national war debt and other greatly increased financial obligations, which can be most readily and effectively reduced by the development of our natural resources, chief of which is agricultural lands.

AND WHEREAS it is desirable that an agricultural career should be made attractive to our returned soldiers and the large anticipated immigration, and owing to the fact that this can best be accomplished by the development of a national policy which will reduce to a minimum the cost of living and the cost of production;

AND WHEREAS the war has revealed the amazing financial strength of Great Britain, who has enabled her to finance not only her own part in the struggle, but also to assist in financing her allies to the extent of hundreds of millions of pounds, this enviable position being due to the free trade policy which has enabled her to draw her supplies freely from every quarter of the globe, and consequently to undersell her competitors on the world's markets, and because this policy has not only been profitable to Great Britain, but has greatly strengthened the bonds of Empire by facilitating trade between the Motherland and her overseas dominions, we believe that the best interests of the Empire and of Canada would be served by reciprocal action on the part of Canada through gradual reductions of the tariff on British imports, having for its object a closer union and a better understanding between Canada and the Motherland and at the same time bring about a great reduction in the cost of living to our Canadian people.

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff has fostered combines, trusts and "gentlemen's agreements" in almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise, by means of which the people of Canada, both urban and rural, have been shamefully exploited through the elimination of competition, the ruination of many of our smaller industries and the advancement of prices on practically all manufactured goods to the full extent permitted by the tariff.

AND WHEREAS agriculture - the basic industry upon which the success of all other industries primarily depends - is much handicapped throughout Canada as shown by the declining rural population in both Eastern and Western Canada, due largely to the greatly increased cost of agricultural implements and machinery, clothing, boots and shoes, building material, and practically everything the farmer has to buy, caused by the Protective Tariff, so that it is becoming impossible for farmers generally, under normal conditions, to carry on farming operations profitably.

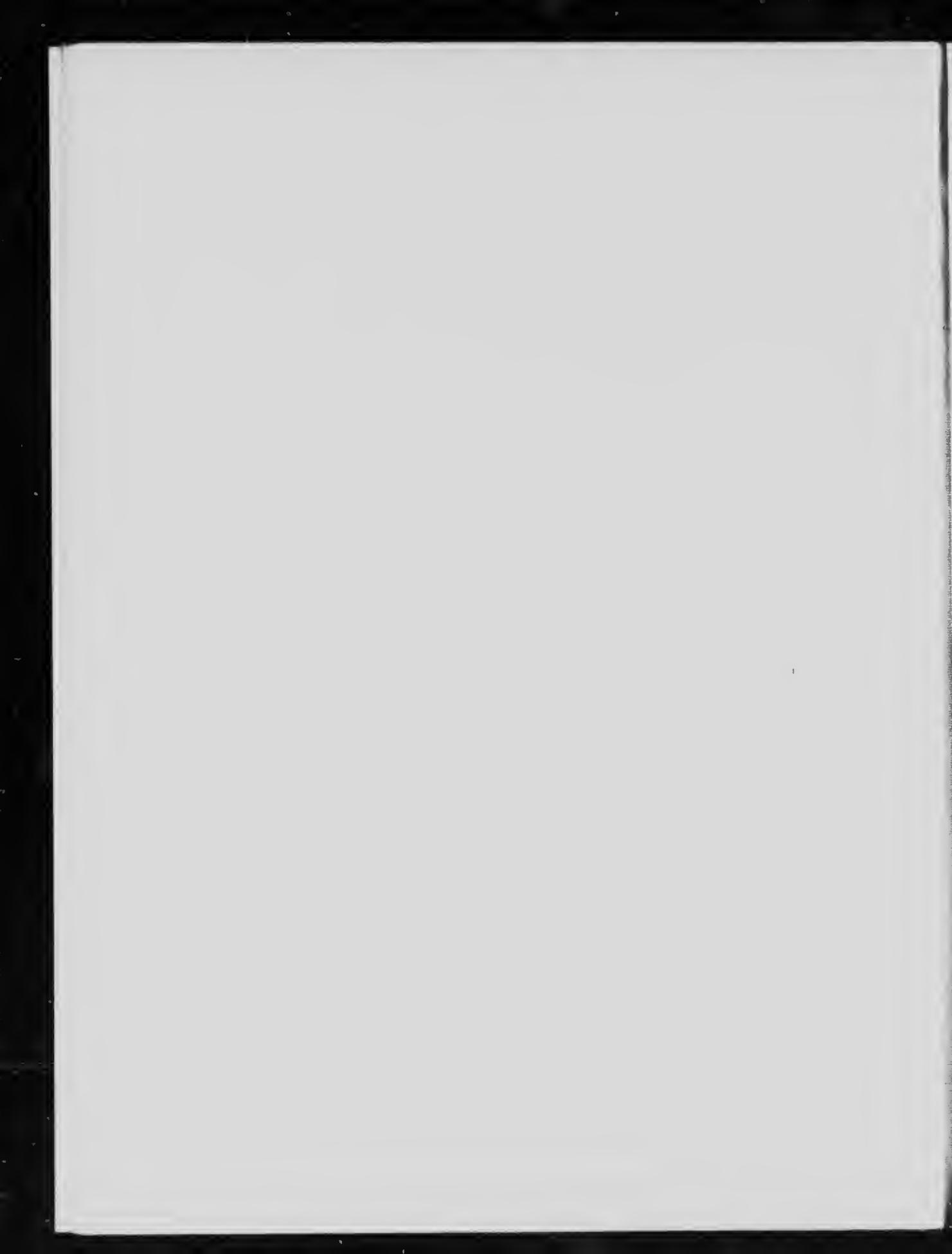
### PROTECTIVE TARIFF WASTEFUL AND COSTLY

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue, because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests, thereby building up a privileged class at the expense of the masses, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff has been and is a chief corrupting influence in our national life, because the protected interests, in order to maintain their monopsony privileges, have contributed lavishly to political and campaign funds, thus encouraging both political parties to look to them for support, thereby lowering the standard of public morality.

WHEREFORE IT IS RESOLVED that the Canadian Council of Agriculture, representing the organized farmers of Canada, urges that as a means of remedying these evils and bringing about much-needed social and economic reforms our tariff laws should be amended as follows:

(1) By an immediate and substantial all round reduction of the customs tariff.



(2) By reducing the customs duty on goods imported from Great Britain to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, and that further gradual, uniform reductions be made in the remaining tariff on British imports that will ensure complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada in five years.

(3) That the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, which still remains on the United States statute books, be accepted by the Parliament of Canada, and that any further reduction in the tariff on the part of the United States toward Canada be met by similar reductions of the tariff of Canada toward the United States.

(4) That all food stuff not included in the Reciprocity Agreement be placed on the free list.

(5) That agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils be placed on the free list, and that all raw materials and machinery used in their manufacture also be placed on the free list.

(6) That all tariff concessions granted to other countries be immediately extended to Great Britain.

(7) That all corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected by the customs tariff be obliged to publish annually comprehensive and accurate statements of their earnings.

(8) That every claim for tariff protection by any industry should be heard publicly before a special committee of Parliament.

#### NEED FOR MORE DIRECT TAXATION

4. As these tariff reductions may very considerably reduce the national revenue from that source, the Canadian Council of Agriculture would recommend that in order to provide the necessary additional revenue for carrying on the government of the country and for the bearing of the cost of the war, direct taxation be imposed in the following manner:

(1) By a direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources.

(2) By a graduated personal income tax.

(3) By a graduated inheritance tax on large estates.

(4) By a graduated income tax on the profits of corporations.

(5) That, in levying and collecting the Business Profits Tax, the Dominion Government should insist that it be absolutely upon the basis of the actual cash invested in the business, and that no consideration be allowed for what is popularly known as watered stock.

(6) That no more natural resources be alienated from the Crown, but brought into use only under short term leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, such leases to be granted only by public auction.

5. With regard to the returned soldier, we urge:

(a) That it is the recognized duty of Canada to exercise all due diligence for the future well-being of the returned soldier and his dependents.

That demobilization should take place only after return to Canada.

c. That first selection for return and demobilization should be made in the order of length of service of those who have definite occupation awaiting them or have other assured means of support, preference being given first to married men and then to the relative needs of industries, with care to ensure so far as possible the discharge of farmers in time for the opening of spring work upon the land.

d. That general demobilization should be gradual, commencing at the discharge of men only as it is found possible to secure steady employment.

e. It is highly desirable that, if physically fit, discharged men should endeavor to return to their former occupations; employers should be urged to reinstate such men in their former positions wherever possible.

f. That vocational training should be provided for those who while in the service have become unfitted for their former occupations.

(g) That provision should be made for insurance at the public expense of unpensioned men who have become undesirable insurance risks while in the service.

h. That facilities should be provided at the public expense that will enable returned soldiers to settle upon farming land when by training or experience they are qualified to do so.

#### TAX THE LAND SPECULATOR

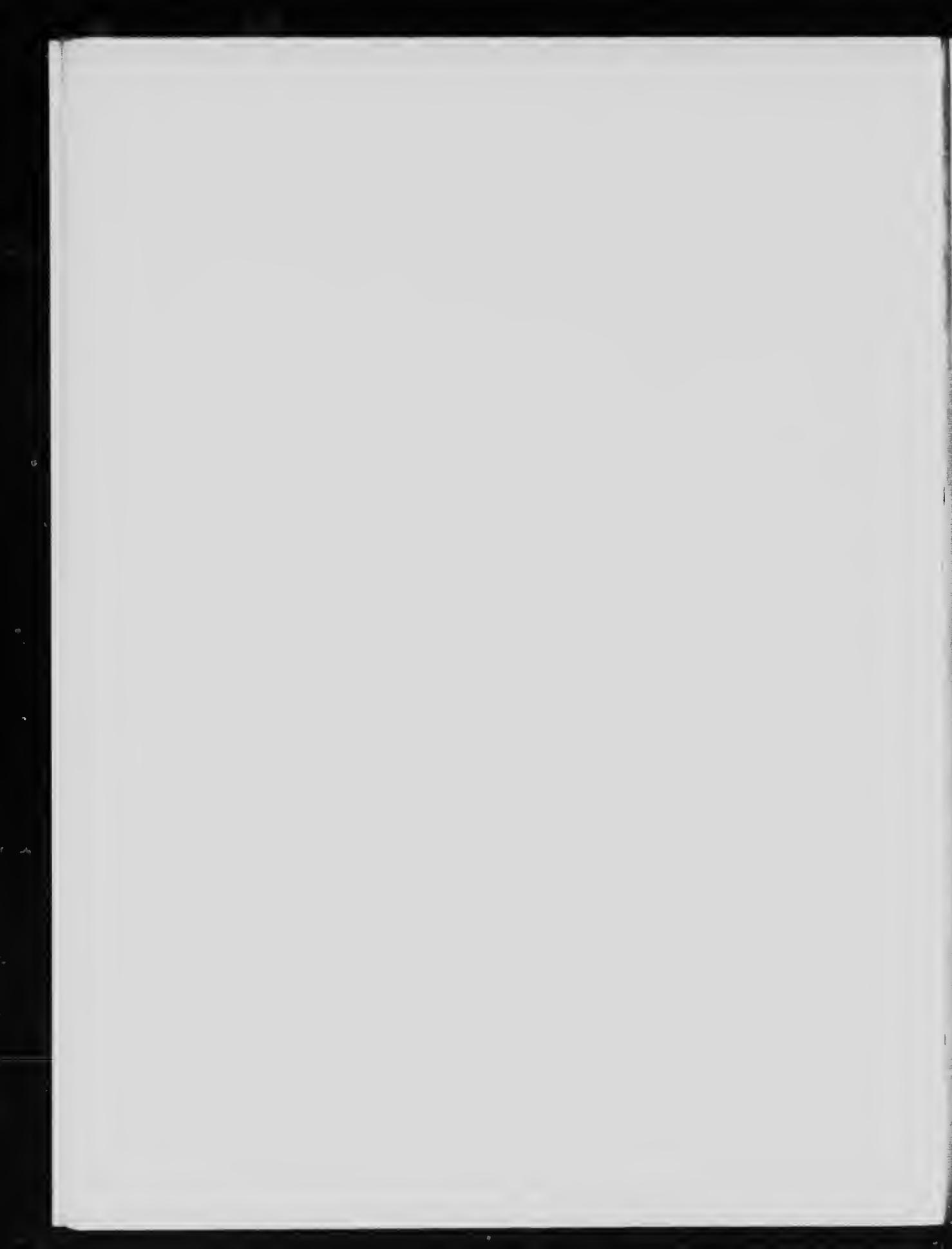
6. Land settlement schemes based on a regulating influence in the selling price of land in areas of tile area should be obliged to file a selling price on their lands, that price also to be regarded as admissible value for purpose of taxation.



7. Extension of co-operative agencies in agriculture to cover the whole field of marketing, including arrangements with consumers' societies for the supplying of foodstuffs at the lowest rates and with the minimum of middle-men handling.

8. Public ownership and control of railway, water and aerial transportation, telephone, telegraph, and express systems; all projects in the development of natural power, and of the coal mining industry.

9. To bring about a greater measure of democracy in government, we recommend the immediate repeal of the War Time Elections Act, the discontinuance of the practice of conferring titles upon citizens of Canada, the abolition of the Federal Senate; and immediate check upon the growth of government by Order-in-Council, and increased responsibility of individual members of Parliament in all legislation; the complete abolition of the patronage system; the publication of all contributions and expenditures both before and after election campaigns; the removal of press censorship and the immediate restoration of the rights of free speech; the setting forth by daily newspapers and periodical publications of the facts of their ownership and control; proportional representation, the establishment of measures of direct legislation through initiative, referendum and recall; and the opening of seats in Parliament to women on the same terms as men; prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquor.



## ALBERTA LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

Resolutions as follows were passed at a meeting held in Calgary  
on January 16, 17, 1917:

### THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE LIBERAL LEADER

WHEREAS the Liberals of Alberta have met in open convention for the purpose of declaring their belief in the principles of Liberalism, of discussing the application of these principles to the many new problems now confronting the country, and to organize so that these principles may prevail in the forthcoming general election, and

WHEREAS Canada is a country of vast extent, varied interests and unbounded resources, containing within herself all the elements of national greatness, but unless there is unity of purpose amongst her varied interests, her extent and resources tend to weakness and stagnation instead of to strength and progress, and

WHEREAS this convention recognizes that there must be national strength or there cannot be national greatness; that there must be unity or there cannot be strength, and that the foundation of unity is the assurance to each citizen that he will be protected in his right, and

WHEREAS the first principle of Liberalism is the guarantee of individual right and this convention believes that a policy founded upon that principle is the only one under which Canada can be united, strong and progressive, and

WHEREAS the history of Canada proves that Canadian progress was never so great or its people so well content as when its affairs were conducted under Liberal direction, especially in the period from 1896 to 1911, and

WHEREAS in the change from war to peace conditions there is greatest need for the application of the soundest principles of government under the most efficient leadership

Therefore it is RESOLVED that the Liberals of Alberta in convention assembled hereby declare their support of the Canadian Liberal party, and express their confidence in Sir Wilfrid Laurier as their leader.

### DEMOBILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

WHEREAS the victories of the Allies have displaced the problems of war by the problems of peace, and

WHEREAS the first and most pressing problem is the return of the men composing Canada's army to civil life under as favorable conditions as the country can provide; and

WHEREAS this convention declares its support of the principle of gratuity pay, graduated according to length of service, for all honorably discharged soldiers, such pay to include due provision for the soldiers dependents,

Free medical attention whenever practicable for soldiers and their dependents during the period covered by their post-gratuity;

Loans to soldiers who are fitted for and desire to settle on land, and to those who wish to start in business, as adequate security and loans to men wishing to start in any other business or industry;

Loans to enable soldiers who are fitted for and desire to re-enter industrial employment, to erect suitable dwellings in villages, towns or cities;

Adequate and equitable pension for disabled or partially disabled men and their dependents, having regard to the cost of living;

Period of military service to count as homestead residence for soldiers who made entry after, as well as before enlistment;

That all possible expedition be used, so that there shall be no unnecessary delay between the arrival of the soldier and his commencement of vocational training;

Vocational training at state expense of all soldiers who desire and are fitted to take advantage of such training;

Supplying artificial limbs and other appliances to disabled soldiers free of charge;

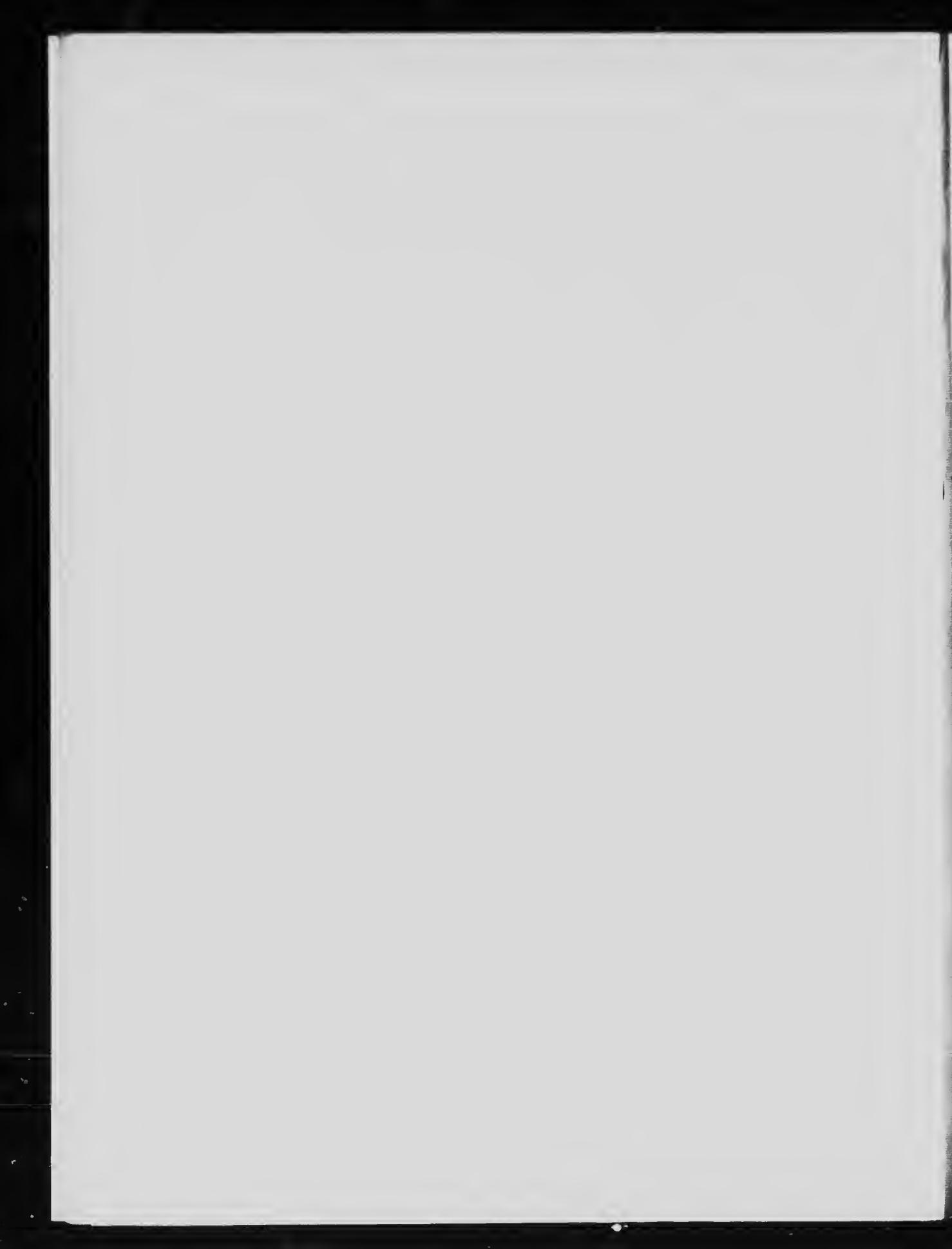
Providing special sanatoria for soldiers suffering from shell shock or other forms of mental affliction, or other disease; sanatoria for those suffering from tuberculosis;

Providing suitable permanent homes for totally disabled soldiers who might desire to avail themselves of them;

Giving due preference to soldiers in appointments to public office and generally recognizing the principle that the soldier, having rendered special service to the state, is entitled to special consideration at the hands of the state;

A war bonus in cash to each soldier based on the length of his service in the army, and as to those who have lost their lives a bonus to their dependents irrespective of length of service;

An annuity to widows and orphans of all soldiers who die subsequent to the war where the estate of the soldier is insufficient to support his widow or orphans, or in the alternative to provide life insurance for returned soldiers;



WHEREAS after all has been directly done for the returned soldier, it must be realized that he did not serve and sacrifice for himself, but for his country, and that unless Canada is prosperous and free his service and sacrifice had been vain,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that in the opinion of this convention it is the duty of the Government of Canada to deal promptly, fairly and liberally in all particulars with the demobilized soldier himself

Secondly, by some sound and progressive legislation to realize for Canada the ideals of justice and liberty that the soldier fought to secure for Belgium and France, and

Thirdly, to pursue such governmental policy in regard to agriculture, industry and trade, finance, transportation and development as will widen opportunity for the soldier and make Canada a better country for him to live in.

The term soldier in this resolution is to be read as including men from Canada who have served in the navy and women who served in a nursing or other capacity in the army.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH

WHEREAS the Province of Alberta has already embarked on powerful health programs, wherein the state is assuming responsibility for the health of the people, and is undertaking to provide hospital accommodation on much the same basis as public schools,

AND WHEREAS there is great need of provincial hospitals for surgery and special medical work to supplement the municipal hospitals now being organized,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention goes on record as demanding for each province its fair quota of all the hospital and dental equipment and supplies in use in Canadian military hospitals in Canada and overseas whenever these supplies and equipment are no longer required for the Canadian Expeditionary Force, in order to build up provincial institutions for the welfare of the whole people;

And that this convention go on record as being opposed to the sale, gift, loan or lease of any of this equipment to any persons, corporations or associations engaged in the business of providing hospital accommodation for profit.

And this convention strongly urges both the provincial and federal Governments to forthwith deal seriously with the whole health problem, including and dealing particularly with the questions of baby welfare, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and the proper care of all those, whether infants or adults, who are mentally deficient, also the aged and infirm.

We also recommend that an immediate survey should be made of the province to ascertain the real facts and requirements along all these lines, and that a vigorous policy of research work, along preventive lines, be adopted.

Resolution agreed to unanimously by the Alberta Liberal convention.

#### CENSORSHIP

WHEREAS Liberty of Speech - the right to express opinion by word or written words - is a first principle of liberalism and is the foundation of successful democracy,

WHEREAS in time of war the right of free speech may properly be restricted by authority of Parliament for the purpose of preventing treasonable utterances and to prevent information of military value from reaching the enemy.

WHEREAS it is an accepted principle of democratic government that when internal conditions justify such procedure the Government may proclaim martial law, thereby putting in the hands of the military the power to arbitrarily suppress such utterances as they see fit, to such extent and by such means as they may deem necessary.

WHEREAS the Government of Sir Robert Borden, under pretext of war necessity has established throughout Canada a censorship, both of the public press and of private speech which is in effect censorship by martial law, without martial law having been proclaimed.

WHEREAS this power of the censorship has been employed, not so much to suppress utterances of treasonable intent or effect, or to prevent fair, reasonable and necessary criticism of the inefficiency, favoritism and graft which has characterized the war administration of the Borden Government, and to protect those concerned in occasions disastrous incompetence in military operations from a due measure of criticism by the people whose blood and money has been carried on the war;

WHEREAS the enforcement of such a censorship has had the effect of betraying public confidence in any statement made on behalf of the Government, especially concerning military operations, and in that respect prevents full credit being given to the valor and sacrifices of Canada's soldiers in the war.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Union Government is hereby condemned for having established a martial law censorship without having taken the responsibility of proclaiming martial law, and for having used the power



thus usurped to defend their civil administration from deserved criticism, as well as to prevent correct knowledge of their military administration from reaching the people, whose sons and brothers were fighting against the imposition by Germany of such a censorship upon the world.

#### CANADIAN RIGHTS OF AUTONOMY

WHEREAS from time to time it is reported in the press that the Peace Conference about to sit in Paris will result in treaties between the powers directly concerned which will deal with matters of trade, defence, immigration and other important subjects;

WHEREAS, under the measure of autonomy enjoyed by Canada as a part of the British Empire, the subjects mentioned, in so far as they relate to Canada, are solely under control of the people of Canada through the Canadian Parliament;

WHEREAS the sacrifices made by Canada in the war were for the purpose (among others) of establishing the autonomous rights of the weaker nations, so that might should not prevail over right;

WHEREAS this convention claims for Canada the rights that she fought to secure for others, therefore be it

Resolved that the Government of Canada is hereby urged to insist that in any of the treaties or agreements made at the Peace Conference by or on behalf of the British Empire there should be, whether directly or indirectly, no trespass upon or derogation from the powers of self-government heretofore enjoyed and exercised by Canada and that in any apportionment of war indemnity Canada receive her fair share, not as payment for sacrifice made, but as recognition of the part taken by her in the struggle for world liberty.

And I declare that this Convention declares that no change should be made at any Imperial Conference in our constitutional relations with the Government of the United Kingdom which would impair or limit in any way our freedom of action or decision as a nation.

#### SHELL OIL CONCESSIONS

WHEREAS, the granting of large tracts of valuable timber, coal, oil and mineral lands belonging to the people of Canada and constituting the source of supply of the raw material necessary to the welfare of the settlers of this country leads to the creation of dangerous and burdensome monopolies;

And WHEREAS there is publicly reported to before the Dominion Government a project to alienate almost the entire oil resources of the north half of Alberta and the whole of the Mackenzie River country for the benefit of a corporation which is not even Canadian;

Therefore be it Resolved that this Convention place itself on record as demanding complete restitution of these resources, wrongfully claimed from the public domain of the prime provinces and hereby declare that this Convention regards as improper and any arrangement whereby natural resources are acquired otherwise than by parliamentary legislation.

And I declare Resolved that this Convention protests against the granting of large blocks of natural resources, by Order of Council or otherwise, in such manner as may constitute monopolies.

And I declare Resolved that this Convention protests against the granting of oil concessions, by Order of Council or otherwise, in such manner as may constitute monopolies.

#### UNION GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS the Liberals of Alberta have been successful in their efforts to have the application of Liberal principles to working government in Canada offers the only solution of the many problems which now confront us, including up-keeping the Dominion, strong provinces and the great cities; and

WHEREAS is the resolution of the Canadian Executive Council adopted during the long period of years that the only safe measure to meet the needs of the highest honour and the greatest interest was to have a strong central government in such a manner;

Therefore be it Resolved  
That in the opinion of  
Hon. J. S. Fisher,  
Hon. G. E. Ross,  
Hon. C. C. Mowat,  
Representative Parliament,  
Responsible Government,  
Laws made only by Parliament,  
Liberal, or the subjects of the Canadian Executive Council, and  
Government of the  
Supremacy of the Canadian Parliament over all other law  
been practised.

7. April 1928 - 1000 m. - 1000 m.

1000 m. - 1000 m.

1000 m.

1000 m. - 1000 m.

WHEREAS these principles had been expressly embodied in legislation or had been confirmed by practice so that they were universal, and unreservedly recognized as being part of the constitution of the country, and

WHEREAS the Union Government, of which Sir Robert Borden is for the time the head, before and after the election of 1917 transgressed each one of these fundamental principles of Liberalism which had been incorporated into the constitution of the country, and thereby usurped autocratic power, which he and his colleagues have since used and abused to the great detriment of the country and against the welfare of its citizens;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that in the opinion of this Convention the Union Government led by Sir Robert Borden is not entitled to the support of electors who desire to uphold and advance Liberal principles as a means towards the building up of Canada.

#### BANKING SYSTEM

WHEREAS the banking system of Canada as now in vogue tends to centralize all the financial institutions of the country in the hands of a small banking monopoly or money trust;

AND WHEREAS the rapidly developing commerce and industry of the country demands constantly increasing and efficient banking facilities coupled with a system of elastic currency, which currency must be an absolutely sound and redeemable character; and

WHEREAS the present system of banking has resulted in a reduction of the number of chartered banks in Canada to 19, with a consequent reduction in currency and circulation, and has placed the financial interests of the country in the hands of a close monopoly with power to increase or diminish the currency of the country at will, to fix interest, discount and exchange rates and invariant them;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we favor the passage by Parliament of a National Bank Act authorizing the chartering of local national banks by the Dominion Government, said banks to be subject to inspection by the Dominion bank examiner, and with power to issue bank currency by first depositing with the Minister of Finance Dominion Government Bonds to the extent of full amount of bank notes issued or 10 per cent in excess of the amount of notes to be so issued; all national banks to be organized with paid-up capital of \$50,000 or more and to be without power to establish branches.

#### TARIFF

WHEREAS Liberalism has always been opposed to a protective tariff, and has always advanced measures for the benefit of the masses;

WHEREAS in 1911 the Liberal party appealed to the country on a wide measure of reciprocity with the United States;

WHEREAS the Liberal party adopted a preferential tariff in favor of the Motherland of twenty-five per cent, and subsequently increased it to thirty-three and one third per cent;

WHEREAS on the door of Parliament the Liberal party moved for the abolition of all duties on farm implements;

WHEREAS, year by year, the policies advocated by the farmers' organizations and the Canadian Council of Agriculture have very closely approximated to the policy of the Liberal party, until there is now practically no difference between such policies;

WHEREAS the Canadian Council of Agriculture, in November, 1918, announced and adopted a platform practically identical with the policy of the Liberal party;

WHEREAS the policies advocated by both the Liberal party and the Canadian Council of Agriculture are not only practically identical, but are in the very best interest and for the benefit of all Canadians;

WHEREAS the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the Liberal party desire to attain practically the same results, this convention is of the opinion that there should no longer be any seeming difference between the policies advocated by the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the Liberal party, but that they should unite in one joint determination to attain the adoption of their common policy, which would be of inestimable benefit to all Canada;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention commends the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture declared at Winnipeg, in November, 1918, as to tariff and taxation, and adopts it as part of the Liberal policy.

#### LABOUR

WHEREAS the necessity of bringing an order of social justice into the industrial world is one which is occupying the minds of statesmen in every country;

AND WHEREAS the Government at Ottawa has taken no steps to align Canadian affairs with the policies being used in other countries toward a new industrial relationship between capital and labor;



AND WHEREAS the time has now arrived in the affairs of Canada when progressive steps must be taken with regard to labor legislation;

BUT IT IS RESOLVED, that this convention hereby goes on record:

1. In favor of an eight hour law for all employees ordinarily known as industrial workers, throughout the Dominion of Canada;
2. Equality of wages as to men and women for similar or the same service;
3. Total abolition of child labor; and
4. For a minimum wage for all of such industrial workers according to existing facts and conditions.

#### SOLDIERS' SETTLEMENT

RESOLVED, that this Convention is of the opinion that the Government of Canada should immediately adopt and declare a definite specific land settlement scheme for returned soldiers, whereby, so far as possible, soldiers should be settled on land in the provinces from which they enlisted, and insofar as the soldiers from Alberta are concerned, the said scheme should include:

1. The purchase by the Dominion Government of reasonably large areas of land in different parts of the province where such land could be secured in blocks or in sections conveniently near to each other, and convenient to railway communication;
2. That suitably sized farms of the said land should be sold to soldiers desiring to engage in agriculture upon such terms and conditions as to payments and interest as would make it possible for these men to repay the purchase price of said lands;
3. That a careful agricultural survey should be made of each of these areas to decide the lines of agriculture that should be engaged in on each area;
4. That arrangements should be made for the breaking of a portion of these lands to enable the soldiers settling on them to make preparations for their first crop;
5. That the loan of \$2,000 which it is proposed to make to soldiers on their homesteads, should be available in connection with his land; the money to be properly expended in equipment and buildings with which to begin operations;
6. That arrangements should be made for the establishment of cooperative creameries under the direction of the Provincial Dairy Commissioner, and also for the co-operative marketing of the fat products of the men settled on these lands, and that arrangements be made for the purchase of and sale to these men of agricultural implements at manufacturers' prices;
7. That an agricultural representative be established in connection with each settlement to give personal advice and assistance to such of these men as require the same, that this agricultural representative should be preferably a soldier who had seen service and a man who had had an agricultural college training and also experience as a practical farmer, and that, where possible, a veterinary surgeon should be engaged to assist this agricultural representative and generally supervise the health of the live stock of these farmers;
8. That buying and selling should be as largely as possible on the co-operative plan so as to obtain for these farmers the highest market price for their produce and also enable them to buy the necessities they would require in the farming operation at the lowest possible price, but that each farm should be the individual enterprise of the farmer who purchased it from the Government under this plan.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

WHEREAS the position of the three prairie provinces with regard to their public domain places these provinces at a very great disadvantage as compared with the other provinces of Canada;

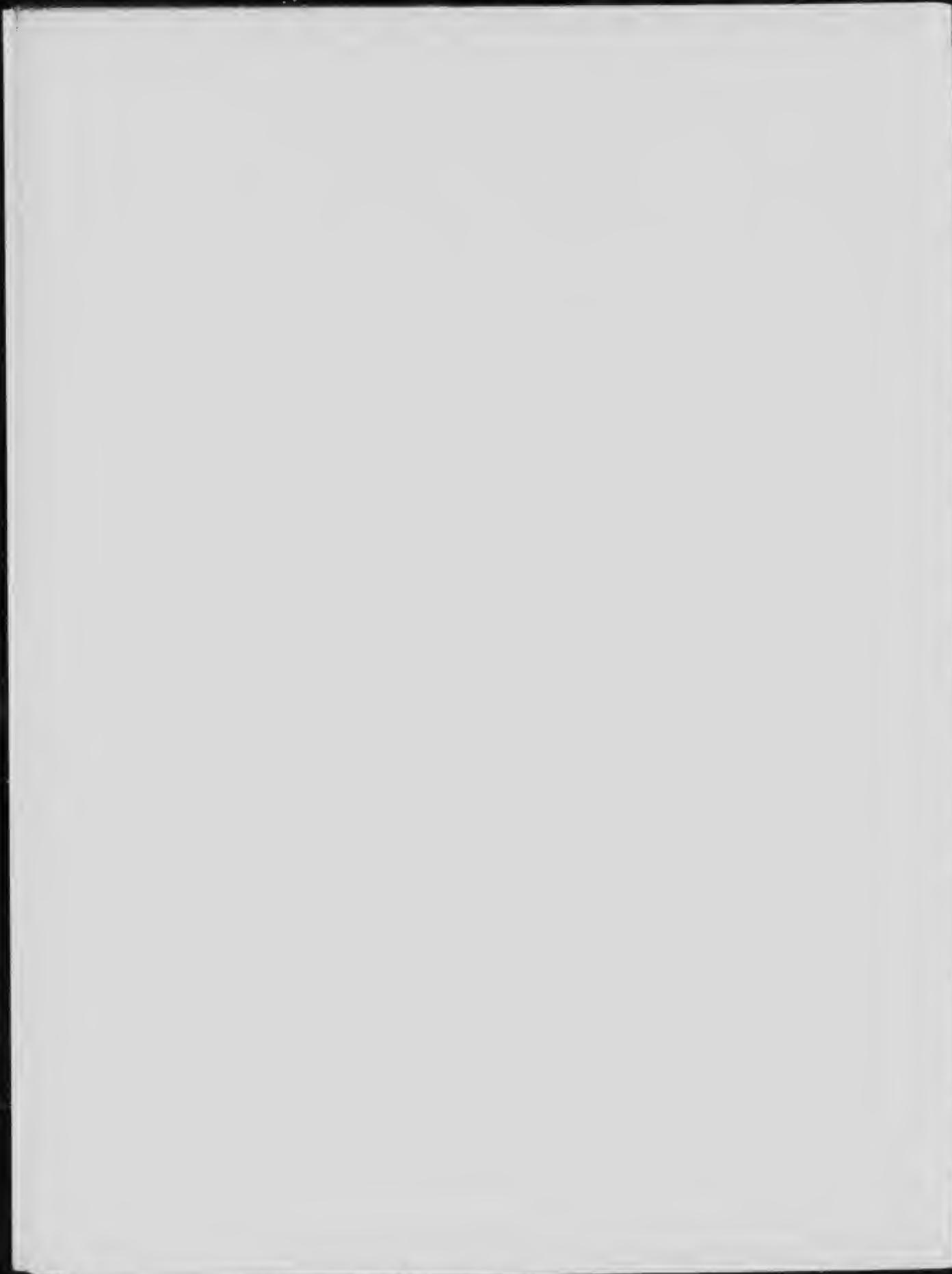
AND WHEREAS the publicly pledged word of the Prime Minister of Canada without reservation or condition to transfer to these provinces their natural resources and also to compensate them for those resources already alienated, is still unredeemed to the dishonor and humiliation of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the recent conference in Ottawa regarding this question merely added another chapter of subterfuge and evasion to the record of Borden Governments, past and present, upon the question;

THEREFORE IT IS RESOLVED, that this Convention demands the immediate transfer of their natural resources to the three prairie provinces, and compensation for those lands and resources which have been wrongfully alienated, not only as a measure of fair justice to the province concerned, but also as a wise national policy in solving the many complex problems that must be solved mainly on the western prairies.

#### PROHIBITION

The Federal Parliament should absolutely prohibit the manufacture, importation, exportation, storage or sale of intoxicating liquors within the Dominion of Canada.



## VICTORIA, B.C., LIBERALS

The Liberals of Victoria, B.C., submit the following resolutions:

- Nationalization or abolition of salmon traps
- Assistance for iron and steel industry for British Columbia.
- Substantial reduction on all custom tariffs.
- Reduce customs duty on British and Colonial goods, giving a large preference over other countries with view to free trade therewith.
- That mining, lumbering, agricultural and farm machinery be placed on the free list.
- That companies or corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected, and that all companies or corporations handling food products protected, be obliged to publish annually accurate and full statements of their earnings.
- Manufactured goods and foodstuffs shall be sold in the home market at a price not exceeding the price obtained in the foreign market.
- Graduated income tax on incomes starting from \$1,500 on unmarried persons without dependents, \$2,000 on married or single persons with dependents and up.
- Graduated income tax of profits based on actual cash investment of corporations.
- Direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources.
- That in future all natural resources be given only on short term leases, and by Government retaining a co-partnership.
- Government land scheme based upon actual settlement and Canadian citizenship.
- All speculative land owners to be obliged to file their selling value, thus price to act as basis of assessment.
- National Bank
- State Insurance
- Public ownership or control of all public utilities that are by virtue of their being a monopoly, such as coal mines, oil wells, natural gas, telephones, telegraphs, electric railways, cold storage and grain elevators.
- Development and control of mercantile marine with view of trade development.
- Insurance for soldiers who are not getting pensions and have become undesirable risks for insurance companies.
- Franchise for women.



## WESTERN ONTARIO LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting held at London, Ont., November 19, 1918.

### CANADIAN TROOPS OVERSEAS

WHEREAS the organization of the Western Ontario Liberal Association coincides with the ending of the world war, the defeat of militarism and autocracy, and the re-establishment of peace;

AND WHEREAS it is fitting that at its first meeting the said association should place on record its gratification at the attainment of the objects for which so many Canadians fought and offered up their lives, as well as an expression of its pride in the valor of Canadian troops and self-sacrifice of Canadian women;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the congratulations of this association be tendered to the survivors of the Canadian army upon the successful termination of the mighty struggle in which they have won undying fame for themselves and for Canada; that its respectful sympathy be extended to the relatives of those who fell that liberty and justice might survive; and that its thanks be, as they are hereby, expressed to the noble Canadian women who rendered such untiring and invaluable assistance from the very beginning to the last hour of the war;

AND FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that copies of the resolution be given to the press for publication, and forwarded to General Gouraud, the Commander of the Canadian forces in the field.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

That the Western Ontario Liberal Association declines its conviction that the establishment of a League of Nations to protect the equal rights of states great and small, to prevent future conflicts, and to secure the limitation of armaments, is the greatest and most urgent constructive work of the statesmen and peoples of the world in order that there may be an end to the canker of militarism.

### RECONSTRUCTION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY

The Western Ontario Liberal Association is of the opinion that the problem of the future is reconstruction and that industrial reconstruction is its most important phase. To introduce into the government of industry the principles of representation whereby the interests of labor and of the community may be considered in industrial control and the shaping of industrial policies is the natural work of Liberalism. It is to Liberalism that we owe the transition from autocratic to representative and responsible government in the affairs of the state. To democratize the government of industry so as to give to the workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry is the task that lies ahead.

### WAR TIME ELECTIONS ACT

That the Western Ontario Liberal Association is of the opinion that that dark blot of shame, the War Time Elections Act, should be removed from the statute book at the earliest possible date.

### AGAINST GOVERNMENT BY ORDER IN COUNCIL

The Western Ontario Liberal Association expresses its abhorrence of government by order in council, whereby the civil liberties of the people have been swept away and government by a Parliament responsible to the people abolished.

### CANADIAN SOLDIERS IN CANADA

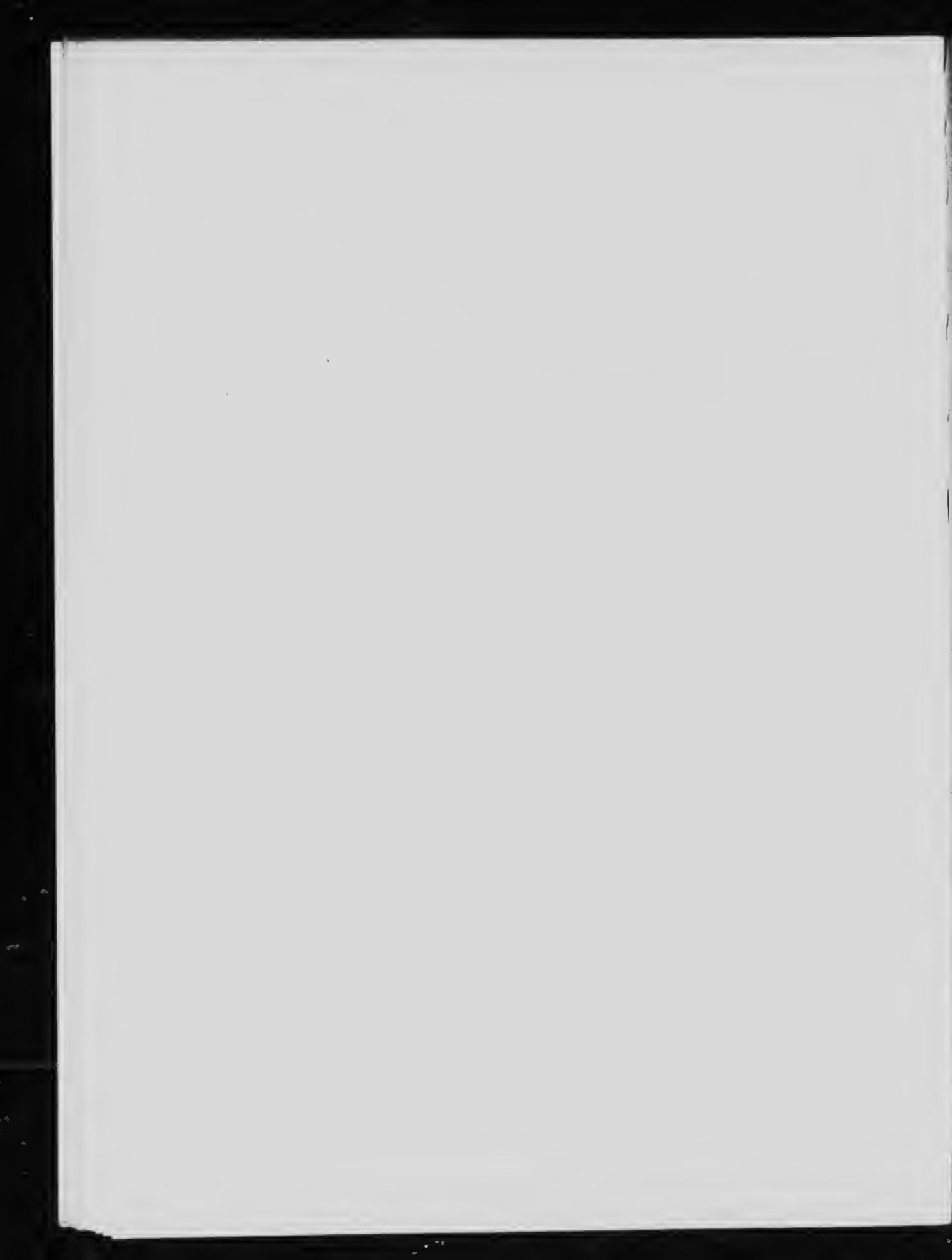
That the Western Ontario Liberal Association pledges itself to insist and make sure that our soldiers and sailors shall have the first claim upon the consideration of Parliament, as they already have upon the gratitude of the Canadian people; that none of those who have served in the forces shall be allowed to fall into distress either from lack of employment or from any other defect in our social organization; that those who have been incapacitated from following their occupations shall be freely assisted to train themselves for new employment, and shall be further assisted by the state in every practical way to establish themselves as producers or in business or as wage earners; that the pensions from the Government to disabled men, and to widows and orphans shall be sufficient in amount to secure a satisfactory standard of comfort; and that the pension fund shall be generously and sympathetically administered.

### DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

That the Western Ontario Liberal Association reaffirms the Liberal principle of the more equitable distribution of wealth and of the burdens of the state, and joins with the agricultural industry in its demand for relief from an economic system which discriminates unfairly against the farmers in favor of the big interests.

## EASTERN ONTARIO LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

See printed booklet for resolutions passed by the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association and printed in English and French.



## THE CENTRAL ONTARIO LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

Resolutions were passed as follows at their organization meeting held in Toronto on January 21, 1919.

### SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

That the Central Ontario Liberal Association doles as follows:

a. That the outstanding duty of both Parliament and the people of Canada is to make full and liberal provision for our soldiers and sailors who have by their magnificent courage saved our country from the oppressor.

b. That adequate pensions should be provided for disabled soldiers, and for the widows, children and dependents of those who have given their lives in our defense, and that in the administration of pensions the following delays and arbitrary treatment that now prevail should give place to more prompt, generous and sympathetic methods.

c. That none of our soldiers or sailors should be neglected or permitted to suffer through mismanagement by any defective social organization.

d. That the urgent attention of Parliament and the people should be directed to the vocational training of the returning soldiers and ex-servicemen, assistance given him to re-establish himself in civil life.

e. That in determining the extent of the disablement of each soldier the record of his condition as certified by the medical examiner when he joined should be conclusive unless反驳 by the report of the soldier's doctor.

f. That in the foregoing points the resolution of the Canadian War Cabinet should be carried.

g. That there should be absolute equality in the granting of pensions and no regard or distinction paid to rank or any other consideration save that of disability suffered by the soldier in the service of the country.

h. That the system of granting honorary military titles to veterans should be at once abolished, and all such titles heretofore granted cancelled and annulled.

### TARIFF AND TAXATION

In 1918 the public debt of the Dominion was \$336,000,000, and the annual interest payment thereon was \$12,535,550; the annual ordinary expenditure was \$79,411,747.

It is now announced by the Government that at the end of the war the public debt will be two thousand million dollars. The interest charge alone on this will be over \$100,000,000 annually. The annual expenditure for pensions is likely to exceed \$10,000,000, and the total expenditure for the next fiscal year, exclusive of the cost of maintaining the army in the field may approach \$100,000,000. Canada's external indebtedness, private and public, is probably greater per capita than that of any other country. We have to pay out for interest alone a sum estimated at \$200,000,000 annually, or more than \$600,000 for every working day.

To meet this enormous indebtedness in Canada and pay for necessary imports, we must increase our exports to the fullest possible extent. Our greatest industry is the timber industry, and our greatest exports are the products of the tree. We must endeavor to see that our timber is shipped to secure for them the widest possible markets. We also export large quantities of our forest products and lumber. We must encourage the development of all those industries and the production of all articles for which potential markets exist abroad. We should especially encourage the production of live stock and of those mineral and forest products which are peculiar to Canada. With this object in view we should try to get the best prices for our products used for foreign purposes free of duty. We should also provide for machinery required for other countries' industries. To this end we should strive to impose the least possible duty on the most important imports. We also hope the time will come when we can impose a general 5 per cent tariff on imports.

In the case of Canada we have the same responsibility as in the case of the United States, and that is to see that the debts of the war are paid off. In this case, however, the Canadian debts are not so great as those of the United States, and we recommend the creation of a national bank, with a capital of \$100,000,000, to which the Canadian government and the Canadian banks would contribute, and which would be controlled by the Canadian government. This bank would be used to pay off the Canadian debts, and to help to pay off the debts of the United States as rapidly as possible.

In some of these countries there is a large number of rich men who have never paid taxes, and it is a matter of great concern to us that these rich men should bear their fair share. Some of these men are the owners of the Dominion's large estates. At present the size of these estates is not taxed under the Canadian Income Tax Act, and they are not taxed at 5 per cent.

The great fortunes which have been created during the war should be taxed to the last cent of the war.



## CANADIAN NORTHERN RAILWAY

WHEREAS the Dominion Government has purchased sixty million dollars of common stock of the Canadian Northern Railway, and has assumed the payment of its debts and liabilities amounting to over \$175,000,000, while the company was showing a loss on its 1916-1917 operations of about \$10,000,000;

AND WHEREAS the legislation authorizing the purchase of the common stock of this company and the assuming of this company's enormous debts and liabilities was introduced through Parliament at its dying days by the use and abuse of *legislaw* in August-September 1917;

without full disclosure to the people of the company's affairs;

without informing the Canadian people the real price that was to be paid for this gigantic undertaking;

without the people knowing what the yearly loss to the Dominion in its purchase and operation would be;

without the people knowing why such unnecessary haste was necessary in suddenly purchasing this enormous railway undertaking;

without informing the public about their recent options and transactions in the London market in respect to depreciated securities which since then have enormously increased in value, netting colossal fortunes to the manipulators whose names are unknown to the public;

and without the people knowing what shameless and reckless improvidence induced the Government and its majority clique through Parliament the liability to pay for the unknown purchase price of this colossal undertaking;

Now Therefore, in this Resolved by the Liberals of Central Ontario that a full investigation be held to prove the affairs of the Canadian Northern Railway, to find out and make public all the facts relating to the negotiations for the sale and purchase of this road; the names of those who benefited directly or indirectly by the sale and purchase of this road; the names of those who dealt in its London securities before the unexpected purchase of the road was announced; and all surrounding facts and circumstances in any way relating thereto.

## CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Canadians have proved in the present war, by the severest tests, that they are the equal of any other people in the highest qualities of manhood and womanhood. They have shown their fitness to be placed in a position of absolute equality with every self-governing nation in the world. In the rest the Liberal party has led the way in our constitutional development, and we must continue to proceed in the path we have hitherto followed. We regard the present movement for centralized Imperial control as highly dangerous to Canada. If successful it would prevent national development and be subversive of true democracy. In conformity with such a development of our post-war policy we now propose:

1. That in all bodies where the nations of the world are called into conference Canada must hereafter be represented, not through favor or suffrage but is of right, and by delegates who shall be on an equal footing with all others present.

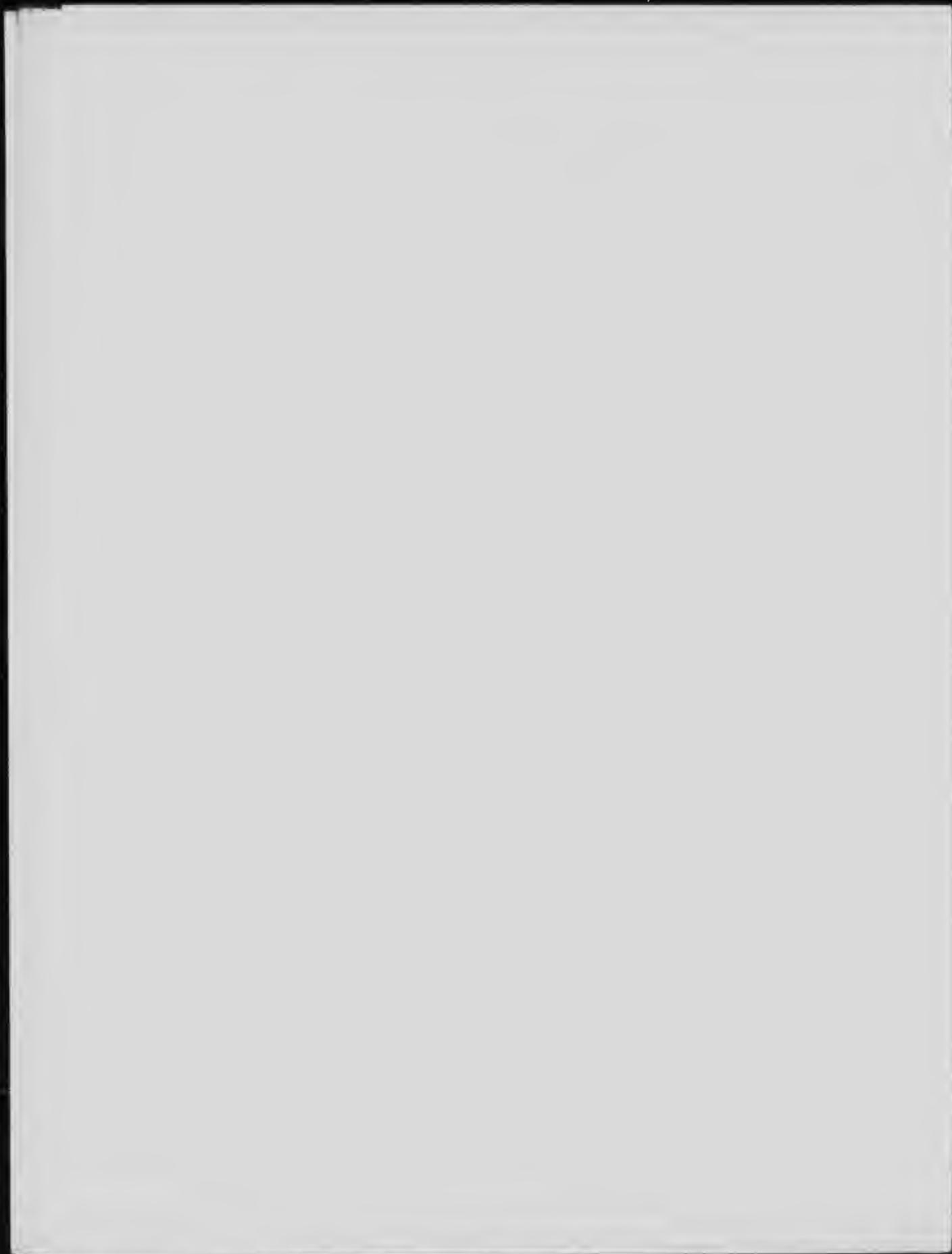
2. That in the making of treaties Canada should be given equality with Great Britain, and thus have the right to negotiate freely with any other country.

3. Our courts must have full power to deal with all minor disputes of all matters brought before them after legislation. No court should be compelled to go to London to defend his case. No courts other than our own should have jurisdiction here, and no cases decided in courts outside Canada should be binding upon our judges.

4. Our forefathers came to Canada not only to improve their temporal condition but to free themselves from the social institutions and inequalities of the old world. We must vigilantly guard against the attempt now being made to implant here those artificial social distinctions from which they sought to escape. We demand that no more titles, hereditary or otherwise be conferred upon Canadian citizens. An opportunity should be given of those who have accepted titles to renounce them, and those not renouncing them should be forever disqualifed from holding public office in Canada. No Canadian public man should look elsewhere than to the Canadian people for reward or honor and we must jealously guard our public men from all other influences.

## REPEAL OF ORDERS IN COUNCIL

The rights of the individual citizen to be secure from accusation of crime, and from the trouble, expense and anxiety of a public trial before indictment by a Grand Jury, is justly regarded as one of the securities of the innocent, against hasty, malicious and oppressive prosecution, and is one of the ancient franchises and privileges of English liberty. The Magna Charta itself guarantees that no Freeman shall be imprisoned unless by the lawful judgment of his peers.



Now that the war is over and Canada is returning to a peacetime footing, we demand the repeal of the Orders in Council by which new crimes were created, extraordinary penalties imposed, and trial by jury denied. There is no excuse for continuing such Orders in Council or depriving citizens of the right of trial by jury. Now, as in former times, jury trials is the great safeguard of individual liberty.

The Liberal party, which has always stood for free speech and the rights of the individual citizen, denounces the course now being pursued by the Dominion Government, and calls on Liberals everywhere to join in bringing to an end the present oppressive conditions and restoring the right of free speech and free institutions in their entirety.

#### INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Fully recognizing the necessity of reforms tending to improve the position of labour, we believe that industrial problems should be approached in a constructive and conciliatory spirit. We look for inspiration to the history of the Liberal party in dealing with racial and religious problems, and in fostering confidence and good will and maintaining equal justice for those of all races and creeds, and to the example of our honored leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose life has been devoted to promoting Canadian unity. We invoke the same spirit of confidence, good will and love of justice in our efforts to solve the problems arising out of industrial relations.

We recommend the holding of conferences between employers and employees at which there may be an exchange of views and a statement of difficulties, and each side may thus be enabled to learn things from the other's stand-point. Let us have democracy in industry as well as in government.

#### WAR TIME ELECTIONS ACT

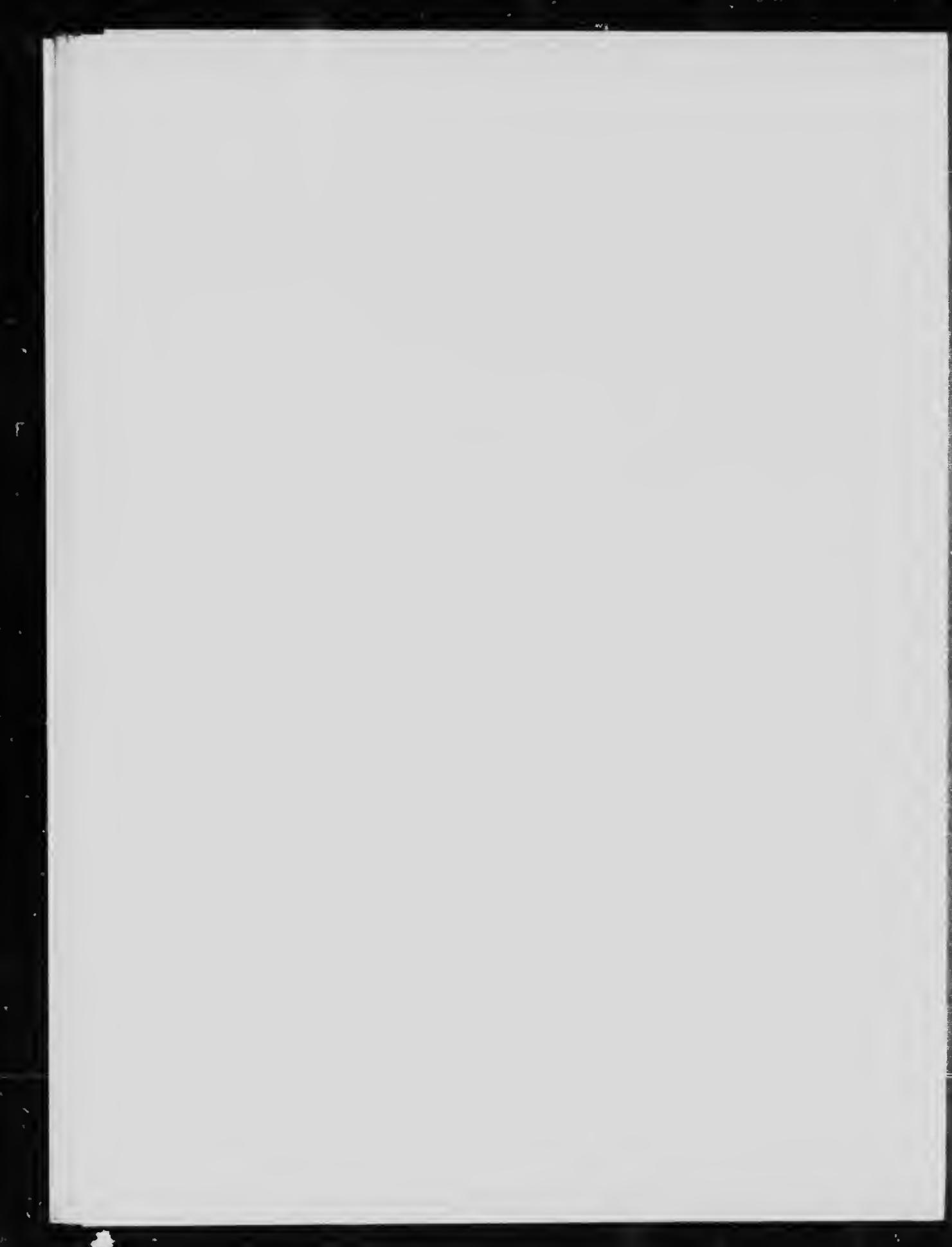
The War Time Elections Act was one of the first steps in the suppression of popular government in Canada. In passing it Parliament descended to the lowest depths of partisanship. We demand the immediate repeal of this Act.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

When under past conditions of international jealousy fostered by a system of alliances and secret treaties the world has been weighed down with military and naval burdens, and cursed with a succession of wars, be it resolved that we lend our interest support to plans for such a League of Nations as will restrain unscrupulous governments, care for backward peoples, free the nations from the crushing burden of militarism, and keep the world free for democracy.

#### EMBARGO ON HOGS

We protest against the present attempt of the Canadian packers to have an embargo placed on the export of hogs in order that they may purchase hogs from Canadian farmers at their own price, and we ask the Government to refuse their application.



## TORONTO AND YORK LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

The following resolutions were adopted by this Association:

### SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

RESOLVED that the Toronto and York Liberal Association pledges its hearty support:

1. To adequate pensions for soldiers and sailors and a prompt and sympathetic administration of the Pension Funds, as respects the widow, children and dependents of soldiers and sailors, instead of the arbitrary treatment that now prevails.
2. To equal pensions for equal disability;
3. To the determining the extent of the disablement of each soldier on the basis of the record of his condition when he joined, as certified by the medical examiner;
4. To urge Parliament and the people of Canada to direct every energy for vocational training and practical assistance to re-establish in civil life all our returned soldiers and sailors.

### MILITIA SYSTEM

RESOLVED that the Toronto and York Liberal Association hereby declares:

That as soon as demobilization and repatriation are completed, it is essential to the progress of industrial reconstruction and in accordance with public opinion that Canada shall return to the single basis of a Militia System of Defence.

### CONSTITUTION

RESOLVED that this Association, recalling that in England during the second half of the 18th century, and in Canada during the first half of the 19th century, the political effort of the people was to achieve the subordination of the Executive to the Legislative power, or in other words the supremacy of the popular will; and, recalling that in Canada the result of that effort was at length expressed in the Canadian Constitution by which the judicial executive and legislative departments of government were, as the people believed, strictly defined and liberty and impartial justice assured, protests against the assumption of legislative power by the Executive and against the government of the people by order-in-council in violation of the constitution, and this Association also protests against the exertion by the Executive or Cabinet of power over the judicial office, by which, in violation of the guarantees of the constitution, the judicial power was made the servant of the Executive.

### WAR TIME ELECTIONS ACT

RESOLVED that the Toronto and York Liberal Association hereby declares:

1. That the War Time Elections Act, enacted under closure by the Borden Government, was an infamous departure from the principles of responsible government in Canada;
2. That in the administration of this Act the members of the Government resorted to the most unwarranted and extreme partisanship;
3. That the Act should be forthwith repealed and immediate return made to the provincial franchises.

### PARLIAMENTARY INDEMNITY

RESOLVED that in the event of Parliament declaring for an increase in the sessional indemnity, or in the salaries of Cabinet Ministers, that such increases should not become effective during the existence of the Parliament sanctioning such legislation.

### EQUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP

RESOLVED that the Toronto and York Liberal Association hereby declares

1. That owing to the continuous operation of unworthy political devices, racial and religious divisions have been increased in Canada, frustrating the realization of harmony between Canadians of British and French descent, and impairing the efficiency of Constitutional Government.
2. That the Liberal party, true to its consistent principles, identifies itself with all vigorous public opinion demanding unquestionable equality of adult citizenship, as essential to the welfare of the nation.
3. That the Liberal party stands for freedom of thought and action in all that concerns the rights of humanity, and rejects all influences, howsoever designated, which seek the limitation of natural liberty within the state, or the creation therein of the authority or appearance of power on the part of any one race, class, denomination or organization over others.

### EXPENDITURE

WHEREAS in the opinion of this association the budget of ordinary expenditure for the year of 437 millions announced by the Minister of Finance, involves a vast increase of the public debt;



**BE IT RESOLVED** that it is the duty of the Government of Canada to exercise economy of the most rigid character in every department of the public service, and to limit to the utmost the public expenditure.

#### THE INDUSTRY OF FARMING

WHEREAS increased farm production tends towards increased industrial consumption, thus benefiting the manufacturer, merchant and consumer, involving steady employment of labor and lower living costs;

AND WHEREAS the products of the land are those which are at present in universal demand in foreign markets—one of our greatest sources of available exportable wealth, and would prove of material assistance in reducing our national debt;

**BE IT RESOLVED** that in consideration of the tariff question special attention be paid to the demands of farmers with a view to lifting the burden off the shoulders of that section of the people, and at the same time easing the burden of the consumer as well.

#### NICKEL DEVELOPMENT

LET THE output of the nickel-producing mines of Ontario, having regard to the vital character and economic value of this great national asset, should be under the absolute control of the Province of Ontario, and the Dominion and Provincial Governments should take united action to that end.

That the business of refining and smelting nickel-bearing ores, mined in Ontario, should be under the control of the Province of Ontario and the Provincial Government should acquire, construct or secure the necessary refining and smelting plants for the refining and smelting of Ontario nickel-bearing ores, and so stimulate and increase the development of our wonderful mineral resources.

That the arrears of taxes which the Provincial Government has illegally refrained from imposing should be forthwith collected for the relief of the overburdened public, and that the capitalistic monopolists should be forced to pay taxes in Canada and not in a foreign country upon these ores mined in the Province of Ontario.

#### HIGH COST OF LIVING AND SOCIAL REFORM

WHEREAS the war with the Central Powers was fought to establish the reign of democracy on the ruins of autocracy and to inaugurate an era of true brotherhood and equality of opportunity;

**BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED** that it is not enough, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in his last public utterance, that the ruins of foreign military autocracy be in the dust, but, if we succeed in establishing better international relations, much more must we establish peace in the social relations that exist among ourselves by promoting such wide measures of reform which, while allowing legitimate scope for individual initiative and enterprise, will clear from the path of human progress the obstacles to equality of opportunity that give rise to so much undeserved poverty and misery on the one hand, and to untrammeled profiteering, excessive wealth and extravagant luxury on the other.

The birth of the community idea and the passing of the obsolete doctrine of unqualified individualism, opens up a wide vista for reform which Liberalism, ever seized of the paramount importance of human welfare, must undertake, so that legislation may be carried out which will give effect to the new gospel of the fuller life.



## FROM NORTHERN ONTARIO

The Temiskaming Federal Liberal Association submit the following resolutions, which are in line with the resolutions adopted by the Northern Ontario (District) Liberal Association:

### RESOLUTION No. 1

That **Winnipeg** vs the prevailing unrest in Labor is in the opinion of the Liberal Association of the Federal riding of Temiskaming caused by the increasing high cost of living, and believing that the cost of necessities of life are greatly and unnecessarily increased by the present protective customs tariff, be it recommended to the National Liberal Convention that the Liberal party go on record, and will if returned to power immediately reduce the tariff on all goods except luxuries.

### RESOLUTION No. 2

That **Winnipeg** vs the Senate of Canada, being an appointed body, holding office for life, which is contrary to Liberal opinion and principle, and whereas the Senate of Canada has repeatedly refused to confirm legislation passed by the majority of the elective representatives of the people, be it resolved that the Liberals of the Federal constituency of Temiskaming recommended to the National Liberal Convention that in the policy of the Liberal Party to be adopted that immediate reform of the Senate of Canada be made part of said platform.

### RESOLUTION No. 3

That the Temiskaming Liberal Association request the National Liberal Convention to consider and seriously recommend an immediate survey of the whole industrial and financial system of the country having in view the curtailment of industrial combinations, mergers, interlocking directorates, and recommend retroactive legislative dealing with cases of over-capitalization of all chartered companies operating in the Dominion of Canada.

### RESOLUTION No. 4

That to get rid of caste, to break down race and religious and sectarian bigotry, it is very desirable to have a more general and enthusiastic celebration of the National Holiday, part of the day being employed for patriotic pageantry and propaganda. That federal legislation be enacted and machinery created with the above end in view. To unite in sympathy all classes, races and creeds is the first duty of a Canadian statesman.



**TO REACH IMMENSE FORTUNES  
MADE OUT OF THE WAR**

The following resolution is submitted by a gentleman resident in Montreal:

WHEREAS the expense of Canada's contribution in the Great War has been almost wholly met by borrowing, and the National Debt, according to the estimate of the finance minister, will reach \$2,000,000,000 by the end of the present financial year, and

WHEREAS the increase in the debt over pre-war times has been almost entirely borrowed from the Canadian people, and represents the diversion of labor power during the war period from the ordinary pursuits of industry into the production of war materials and the upkeep of the army, thereby showing clearly that it is impossible to pass on the cost of the war to posterity any more than it was possible to leave the carrying out of the actual military operations to posterity; and

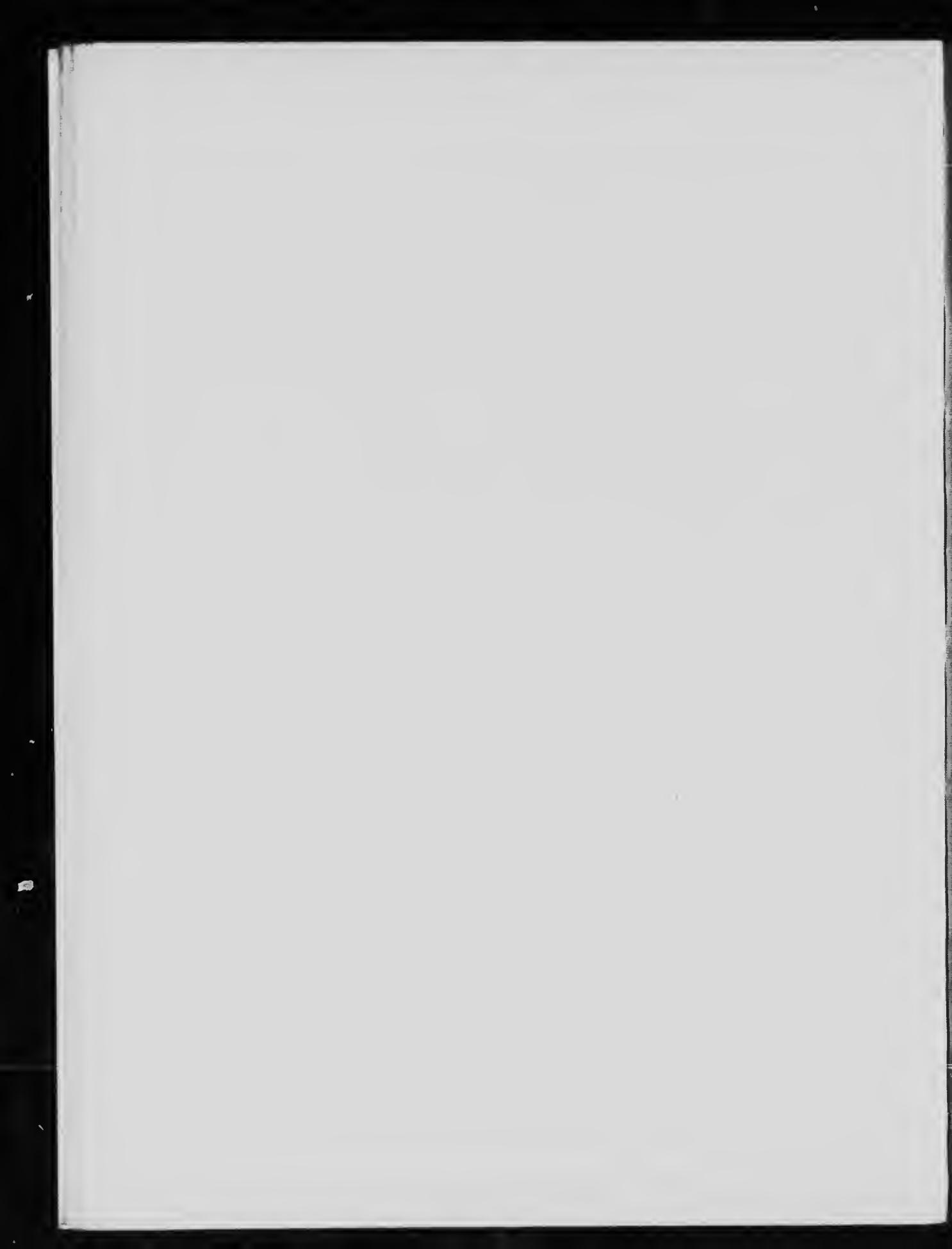
WHEREAS the imposing of the present debt was simply a redistribution of the wealth of the country, whereby one section of the community is compelled to pay to another section of the community the interest on the war debt over a long period of years and finally the principal through the operation of the Government power of taxation, and

WHEREAS to conscript life and to fail to conscript wealth would be an admission that the latter was more valuable than the former and would cause great injustice to those who have been compelled to sacrifice health and life itself in the great cause; and

WHEREAS there is a widespread demand for the cancellation of the exemption of taxation clause of existing bonds, and that according to such demands would appear to be a repudiation of national obligations and reflect very severely on the good faith of the Government and injure the credit of the Dominion; and

WHEREAS many prominent statesmen of Britain and other countries are in favor of a capital levy on wealth to solve similar difficulties in those countries;

Resolved that the National Liberal Convention hereby declares itself in favor of, and strongly urges the Government to immediately put in force, a system of taxation whereby a graduated tax on capital be imposed exempting moderate fortunes and providing for a steeply graduated tax in the case of large fortunes so as to especially reach the immense fortunes which have been made out of the misfortunes of the nation during the war, and that the proceeds of this tax be used to redeem the outstanding war bonds, thereby relieving the Canadian taxpayer of the huge load of interest maturing annually, and finally of the burden of having to pay the principal amount at some future date.



## TELEPHONES

The following resolution is submitted by a manager of a local telephone system:

WHEREAS the telephone, both for local and long distance service, has become so closely identified with the business and domestic and social life of the nation, it is of the first importance, especially as regards the rural communities throughout Eastern Canada, that this service should be supplied to the people under the most efficient conditions and at the most reasonable cost, and the Government of the country should lend its best endeavor to the solution of the problem of supplying the telephone service; and

WHEREAS the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have control of their telephone systems and in this way have removed the problems which confront Eastern Canada; and

WHEREAS the Parliament of Canada granted the Bell Telephone Company of Canada special privileges which included the unhesitated right to use of highways in the Dominion for the purpose of its business, and has in this way developed a long distance service; and

WHEREAS the Bell Telephone Co., on its own sworn testimony refused and failed to supply the rural districts with a telephone service, with the result that in the Province of Ontario alone there are over six hundred local telephone systems operated by either local organizations or local municipalities for the sole purpose of giving telephone service to their local communities, and which said systems are limited in their usefulness to the public by reason of the fact that they have not by right access to the long distance service; and

WHEREAS the Parliament of Canada has on several occasions in the last two years voted in favor of giving the local telephone systems throughout the country access to the long distance lines at the regular long distance rates, taking the matter of agreements and terms out of the hands of the Bell Telephone Co., who were discriminating as best suited their own purposes, and saving to all the local telephone companies the long distance service at the same rates as it is given to the general public; and

WHEREAS the existing Government by its actions in connection with the said votes of the Parliament of Canada in favor of this long distance connection of the regular long distance rates indicated that is a Government they were still allowing the special interests of the Bell Telephone Co. to take precedence over the interests of the people as represented in these locally organized and locally owned telephone systems; and

WHEREAS the passing of such legislation would not have interfered in any way with the vested rights of the Bell Telephone Co. or any other telephone company operating long distance lines, but would have actually increased their earnings and was opposed by the Bell Telephone Co. and its interests only because it removed from their hands a monopolistic privilege.

BE IT THEREFORE Resolved that the Liberal party hereby express itself as in sympathy with the efforts of the people to supply themselves with telephone service at most reasonable rates and pledges itself if returned to power to give its best attention to the solution of the problem with a view that every telephone company, whether organized under Dominion or Provincial charter or whether operating local or long distance lines, shall be compelled to give interchange of service at its regular rates one with the other, so as to make the telephone service as universal as possible and as valuable to the people as a whole as present conditions will permit.

As a first step in the direction of solving the telephone problem in the best interests of the people the Liberal party pledges itself to amend the present legislation, whether in the Railway Act or otherwise, so that local telephone companies organized in conformity with Dominion and Provincial laws shall have the right to secure connection with the long distance telephone lines at the regular rates charged to the general public and without the addition of anything in the way of a surcharge or special compensation, it being understood, of course, that the actual conditions and expense of making the physical connection shall be under the jurisdiction and done according to the authority of the Dominion Railway Board.



## FROM THE WEST

A Western Liberal group submit resolutions for the National Convention as follows:

### Re CORPORATIONS

WHEREAS the corporations have ousted human beings, including all citizens of the Dominion of Canada, from a large field of business enterprise, including among others, banking, insurance, manufacturing, trusts, and guarantees;

AND WHEREAS the principles of publicity, personal responsibility, and humanity, have been eliminated from unincorporated corporations;

AND WHEREAS corporate plutocracy has, through special privilege, secured control of the greater part of the wealth of the country, and has used the same to exploit the civil, industrial, and military establishments of the country, and the common people, particularly, the farmers and labourers, are thereby brought into a condition of virtual servitude to the corporations;

AND WHEREAS by control of the wealth of the country, corporate plutocracy has established and dominates the existing Government of Canada, which is a government of the people by the privileged interests;

RESOLVED that—  
1. that the whole field of business enterprise be opened to the citizens of the Dominion; 2. that the principles of publicity, personal responsibility, and humanity, be imported into our corporation laws; 3. that special privilege to corporations be abolished, and that control of the civil, industrial and military establishments of the country be resumed by the people; and 4. that apart from all other considerations in that behalf, the present Conservative Government, manufacturing under the name of Laissez-faire, should be destroyed, as being a creature of the corporations.

### Re PROTECTION

This convention condemns the principle of protection in the customs tariff, and declares that it leads to—1. class privilege; 2. pioneering; 3. parasitism; 4. political corruption; 5. the creation of trusts; 6. the economic exploitation of the people; and 7. the impoverishment of the workers.

And this convention demands the substantial and general reduction of the customs tariff, and the removal of the duties on the machinery and implements of all the basic industries, and on foodstuffs, clothing, fuel and raw materials.

### Re GOVERNMENT BY CABAL

This Convention views with alarm the continuing aggression of the corporate interests on the political and industrial liberties of the Canadian people by (1) the despotic and plutocratic government of the country by what is virtually committee of the interests; 2. the usurpation of the legislative functions of Parliament by the Cabinet; 3. the absolute control of industrialism by the corporations, on its economic side through capital, and on its human side by military suppression; and 4. the exploitation of the people by excessive profits on food, fuel, clothing, and the other necessities of life.

And demands—1. that control of the government of the country, be resumed by the people; 2. that Parliament assert its prerogatives and exercise its functions as responsible legislative body; 3. that the industry of the country be democratized and humanized; and 4. that the special privileges and artificial conditions whereby excessive profits are made possible, be abolished.

### Re NATIONHOOD

WHEREAS Canada is now a colonial dependency of the British Crown, and is such subject to the legislative authority of the Parliament of Great Britain and under the executive control of her government.

AND WHEREAS the existing conditions of colonial servitude and inferiority prevent the Dominion of Canada and the Canadian people from taking their due place, and fulfilling their manifest destiny, as a fully autonomous part of the British Empire.

AND WHEREAS in the time of peace Canada has attained her majority, and in war her soldiers have demonstrated her strength, her solidarity and her loyalty to the Crown.

BE IT RESOLVED that the times are now come when the Dominion of Canada should be freed from the shackles of colonial dependency, and should take her place as a fully autonomous Dominion of the British Empire under the Crown.

### Re GAMBLING IN GRAIN

This Convention condemns the persistent gambling in grain futures on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, both on moral and economic grounds, and demands that the Criminal Code be amended so as to make the law effective against such gambling, and suggests that, to that end, the following words should be added to subsection 2 of section 231 of the Criminal Code: "and non-delivery of the thing sold or purchased, in accordance with such contract or agreement, shall be prima facie evidence, that the contract or agreement was made or signed, or authorized to be made or signed, without the bona fide intention to make or receive such delivery."

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## SOCIAL REFORM AND TAXATION

From Western Ontario the following recommendations are submitted:

### DOMINION DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

To govern matters of interprovincial nature, i.e., to control epidemics, communicable diseases (particularly venereal), etc. To have control of immigration as far as health and physical fitness of immigrants is concerned.

To link up Provincial and Municipal Child Welfare Movements.

Department to work towards the end of controlling marriage from the health view point - that is, marriage of physical or mental defectives should be entirely prohibited, and that of infertile persons until declared cured.

**SORTING AND AMENDMENT** where necessary of all laws affecting women and children.

Divorce procedure should be amended, not to encourage divorce, but to make it possible for those of limited incomes to obtain divorce where justified, as it is for those of wealth.

**EVERY NEEDFUL MOVEMENT** for the reduction of the high cost of living to be immediately inaugurated, and therefore all possible means to be utilized to facilitate the production and importation of necessities.

Immediate removal of customs surtax.

A decided revision of the tariff downwards, having in view the requirements of Canadian manufacturers and low duties on necessities as compared to those on luxuries.

Declare for the raising of revenue, as far as possible, from direct taxation - Income Tax - leave small incomes alone.

Favor a business profits tax justly levied so as not to interfere with the necessities of legitimate business, that is, sufficient profit to make a reasonable return on capital and provide for growth and expansion, but levied with a view to making profiteering impossible.

Declare for a luxury tax.

Establish the Principle of British preference, and the principle of reciprocal preference as far as the balance of the Empire is concerned.

Declare for the Principle of reciprocity in natural products.

DECLARE FOR THE PRINCIPLE of a minimum wage, recognizing the right of each man to obtain for his labor a sufficient return not only to provide for him the necessities of life, but also provide a reasonable amount of recreation and enable him to provide for his old age or disability. In this connection, declare for the principle of old age and disability insurance.

Make it understood that this principle of minimum wage would depend on a class of employment and locality, which would necessitate wage boards.

THE ABOLITION IMMEDIATELY of the War Time Elections Act and the adoption of a new and just Election Law, which will state specifically that the list for Federal Elections will be prepared by municipal authorities.

DECLARE FOR THE RIGHT of women to sit in Parliament.



## TO CHECK ELECTION WRONG DOING

The following is submitted from Liberals in Edmonton, Alberta:

WHEREAS purity of elections is a fundamental principle of Liberalism and a prime essential of democratic government;

AND WHEREAS there has grown up in Canada a practice of using huge sums of money for political purposes, much of which is spent corruptly;

AND WHEREAS there is a growing tendency to bear too heavily on the financial outlay of candidates;

AND WHEREAS a large proportion of such money is subscribed by corporations and persons, with the object of securing the protection and advancement of private interests in opposition to the public good;

AND WHEREAS the effects produced by this evil go far to debar good men from entering public life and to prevent successful candidates from giving good service to the state;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention recommends, as a means of remedying this evil:

That the Criminal Code be amended by making it a criminal offence for any company holding a charter from either Dominion or Provincial authorities, any public contractor or any civil servant, Dominion or Provincial, to contribute money for political purposes, or to reimburse anyone who has so contributed.

That it is made a similar offence for anyone, in any Federal or Provincial election, to make a political contribution except to the legal agent of a candidate, and that every such agent be required to publish the name of the contributor, with address and amount subscribed, in the proper official gazette and in a newspaper published in the constituency, said publication to be in the issue coming nearest to but before polling day, followed by full particulars, both as to contributions and expenditure, within 30 days after the returning officer makes his return;

That two public prosecutors be appointed for each province, with the same tenure of office as High Court Judges, one to be named by the Prime Minister and the other by the Leader of the Opposition, each to be sworn under a penalty to enforce the law, to investigate every case brought to his attention in writing by anyone, and to prosecute in every case where evidence can be secured to warrant it, reporting the result of same to a Standing Committee of the Parliament or Legislature.



## SOME HURON COUNTY LIBERALS PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON SEVERAL TOPICS

The following resolutions were sent in from Liberals in Huron County, Ontario:

### Plank No. 1 LEAGUE OF NATIONS

For the effective organization and establishment of a League of Nations, which will consider and deal with questions of international moment, thus endeavoring to settle matters of conflict and secure permanent peace to the world.

### Plank No. 2 NATIONAL STATUS

As citizens of Canada, and believing that the bond of sympathy and common ideals is the most vital force to continue to knit Canada to the Empire, we are unalterably opposed to any attempt to centralize Imperial control and authority, but stand for full national autonomy in the administration of Canadian public affairs, upholding the principle of Canada's equality of status with Great Britain, as one of the sister nations of the Empire.

### Plank No. 3 THE FRANCHISE

The right of the franchise and the sanctity of the ballot being the highest safeguard to the preservation and perpetuation of a true democracy, we demand the immediate enactment of a just Franchise Act, which will ensure to every loyal and law-abiding citizen the right and privilege of the ballot; such Act to provide for:

- (1) The annual preparation of voters' lists, as formerly, by the municipal authorities of the several provinces, to contain the names of every citizen, otherwise qualified, who shall attain the age of twenty-one years, at any time during the then current year, and to be carefully revised before the county or district judges.
- (2) The automatic holding of bye elections, to take place within sixty days from the date of the occurrence of any vacancy in the membership of the House of Commons.

### Plank No. 4 NATURALIZATION

A just Naturalization Act (in place of the present grossly unfair measure) which will encourage a liberal immigration of the best citizens of the world and afford to such immigrants full security of life and property, and the timely extension of all the rights and privileges of citizenship, under reasonable and proper safeguards.

### Plank No. 5 THE CUSTOMS TARIFF

That a Customs Tariff, based, as at present, upon the protective principle, has given rise to monopolies, trusts and dangerous combinations in almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise, induced the heads of industry to look to favouritism tariff favors, rather than rely upon the ingenuity of their own resource for success, fostered class and special privileges, by the means of hindering the people into great centres of population and slum life, to the crashing injury of agriculture and other wealth-producing agencies of the country, and a perennial source of serious discontent and unrest, through the perpetuation of grave injustice upon the toiling masses of the Canadian people.

That the highest interests of Canada demand the removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will recognize the principle of placing the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of those most able to bear, encourage the further settlement of our agricultural lands, the more intensive cultivation of the soil, the fuller development of our great mineral and other resources, and every needful movement for the reduction of the high cost of living; which will enable the Canadian people to meet the serious financial obligations of the country, and dispel the grave feeling of unrest now so general amongst all classes of the people.

We, therefore, pray and demand such an immediate readjustment of the Customs Tariff as will:

(1) Enable Canada to accept in its entirety the offer of Reciprocity, contained in the reciprocal trade agreement of 1911, now upon the statute books of the United States of America.

(2) Place upon the free list all staple food and food products not contained in the reciprocity agreement, also all farm and garden implements, machinery, including farm tractors, vehicles, tools and parts thereto, all mining, flour and saw mill machinery and repair parts thereto; lumber, coal, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils, cement and fertilizers and all machinery and raw material used in the manufacture thereof.

(3) Substantially increase the British preference, by reducing the customs duty upon British goods to one half the rates charged under the general tariff.



and such further gradual uniform reductions in the remaining tariff upon British imports as will, ultimately insure complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada.

(4) Grant a similar preference to the goods of any of the sister dominions of the Empire, or any of the Allied Nations, which will accord a like privilege to Canadian-made goods.

#### Plank No. 6- REVENUE

To provide any deficiency caused by tariff reduction, and meet the requirements of efficient economical and progressive administration and the national obligations due to the war we favor the raising of further revenue by direct taxation imposed as follows:

- (1) A graduated personal income tax, leaving small incomes alone.
- (2) A graduated inheritance tax on large estates.
- (3) A graduated income tax on the profits of corporations, no consideration being given to "fictitious capital" or watered stock.
- (4) A tax on "unearned increment," or community land values, and all natural resources, such resources to be held and supervised by the Crown and brought into use under regulations carefully safeguarding the national interest.
- (5) The adoption of a policy compelling promoters to disgorge the large profits extracted from the public during the war.

#### CAPITAL AND LABOR

We recommend through the medium of the Department of Labor, the institution of boards of management for industrial establishments, said boards to be made up of an equal membership from employers and employees, with a chairman representing the interests of the state. To such boards shall be left the full regulation and management of all such industry.

#### Plank Re RETURNED SOLDIERS AND THE DEPENDENTS OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED

Soldiers civil re-establishment in civil life.

Policy - Re rail, water and aerial transportation - recommend public ownership and control also of telephone, telegraph and express systems.

No more conferring of titles upon Canadian citizens.

An elective Senate (or better, abolition).

All Cabinet Ministers to hold seats in House of Commons.

Proportional representation, in view.

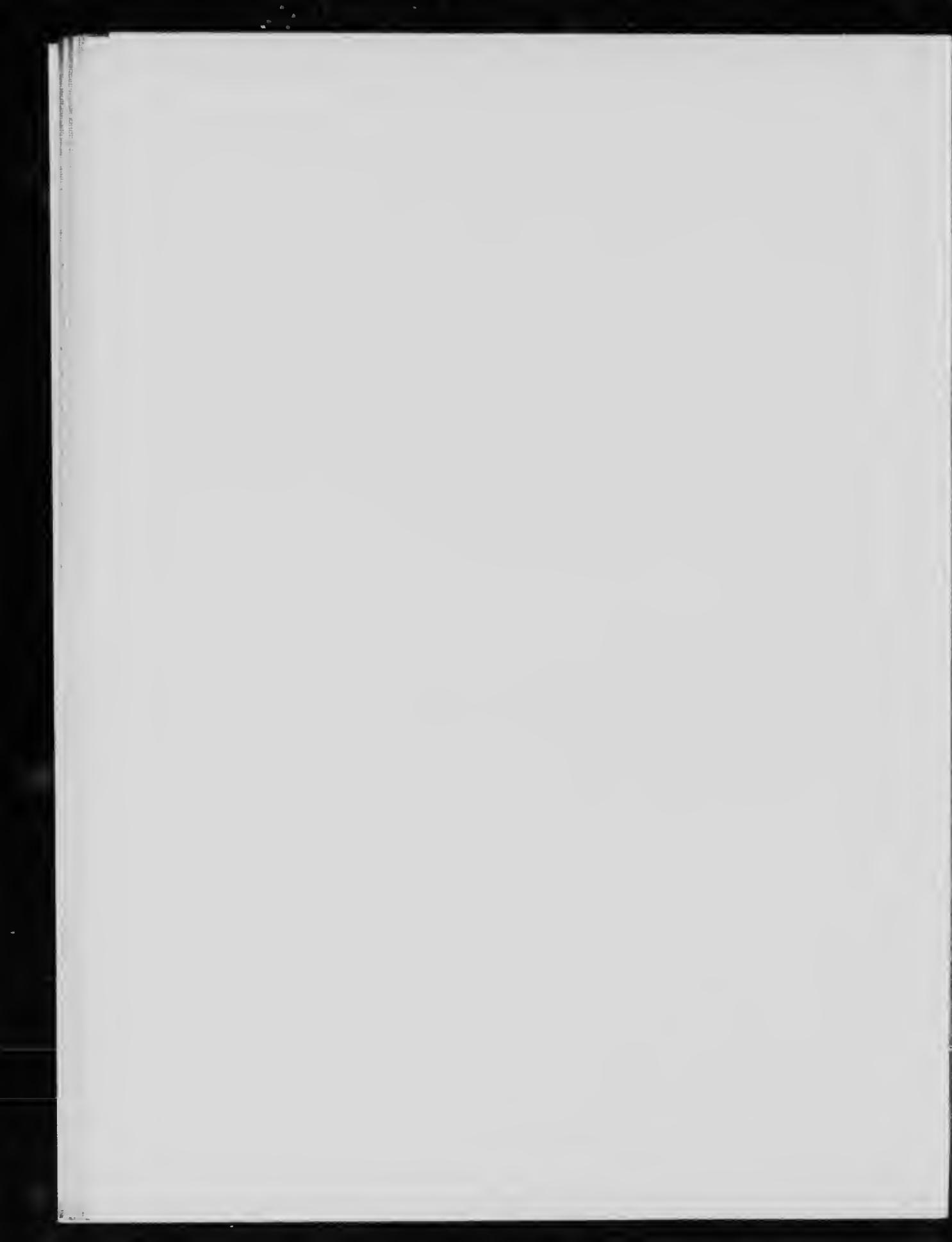
Complete abolition of patronage system.

Reestablishment of Constitutional Government through legislation of Parliament, rather than autocratic cabinet rule by order in council.

Free speech and a free press.

The setting forth by all newspapers and periodical publications of the facts of their ownership and control.

Prohibition of the manufacture, sale and traffic of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.



### **FROM ESSEX COUNTY, ONTARIO**

**From Essex County, Ontario, the following suggestions are submitted:**

That the Liberals of South Essex, in convention assembled, desire to re-affirm their stand on the Reciprocity Pact of 1911 and to favor a general lowering of the tariff on the necessities of life consistent with the raising of a sufficient revenue to meet expenditures of the country on an economical basis.

That we approve of an increase in the British preference to 50 per cent of the general tariff.

We believe it is the duty of the country to take care of the returned soldiers and dependents and approve of a just and liberal pension list with no discrimination in favor of others receiving a preference over the private soldier in this respect.

We disapprove of issuing in the future of any taxable bonds and believe that such bonds should be subject to the general laws of the country, the same as other bonds.

We desire to approve of a broad and liberal platform for reconstruction work and the repatriation of soldiers; that a preference be given to returned soldiers in all Government and Civil Service appointments; that more consideration be given in the matter of placing returned men on the land and that the Government in place of giving returned men land in the Northern Country should assist them by liberal loans in securing improved farms in the older and more settled parts of the Dominion.

We disapprove of the subsidizing of any privately owned railway project.

We also disapprove of government by Orders in Council and an increase in the expenses in civil government.

We believe that a law should be passed compelling all newspapers to publish a list at least once a year of the persons owning stock in said paper.



## VARIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The following are sent in as recommendations and suggestions:

**Resolved** that the National Liberal Convention should recognize the principle of an excise tax on the domestic manufacturers of Canada in connection with the operation of a tariff for revenue, and that the Liberal party should pledge itself to the adoption of the excise tax principle in the event of being returned to power. The excise tariff to be approximately 50 per cent of the amount of the import tariff on any imported article.

That revenue lost by removing the tariff and further revenue needed to pay for the war should be raised.

1. By a sharply graduated income tax, fearlessly and impartially exacted.
2. By a tax on land values, irrespective of the value of improvements on the land.
3. By an inheritance tax.

That in addition to the tariff policy laid down in the McMaster resolution we favor further reductions in the tariff to be made from time to time until we have absolute free trade.

**Resolved** that the Liberal Party should consult the electors at a National Liberal Convention at least once during each parliamentary term.

## CONTROL AND CORPORATIONS

**WHEREAS** Trades Unionism owes its development largely to the institution of corporations, permitting the combination of capital for large enterprises which could otherwise never be undertaken,

**WHEREAS** such combinations of capital by means of such corporations have necessitated corresponding combinations among the laboring classes for their protection and to obtain for themselves a fair and equitable distribution to them of their share in the product of labor;

**AND WHEREAS** in times past, Governments have failed to exercise the control and regulations necessary to preserve the proper balance between corporations respecting capital on the one hand and labor on the other;

**AND WHEREAS** most large industrial corporations in Canada enjoy a measure of special privilege either by reason of holding franchises from the public or by reason of tariff protection to their industries;

**NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED** that in the opinion of this convention the Liberal party should place itself on record as favoring a more rigid control and supervision over all corporations, to prevent all abuses by undue inflation of capital or by what is commonly known as watering of stock, and by a rigid and impartial enforcement of direct taxation by way of income tax, sharply graduated to insure that such corporations contribute their fair and proper share towards the costs of administration of the affairs of the country, and in relation to all corporations dealing in commodities of public necessity to prevent the exploitation of the public by reason of abnormal profits, subjecting all such corporations and their operations to the inspection and supervision and regulation similar in principle to that exercised by the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada, with power to pass resolutions to secure to both laboring classes and capitalists a just proportion and distribution of the profits derived from production.



## CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The following resolution is submitted from Central Ontario.

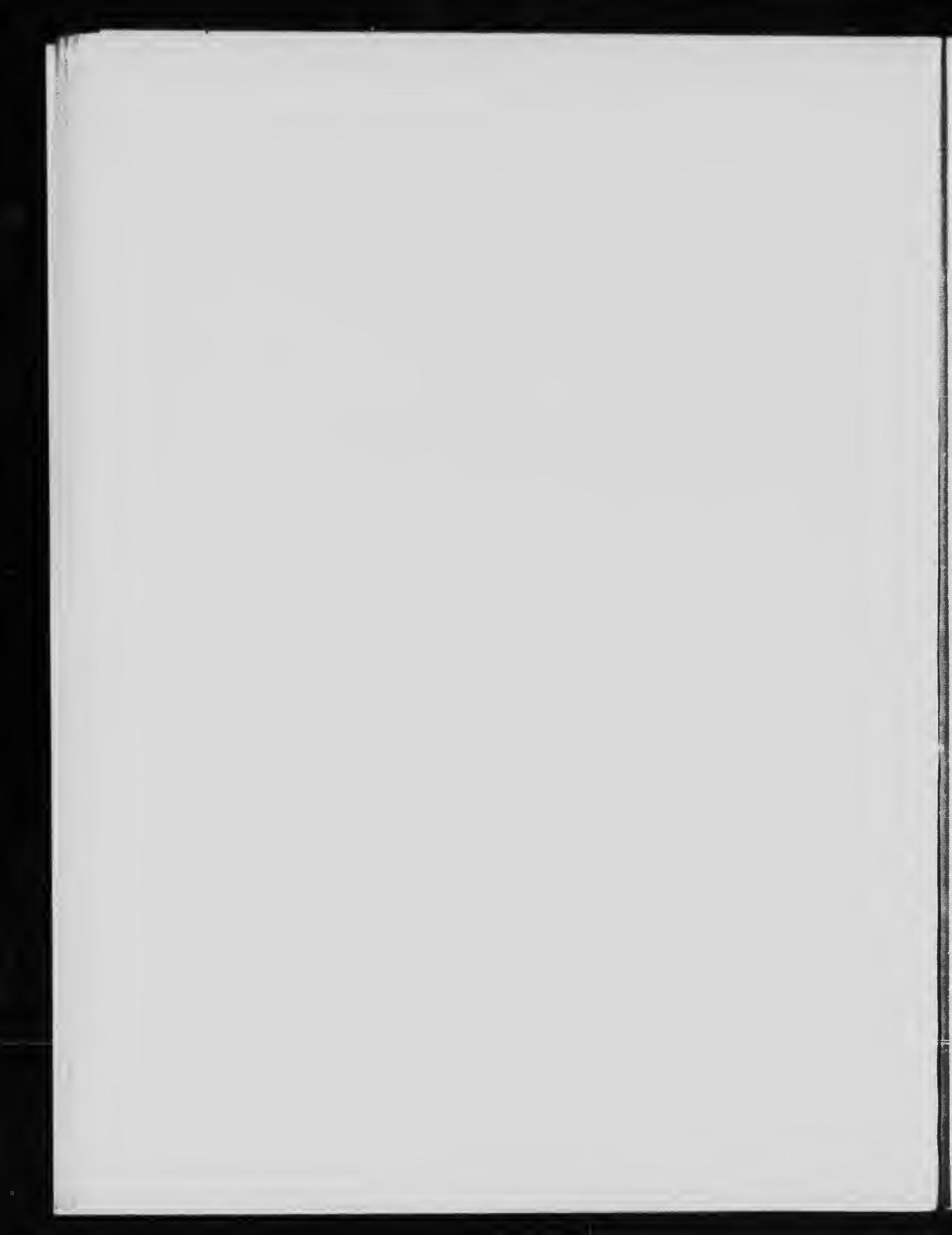
And Whereas Great Britain, as the mother of free institutions and the champion of democratic principles, has rendered great service to the peoples of the world and especially to the inhabitants of her colonies, and has taught us that the possession of full powers of self-government is the birthright of all her citizens;

And Whereas the people of Canada have in the past occupied a subordinate position and have fallen far short of exercising full powers of self-government but have in her own country and on the battlefields of Europe shown their fitness to be placed in a position of equality with the people of Great Britain and all other lands;

And Whereas the establishment of an Imperial Federation, with London as its capital, and with powers of taxation over all its members, would be subversive of true democracy in Canada, and would tend to create strife and discord and would check the development of a Canadian national sentiment;

And Whereas the Liberal party has always led in movements for the development and extension of our national powers;

Resolved that the Liberal party, true to its record, denounces any attempt to place Canada in an Imperial Federation and declares that Canada's constant aim should be to acquire by constitutional means as full powers of government as those possessed by Great Britain herself; and to this policy we pledge the Liberal party.



## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Under the heading of Constitutional Amendment the following is submitted by a reader of the publications of a well known writer:

"The Imperial War Conference are of opinion, that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities."

"The document of their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern. "For such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, is the several units may determine."—Proceedings of Imperial War Conference, 1917.

(Reference) 1. All negotiations involving alterations in the constitutional relations between Canada and the United Kingdom must be based upon resolutions of the Parliament of Canada, which may emanate from the special Imperial Conference authorized by the Canadian people.  
2. In the case of Canada, "recognition of Canada as an Imperial Commonwealth" whatever that may mean, "whatever that may mean" in foreign policy "consultation" in matters of "common Imperial interest" necessary concerted action would not be found in the proposed alterations in the constitutional relations.

### NOTES

1. The Balfour Act was preceded by resolutions adopted at the Conference of the Provinces, and by resolutions of the Parliament of Canada.

2. "...with the proposal for a permanent naval policy, Sir Edward Carson said in the House of Commons (Nov. 24, 1910): 'A permanent policy would have to be worked out, and when that permanent policy had been worked out and explained to the people of Canada, to every citizen in this country, then it would be the duty of any Government to go to the people of Canada to receive their mandate and accept and act upon their approval or disapproval of that policy.'"—K.P., I, 245.

3. There is no such thing as "an autonomous nation of an Imperial Commonwealth". If Canada is to be a completely autonomous nation, she cannot be part of another political organism—except by federation.

4. What Canada ought to have is *control* of her foreign affairs, not a *consultative* zone with reference to them.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION

WHEREAS Lord Rosebery, at one time President of the Imperial Federation League, said:

"You may be perfectly certain that, whatever your views are, whatever your exertions, Imperial Federation in any form, is an impossible dream."

AND WHEREAS Lord Milner, the present Colonial Secretary, said:

"Anything like Imperial Federation—the effective union of the self governing states—is not indeed as some think, a dream, but is certainly at present little more than an aspiration."

AND WHEREAS Sir Robert Borden, speaking in the House of Commons on May 18, 1917, said:

"There have been proposals put forward for an Imperial Parliament which should have taxing powers for certain purposes over all the Dominions as well as over the United Kingdom. As far as I am concerned, and I think the other members of the Conference thoroughly concurred in this view, I regard that proposal neither feasible nor wise."

AND WHEREAS Imperial Federation is neither practicable nor desirable.

RESOLVED: That this Convention disapproves any alteration in the present political relations between Canada and the United Kingdom that would tend toward the establishment of what is popularly termed Imperial Federation.

## CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

WHEREAS Mr. Lionel Curtis, the author of *The Problem of the Commonwealth* and *The Project of a Commonwealth* and the most active member of *The Round Table* group, committed a chapter of the first second book as follows:

"The first type of proposal that we have to consider is that which would transfer the control of foreign affairs to an Imperial executive, responsible not merely to the Parliament of the British Isles, but also to those of the Dominions. On the face of it such a proposal is subject to the very objection raised by Mr. Asquith against Sir Joseph Ward" (p. 140).



AND WHEREAS Mr. Asquith had stated his objection as follows:

"For what does Sir Joseph Ward's proposal come to? I might describe the effect of it without going into details in a couple of sentences. It would impair, if not altogether destroy, the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration and maintenance of peace, or the declaration of war, and, indeed, all those relations with foreign powers, necessarily of the most delicate character, which are now in the hands of the Imperial Government, subject to its responsibility to the Imperial Parliament. That authority cannot be shared and the co-existence sole by sole with the Cabinet of the United Kingdom of this proposed body—it does not matter by what name you call it for the moment—clothed with the functions and the jurisdiction which Sir Joseph Ward proposed to invest it with, would, in our judgment, be absolutely fatal to our present system of responsible government." (*Ibid.*, p. 101, quoting from Proceedings of the Imperial Conference of 1911, p. 71.)

AND WHEREAS Mr. Curtis, at the close of the chapter above referred to, said:

"The particular objection examined in this chapter is not the only feature which renders proposals of this nature unworkable. But it is of its nature so fatal to all such proposals that it is quite unnecessary to explore them further" (p. 147).

AND WHEREAS Professor A. B. Keith, formerly of the Colonial Office, and now of Edinburgh University, said:

"It may therefore be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful whether these Dominions would be willing to consent to the establishment of a central power to deal with foreign policy, since the degree of control which their representatives would *de jure* exercise would be negligible, and, by reason of the creation of a central power, the amount of control *de facto* now exercised over the foreign policy of the United Kingdom would at once disappear" (Can. Law Times, 1916, p. 839).

RESOLVED That the establishment of a central council, with power to formulate Canadian policy with reference to foreign affairs, would not be satisfactory.

#### IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

WHEREAS during the war Canadian Ministers were accustomed to meet in what was called "The Imperial War Cabinet" for the purpose of consultation with reference to matters relating to the war,

AND WHEREAS, in a letter to Mr. Lloyd George (April 30, 1917), Sir Robert Borden said:

"The step which you have taken in summoning the Imperial War Cabinet is a notable advance in the development of constitutional relations, and I am confident that the usage thus initiated will gradually but surely develop into a recognized convention."

To which Mr. Lloyd George replied (May 2nd):

"I believe that this new experiment will prove, as you suggest, a permanent convention of our constitution."

RESOLVED That, while recognizing the propriety of the meetings referred to, this Convention is unable to perceive any advantage in the continuation, after the war, of a custom which was necessary only because of the existence of the war.

#### NOTES

1. The word "cabinet" was improperly used. The meetings were a conference of politically unrelated gentlemen for purposes connected with a war which their governments were prosecuting. Sir Robert Borden, referring to the objection that "the term Imperial War Cabinet is really a misnomer," said that it was "a cabinet of governments." There is, of course, no such thing as a cabinet of governments. The phrase is a pure invention.

2. Canada's policy must be settled in Ottawa, and not under disturbing influences in London.

3. The regular meetings of the Imperial Conference are more than sufficient for consultative purposes. Each one of them usually returns to previously discussed subjects. And, so far as anything has been accomplished, Canada has been the sufferer.

#### APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

WHEREAS, in pursuance of a resolution passed at the Imperial Conference of 1918, the British Government has at present under consideration the constitution of an Imperial Court of Appeal;

AND WHEREAS, during the debate at the Conference, Mr. Hughes, the Premier of Australia, referred to:

"a tendency of late years in the Dominions to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee,"

and said:

"in spite of the eminence of the Judges composing it, it does not enjoy throughout the British Dominions that confidence which is essential to its survival. Especially in relation to its decisions on the Commonwealth Constitution, the Privy Council has not proved a satisfactory tribunal. Australia's experience of the Privy Council in constitutional cases has been, to say the least of it, unfortunate."



**AND WHEREAS**, at the same time, Sir Robert Borden said—

"Mr. Chairman, this subject came up for discussion in 1911 at the Imperial Conference of that year. I have not had the opportunity of refreshing my recollection by recent perusal of what was then said. I do recollect, however, that Canada was not in favor of this proposal at that time, and, without more mature consideration, I should not be at all inclined to depart from the position which Canada then assumed."

Sir Robert added—

"I think we have just about enough Appeal Courts, and I think the tendency in our country will be to restrict appeals to the Privy Council rather than to increase them."

**AND WHEREAS** Mr. Rowell said—

"So far as public opinion in Canada is concerned, Sir Robert Borden has correctly stated it. There is no public feeling in Canada on the question of the reorganization of these courts, but there is considerable public feeling in favor of limiting the appeals still further, toward restricting appeals. There is a growing opinion that our own courts should be the final authority. This is the popular opinion."

**AND WHEREAS**, some years ago, the Parliament of Canada, by statute, prohibited all appeals to the Privy Council in criminal cases.

**AND WHEREAS** the various Provinces, from time to time, have passed statutes more and more limiting the appeals to the Privy Council.

**RESOLVED** that the Supreme Court of Canada ought to be strengthened; and that all appeals to the Privy Council ought to be abolished.

#### CANADIAN NAVY

**WHEREAS** on the 29th March 1919, the House of Commons unanimously passed the following resolution—

"This House reaffirms the opinion repeatedly expressed by representatives of Canada that, under the present constitutional relations between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions, the payment of any stated contribution to the Imperial Treasury, for naval and military purposes, would not, so far as Canada is concerned, be a satisfactory solution of the question of defense."

**AND WHEREAS**, in support of a resolution for the construction of a Canadian navy, Sir Robert Borden said— 29 March 1909.

"In so far as my right hon. friend the Prime Minister today puts out the line of naval defense of this country, I am entirely at one with him. I am entirely of opinion, in the first place, that the proper line upon which we should proceed in that regard is the line of leaving a Canadian naval force of our own. I entirely believe in that."

**RESOLVED** that the Convention disapproves money contributions to the British navy, and endorses the plan of a Canadian naval force.

#### IMPERIAL GUARDS

**RESOLVED** that the Convention disapproves, so far as Canada is concerned, of the proposed formation, as part of the British army, of battalions representing some of the overseas Dominions.

#### NOTES

There can be no objection to voluntary enlistment of Canadians in the British army. The objection is to official arrangements by which Canada would be "represented" in any army but her own.

#### PARTICIPATION IN WARS

**WHEREAS**, at the Imperial Conference of 1909, a War Office memorandum was read in which was the following—

"Prior to the outbreak of the war in South Africa, so far as any general scheme for the defense of the Empire as a whole had been considered, it was assumed that the military responsibilities of our great self-governing Colonies were limited to local defense, and that the entire burden of furnishing reinforcements to any portion of the Empire against which a hostile attack in force might be directed must fall on the regular army."

**AND WHEREAS**, at the Imperial Conference of 1909, it was agreed—

That each part of the Empire is willing to make its preparations on such lines as will enable it, *should it so desire*, to take its share in the general defense of the Empire.

**AND WHEREAS**, with reference to that agreement, Mr. Lyttleton, the Colonial Secretary, said—

"It is not an exaggeration to say of these plans that a scheme has now been launched for an Imperial navy capable of indefinite expansion, subject always to the right which has already been referred to, of each state to approve or disapprove, and *thus to enter or not to enter upon war*."

**AND WHEREAS** Mr. Doherty, the Canadian Minister of Justice, speaking in the House of Commons on February 26, 1910, said—

"What I desire to point out is that, under our constitution, there is no obligation on the part of Canada, legally or constitutionally speaking, to contribute to the naval forces of the Empire, and that position will continue to exist as long as the United Kingdom alone has exclusive control of the foreign affairs of the Empire." K.P. II-197



"If we are to have our autonomy, it seems to me, that not only the control of our international affairs must be our own, not only must we keep it in our hands, but only must we retain for ourselves the administration and direction of the affairs of this our country, our particular portion of the Empire to which that country belongs, but we must retain for ourselves, and for our nation, the right to claim that her soul is her own, that her conscience is her own."

"And there is no question which can present itself for resolution to a nation that more closely and immediately touches its conscience than the question of when, and why, and against whom, her armed force is to be used."

"So I say that we should not enter upon a course which means participation in the naval wars of the Empire without first seeing to it that the means are provided for the performance of our part of this other duty from which, to my mind, it is absolutely inseparable."

**AND WHEREAS** Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on various occasions, said as follows:

"If England is at war we are at war and liable to attack. I do not say that we shall always be attacked, neither do I say that we would take part in all the wars of England. That is a matter that must be determined by circumstances, upon which the Canadian Parliament will have to pronounce, and will have to decide, in its own best judgment."

"There was another instance. England was at war in the Crimea with Russia. For myself I do not hesitate to say that if that were to be undertaken by England under similar circumstances, I would hesitate very much before I would give my consent that we should take part in such a war if conditions were the same as they were then." (House of Commons, 1909-1910).

"Does it follow that because we are exposed to attack we are going to take part in all the wars of the Empire? We shall take part if we think proper, we shall certainly take part if our territory is attacked." (Montreal, October 10, 1910).

"I am happy to say that upon this very question, if defence I needed, but defence I need not, I have my defence in the words coming from the lips of the leader of the opposition, that under present circumstances it is not an advisable to mix in the armaments of the Empire but that we should stand on our own policy of being masters in our own house, of having a policy for our own purposes, and leaving to the Canadian Parliament, to the Canadian Government, and to the Canadian people, to take part in these wars in which to-day they have no voice, only if they think fit to do so. This is the policy which we have professed." (House of Commons, Nov. 24th, 1910).

**RESOLVED** that the Conviction deprecates any amendment of the present relations, or the making of any treaty, which would in any way tend to deprive Canada of the freedom which she at present enjoys as to participation in wars.

#### THE FRENCH WAR TREATY

Whereas, by a treaty between the United Kingdom and France signed June 28, 1919, it was provided that in case the League of Nations should not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, Great Britain agreed to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any "unprovoked movement of aggression" against her being made by Germany.

And Whereas the only provisions as to termination of the treaty is that "it will continue in force until, on the application of one of the parties to it the Council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection".

And Whereas a further clause provides that

The present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominion concerned".

And Whereas Canada is not at present under any obligation to participate in wars undertaken without her assent.

**RESOLVED** 1. Canada ought not to enter into war treaties which create obligations of lengthened or indefinite continuation.

2. In the present situation, Canada ought to maintain her freedom.

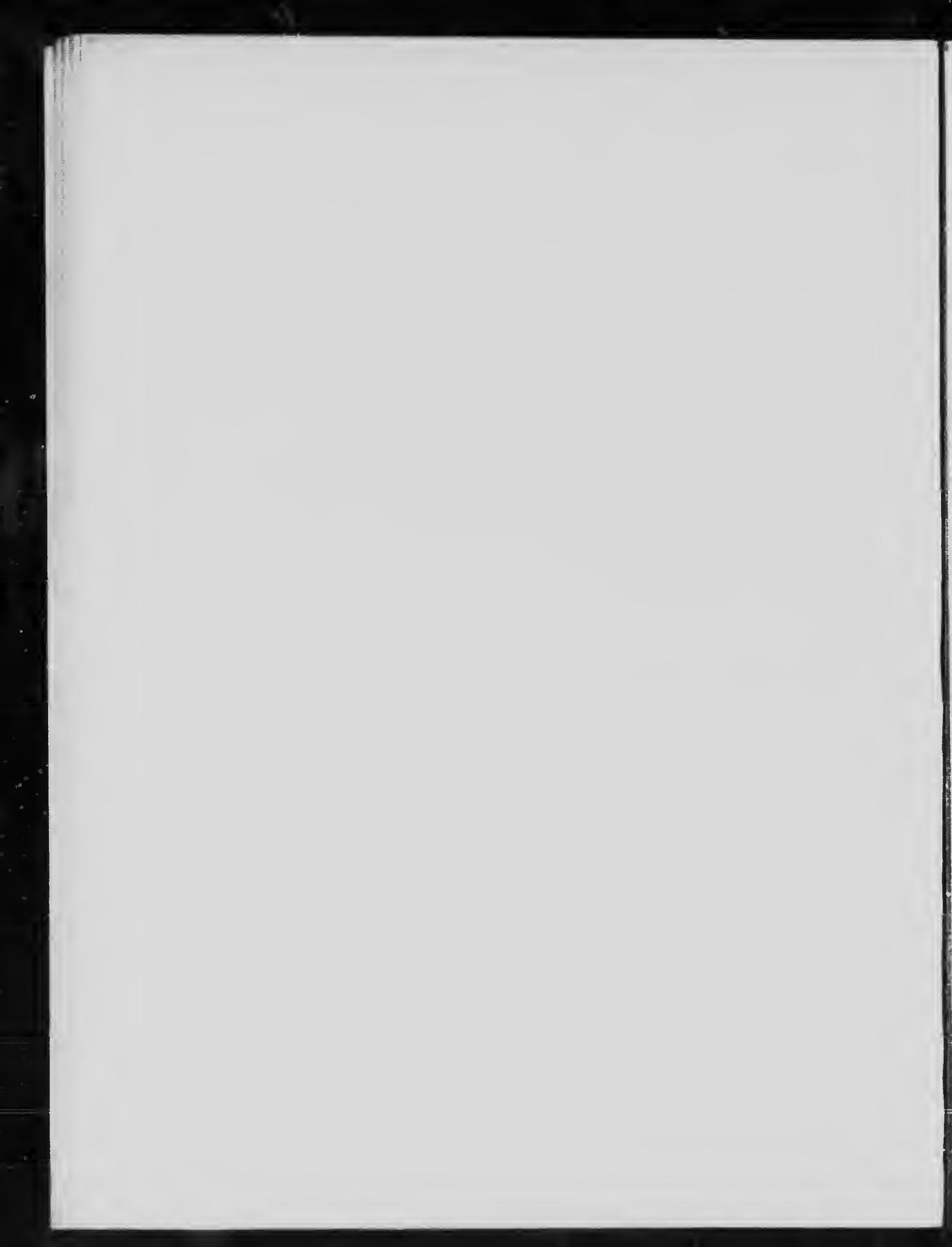
#### NOTES

1. War treaties usually, if not always, provide for their continuation during a short and definitely fixed period. That was the character of all the treaties between the members of the Triple Alliance, and of the treaties between the United Kingdom and Japan.

2. The Council of the League consists of nine members, five representing the five Great Powers, and four to be elected from time to time at meetings of all the members of the League. We have already been able to see that, as Canada is regarded as a part of one of the Great Powers, she will not be selected as one of the representatives of the minor Powers. Of the twenty-three of those states, eleven are Latin American. When, therefore, voting took place for membership in the Financial Commissions, the result was the selection of Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Panama, and Portugal. For the Economic Commission, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, and Spain. One outsider was permitted on each Commission.

3. It will be observed that application for termination of the Treaty must be made by either the United Kingdom or France. If Canada approves the Treaty, she will never be in a position to release herself from it, or even to make an application to the League for that purpose. She must persuade the United Kingdom to do it for her.

4. The treaty was proposed because France had not sufficient confidence in the League of Nations. If the League should not be a success, Canada's obligation would last forever, and Canada might find herself obliged to fight not Germany merely but all Germany's allies. Twenty years ago everybody would have deemed an impossibility the union of the United Kingdom with



France, Russia, Italy, and Japan. What new combination another twenty, or even two, years may produce, nobody can foretell.

#### CANADA'S POLITICAL STATUS

AS A DRAFT of one of the drafts of the Canadian constitution, which were made in London by the Canadian deputation in 1866, recited the desire of the provinces to

"to form a Federal Union, under the British Crown, for the purposes of Government and Legislation, based upon the principles of the British Constitution," and enacted that

"The said Province shall constitute and be one Kingdom, under the name aforesaid," namely, "The Kingdom of Canada,"

and that

"The Executive Authority or Government, so far as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act, shall be and continue to be vested in the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be administered either personally or by representatives upon the principles of the British constitution".

AS WITNESS, prior to leaving for London, Sir John A. Macdonald, on various occasions, clearly indicated his aspiration as to Canada's political status, namely, the establishment of a British-American Monarchy, under the British Sovereign, but free from the intervention of the Colonial Office. He said that the proposed federation would

"give them, in their united manhood, that national prowess and strength which would make them at least the fourth nation on the face of the globe." Whelan, *The Union of the Provinces*, p. 8.

"If we can only obtain that object—a vigorous general government—we shall not be New Brunswickers, nor Nova Scotians, nor Canadians, but British Americans, under the sway of the British Sovereign." (Whelan, 44.)

"In the conference we have had, we have been united as one man; there was no difference of feeling—in sectional prejudices or selfishness exhibited by anyone; we all approached the subject feeling its importance—feeling that in our hands were the destinies of a nation, and great would be our sin and shame if any different motives had intervened to prevent us carrying out the noble object of founding a great British Monarchy, in connection with the British Empire, and under the British Queen." Whelan, 44, 45. Gray, in "The Federation of Canada," p. 45, reports the same language:

"I shall feel that I have not served in public life without reward if, before I enter into private life, I am a subject of a great British-American nation, under the government of Her Majesty, and in connection with the Empire of Great Britain and Ireland." (Gray, 46.) Whelan, at p. 47, reports substantially the same language:

The new constitution, he said,

"was intended to be, as far as circumstances would permit, similar to that of the Imperial Government, and recognizing the Sovereign of Great Britain as its sole and only head." (Gray, 55.)

AS WITNESS, in later years, eminent statesmen have declared as follows:

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain

How are we to bring these separate interests together—these states which have voluntarily accepted one Crown and one flag, and which, in all else, are absolutely independent of one another?"—20th June, 1905.

"The time has gone by when we could treat them with indifference, when we could speak of them as though they were subject to our dictation. They are self-governing nations. They are sister states. They are our equals in every thing except population and wealth, and very quickly you will find that they will equal and surpass us in these respects."—Jan. 2, 1906.

Mr. Lloyd George

"Finally I would point to the status which South Africa now occupies in the world. It is surely no mean one. The South African people control their own national destiny in the fullest sense." Part of a recent address by a deputation from South Africa.—*London Times*, June 11, 1919.

Mr. Balfour

We have, therefore, a great experiment to carry out—the experiment of retaining in one Empire communities which must each be left unhampered, uncontrolled, unimpeded, to follow its own laws and destiny and development." April 1907, K.P., L.S.

There was a time when the relations between the mother country and the offspring of the mother country were those of parent and child. No politician to-day holds that view. Everybody, as far as I know, recognizes that the parental stage is past. We have arrived at the stage of formal equality and no one wishes to disturb it.—June 10, 1909.

"The British Empire has reached a point of development now in which this country is simply the first among equals so far as the self-governing parts of the Kingdom are concerned."—Tele. 7, 1911, speaking in the British House of Commons.

I believe, from a legal point of view, the British Parliament is supreme over the Parliament of Canada, or Australia, or the Cape, or South Africa, but in fact they are independent Parliaments, absolutely independent.—cheers."—*London Times*, Feb. 1, 1911.

Lord Curzon

In the economy of the Imperial household we were dealing not with children but with grown men. At our tables were seated, not dependents or menials, but partners as free as ourselves, and with aspirations not less ample or keen." Dec. 11, 1907.



**Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, Colonial Secretary.**

"But action should be organized in the clear appreciation of the fact that, as between the parent country and the Dominions, there is now a practical equality of status." (Quoted by Ashley, *British Dominions*, 16-18).

**Colonel Annerly, the Parliamentary under-secretary of State for the Colonies:**

"We have got to decentralize our conception of the Empire and realize that each member of the British Commonwealth is equal in status to every other." (*Toronto Globe*, May 5, 1919).

**Sir Frederick Pollock**

"Leave the conventions alone and look at the facts, and we find that the self-governing colonies are, in fact, separate kingdoms having the same king as the parent group, but choosing to abrogate that part of their full autonomy which relates to foreign affairs."

**Lord Grey**

"I have reproved as an Englishman over the material development of Canada, and over her emergence from the status of a daughter to that of a sister nation in the Empire." (Speech at the Canadian Club banquet prior to his departure from Canada).

**Mr. Howard d'Egville, the Secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence League)**

"Yet I think we in the old country understand and sympathise with you on your loyalty to your own land. England has ceased to regard her colonies as children. She recognizes that they are Powers in themselves." (When lecturing in Canada).

**Sir Wilfrid Laurier**

"The fact that we are a colony does not alter the truth of the statement which I have made before you. The intimacy implied in the word colony no longer exists. We acknowledge the authority of the British Crown, but no other authority." (July, 1908. K.P., 1, 68, 69).

"We say 'We bow the heart and the knee to the King of England, God bless him.' We are under the suzerainty of the King of England. We are his loyal subjects. We bow the knee to him, but the King of England has no more rights over us than are allowed him by our own Canadian Parliament." (*Toronto Globe*, Jan. 6, 1910).

**Sir Robert Borden**

"A common spirit, a common consciousness of nationhood in the true spirit, had arisen since the war, which would not be satisfied with any status within the Empire, except the status of equal nationhood." (Speech at Cardiff. London Times, August 25, 1918).

On another occasion, Sir Robert said that Canada would not consent to be "an adjunct even of the British Empire."

**RESOLVED:** Taking the foregoing declarations as signifying that the political status of Canada should be acknowledged to be, in all respects, equal to that of the United Kingdom, and that both of them should be subject to the same sovereign, the Convention approves and endorses the declarations.



## A RESUME

The following has been submitted as more or less of a result of other suggestions:

### CITIZENSHIP

**RESOLVED.** That the principle, "Once a British subject, always a British subject," carrying with it the full rights of citizenship, is absolutely sound, and that no citizen should be deprived of any such rights except by court proceedings.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

**RESOLVED.** That with respect to the exercise of the franchise and the right to be elected to Parliament, women should be placed on equal terms with men.

### SOLDIERS' BONUS

**WHEREAS** any scheme to aid returned soldiers, is to be fair and equitable, must recognize the right of every soldier to return to his former trade, calling or profession, or to such other as is suitable to his changed physical condition or inclination; and,

**WHEREAS** agricultural pursuits appeal only to a limited percentage of returned men, and a great percentage of them desire to be reinstated in their former occupations; and,

**WHEREAS** the giving of aid and encouragement to those who settle on land, while practically nothing is offered to those desiring to take up other occupations, offers only a partial and inequitable solution of the problem, and will eventually tend to induce men better adapted to other pursuits, to settle on the land, and thereby tend to lead to future financial difficulties and economic loss to all such.

**FURTHERMORE** this Convention declares that every returned soldier, regardless of his former occupation and regardless of whether he desires to become an agriculturist or not, should immediately be given a cash grant, that in determining the amount of said grant regard be had to the length of time and place of service, that the maximum grant for active service in any theatre of war should be at least two thousand dollars, that the dependents of those who have fallen should receive the maximum grant, that "returned soldiers" in this resolution should include nurses, members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and all who were residents of Canada, and who as reservists or otherwise joined the ranks of any of the Allied forces.

### TARIFF

**RESOLVED** that this Convention heartily approves the principles underlying the first tariff proposals presented to the House of Commons by Mr. McMaster, M.P., for Brome, during the Session of Parliament just closed.

### REVENUE BY TARIFF AND OTHERWISE

**WHEREAS** it has been found impossible for Canada to raise the revenue at present required by means of the tariff, and she has been compelled to resort to direct taxation; and,

**WHEREAS** Canada must raise revenue by taxation during the coming years to meet the obligations that have been incurred because of the war, and by extravagance and unnecessary naval expenditures; and,

**WHEREAS** the heavy burden of taxation thereby required is taxes necessary that it should be imposed equitably in order that it may bear as lightly as possible upon the industry and energy of the people; and,

**WHEREAS** the tariff is a means of taxation especially burdensome in that for each dollar collected for the treasury of the country by the tariff on any article, the home manufacturer of a similar article collects approximately an equal sum for his own profit; and,

**THIRTEENTH** **ARTICLE** Resolved, therefore, having in view the needs of the revenue and the conditions of the country, under no circumstances should the tariff on any article be fixed higher than will produce a maximum revenue to the Treasury, while being a minimum burden on the people, and that the balance of the requirements of the Treasury be raised by various forms of direct taxation having respect regard to the taxation of incomes derived from accumulated wealth.

### PROVINCIAL RIGHTS

**WHEREAS** because of the vast extent of the Dominion of Canada and the fact that its population is composed of several groups with varying traditions, ideals and interests, it is considered a consideration of provinces, such provinces being specified governmental rights and responsibilities.

**WHEREAS** the principle of direct responsibility of government to the people is the foundation of successful democracy; and,

**WHEREAS** joint authority exercised by two governments must of necessity shift or divide responsibility and therefore tend against the full control by the people affected, which is the first principle of Liberalism; and,





WHEREAS in any case of joint control the larger and more important of the two controlling bodies is bound to have the greater measure of influence to the detriment of the interests represented by the smaller or less important body; and,

WHEREAS in any case of joint control by a Province and by the Dominion the interests of the Province are bound to take second place, either directly or indirectly, to the ultimate detriment of the Province;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that as the best means of securing the completely responsible and therefore efficient government, both Dominion and Provincial, that is necessary to build up Canada, this Convention declares its opinion that the Government of the Dominion ought to confine its attention to strictly Dominion questions and that the Governments of the Provinces should not permit any trespass upon their autonomous rights on any pretext whatever.

#### FOOD PROFITEERING AND HIGH COST OF LIVING

WHEREAS the evidence taken by the recent Parliamentary Committee disclosed the existence of general and progressive profiteering under war conditions by manufacturers and dealers in the basic necessities of life, the product of Canada; and,

WHEREAS the high prices which are the necessary result of excessive profits make Canada one of the dearest countries in the world in which to live, although it is one of the greatest exporters of food products; and,

WHEREAS the excessive cost of living in Canada prevents the expansion of industry and the investment of capital, and has been the strongest influence in causing the serious condition of labor unrest now prevailing; and,

WHEREAS the excessive profits admitted before the Parliamentary Committee were secured by interference with the law of supply and demand on the part of the combines concerned, who took advantage of war conditions, assisted by the high tariff, to unduly enhance prices at an unjust cost to their fellow-citizens; and,

WHEREAS a condition has been reached in which special measures must be taken by the State to protect the consumer in this great producing country;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that so long as the price received by the Canadian farmer for his wheat is fixed on the basis of its export value the Canadian consumer should be assured by suitable legislation and administration that the prices to be paid by him for flour shall not be on a higher basis; and that this principle should be applied for the benefit of the home consumer to all lines of produce or manufacture of which a surplus is available for export:

RESOLVED FURTHER that with reference to any article of food and clothing, whether any such is exported or not, when the price in Canada of any such article is in excess of that of any other country from which the same can be imported the duty, if any, should be immediately reduced or the article placed on the free list.

#### ORDER-IN-COUNCIL GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS the War Measures Act of 1914 was unanimously passed by Parliament at an emergency session for the purpose of enabling the Government to promptly and effectively meet the exigencies of war;

WHEREAS in passing that Act Parliament did not divest itself of constitutional control of public affairs; but merely adjusted the exercise of that control to war conditions;

WHEREAS the extraordinary powers conferred upon the Government by the War Measures Act were so conferred specifically and solely for war purposes;

WHEREAS the Union Government substituted legislation by Order-in-Council for legislation by Parliament without regard to whether the purposes to be served were connected with the prosecution of the war or with the purely domestic policy of the Government;

WHEREAS the pretence that such legislation by Order-in-Council was authorized by the terms or intent of the War Measures Act has no foundation in fact, and therefore was a usurpation of the powers of Parliament.

WHEREAS autocratic government is obnoxious to the spirit of constitutional liberty which prevails in Canada and is therefore detrimental to the stability of organized society and the welfare and safety of the State;

WHEREAS tyranny is the natural and usual manifestation of autocracy;

WHEREAS the establishment of autocracy in Canada was accompanied by extreme measures of tyranny on one hand and of favoritism on the other;

WHEREAS there were no conditions actual or in prospect either in Europe or in Canada that gave warrant or excuse for the tyrannical nature of the measures taken under the many orders-in-council issued after the formation of the Union Government regarding such matters as: Enforcement of the Military Service Act; conduct of the elections of December, 1917; interference with the decisions of the Supreme Courts of Alberta and of Canada; conditions of the registration of man-power; terms of the censorship; administration of food control, etc., under which Canadians were treated with the measure of regard to their personal rights and liberties usually attributed to the governments of the Kaiser, Czar, and Sultan;



WHEREAS the establishment of government by usurpation for the enforcement of tyrannical and oppressive measures has betrayed the faith of her people in Canada as a country in which authority represented the will of the people and was exercised for the benefit of the people;

WHEREAS Canada cannot be built up as a great country unless the right of the people to representative government is fully assured and unless constituted authority is exercised to give equal justice to all;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention hereby declares unqualified adherence to the accepted principles of British Parliament - Government as commonly understood, under all circumstances and conditions, and to the further principle that the authority of government should be so exercised as to guarantee the equality of every citizen before the law and to secure justice to all.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

RESOLVED that this Convention hereby condemn the course taken by Sir Robert Borden with reference to the Natural Resources of the three Prairie Provinces; in that prior to the election of 1911 in many speeches in the West he unqualifiedly guaranteed that if his party were returned to power, the said Provinces would immediately be granted their Natural Resources, and that for seven years he has failed to carry out such promise; and this Convention emphatically records its view that the said Provinces should at once be granted their Natural Resources on fair terms.

#### RELATIONS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL

WHEREAS the welfare and progress of the State depend upon the fullest employment of its Labor and Capital; and

WHEREAS Labor must find employment at fair wages and under fair conditions in each particular trade or calling or it cannot be efficient in that calling; and

WHEREAS capital employed in any enterprise must earn a profit or the enterprise must fail and the capital be lost in whole or part; and

WHEREAS the wages of Labor and the profits of Capital must come out of the selling price of the joint product fixed by world competition, while at the same time the scale of earnings of both Labor and Capital are in a large measure and of necessity affected by world conditions; and

WHEREAS the readjustments following the recurring changes in cost of production and market conditions have hitherto usually been arrived at through strikes on the part of Labor and through lockouts on the part of employers, or as a result of financial panics which impoverish Labor and impair or wipe out Capital, in all cases interrupting production, to the great detriment of the State at large; and

WHEREAS the industrial, financial and commercial condition of the world is such that changing rather than fixed conditions may be looked for during the next few years; and

WHEREAS present conditions in Canada call for the best and most united efforts of all sections and interests in order that existing financial obligations may be carried successfully; and

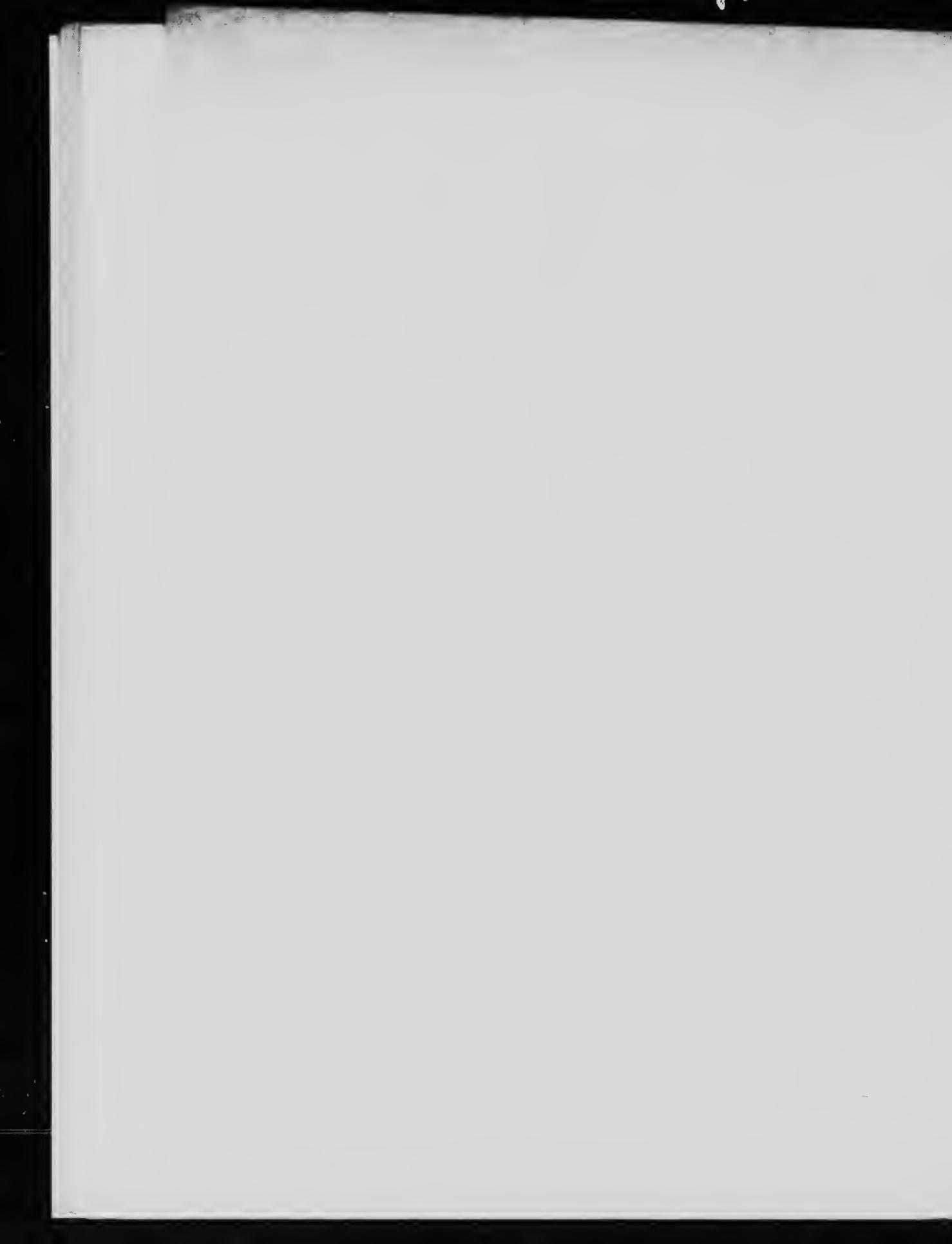
WHEREAS any measure of friction between Labor and Capital decreases the efficient results of their joint employment and in the interest of the State should be avoided so far as possible; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the joint interest in industrial conditions of Labor, Capital, and the State at large should be recognized by the establishment of arbitration boards in connection with public utilities and with the basic industries and callings (excepting agriculture, lumber and fisheries) on which Labor and Capital directly concerned shall be equally represented by delegates duly elected by themselves, and presided over by a representative of the State; and

That in any decisions to be rendered by such boards in regard to matters brought before them for adjustments as between Labor and Capital, the following principles shall be recognized:

1. Prohibition of child labor;
2. Equality of wages to men and women for equal service;
3. Basic working day of eight hours;
4. Minimum wage.

That while not lessening in any degree the right of any man (not under individual agreement) to quit work as he sees fit, or of Capital to withdraw its investment from any industry or enterprise, the State should take the responsibility of giving effect to the decisions duly arrived at by such boards of arbitration, so that on one hand the workers shall be assured of a fair price for their labor, having regard to changing conditions, without needing to strike, and on the other, production which is essential to the welfare and progress of the State, shall be maintained on fair terms to the Capital employed, so far as world conditions permit.



## PRINCIPLES AND PARTY

WHEREAS the delegates to this National Liberal Convention are assembled for the purpose of considering ways and means of solving the many serious and complex problems now affecting Canada; and

WHEREAS Liberalism recognizes that the object of government is the greatest good to the greatest number, and for that reason is founded on the rule of the majority; but while affirming the principle of majority rule as the first essential of democracy, it also strongly affirms the right of the individual to be ruled with due consideration and substantial justice by the majority, as the only means of providing for the welfare of all the people, and thereby ensuring the security and progress of the State; and

WHEREAS the history of constitutional government in Canada is the record of Liberalism as expressed in the exertions and devotion of the Liberal party during a long period of years under the successive leadership of men of the highest honor and of the greatest talent, including the outstanding figures of Hon. George Brown, and our recently deceased and deeply regretted leader, Right Hon. Sir Wilfred Laurier; and,

WHEREAS the adoption into the constitution of Canada of the principles of representation by population; the secret ballot; the supremacy of Parliament; responsible government; liberty of the subject; the right of free speech and freedom of the press; supremacy of civil over military power except under Martial Law; the sanctity of the courts, and many others of like nature, were the work of the Liberal party, achieved in the face of the strongest opposition, from the forces of entrenched class and privilege, and as well under conditions of external danger and internal discord; and

WHEREAS the history of Canada proves that Canadian progress was never so great, nor its people so well content, as when its affairs were conducted under Liberal direction in the period from 1896-1911; and

WHEREAS in the stupendous change from war to peace conditions there is greatest need for the application of the soundest principles of government;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this Convention hereby affirms its belief that the application of Liberal principles of government as defined in and for Canada by the record and achievements of the Liberal party, offer the only adequate solution of the difficulties which now confront the country; and further expresses the belief that in greatest measure the difficulties now existing have arisen because the Union Government in the exercise of autocratic power has set aside each of those principles of constitutional liberty and right which are the only sound foundation of a modern State.

## SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

This Convention expresses:

Its sincere regret at the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Its firm belief that, during his many years of public life, he was guided always by the spirit of ardent patriotism.

Its decided opinion that Canada would to-day be in better condition ethically and economically if he had been the head of the Canadian Government during the period of the war.

Its hope that his life will always be a source of inspiration to the Liberal party of Canada.

## CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS

(1) A resolution giving a résumé of the record of the Liberal Administration; see pages 35 to 40 (particularly page 38) of booklet entitled "General Attitude and Aim of Liberalism."

(2) A resolution condemning the Borden Union Government.

It would take too much space to publish all the resolutions etc., on the War Time Elections Act, but several are printed. It might be pointed out that the Unionist press has given the impression that only enemy aliens were disqualified, whereas the fact is that many, very many, thousands of natural-born British subjects were disfranchised or not allowed to vote (see booklet "Two Dark Blots of Shame" for history of Franchise legislation to 1917 inclusive and onwards of 1917).

## EVERY SUGGESTION INCLUDED

All resolutions received or to be received will be submitted to the Committee.

The foregoing contain all resolutions or résumés thereof that have been received up to this date (July 26, 1919) from Liberal Associations or other public or organized bodies or individual developers of public discussion. They include every and any suggested line of policy that has come to hand in any sort of communication.

