THE
CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH
FEDERATION
(FARMER, LABOR, SOCIALIST)

An Outline of Its
ORIGINS, ORGANIZATION
AND OBJECTIVES
together with a
STATEMENT
OF PRINCIPLES
and
NEWS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT
WHAT IS THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION?

1. A Federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange, will be the supplying of human needs instead of the making of profits.

2. The object of the Federation shall be to promote co-operation between the member organizations and to correlate their political activities.

3. We endorse the general viewpoint and program involved in the socialization of our economic life, as these have already been outlined and accepted by the Labor, Farmer and Socialist groups affiliating.

4. Organization—
   (a) A Provincial Council in each Province composed of representatives of each member organization.
   (b) A Dominion Council composed of a President and a Secretary appointed by the Annual Convention, and a delegate appointed by each member organization.

5. We recommend that an annual affiliation fee of twenty-five dollars ($25.00) be paid by each member organization and that a national appeal be made for voluntary subscriptions.

6. The name of the Federation shall be "THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION (Farmer, Labor, Socialist)."

PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF THE FEDERATION

1. The establishment of a planned system of social economy for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services.

2. Socialization of the banking, credit and financial system of the country, together with the social ownership, development, operation and control of utilities and natural resources.

3. Security of tenure for the farmer on his use-land and for the worker in his own home. ("Use-land"—land used for productive purposes; by implication no such guarantee is given to the land speculator.)

4. The retention and extension of all existing social legislation and facilities, with adequate provision for insurance against crop failure, illness, accident, old age and unemployment during the transition to the socialist state.

5. Equal economic and social opportunity without distinction of sex, nationality or religion.

6. Encouragement of all co-operative enterprises which are steps to the attainment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

7. Socialization of all health services.

8. Federal Government should accept responsibility for unemployment and tender suitable work or adequate maintenance.

NOTE.—The above program was adopted provisionally by the Calgary Conference in August, 1932, pending the first Annual Convention of the Federation to be held in Regina in July, 1933. At this forthcoming Convention, to be attended by representatives of all member organizations, consideration of the program will be one of the chief tasks of the delegates.
A Call to Action

THE hopelessness and helplessness of our people in the face of the steadily increasing loss and poverty of the past three years are a call to every socially-minded person to think hard and clearly and to associate with others, irrespective of differences of race, creed or class, who are in revolt against the inefficiency and inhumanity of the present system.

To reap the fruits of science and invention, to harvest the progress of generations in education and culture, to live the abundant life, the great body of the Canadian people must work together.

The death-knell of the profit system is being rung. Individualism in the field of economics is a spent force. Working for our own ends separately, we have produced chaos. Working together for the common good we shall evolve an order in which competition will be reserved for the fields of culture, and myriads of lives which in our present social order would be stunted, will find means to harmonious and complete development.
The Historical Background of the Movement for Social Reconstruction

The creation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is the outcome, primarily, of the steady convergence of the Farmer and Labor movements in Canada during the past few decades, and especially since the close of the World War, towards a common social outlook, and the growth in both of these great movements of a belief in the necessity for fundamental social reconstruction.

This tendency towards the acceptance of a common social philosophy in the Farmer and Labor movements has been accelerated since the business breakdown of 1929; while the colossal failure of the present economic and financial order (demonstrated by the increase of want in the midst of abundance) has also aroused large numbers of citizens of other classes to a realization of the need for vital change. These citizens are eager to take an effective part, in collaboration with the Farmer, Labor and Socialist groups already in existence, in the transformation of the social order.

THE FARMERS’ MOVEMENT

During the nineteenth century the farm people in Eastern Canada, then in its pioneer stage of development, endeavored to organize their forces to win for their industry its proper place in the national economic life. Various farm organizations, such as the Patrons of Industry, were formed, but proved short lived. The time was not ripe for effective organization. In Western Canada agriculture began to assume the proportions of an industry in the opening decade of the twentieth century. Settlers from Eastern Canada, Great Britain, the United States of America and from Europe, brought with them ideas of social organization and a social idealism born of contact with the trades union and similar movements and with the works of radical economists and social philosophers. Soon after the process of settlement began, the farmers of the West took the first steps in organization. In various communities organized groups were formed, and finally these were linked up to constitute associations extending throughout Manitoba and the North-West Provinces. From this time forward farmers in the East and the West advanced along parallel lines; although, due to the more rapid development of the West, the Western farmers’ problems were the more pressing and acute, and so the development of their movement was the more pronounced. After the formation of the two new Prairie Provinces in 1905, farmers’ organizations developed mainly on a Provincial basis within the boundaries of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Canada Grain Acts and amending legislation, and the setting up of the Board of Railway Commissioners, were among the
results of their organization. In British Columbia also some steps were taken to organize the farm people, while a strong movement continued in Ontario and there were stirrings of the new ideas in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, where some progress was made.

The farmers realized, however, that their occasional appeals to Governments were quite inadequate. To protect their interests the farmers of several Provinces determined to take political action, and in 1921 they were successful in sending a large contingent of representatives to the Parliament at Ottawa. In most of the Provinces, however, the new organization which was specially set up for political purposes was similar in its basis and political philosophy to the older parties, and disintegration followed. Where new ideas founded on economic realities prevailed, the farmers remained united, and have since been represented in the House of Commons by a highly effective and public spirited group of members.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Like the farmers' political movement, the political movement of Labor in Canada has its roots in industrial organization. Unions of workers on the railroads, in the mines, and in the building trades, were in existence in the Dominion in the nineteenth century and have since carried on the struggle to maintain rates of wages and improve working conditions. Unions in a large number of other industries have been organized, and have played an important role in this struggle upon the industrial field—a struggle which became intense during the years of rapid industrial and business expansion which took place in the first three decades of the present century. Speculation and profit seeking during this period caused a constant upward trend in the cost of living; and with varying degrees of success the unions have sought to maintain a decent standard of living for their members. The business collapse of 1929 brought widespread unemployment and under-employment, and it became impossible to resist effectively the downward pressure towards lower and lower standards. That industrial action alone is quite inadequate to cope with the situation has become increasingly manifest to the workers, who have come to realize today, more fully than in any past period in Canadian history, the need for action in the political field, with a view, first, to obtaining some measure of alleviation of present distress, and, secondly, to the complete transformation of the social order from a competitive to a co-operative basis.

While industrial organization preceded organization on the political field, a number of efficiently organized Labor and Socialist parties have carried on in various urban centres (in some cases in parties organized on a Province-wide scale) the pioneer work of education in the philosophy and ideals of the Co-operative Commonwealth. In numerous
cases they have been successful in electing members to the Federal House of Commons and to Provincial Legislatures, and since 1921, under the leadership of J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., a numerically small group of Labor members has striven to voice in Parliament the aspirations of the industrial workers.

FARMER-LABOR CO-OPERATION

As the years have passed since 1921, members of the Farmer and Labor groups in Parliament have been drawn more closely together in a common fight against reaction. They have discovered that upon all fundamental issues they have interests in common, and that these interests cannot be served by either of the "two great historic political parties"—which the editor of a Canadian daily newspaper in an inspired moment once described as "neither great nor historic nor two." They have learned that both parties are the instruments of a single financial government which occupies the seats of power in the great business centres of the Dominion. They have learned that the tenure of office of that government remains unaffected by the swing of the pendulum which brings first one and then another political party into office. They have learned, further, that the supposed conflict of interest between primary and industrial producers is unreal; that in a world of plenty neither group has anything to gain by a policy of beggar-my-neighbor; and that the problems of both can be solved only by the creation of a planned system of economy for the distribution to the masses of our citizens of the abundance which they can create. Fighting the same predatory interests, and striving towards a common goal, the Farmer and Labor groups have thus come to see the necessity for co-ordinating their activities on a Dominion-wide scale in the political field.

FOUR IMPORTANT CONFERENCES

The formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was the direct outgrowth of a series of important conferences held in the summer of 1932. Earlier in the year, a number of men and women on the faculties of certain Eastern Universities had created a non-political organization known as the League for Social Reconstruction, and had issued a manifesto which in its main outlines closely resembled the political programs of the Farmer and Labor and Socialist organizations of Canada. The League drew into its membership large numbers of professional and business people. It provided a means of expression of the social ideals of many citizens who had previously lacked an instrument through which they could make their citizenship effective. The formation of the League gave great encouragement not only to the organized Labor and Farmer groups, but also to a great body of citizens hitherto unorganized in social units, who realize that vital changes have become necessary to enable Canadians to reap, in a steadily rising
standard of living and culture, the benefits which should accrue to every citizen from the development of our rich inheritance in natural resources. Branches of the League were formed in important urban centres in both Eastern and Western Canada.

The actual steps leading to the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, however, were taken at four important Conferences held in Western Canada. The first of these took place in Edmonton at the end of June, 1932, and was attended by the Executives of the United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, the U. F. A. members of the House of Commons, and the U. F. A. members of the Alberta Legislature, including the Cabinet. The conclusions of this Conference were embodied in a ten-point Manifesto in which the aims of the U. F. A. movement were briefly outlined. The Manifesto was based upon the conclusions of successive Annual Conventions of the U. F. A., in which the goal of the movement—the attainment of the Co-operative Commonwealth—had been defined clearly and in detail. The Manifesto also outlined the measures which the Conference considered to be urgently and immediately necessary to relieve the prevailing distress among the farm people, and give them security upon their farms and in their homes. It concluded with an invitation to all other social units, urban and rural, whose aims are fundamentally the same as those of the U. F. A., to co-operate with the Association with a view to their realization.

The second of the four conferences was held in Saskatoon in July. It took the form of a joint session of the conventions of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) and the Independent Labor Party of Saskatchewan, and was held after these organizations had been in separate session for two days. At this conference it was decided that fusion of the farmer and labor organizations was not desirable. The delegates considered that each, by retaining its identity, could most efficiently carry on its own special activities in its own field. It was decided, however, to draw up a joint program. Such a program was adopted, and it was further agreed that the two organizations should act together in the field of Provincial politics under a common leadership, under the name of the "Farmer-Labor" Group. The program was a composition of the economic, social and political programs of the farmer and labor organizations. It set forth the belief that the capitalistic system is inherently unsound; and that social ownership of the major means of production, and production to meet human need rather than to enrich a few, is the ultimate objective of farmer and labor social groups. It listed the steps by which the Farmer-Labor Party, if successful at the polls, proposes to attain its objectives.

Immediately following the gathering in Saskatoon, there was held in Calgary a meeting of representatives of Labor and Socialist bodies
in the Provinces West of the Great Lakes. This was known as the “Western Labor Conference,” and was in fact the latest of a series of such conferences which had been held annually. Its chief function was to consider plans for common action and to devise a common policy for these groups in the field of Federal affairs. A Manifesto previously issued by the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba became, with certain adaptations, the Manifesto of this Western Conference.

**BIRTH OF THE FEDERATION**

After the Western Labor Conference had been in session for two days, in the Labor Temple, Calgary, the delegates were joined, on August 1st, by representatives of the farmers' organizations of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The United Farmers of Alberta were represented by their Executive and by a number of U. F. A. members of the Alberta Legislature and the Federal Parliament. The United Farmers of Saskatchewan were represented by several of their principal officials. The Alberta sections of the Canadian Labor Party; the Independent Labor Party and the Co-operative Labor Party of Saskatchewan; the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba; the Socialist Party of Canada, British Columbia (formerly known as the Independent Labor Party of British Columbia); and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, were the other bodies represented at the Conference. At this gathering, on a day which has already attained historic significance, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was brought into being, and plans were laid for the building up of a nation-wide political movement on the basis of an agreed program of eight clauses.

The document in which the character of the Federation is defined consists of six clauses which are reproduced on page two of this pamphlet, under the heading, “What is the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation?” The constituent organizations retain their identity, the new national body being in the precise sense of the word a Federation and not a fusion of the organizations. It is not a political party such as the two traditional parties which go by the names of “Liberal” and “Conservative,” but a close alliance of social units which have fundamental aims in common. In respect to these fundamental aims and plans for alleviative measures of a temporary character, the delegates came with definite mandates from conventions of their associations, and none of the decisions conflicted with the previously adopted programs of the Farmer and Labor organizations represented at the Conference. It was recognized, however, that the program must be subject to review and possible revision by a general convention at a later date. The first Annual Convention of the Federation will be held in Regina in July, 1933, and at this Convention the delegates of the “foundation” member-organizations and the delegates of other organizations which
have been or may be admitted to membership, will collaborate in such revision as may be considered necessary.

The action taken at the August Conference in Calgary has since been endorsed by the annual conventions of all of the organizations which participated, with the exception of one whose annual gathering has not yet been held. The United Farmers of Ontario, at their Annual Convention in December, unanimously decided to enter the Federation and have since become affiliated; while the United Farmers of Manitoba in Annual Convention also adopted a resolution to link up with the Federation.

THIRD SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZING

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the growing influence of the Federation is provided by the awakening to the need for organization and action of large numbers of citizens engaged in the professions, in business, and in other walks of life. Many of these in the past have given little attention to the political field, being content to trust the direction of public affairs to one or the other of the old political parties, but are now conscious of the mismanagement to which this indifference has led. Even the columns of daily newspapers hostile to the new movement contain some record of the rapidity with which the C. C. F. has extended throughout the Dominion, and of the renewed hope which it has given to great numbers of Canadians who had been brought almost to the point of despair by the failure of the old political parties to deal with vital issues, or to provide effective leadership at this time of acute crisis in financial and economic affairs, as well as of increasing suffering and hardship among the masses of the people in all parts of Canada. Leaders in the movement, and more particularly a group of members in the Federal House of Commons, have addressed large meetings in eight of the nine Provinces, and the influence of the C. C. F. has been felt in all the Provinces. In Ontario, especially, the growth of the movement has been rapid, and there and elsewhere citizens outside the ranks of the Farmer and Labor movements are now clamoring to enter the Federation to fight shoulder to shoulder with their fellows in the nation-wide campaign for the establishment of an equitable social order. Two great public meetings in Toronto, more largely attended, and giving evidence of greater earnestness and enthusiasm, according to a Toronto daily newspaper, than the campaign meetings held by either of the old parties in the past even at the height of a general election campaign, gave the initial impetus to the development of plans for definite social action by these hitherto unorganized citizens. In Ontario this new development has led to the formation of a considerable number of clubs whose membership increases from week to week. The name "C. C. F. Club" has been adopted by these organizations, and the National Council of the C. C. F. has given auth-
ority for them to affiliate, as a single, Province-wide unit, with the Federation. The August Conference in Calgary had made provision for the setting up of Provincial councils in each of the Provinces, and in Ontario a council has now been set up consisting of three units—the United Farmers of Ontario, the Ontario Labor Conference, and the Association of C. C. F. clubs.

At present, in the Western Provinces, where the Farmer and Labor organizations are well established, the use by any third group of the words “Co-operative Commonwealth” or the initials “C. C. F.” except with the consent of the Provincial Council concerned, is not in accordance with Federation policy, these words and initials being reserved for the Federation as a whole as the collective name of the constituent organizations.

Provincial Councils of the C. C. F. are in process of formation in a number of the other Provinces. The intention is that these shall be formed in the first place by the “foundation” organizations (Farmer, Labor and Socialist bodies which were represented at the August Conference), other Province-wide organizations then applying for admission to the Provincial Councils.

CITY AND CONSTITUENCY COUNCILS

It may be stated that the Alberta Council of the Federation has made provision for the setting up of city or constituency C. C. F. councils. Such councils may be formed by the local branches of Provincial organizations which are affiliated with the Federation and may be joined by other organized groups of citizens who accept the policies and program of the Federation. Until a third Province-wide organization has been formed, these other local units obviously can have no representation on the Provincial Council. They can, however, take an active part in the carrying on of the local affairs of the C. C. F. in the areas in which they are organized.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATION

The choice of James S. Woodsworth, M.P., as Provisional President of the Federation, by unanimous vote of the delegates to the August Conference, was at once a tribute to a Canadian whose long record of disinterested service to the masses of the people of Canada has gained him the complete confidence of forward-looking people, and a guarantee that moderation and tolerance will be combined with unswerving devotion to principle in the leadership of the new movement. Upon fundamental issues of principle Mr. Woodsworth has proved himself at all times uncompromising.
In view of the discreditable attempt which has been made by some press organs and spokesmen of the financial government of Canada, to create in the public mind an entirely false picture of the character and antecedents of the leader of the Federation, the following extract from an article in a recent issue of Maclean's Magazine will be found of interest:

“Some people are convinced,” stated the writer, “that Mr. Woodsworth got into this country from Russia, receives monthly cheques from Moscow, and is concealing within the C. C. F. all sinister, inflammable instruments for our destruction. His family, however, was United Empire Loyalist and he took care to be born in Toronto, attend Oxford and marry a Toronto University graduate—a combination of antecedent and attainment almost irreproachable enough to qualify him as president of the Empire Club.”

**Early Career**

The son of a Canadian Methodist minister of culture and distinction, Mr. Woodsworth himself entered the ministry after graduating from Manitoba University and Victoria College, Toronto, and taking post graduate work at Oxford. In his college days he had already become a serious student of social problems and while at Oxford he made a practice of spending his holidays in a University Settlement in the slums, where he first came to realize the unethical character of many of our social and economic institutions. After several years on Mission fields in the West, Mr. Woodsworth was for four years junior minister of Grace Church, Winnipeg. During that period he made a very thorough investigation of conditions among the under-privileged citizens of the community in which he lived. Later he was selected to take charge of All People’s Mission, Winnipeg, an organization engaged in assisting the immigrants from many countries who were at that time being brought into Western Canada in large numbers. He remained in charge of the Mission for six years. His experiences and the views which he had formed upon the problems facing the great new communities then being built up were described in “Strangers Within Our Gates” and “My Neighbour—a Study of City Conditions.” These important writings, which revealed a deep insight into the nature of the social problems of Western Canada and a warm human sympathy and understanding of the people of British and other races who had made their homes in the West, were widely circulated, and had a marked influence upon opinion among members of his own and other churches and in the community as a whole.

Subsequently, for three years, Mr. Woodsworth was secretary of the Canadian Welfare League, an undenominational social service agency, whose purpose was to promote an interest in social questions.
He lectured in many parts of Canada before boards of trade, church organizations and colleges and other bodies. During this period he was a steady contributor to the Grain Growers' Guide and other farm papers and prepared for the Canadian Council of Agriculture a volume of "Studies in Rural Citizenship" which was widely used as a text-book in study groups in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Director of Bureau of Social Research

In March, 1916, Mr. Woodsworth was appointed to the position of Director of the Bureau of Social Research for the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. At the time of his appointment, the Manitoba Free Press had this to say:

"It will occur to most people that if the three Governments had tooth-combed the West for a man to undertake this new work, no more suitable man than James S. Woodsworth could have been found."

As Director of the Bureau of Social Research, Mr. Woodsworth made a number of surveys of conditions among foreign-born citizens. A pacifist by conviction, Mr. Woodsworth was opposed, from the beginning, to Canada's participation in the War. At a later stage he felt it to be his duty to take a definite stand against conscription. When conscription became an issue he wrote a letter to the Manitoba Free Press in which he declared that if men were to be conscripted, wealth should be conscripted also. As the consequence of his stand upon this question, he was forced to resign from the Bureau of Social Research. Then, for one year, he took charge of a mission church at the Pacific Coast, hoping to "stick it out" in the church while remaining true to his convictions. However, when he expressed his approval of a cooperative enterprise, and gave it support, he ran foul of some of the church officers, and, in 1918, resigned from the ministry.

A Longshoreman on the Waterfront

Then, for a year, Mr. Woodsworth worked on the Vancouver waterfront as a longshoreman, doing the hardest and most exhausting of ill-paid manual labor. He joined the longshoremen's union and also took an active part in the creation and extension of the Federated Labor Party of British Columbia. His impressions of life among the workers and their families were embodied in a series of sketches entitled "On the Waterfront," which has been widely read in the Dominion and elsewhere.

In 1919, Mr. Woodsworth, while on a lecture tour, arrived in Winnipeg during the third week of the general strike then going on. When the editor of a Labor newspaper published in that city was placed under arrest, Mr. Woodsworth was asked to take over the editorship temporarily, and readily consented to do so, hoping to maintain a forum in
which the case of the working people might be presented. A week later, he was himself placed under arrest, charged with "seditious libel." Of the six items, as set forth in the indictment, three had been written by Mr. Woodsworth. These were: a conciliatory article published after consultation with leading business men; an article which was largely a series of quotations from the manifesto which had some time previously been issued by the British Labor Party and distributed over the signature of the general secretary of the party, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson; and thirdly, two passages from the book of Isaiah. With reference to these two passages the indictment read:

"That J. S. Woodsworth, in or about the month of June, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen, at the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, unlawfully and seditiously published seditious libels in the words and figures following:

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey and that they may rob the fatherless.

"Isaiah (10: 1-2)

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat; for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

"Isaiah 11. (65: 21-22)."

After the acquittal of Mr. Woodsworth's colleague on the paper, the late F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., the case against Mr. Woodsworth was dropped.

If Mr. Woodsworth's social creed could be summed up in a paragraph, perhaps those words quoted from Isaiah, uttered many centuries ago by a prophet of an ancient people in a more primitive community than our own, could most aptly describe the guiding motive of his career of service of the under-privileged in Canada. And perhaps no other words could describe so succinctly the fundamental aims and purposes of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

**Elected to Federal Parliament**

In 1920 Mr. Woodsworth was a candidate for Vancouver city in the B. C. Provincial elections, but although receiving a good vote, was not elected. In the general Federal election of 1921 he was the
candidate in one of the Winnipeg constituencies of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba. He was elected by a large majority, as one of the first two Labor members, unaffiliated with either of the old political parties, to be returned to the House of Commons. Mr. Woodsworth has been returned by the electors of Winnipeg in every succeeding election.

This is, perhaps, not the place to survey the record of either the Farmer or Labor groups in Parliament in detail, for those records cover a period of twelve years. It may be said, however, in passing, that such social legislation as it has been possible for a minority group to obtain through Parliament—including old age pensions—has been due, more than to any other single factor, to Mr. Woodsworth's able and unremitting championing, in the House of Commons and throughout the Dominion, of legislation of this character. And it is worthy of note, further, that Mr. Woodsworth, who is admitted, even by his opponents, to be the most widely informed private member of the House upon foreign affairs, was the first member of Parliament to call attention to the iniquity and economic folly of the reparations clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. A decade after Mr. Woodsworth raised his voice against the enforcement of war reparations, amid a running fire of bitter jibes and charges of "disloyalty" from every quarter of the House except that occupied by the Farmer and Labor members, the statesmen of Europe have practically wiped reparations out in a belated attempt to prevent the collapse of the economic structure of the world.

THE CAMPAIGN OF MISREPRESENTATION

In view of the rapid growth of a public opinion favorable to the policies of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the old political parties and the greater part of the daily press have thought it necessary to concentrate their criticism upon the new movement. A very persistent and concerted effort, evidently based upon a considered plan, has been made to create the impression in the public mind that the Federation aims to achieve its purposes through violent revolution. In the speeches of some public men allied to the old parties, and in the newspapers, daily, weekly and monthly, that serve the reactionary interests, this effort is being continued.

AN APPEAL FOR UNITED ACTION

That the program and policy and methods of the Federation are entirely constitutional, designed to avert both black reaction and violent revolution, is well-known to these critics. However, it may be anticipated that the attempt to scare the unthinking and ill-informed will be continued, with increasing lack of scruple. The Federation therefore appeals to all citizens who are concerned for the future of our country,
who wish to play an honorable part in a bloodless war against poverty, and to establish conditions which shall assure for all an equitable share in the abundance which the labor of past and present generations of producers, of inventors and of technologists has created, and the still greater abundance which social planning can make possible—to join forces with the member organizations of the C. C. F. in the great constructive task that lies before us.

SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO

NATIONAL SECRETARY,
CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION,
204 Lougheed Building, Calgary, Alberta.

Enclosed herewith is the sum of a subscription to the funds of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

Signature.

Address.
OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION

The Provisional National Council of the C. C. F. is as follows:

President:
J. S. WOODSWORTH, M.P.,
60 Maryland St., Winnipeg, Manitoba; Independent Labor Party, Manitoba.

Secretary-Treasurer:
NORMAN F. PRIESTLEY,
204 Lougheed Building, Calgary, Alberta; United Farmers of Alberta.

Provisional Executive:
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS,
Past President, United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), Saskatoon.

J. QUEEN, M.L.A.,
Winnipeg; Independent Labor Party, Manitoba.

MRS. B. LATHAM,
Edmonton; Canadian Labor Party, Alberta.

A. R. MOSHER,
Ottawa; the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

WILLIAM IRVINE, M.P.,
Wetaskiwin; United Farmers of Alberta.

ANGUS MacINNIS, M.P.,
Vancouver; Socialist Party of Canada (British Columbia).

MRS. L. LUCAS,
Saskatoon; Women's Section of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section).