

Heading for Ottawa! Canadian Corporatism

CIRCA 1938

BY ADRIEN ARCAND'S

NATIONAL UNITY PARTY OF CANADA An historical transcript

Adrien Arcand Books - Free Edition

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DEDICATION

This reconstruction of the English text of Canadian Corporatism is dedicated to Adrien Arcand and his National Unity Party of Canada.

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Canadian Corporatism: An English draft version discovered in Special Collections at Concordia University

Canadian Corporatism is presented on the road to the 74th anniversary of Adrien Arcand's July 3rd, 1945 release from WWII internment by the Mackenzie-King Liberals.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DOCUMENT

It's hard to find a published English-language copy of Adrien Arcand's Canadian Corporatism, a brochure produced by his National Unity Party of Canada. However, a nearly-complete English typed draft with handwritten changes was found in the Adrien Arcand Collection in Special Collections at Concordia University. Page one is missing.

The 26-page typed draft text of Canadian Corporatism (pages 2 through 27) was purchased along with a small lot of documents in Special Collections on Tuesday, 4 June 2019.

A French version, *Corporatisme canadien*, was published circa 1938 (BAnQ, National Collection, 324.2710938 A668c 1938 FOL). A scan was made of the French copy in the Quebec Archives in Montreal on 16 January 2018. The English-language Canadian Corporatism from Concordia is marked "date unknown". So, I am guessing the English draft is circa 1938. To supply the missing page one, my existing English translation of the corresponding French material from the BAnQ was transferred into the English transcript to obtain a "complete" English version of Canadian Corporatism, originally a pamphlet edition summarizing Adrien Arcand's political program for Canada. Citation for the 26-page typed draft text of Canadian Corporatism (pages 2-27), Chicago-style:

Author (Arcand, Adrien). (Draft) Canadian Corporatism / National Unity Party of Canada, [19--], identifier (C004). Box number 002, Item numbers 402-427. Adrien Arcand Collection. Concordia University Library, Special Collections, location of repository (Montreal, Quebec, Canada.)

FOREWORD

The reader would be well advised to take into account that the authors of this document were living in a typical pastoral society of the place and time, subject to religious dictates. In the early 1930s, poverty and unemployment favored the emergence of right-wing parties around the world.

Adrien Arcand was active between the two world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, which caused millions of deaths. In twenty-five years, the planet experienced an acceleration of violence in all its forms.

The leader of the National Unity Party of Canada, inspired by Father Lionel Groulx, waged a fierce battle against cruel capitalism, liberalism, and Judeo-communism.

The statements above were selected and translated from remarks of author Jean Côté in the opening pages of his 1994 book entitled *Adrien Arcand, une grande figure de notre temps*, ISBN 2-9801677-3-8, available at Archive.org.

On the same topic, French-speaking readers may find Pierre Trépanier's *Quel corporatisme ? (1820-1965)* informative. See: Trépanier, P. (1994). *Quel corporatisme ? (1820-1965)*. Les Cahiers des dix, (49), 159–212. https://doi.org/10.7202/1015617ar

Heading for Ottawa!

CANADIAN CORPORATISM

A formula for economic and social reorganization submitted to the Canadian people by the

NATIONAL UNITY PARTY OF CANADA

WE SUFFER, complain, are harassed by anxiety and uncertainty in every region of the country, in all milieux.

Governments come and go, each one as impotent as the last. Politicians would like to do something for the people who bring them to power, but they are powerless to keep their promises. The problem is not with the men but with the system. Being unable to do anything for the people, they work for themselves!

Changing the motor-man of an outdated tramway or the driver of an old bus is not change. The vehicle itself must be changed. Changing the Members will never be a change if the new arrivals are obliged to do exactly as their predecessors.

The major problem suffered throughout the country, the problem which threatens to swallow us all, comes from two main sources: 1.— the intervention of outside forces into the vital interior wheels of the nation (finance, credit, propaganda, pricefixing, and the control of certain social classes, etc.); 2.— the intervention of politics and government in areas that are not political.

There is too much politics, too much "government", in economic and social life. Disorganized, deprived of national frameworks, Agriculture, Labor, Industry, Commerce, Fisheries, Mines, etc., are at the mercy of politics and politicians.

Economic and social activities are not political activities. They must be given their autonomy, their powers, their initiative and their right of self-determination. These activities can manage themselves under protection of a government that cooperates and regulates while neither exploiting nor plundering.

Restoring to the great social classes and to vital activities of the country those powers usurped by the politicians is the only way to eliminate the two great sources of problems mentioned above. No other solution is possible.

Canadian Corporatism alone is capable of delivering to the Canadian people this one solution, which must replace the revolting incapacity of the old parties and avoid the disorder and welter of Marxism (hidden behind the names of socialism, communism, bolshevism, anarchism, Sovietism, popular front, etc.).

Canadian Corporatism is the "real change" that the people have been crying out for for nearly twenty years. The National Unity Party of Canada announces this real change which is Canadian Corporatism, within order and lawfulness, by the consent of a free and enlightened electorate. Canadian Corporatism is the sole and only formula of true liberty and social justice, of security, progress, of prosperity, the control of Canadian life by Canadians. For the greatness of Canada and the happiness of Canadians, the National Unity Party of Canada desires its triumph.

PREFACE

In the seventh chapter of its programme, the National Unity Party of Canada proposes the establishment of a Corporatist system. The present pamphlet is published to give to the people a clear comprehension and a very definite vision of all that will happen when Canadian Corporatism is established.

When the world in 1914 was bathed in blood, it was said that this was to save Democracy. It was a lie, for the consequences of this war caused Democracy to perish in the majority of European countries, both allied and enemy.

Where it is not yet dead, Democracy is at its last gasp. Nothing any longer can save it. It is foundering slowly in corruption, in general disunion, ruin, anarchy, chaos; it will definitely perish. But the people do not wish to perish with it. The people wish to live. The people have not been created to serve political systems but political systems were created to serve the people. When they can no longer function, we change them.

Liberal-democracy is dying from one thing: from not being democracy. True democracy is what we have agreed to call government of the people, by the people and for the people. Liberal-democracy or the Party system is quite the contrary of true democracy. It is the exploitation and ruin of the people by political factions for the profit of the money powers. Present-day democracy is, in fact, the dictatorship of the powers of money. When we go back up all the steps of this organization, we find

this supreme power commanding all the liberal democracies, the International Gold Bank, a Jewish institution.

Liberty! Liberty! Liberty! is the despondent cry which liberal democracy or the dictatorship of the money powers has used to enchain the masses of the people in the slavery of debt and interest, in unemployment, in national disunity, in the cult of hatred, in the gradual ruin of private property. It has been by shouting liberty that there have been taken away from the social classes the organizations and disciplines which protected them, that there has been taken away from national activities their own control, to hand it over to irresponsible politicians, babbling and incapable.

Based on a lie, that of national division, which breaks the organic unity of the people, paralyzes Power and causes decline of Authority, liberal-democracy has dislocated the whole national balance, has soiled all that it has touched, has led to political decomposition and general decadence, has delivered over the weak and defenseless to powerful egoists, has transformed the highest manifestation of civil life (government) into an orgy of corruption.

Springing from materialism, from the spirit of rebellion, from an individualism which denies the common good, liberaldemocracy has only managed to realize one single thing: The establishment of the supreme and indisputable power of the Golden Calf, upon the ruins of the social classes which have been hurled against each other. It has made the money-god king of everything and of us all, by betraying truth, by upsetting the moral values and the higher principles of living.

Parliamentarianism is not liberal-democracy. The parliament, consultation, discussion existed long centuries before the arrival of liberal-democracy. Formerly parliaments were really national. With liberal-democracy, we have had only partisan or factional

parliaments, representing only part of the people, while the other part, defeated in the elections, was punished by the privations of political or parliamentary opposition.

By what shall we replace the system which is slowly foundering in corruption and falsehood?

The disciples of the Jew Karl Marx propose the mischievous doctrine of this false prophet under various names: socialism, communism, bolshevism, sovietism, anarchy, popular front. It is materialism pushed to its final conclusions. It is, moreover, the dictatorship of one class over all the other classes. It is the definite destruction of Christianity by destroying that which supports the ideas of God, religion, family, private property, initiative, social justice, order, morality, and spiritual values. We may not therefore believe one single instant that one can save the country or the people by marxism, a system which has done damage wherever it has been tried, which has produced everywhere only bloody ruin, as is proved by the contemporary history of Russia, China, Hungary, Spain, Bavaria, etc.

The only possible solution that remains is Canadian Corporatism, through the National Unity Party of Canada.

Canadian Corporatism wishes to give back their rights, their honor, their dignity, to Power, to Authority, to Labour, to the real producers.

It desires to keep in Canada the gold produced in Canada, to keep in Canada the profits from Canadian resources and from the work of Canadians, to destroy parasitism under all its forms, to force capital to cease being purely speculative, that it may become creative and constructive. And to form national activities into national corporations which will take back the powers which politicians have taken away from them. Just as in the Corporatism of the Bar there is a government of lawyers, by lawyers, for the welfare of lawyers, so there will be a Corporation of the fisheries by the fishermen, for the good of the fishermen, and the same thing for agriculture and industry. Each national activity must have its own parliamentary representation, must enjoy powers at once social, economic and legislative, under the protection of an essential National State, which will look after the coordination and balance of the national activities, preventing abuses and unjust monopolies.

Canadian Corporatism desires to wed private interest to the common good by making them partners so they can lean upon each other, by making the State and the citizen associates so they will support each other. It desires instead of fighting, to reestablish the political unity of the country, its national unity, to create a national conscience, a national mentality; to fix national goals, to eliminate unemployment swiftly, to make respected the duty and the right to work for one's livelihood; to revive commerce and industry, to increase property, to decentralize economic activity, to raise up new enterprises, to raise salaries and revenues to the highest level compatible with the needs of a healthy economy, which will no longer be the enrichment of a small exclusive group; to destroy pitilessly corrupt patronage and the system of the pork-barrel, to put each talent in its place and competent people at the vital controls of the country, to restore in all domains the elements of natural law.

IT IS TRUTH WHICH MAKES FREE. We shall regain our freedom when we find truth again. Just as there is a fundamental religious truth, the existence of God, so there is a fundamental political truth. This political truth which the National Unity Party has taken as a guide and a torch is this: all the rights, privileges, advantages, property and profits of a country must serve first and above all the natives of that country. This is the supreme political truth for which all the members of the party work. It is not everything to find truth, you have to make it triumph. We have made of this truth our watchword, our ideal, our inspiration and our banner, in the short phrase, "Canada for Canadians."

May all those who believe in this shining truth come and work with us, for its triumph, for the greatness of Canada and the happiness of Canadians, the National Unity Party of Canada.

CANADIAN CORPORATISM AND AGRICULTURE

The program of the National Unity Party proclaims agriculture as the first and most vital of Canadian industries. The program adds that the Canadian Corporatist State will give its first attention to agriculture, will decentralize it, will re-spiritualize it, that agriculture will have the greatest number of representatives in the Corporatist Parliament.

Agriculture or farming is the most vital industry of the country because it nourishes the nation. It furnishes human life with the most important of its primary needs. Moreover, agriculture brings man nearer nature, supplies the most wholesome, the most complete way of life. It gives man the greatest amount of mental rest, of true freedom and sense of security that he can find. It is, more than any other industry, fitted to form the best kind of citizens in the nation.

The nation's food store must be rich, abundant and varied. Those who work to produce it must enjoy the fruits of their labour. If there are profits to be derived from farming produce, the greatest share thereof must go to the farmer.

TO SET A PRICE IS TO SET THE REWARD.

Under the system of liberal-democracy, or system of party politics, the farmer does not receive a just share of his yield. He is terribly exploited by the great monopolies which govern the market price, which buy at ridiculous prices and resell to the consumer at exorbitant prices. These great international monopolies, which we can trace back to the High Jewish Gold Bank, are the masters of prices. They gamble with the harvests of whole countries, playing thus with the fate of those who produce these harvests. He who sets the price of a product fixes the wages of those who make that product.

Who sets the price of timber in Canada? It is not the settler who cuts it, or the small builder who uses it, it is the big monopoly. Who sets the price of Canadian butter? It is not the Canadian producer, or the Canadian consumer, it is the great international monopoly. It is the same with all important goods.

ORGANIZATION, SECRET OF THE POWER OF GREAT CAPITAL

There are groups which are neither producers or consumers, who are not farmers; nevertheless, they have the power to govern prices, and thus to determine the income of the producers. They are more powerful than whole national classes. Why? Because they are organized while producers are not. They are supported by the force which forms the pivot of every liberaldemocratic form of government, namely money, the Golden Calf. As money is the supreme master under liberal-democracy, we must not be surprised if agriculture is enslaved to the money powers like all other activities. And as the money powers desire to have ever more money, they extend ever more strongly their control over agriculture, devouring ever larger profits, leaving the small farmer weaker and more despoiled.

It is by thousands in Canada that cultivators have abandoned their farms, saying "farming does not pay." The farmer is satisfied when he can bring up his family suitably and pay his debts. For twenty years he has had to sell certain products at a loss, while the monopolies which manipulate these products, multiply their profits and their dividends. It is almost impossible for him to pay his debts and to advance his family.

Organized capital is so little eager to help the farmer that the State is obliged to distribute enormous sums in rural credit. The mere fact of State rural credit proves that capital no longer desires to cooperate with the other classes of the nation. It is the same with State credit for the construction of houses in the cities. Capital no longer wishes to help. It wishes to be served. It is the master. It commands and knows no other role. This abnormal chaotic situation has created an imbalance which shows everywhere and which is evident in thousands of evils, thousands of forms of misery. It has become intolerable. It cannot last longer if we wish to avoid the bloody revolution so desired by the communists. We have to do something.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.

The old parties do not want any real change. From time to time they throw a little cool water on the fevered national body, when things get too hot among the people. But they do not wish to go to the roots of the evil because they themselves planted these roots. They do not wish a complete purge because the present state of corruption is called liberal-democracy. They say: "Let us save democracy," but they never say: "Let us save Canada and the Canadians." What is it then, according to their idea of democracy, which they so greatly wish to save? According to what the liberal and conservative systems have implanted, maintained, encouraged and tolerated, it is "liberty and tolerance." What sort of liberty? Equal liberty for the bad and the good, for error and truth, thieves as well as honest men, the exploiters as well as the real workers, equal liberty for the parasite and the victim on whom the parasite feeds, freedom for foreigners as well as for Canadians. Freedom for international forces as well as for the national forces in our country. We must not disturb this liberty, because it is democratic liberty! But in a

system where the Golden Calf is god, it follows that those who have money, alone have strength and liberty; the others, the little fellows, the workers, the producers endure and submit, and finally are crushed and reduced to slavery.

RED DESTRUCTION: NATIONAL SALVATION.

There are also the disciples of the great Jewish revolutionary, Karl Marx, the "marxists," who take different names according as they go further. These marxists labour to bring about the socialist system, the communist system, the anarchist system. In democracy a single class dominates, the class of the monied power. In the marxist regime a single class also wishes to dominate all the others, the class of revolutionary workers. This is what they call the dictatorship of the proletariat. The disciplines of the Jew Karl Marx desire freedom only for evil and error. They want to abolish religion, family, property, the idea of country, and establish over the whole earth a universal republic of which Canada would be a simple province.

In the face of the old parties, who neither will nor are able to do anything, and marxism which only wants to do evil, there has risen the National Unity Party.

It is a Nationalist Party, a corporatist party. National Unity is opposed to one class, whether that of the capitalists or that of the workers, dominating the other classes. Each class must be able to guide itself, organize itself, decide its own fate in cooperation with the other classes. This is only possible through the Corporation, by means of the corporatist system, the national system of our new time. It is the only system which can give back to agriculture, as well as to the other national activities, their independence, their freedom, full and entire justice, protection and prosperity.

CORPORATION OF AGRICULTURE.

When the nationalist party of National Unity shall have been carried to power with the consent of the Canadian people, it will immediately set about the task of establishing national corporations.

The corporations, as has been said, will act in a triple role: legislative, economic and social.

The political parties which divide the nation into artificial and useless factions will be all abolished. There will be only one single political party, the Canadian nation. All Canadians will be part of it. The nationalist system in power will recognize no opposition. There will not be a part of the people which will be considered hostile and to which all aid is refused, all help, all encouragement, as do the liberals when the liberals are in power against the cursed conservatives or the conservatives do when in power against the cursed liberals. The government will be truly national, the government of all the people, and it will concern itself with the whole people. Every Canadian will be its child, its ward, the object of its care and devotion. It will no longer be permissible to return to artificial political dissension, to partisan hatred, to the favoritism which causes one part of the people to be neglected for the advantage of another part.

In the body of the nation, each class of workers will receive the rights, importance and respect, the consideration and the aid, which belong to it. Agriculture will be in the front rank of the great Canadian family of workers.

After the disappearance of political parties, the farmer, for example, will have only one general interest, namely Canada, and one main private interest, farming. The country member will not be liberal or conservative in the parliament, he will represent

exclusively the farmers, will be responsible only to the farmers and will concern himself solely with farming.

NATIONAL SET-UPS.

When National Unity ascends to power by the will of the people, the National Corporations will begin to rise. All growers, without any exception, will be incorporated and will form a system in the great national corporation of agriculture. In the bosom of this corporation they will be subdivided into associations of all kinds according to their immediate interests. The agriculturalist can belong to several associations at the same time, as for instance, to the national association of tobacco producers, the national association of grain producers, the national association of cattle breeders, etc.

Each association will have headquarters and depots in each province. The associations will elect within themselves their officers and their delegates. In their general higher ranks they will form the framework of the great national corporation of agriculture. In their associations and their national corporations, the growers will choose the names of those whom they want to have as federal members in the corporate parliament, and from this list, the whole nation will be called upon to vote when the body of the first corporate parliament shall be submitted for the approval of the people. In the same way the other great national corporations (manufacturing, industry, transportation, professional classes, commerce, etc.) will choose their federal representatives themselves.

POLITICAL ROLE OF THE CORPORATION.

The corporation must act a political as well as a social and an economic role, in the sense that producing and professional activities must take back the powers that the liberal-democratic state assumed after the liberal revolution of 1789.

Powers which belong exclusively to the state are those which concern justice, defence of the country (armed forces), internal order (federal police), collection and use of taxes (Ministry of finance), the mails, relations with other countries (external affairs), the guardianship of official wards of the people (Indian affairs), the property of the Crown (public works, domains, etc.)

The ministries of agriculture, of labour, of commerce, of industry, of fisheries, of public health are based on a usurpation of powers which belong to the national categories of interests which these powers concern. These powers were assumed because these national interests were not organized. The state had to make up for the insufficiency or absence of organization of the classes concerned.

The liberal-democratic State has never thought of forming a Ministry of Professions because these managed to keep their framework of organization in the storm of revolution. The professional classes, such as those of the lawyers, notaries, physicians, dentists, engineers, etc., have managed to keep their setups and discipline themselves. They were able to resist, only thanks to the compulsory participation (unionism) of their members, drawing up among themselves the conditions of their craft, of apprenticeship, professional conduct, etc. If they have suffered almost as much as the other classes since the end of the great war, this is because of the general situation created by political slackness, economic anarchy, the social chaos resulting from the class struggle. There is no more reason for having a Ministry of Commerce or of Agriculture than there would be to justify a Ministry of the liberal professions.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

During the first years of the Canadian Corporatist State, which will be established by the National Unity Party, the National Corporation of Agriculture will work in immediate conjunction and direct contact with the Ministry of Agriculture. The Corporation of Commerce will do likewise with the Ministry of Commerce, the Corporation of Industrial workers will do the same with the Ministry of Labour, but as soon as they are sufficiently organized the corporations will replace these Ministries which by their nature are not political. Instead of its being politicians, it is the farmers themselves who will govern agriculture, the business men who will direct commerce, the fishermen who will look after the fisheries, and so on. Just as professionals in their corporations may determine the conditions of their professions, give these organizations discipline, a code, just so the other national classes will be able to act in their national corporations. The only real political instrument above the corporations will be the Ministry of Corporations, to coordinate and balance the interplay of the corporations, to see that one does not take advantage of another, that the consumers are not exploited, that the needs of our foreign commerce are respected.

The State being an essentially political and moral body, it must not exceed the limits of its political rights. Economic and social bodies of the nation must evolve as rapidly as possible towards such a state that they can regulate themselves the economy and social life of the country in harmony with the political conditions and needs.

THE CORPORATIST PARLIAMENT.

Just as the ministries of the government work by the year, so the national corporations of the Canadian Corporatist State will sit by the year.

The different corporations, each in its federal headquarters, will handle all the problems of their activities as they arise. Thus, the National Corporation of Agriculture will always be working, studying problems, finding solutions, bringing about betterments, drawing up laws.

The decisions taken by it will be transmitted to the Ministry of Corporations which in its turn will transmit them at once to the other national corporations.

If one of the other corporations, if for example that of Commerce, objects to the decision of the farmers or finds in it cause for complaint then the Ministry of Corporations summons a meeting of the two conflicting corporations and both together must come to an understanding. The representatives of the two great social classes may parley and discuss, criticize each other as much as they wish, but they must come to an agreement. They have all the rights and privileges of parliamentarianism, with this difference, that it is the experts on a question that discuss this question and they discuss it in their particular assemblies.

When a final solution has been found and accepted by the opposing parties, the Ministry of Corporations informs the national government. The latter must judge in the name of the whole people, whether the final decision is within the framework of the general interest and justice. If it finds no serious objection, the law is passed by decree of the National Government when there is urgency. If the matter is not urgent it will be submitted for the approval of the corporatist parliament met in full session. In any case all the laws and decisions of the corporations must be sanctioned by the Corporatist Parliament.

LAWS MADE BY EXPERTS.

We are astonished in democratic countries when a corporatist parliament can approve sometimes 250 or 300 laws in a sitting of a few minutes. This is because we do not realize that these laws, which have been studied and prepared by the experts of

the country, would be mutilated as soon as they were submitted to the parliamentary method which permits the ignorant to speak, as well as the experts.

When the national sanction is given to laws in the corporatist system, these laws have already been studied by the people concerned, the experts, the technicians in the matter, then they have been submitted to all the other corporations and to the government. If they are brought before the parliament, it is because there is no longer any objection. All that they need is the supreme national sanction, a simple question of formality.

Corporatism does not allow useless babbling for months on the part of ignorant men. It does not allow, as under our system, doctors to discuss railways, tinsmiths to talk of fisheries, farmers to talk about sanitary or industrial working-class laws, breeders of sheep to speak about airplanes.

Each class has, in short, on the political side of its corporation, legislative powers, which it exercises within the broad lines of the common good and within the limits of national welfare.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES: THE TWO COUNTERWEIGHTS.

Each class must be deeply aware that it is above all a positive and constructive instrument in the service of the whole nation. When the whole nation prospers, the class will prosper, and the more prosperous will be the individual who forms part of it. The individual must discipline himself in his corporation and the corporation discipline itself within the body of the nation. No individual can free himself from his corporation. No corporation can free itself from the nation. Slackness or unlimited free competition cannot be tolerated. Full enjoyment of natural and acquired rights, and fulfilment of the duties which correspond to them, these are the counterweights which in all activities and in all national spheres are to form the measure of individual and collective action. They are conditions essential to true order, to effective authority, to real responsibility, to equitable justice, to all the prosperity in which each may expect the share due to his contribution of work, the exercise of his talents.

ECONOMIC CORPORATISM.

It is not enough for the corporation to have legislative and parliamentary powers, it must have its economic organization and powers, which melt into its social organization and powers.

The one cannot be without the other. Corporatism must be totalitarian, as liberalism is totalitarian, as marxism is totalitarian.

It is nonsense to try to make, for example, out of "economic liberalism," a distinct or different thing from political liberalism. Why is there "economic liberalism?" Because there is at the helm of power in the State a political liberalism which has brought about the coming of economic liberalism by its very doctrine of non-interventionism and unlimited liberty, which perpetuates it, encourages it, maintains it. Political liberalism has even become the slave of economic liberalism. It has delivered itself over to the latter on account of its electoral needs. It belongs there. It is now determined, commanded, ruled thereby. There is in fact only one sole and single liberalism, a single germ, a single ferment, which is the same everywhere, acquiring an adjective according to the sphere in which it acts. Liberalism is totalitarian, it imposes its slackness, its lack of discipline, its irregularity in everything and everywhere in the same way. Corporatism also is totalitarian, exacting discipline, rules, structures, in everything and everywhere. It is not the State which fixes these rules and these structures, it is the guilds of National activities which give them to themselves, the State approves.

Economic Corporatism destroys economic liberalism and takes its place. The monopolies which act like gods of the weather as to farming production will be replaced by the great associations of the National Corporation of Agriculture.

The great tobacco monopoly will be replaced by the National Association of tobacco producers. The great monopoly of dairy products will be replaced by the National Association of dairy producers. The great monopoly of meat will be replaced by the National Association of breeders of animals. It will be thus for each product.

COOPERATIVES AND PRODUCERS.

Once united in associations and corporations the growers will establish their producers' cooperatives.

The corporate State will help them to form their cooperatives. It will place at their disposal vast capital in order that these cooperatives may have their stores in the great centres of the country. These cooperatives and their stores will belong to the members of the national associations of the growers themselves.

Up to now the associations and cooperatives of producers have not had much success because they are optional. Anybody can belong who wants to. There is favouritism. The monopolies in order not to lose their privileges and their control, wage against them a savage, cut-throat battle. Thus, for example, so many dairy cooperatives have been torn from the hands of the farmers and destroyed by the underhand attacks of the monopolies protected by venal politicians.

But obligatory association and cooperation for all cannot help succeeding. All the members, by rules which they establish themselves, are compelled to cooperate; moreover, their most elementary interests force them to concern themselves actively with their business.

In order to understand the functioning of agricultural corporatism in the economic sphere let us take the example of a concrete case. The same case may be applied to all other kinds of organized production. Let us take the case of animals and meats.

All the breeders of animals will belong to the National Association of Breeders which will be a section of the National Corporation of Agriculture.

The principal task of the members of the association will be to produce the best possible quality of domestic cattle and fowl.

The producers' association will have its storehouses and slaughter-houses. It will control prices and the wholesale distribution of its produce. To acquire or build great modern storehouses, the association will issue bonds which, if necessary, will be guaranteed by the State. The members of the association will hold the majority of these bonds in order that the financial control shall never leave the association.

ELIMINATION OF USELESS MIDDLEMEN.

The producer who has, let us say, ten pigs, two steers, and five sheep to sell, will not have to bother with finding a buyer, he will go and take his animals to the nearest railway station to have them forwarded to the nearest depot or abattoir of his association. He will shortly receive from his association a cheque for the amount of the value of the animals less the cost of transportation. At the depot of the corporation of animal producers the association has its experts who look after classification, packing, forwarding, advertising and exporting. The association also attends to fixing meat prices through the national corporation.

No longer will the great international monopolies fix the prices. It is the national corporation itself, under the supervision of the government which must prevent all and any abuse. The principle which must serve as a basis for the fixing of prices is the cost of production plus a reasonable profit which must aid the progressive growth of the producer's business.

When a reasonable price is fixed by decree, then all wholesale buyers must pay this price everywhere and under every circumstance for any quantity. Monopoly falls of itself, the trust is no longer capable of dictating its conditions to the producer and the consumer. The producer can live, can devote himself to his specialty without fear of ruin. He can count on the stability of business and the consumer is protected against any exploitation.

PROTECTION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS.

The producers' cooperative eliminates the jobber and the monopolist. From it directly the merchant procures the products which he resells at retail, the wholesale prices being fixed by decree. They are the same for the big as for the small buyer. The great chain stores pay the same price as the small retailer. They can no longer dictate their conditions to the producer. Inevitably they cease to be and in the place of a great regional or provincial grocer we see the number of independent businesses increase again, the number of small enterprises and small fortunes replace the large enterprise and the great fortune.

Retail prices, too, are fixed by decree, at the figures decided upon by the national corporation of commerce. These prices are subject to the supervising of the government. They comprise the cost of distribution plus a reasonable profit. The great parasites being eliminated, the consumer pays definitely less. The producer receives the maximum revenue for his products, the distributer is assured a reasonable return for his service.

THE CORPORATION WILL FIND IN ITSELF ITS FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

The national corporation of agriculture looks after its own protection in the adjustments of the tariff. It instructs the government according to its statistics, its production, its surplus or its needs, regarding the tariff protection which should be fixed for such and such a farm product.

The national corporation of agriculture and the national associations of producers which compose it will have their banks in which they will deposit their money, the earnings of which will be theirs. They will have their credit bodies, their insurance and pension organizations. These instruments for their service being their property, it will be no longer possible for hidden finance to practice its undue pressure or to blackmail the agriculturalists. Agriculture will be, so to say, a national organism complete in itself and it will not suffer from manipulation from outside for external profit. Farm finance will serve agriculture.

Agriculture will not be a State business such as the marxists want. It will not be a source of profit for a few individuals, powerful on account of their money, as is the case under liberaldemocracy. It will be a business entirely in the hands of the farmers for the basic advantage of the nation and the personal profit of the farmers. The corporation is the only known formula which weds together the common good and private interest. It is the most modern formula, the most advanced, civilized, just and Christian which has come out of all the attempts and all the experiments which have been made in the world up to our day.

Decentralization, re-spiritualization, by building a structure on

the needs of the human being rather than on the demands of the Golden Calf, order, authority, discipline, social set-ups which will no longer leave the human being isolated and defenseless; protection, stability, equity, cooperation in living rather than savage struggle for life itself, these are the advantages of the Nationalist Corporation.

COOPERATION AND MUTUAL HELP BETWEEN CORPORATIONS.

We have to stabilize the cost of living as we have to stabilize the income or wages of farm and industrial workers. The corporation alone can give this stabilization which no other system has yet been able to give to the nation.

The corporatist state, acting as a regulator of the national activities, can cause one corporation to intervene to help another when necessary.

Thus, if there is an unsaleable surplus of wheat, the State may on the demand of the national association of wheat producers, transfer the problem to the Industry Corporation by decreeing, for example, that motor vehicle fuel shall contain 20 or 30% of grain alcohol.

A national association of tomato producers would not, as was the case in the autumn of 1938, have allowed to perish in the fields thousands of tons of tomatoes. In its storehouses it would have preserved those tomatoes and the State would have seen to it that these products were exchanged with another country which needed them.

There is no super-production of anything, there will never be any. There is only a lack of buying power which prevents the national classes from getting in abundance what they could consume. The stabilization of wages and income by the interplay of
corporatism will reestablish, spread, and constantly increase purchasing power.

"LIBERTIES" REDUCED, "LIBERTIES" ENLARGED.

It is true that national corporatism eliminates certain liberties. It destroys inflexibly the liberty hitherto granted to the powers of money, which must revert to their humble duty as servants of the nation. It destroys the liberty hitherto granted to monopolies, trusts, cornerers, price-raises, to dishonest speculation, to parasitism in all its forms.

But it restores their freedom and self-government to the real producers and the real workers, it restores to them freedom to determine their own fate, the freedom to enjoy before anyone else the fruit of their labours, the freedom to discipline their activities, the freedom to carry on their own affairs, the freedom to create for themselves stable conditions, the freedom to begin an enterprise or to set out on a career without fearing to be stripped or ruined after twenty years, the freedom to set up long range plans with the possibility of realizing them by their work.

Work, a good return for your work, the cost of living proportionate to your pay, an equal opportunity for all to constantly better their lot, provision for each man to suitably bring up his children, protection in all spheres, security, peace of mind, these are the great lost liberties which nationalist corporatism will bring to the Canadian people with the not distant triumph of the National Unity Party.

The joy of living in happiness due to respect for natural laws.

The joy of living as creatures conscious of God and His goodness to His children.

The joy of living as Canadians in our beautiful Canada, masters

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of Canada, working for the happiness of Canadians and the greatness of Canada.

The joy of living in a great nationalist and Christian revival, rather than the curse of living in a communist hell or the sorrow of slow decay in a corrupted, ruinous, destructive liberal-democracy, which is a cruel step-mother to the children of the nation.

The joy of living in our own country as our fathers desired it and won it for us by their devotion, their labour, their sacrifice.

CANADIAN CORPORATISM AND THE WORKMAN.

For thirty years or more we have been adding to labour laws. We have pushed as far as we could working-class organization.

Are the workers further on to-day?

By hundreds of thousands we may count those who have lost their right to work and have become unemployed. By hundreds of thousands we may count those who work only part time and receive for food, lodging, medical care, clothing, less than a horse unemployed or working part time receives.

As for those who are working, the larger number of them receive wages much below what they need to suitably support their families.

Those who receive a reasonable wage are the minority and even they live constantly in fear of seeing their wages reduced or the shop where they work closed.

As to 90% of workingmen, not only are they unable to save but they do not even receive the minimum necessary to meet the cost of living, according to official statistics. If there is distress to-day on the farm, the distress is still greater in the working-class in the city. If one is worried, in the country, about interest on a debt due in six months, in the cities in thousands of homes it is a question of how one will eat next week.

Most employers, burdened with ever heavier, worrisome, harmful taxes and realizing that the public purchasing power is constantly being reduced, ask themselves just like their employees, if the instability of business will not force them to close their doors as many others have had to do these last ten years.

All spirit of cooperation has almost completely disappeared between labour and capital, it has even been made almost impossible. Both have been hurled into a surly class struggle fatal to both interests, which after all are only one and the same.

Why is it thus? Because neither employers nor employees are masters of their own activities. Both are at the mercy of what is called the conditions of the market. These are determined by economic anarchy, commercial lack of discipline, cut-throat rivalry, price war, brought about by the indifference of the liberaldemocratic State which refuses to intervene, by the tolerance of unbridled and unlimited free competition.

Corporatism will put an end almost immediately to this state of things. It will restore in no time at all the mutual respect of capital and labour, their friendly cooperation, full and complete justice for both sides, an intense, stable and well paid activity for employees and employers.

FALSEHOOD AND REALITY OF THINGS.

But the Jews who control the great proletarian organizations, founded by them, and high finance, organized by them, with their propaganda dominated by them, horribly distort corpora-

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tism in the eyes of masters and men. They lie, deceive, disfigure, they do not want corporatism even to be known. They do not want the truth to be known because corporatism marks the end of Jewish control over the working class organization, the end of cut-throat business established and exploited by Jews, the end of the control of all classes by high Jewish capital.

Corporatism is the resumption, the re-conquest of all activities, all spheres, all organizations, all advantages, all national profits by the children of the nation and it is the end of economic and financial Jewry. It is the deliverance of all enchained classes, it is the return of order and discipline in which the parasite Jew can no longer live. He must therefore combat corporatism by all means. The crowd must not know it, and if it knows it at all, it must be disfigured, represented as what it is not. This explains the mad, ferocious, merciless struggle which the Jews and all the organizations under their control wage against the National Unity Party, which has decided to establish Canadian Corporatism as soon as it has assumed power at Ottawa. The struggle will be bitter but National Unity will win because Canadian national feeling is stronger than the money of the Jews in Canada, because truth must infallibly triumph over falsehood.

THE INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION.

We have seen in its broad outlines how the national corporation of agriculture will function. The national corporation of industry will be similar. This national corporation of industry will be self-subdivided into various corporations or associations according to the category of industry: metal industry, building industry, manufacturing industry, mining industry, textile industry, hydro-electric industry, etc.

What has hitherto made labour unions so futile is that belonging to them has always been optional. Half the workers agree with the discipline of their unions, the other half refuse to belong. Corporatism makes compulsory the sharing of the workers in the guilds of their trades. In the same way employers have to be members of the associations which concern their interests.

These guilds of workmen and these associations of employers are divorced from all foreign control, they are entirely free, autonomous, independent and have as leaders only those whom they choose themselves. They have as laws and rules those which they themselves decree. Their bases of support and the discipline which they undergo are fixed by them. The only power above them is that of the National government, which is concerned in preventing any possible abuse as it does for all the other corporations.

After the corporation of agriculture comes the corporation of industry, which has in the federal corporatist parliament the greatest number of members. The list of these representatives to be elected by the whole electorate is drawn up by the labour unions themselves and by the associations of employers. The two groups have their representatives who sit together and draw up the laws concerning their activities. The legislative procedure is the same as that explained for farmers in the preceding chapter.

The federal representatives of industry are responsible only to industry and only concern themselves with industry. Their corporation must eventually replace the ministries of labour and industry when ready to do so.

FIXING OF WAGES AND PRICES.

It is the National Corporation of Industry which fixes prices and working conditions of its members. It fixes the wages of employees and fixes wholesale prices of manufactured products. The employer being certain of a reasonable, stable, protected sale price, it is easy for him to pay reasonable, stable, protected wages. The Corporation of Industry like all the other Corporations will have its banks, its credit services, its departments for pensions, insurance, aid, leisure, etc.

There will be industrial banks for industry; as well, there will be agricultural banks for farmers, commercial banks for commerce, etc., just as there will be bureaus of credit, developments and aid for the activities concerned. These financial institutions will not be controlled by the State as under Communism, or by a handful of greedy individuals as under liberal-democracy, but they will be owned by the National Corporations. The members of the corporations will deposit their savings in them and will enjoy their privileges and help.

THE STATE WILL CONTROL CURRENCY.

The supreme instrument of finance will be the State bank which will issue the national currency and will control its volume according to the needs of the country. This State bank, property of the whole nation, will, at need, open credits to the corporations which might not have sufficient capital on hand for their necessary development or to meet certain difficult circumstances. The National Corporatist State pitilessly destroys the speculative character of capital and demands that capital, at all times, shall be productive and constructive.

The group of workers' unions and employers' associations will form a corporation in which representatives will sit of both employees and employers. They will draw up the laws and statutes of their industries in the interests of all their members. The Ministry of Corporations will see to it that they remain within the framework and general interest of the nation.

SUPERVISION AND APPLICATION OF THE LAWS.

The wages and sale prices which they fix will be more than a collective labour contract. They will be national statutes or governmental decrees.

The corporation of industrial employees and employers in which the interests of the two groups hitherto opposed (on account of liberal *laisser-faire*) will become one single common solid interest, will do more than draw up its own laws. It will supervise their enforcement and impose their application. This will be possible through the discipline which alone compulsory unionism and association can bring about.

Just as the Corporation of the Bar and the Corporation of the Academy of Medicine can punish their members who violate their laws, or take action against external infractions, so the industrial corporation will have its disciplinary courts, will be able to punish its members who infringe its laws or to bring before the courts those who are not members but who harm the corporation.

One element of the national economic life will not be allowed to sabotage the work of another unit, and to compromise, even partially, its existence.

The unlimited liberty granted by liberal-democracy to a certain kind of business, for example, has ruined many industries and thrown on the street a large number of workers.

Thus when a table costs the manufacturer \$1.00 and is sold for 90c by a merchant, this brings about a fall in prices and the final consequence is the lowering of wages.

RESPECT FOR AND PROTECTION OF A FAIR PRICE.

We have seen large distribution agencies sign contracts with certain factories to absorb their whole product. As he no longer has to bother with finding buyers, the manufacturer dismisses his salesmen, his commercial travellers, and can thus sell at a lower price than the others. After a year or two the manufacturer is required to lower his price still further, otherwise his contract will not be renewed. Having lost his former customers, caught with a regulated production, which he can no longer otherwise dispose of, the manufacturer is obliged to yield to the demands of the big buyer or to close his doors. It is always the employee who after all, finally bears the loss though this does not prevent the manufacturer from declining gradually toward his ruin.

With Corporatism this will be no longer possible. An article will not be sold lower than its value. People can no longer play in the name of cut-throat commerce with the honor and dignity of labour, with the fate of the producers.

Each class of workers and producers will receive a just price for his product and each will be able to pay a just price for what he buys. We shall no longer see the parasites ever more prosperous while the producers, ever more exploited and worse paid, harm other producers, by looking for the spoils of the price war. There is no possible stability of wages, of purchasing power, if there is no stability in the price of what the wageearner produces.

The industry of shoddy, of imitation, of the degraded product which degrades the honor of the craft will disappear; and the housewife will no longer have to say: "I will have to do with the poor stuff, I have not the means of buying the good." The parasites, the useless middlemen, the unproductive monopolists and the dishonest speculators being eliminated, we can get what is good and what is good will not cost dear.

WORK: A COMPULSORY DUTY.

Productive work will be compulsory for all adults physically able. The whole nation will produce. There will be no superproduction. There never has been any, there never will be any. What we have suffered from is lack of purchasing power. Everybody needs all sorts of things but not everybody has the means of getting them.

It would not be a luxury for the child of a working man to have three or four pairs of shoes, instead of one, for a worker to have four or five suits, four or five hats, four or five overcoats, instead of one. If everybody could get what is necessary for normal life, without luxury or excess, we should not have enough manufactures or shops to-day.

Let our permanent or part-time two million unemployed be put to work with good pay and right away we shall not have enough from our existing enterprises.

The economic and social corporation of industry will have its political or rather its legislative branches in the national parliament, in which the industrial members elected by the workmen and the employers will form a Chamber, so to say, self-governing in what may concern its particular interests, like the Corporation of Agriculture and the others. The industrial members, as national representatives, will sit also in the full sessions of parliament when it is a question of approving the laws of the corporations and the decrees of the government in the name of all the people.

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THE WORKMAN, PARTNER OF THE NATION.

The workman will have now only one single political party: his nation, his country. He will be called upon to serve the Canadian people and in return he will receive the right to earn his living by working, a just wage and trade organization officially protected.

Labour will be reestablished in the dignity, honor, respect and justice which are due it. It will receive the fulness of its rights and powers. The workman will no longer be merely a toiler taken advantage of, the beaten, defenseless dog. He will be raised to the rank of partner in his nation, associate of his country, free at last from the cruel chains which parasites had soldered upon him thanks to the indifference of a system sold to dishonest finance.

Craft honor will regain its lost rights. There will be plenty of outlets established for the young. The young man who by inheritance or family environment possesses the genius of his father's trade, may continue the productive work of his father. He may succeed him in the shop or factory. The rights of apprenticeship and guild membership will be reestablished by the free discipline of the corporations, just as apprenticeship has its rights among professional men, whether in the clinics for apprentice doctors or in clerkship for apprentice lawyers. Vocational education which will necessarily be imposed in schools (which) will help the corporations to find the best and aptest subjects.

CAPITAL IN ABUNDANCE.

As the corporations will have the task of inculcating respect for their members' right to work, and of avoiding all unemployment, they will have to look after the national distribution of work, to find new activities where needed, to think out new developments. Capital will not be lacking, for the Corporatist State will stop the frightful bleeding of Canadian capital abroad. It will see to it that the gold extracted from Canadian mines shall serve Canada and the Canadians. Merely in interest and dividends paid to the foreigner from the work of Canadian producers and technicians, by the sale of our gold abroad, more than one hundred million dollars a month are leaving Canada at this moment. Why should not the foreigners come to enjoy in Canada these enormous sums produced by Canadian workers with Canada's natural resources? Why should they not spend this Canadian economic blood within the Canadian organism? The National Unity Party of Canada will promptly settle this problem as soon as it is in power. It will see to it that the economic blood produced in the Canadian National body shall remain in the arteries and veins of this National body. Without borrowing, without importing capital, without increasing the debt of the country, without adding to the obligation of interest and taxes, without inflation, a truly nationalist system can thus get for Canada, for its developments, more than one hundred million dollars a month. We have only to close the veins, asking those who profit by Canadian activity to spend their gain in Canada, seeing to it that money which is made to circulate and produce shall wholly fulfil its mission.

The Industrial Corporations will have their systems of aid, their arrangements for leisure, their insurance and protection of all kinds.

ELIMINATION OF SLUMS.

The shack, the slum, will soon disappear. Little will be said of this but much will be done. It will be the building industry itself which will have to settle this question, in close cooperation with civic authorities. The members of the industry will build for themselves, for their comrades, for the country. They will put all their heart and all their genius into this work of reconstruction and advancement of Canada and Canadians. Here again it is not capital which will be lacking. Capital will have ceased being speculative. It will have become constructive. There will be no liberal dictatorship of capitalists over all the other classes. There will be no communist dictatorship of the proletariat over all the other classes. There will be honorable, just, disciplined and orderly cooperation of all classes. It is not State collectivism which will lead. It is not the selfish interest of the money powers which will lead. The new law will be the close union and cooperation of the common good with private interest, the association of the citizen with his country, through corporatism, the most advanced and most scientific system of social organization which has been imagined by the human brain after centuries of practical experience, trials, attempts, discouragements and observations, and moreover a system which has succeeded wherever it has been tried.

The State will not be a devouring monster which will sell, betray, despoil and ruin the citizens. The citizen will not be a complaining victim in constant mental revolt against the State. They will be two partners who will help each other, who will cooperate, who will construct, who will progress, supporting each other, leaning on each other.

REDUCTION OF TAXES.

Taxes will go down and the whole people will be relieved of the burden which is made ever heavier by the democratic mess and the corruption of patronage. When salaries have been readjusted, when two million Canadians have gone back to gainful labour, taxes will be shared by a greater number of taxpayers, and will be lighter. As the corporations will have to settle the social problems which are theirs, the State will be free of them. Everything will be put into its place. The powers usurped by politicians will be restored to the social classes which must hold them. It is true that liberty will diminish or disappear for certain foreign leaders, certain classes of idle profiteers, unproductive pirates, but liberty will be greater than ever for those who contribute to the advancement of the country. They will have freedom of working according to their talent at decent pay and the freedom to make plans and investments without dread of being ruined and left defenseless.

NEW ENTERPRISES, OPENINGS FOR YOUNG MEN, LEISURE

With the great national rebirth brought about by the National Unity Party, after so long a stagnation of business, with the capital produced in Canada at the disposal of Canadian activities, with obligatory work, with new needs, there will be work and income in plenty for everybody. There will be a hundred thousand new enterprises to start. There will be occupation and a future for all our young men. The only danger will be a scarcity of labour but this is a problem which will be settled in good time.

To aid our young people to establish homes, there will be marriage loans. To aid parents brave enough to raise numerous children there will be generous family bonuses. Instead of being, as in financial democracy, almost a curse which imposes heavier obligations on parents who are already poor, the arrival of a child in the home will be what it should always be, a blessing to parents who can live decently.

The national corporations will be encouraged by their modern organizations to establish hunting clubs, fishing clubs, sailing clubs, summer resorts, etc., for their members. The children of the nation must have the first rights to the enjoyment of the natural riches of Canada, of the charms of Canadian nature. A sustained effort will be made for every Canadian father of a family to be the possessor of a part of the Canadian soil, to be the owner of the home he lives in.

A CRIMINAL SYSTEM.

Under financial democracy a very large number of our workers after thirty or forty years of honest labour find themselves today less advanced than they were when they began their career, having been constantly exploited as employees and as consumers, left without defence at the mercy of middlemen or cunning swindlers; their lives have been ruined. A system that permits that is a criminal system.

God, who so greatly loves his children, has not wanted them to be unhappy on earth. It is men and their organizations that cause the misfortune of humanity when they allow themselves to be seduced by the errors of evil and the falsehoods of the spirit of revolt which always leads to chaos. As soon as man recognizes the necessity of duty, order, authority, discipline, work, of the giving of oneself to a cause greater than oneself, he becomes free and finds security, protection and justice. Corporatism is the only system of social, economic and political organization which can let him reach this goal.

PURPOSE AND USE OF WEALTH.

Hitherto, the goods of this earth have only served the advantage of a small group of powerful financiers. Liberal-democracy, climax of high finance in power, has enchained the unorganized masses and has made them suffer more than any despotic system of antiquity. The fruits of the earth are given by God for all His children to enjoy them. Fruit, meat, cloth, grain, etc., are not made for a few speculators to become millionaires. They are made for their producers to find a fair return for their efforts and for the largest possible part of humanity to have the means to get the share which it needs. It is upon this principle that corporatism is established. To so do that everyone may earn as much as possible in order to absorb the greatest possible production. To destroy natural or human production in the name of prices, in the name of profits, in the name of the Golden Calf is a crime of liberal-democracy which corporatism will not tolerate for a single instant. Everything is usable in this world and Canadian Corporatism will utilize all that Providence has placed at the disposal of Canadians.

POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

Every social class in Canada will take back the rights which have been stolen from it. Each class will have its frames, supple and well balanced. Each productive class will keep its initiative, its powers and also its responsibilities to the nation. The Canadian Corporatist State will see to these being harmoniously arranged with each other. Conscious of its mission, the National Unity government will not allow foreign agitators to mislead the Canadian masses into the mad myth of the international proletariat, the world labour movement, or the universal republic. It will see to it that everyone shall devote himself to Canada and the Canadians, to the realization in every way of the great motto, Canada for Canadians. This will be the best contribution of our country to world order, world peace and world happiness.

THE OTHER CORPORATIONS.

The other national corporations will be organized in like manner as those above described.

All the commercial energies of the country, employers and employees, will be grouped in the great national corporation of commerce, which, when well organized, will take over the functions of the ministry of commerce. This corporation, which will have its representation in parliament, will make the rules and conditions for commerce in Canada, will fix prices and wipe out cut-throat competition which everywhere sows ruin, economic anarchy, and strikes down industry and its employees. It will cooperate with the other great national activities of the country and will serve the nation while giving a decent livelihood to its members. Wholesome and honest trade in which the buyer can have blind confidence will again flourish. Business will become as before formerly, a noble and useful career of public service which will be stable and which will allow those who share in it to make and realize plans for the future.

The professional corporations, independent in themselves (law, medicine, etc.) or connected with other activities (agricultural engineering, chemical engineering, etc.) will play a great part under a system which demands the most competent for the chief positions.

The liberal professions, the scientific professions, the artistic professions, will give themselves frames and rules, will regulate and protect their interests. To serve the best interests of the country, converging with the rest of the nation toward great historic objects to be attained, to assure to all the members of the corporations a minimum of comfort and protection, to constantly raise the level of morality and efficiency in the profession, such are the great primary functions upon which they will build their labour of rebirth.

The professionals will have like the other classes their representation in the corporatist parliament, to legislate on subjects which belong to them, in the interest of the nation as well as in the economic and social interest of the members of their professions. The Corporation of Physicians will finally occupy the Ministry of Hygiene and of Public Health. The Corporation of Engineers and Architects will have the control of the Ministry of Public Works. All will work for their country and their class, having become associates and partners in common purposes, tasks and interests.

DESTRUCTION OF THE PORK-BARREL.

As Parliament will be composed of representatives of the great classes of the nation and as there will be no more political parties, as the political ideal will be completely changed, there will be no longer any "Pork-Barrel", any palm-greasing, any partisan patronage.

Government contracts will be let not out of consideration for subscriptions to electoral funds, for underhand commissions, or favours granted to interested protectors, but in consideration of the needs of the country and the real price of the value received. Contractors will honestly serve their country, they will not have to serve political parties or politicians. The National Unity Government will make it a highly serious crime to offer, give or receive on either side gratuities or commissions for contracts, jobs or positions. Canada is too great a country to be for sale and the Canadian people are too noble a force to be sold. The time of democratic corruption is past indeed, and over. The National Unity Government will sweep away even its last remnants. Those who will best succeed will owe it to their zeal, their initiative, the use of their talent and not to money.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM.

One of the most thorny problems that Canada has to solve, a problem which is also most urgent is that of the Canadian railways.

The old political parties fear to resolutely apply a solution because their still undeclared solutions are so unjust that they dread alienating public opinion if they dared make them known. After a long period of "*laisser-faire*", the incompetents of financial democracy have hidden behind the policy of "do-nothing". The leader of the Conservative Party has solemnly declared that the problem is insoluble; a splendid reason for doing nothing, especially from a man who was for five years Minister of Railways! The Liberals, on their side, have been satisfied with piling up gigantic deficits.

Two solutions are currently put forth: that of the great capitalists and that of the collectivists (advanced liberals, socialists, communists).

The great capitalists would like the whole property and the whole power of the Canadian railways to fall into their hands.

The collectivists, or the Reds of all shades, would like the railways to be the exclusive property of the State.

The National Unity Party of Canada rejects both these solutions.

The railways are too great a power to be in the hands of a handful of capitalists, to be a private property. For this power is such that it can be an instrument of blackmail against the State itself.

State socialization pure and simple is moreover a bad solution because it means the definite destruction of all personal initiative in this domain which especially needs it.

For National Unity, it is again the corporatist system which will settle this important problem in the most just way.

NATIONAL CORPORATION OF TRANSPORTATION.

There will be, as in the case of the other great national activities, a National Corporation of Transportation. This corporation will be formed of all employees of the railways, technical staff and management, representatives of those who have invested only in the railways and representatives of the public.

This National Corporation of Transportation will take charge of all the railways on Canadian territory. It will issue new shares in exchange for those which have been issued by the old companies. It will be responsible for the financial and technical structures of the railways entrusted to its competence. It will be responsible for operation and service.

The great railway network of the country will not be the business of a few capitalists or the plaything of politicians. It will be in the hands of technicians of industry, it will be directed by experts on the question. All who share in railway activity will be partners working for the country at the same time as for themselves. Their great National Corporation, self-governing like all the others, watched over by the State, coordinated with all the others and the general purpose envisaged by the whole country, it will itself set the conditions of its interior life and will determine itself its advancement and progress.

The government will not cancel the enormous debts incurred to it by the railways. These belong to the people and they have the right to find their property where they put their money.

PAYMENT TO THE COUNTRY IN SERVICE.

The National Unity government will have its railway debts paid by service to the Canadian people. Because, under the forthcoming nationalist system, the Canadian people will use their railways. They will use them extensively. They will learn to

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know their country. Canadian youth will learn to know Canada and love it better. Canadian children will early learn to appreciate their wonderful homeland and their fellow-citizens of all the provinces. Thousands of young French-Canadians with their guardians, teachers, doctors and nurses, will go each summer and spend holidays on the shores of the Pacific or Atlantic. Thousands of young Canadians of the Maritime Provinces will go and spend holidays in Ontario. Thousands of Canadian children from British Columbia will go to vacation colonies set up in the Laurentians or in the Gaspé peninsula, and so on.

YOUNG PEOPLE WILL LEARN TO KNOW THEIR COUNTRY.

Each summer half a million of our Canadian children will have holidays, open air and physical training. As they reach adolescence after several different holidays, they will know what Canada is. They will have a very clear vision of it. They will know the other provinces. They will have learned to esteem their distant fellow-citizens and be esteemed by them. The new generation, by its knowledge of the country and its conception of what it can be and must be will mould national unity for the future.

Our pupils and students will travel and will go and see operating on the spot the different industries to which they may wish to devote themselves.

Our veterans of past wars will have the privilege of travelling free on Canadian railways.

Our railways, by their contribution to this great national work, will thus repay the Canadian people for the billions which it has advanced to them.

The railways will be freed from the intervention of politicians and capitalist speculation. They will no longer know the fatal results of stock-jobbing or of patronage. They will have guarantees of sure survival. They will be able to protect themselves. They will be able to transform certain unused rights-of-way into super-speedy arteries of motor transportation, which they can develop themselves or hand over to the country to extinguish their debts. Freed from their fetters, they will be able to put to use all that initiative can contribute in the domain of science and progress.

Statism and stock-jobbing capitalism have been tried. They cannot settle satisfactorily our railway problem. Corporatism alone will apply the practical, just and ideal solution.

ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF ORDER.

The old party system, financial democracy, has taken control of the social classes of the country and has practically ruined them all, for the benefit of great international organizations always under Jew control. Financial democracy has driven the country and its public institutions toward bankruptcy.

Farming, labour, commerce, industry, fisheries, transportation, etc., have been directed and ruined by people who know nothing about them and were not responsible to these great national activities.

Each class, each activity, must take back its control, its powers, its initiative, its responsibilities. This is an essential condition of order. Each class is capable of giving itself forms, leaders, staffs and leadership; of finding in its own ability all that it needs to prosper. Class cooperation must replace the democratic class struggle. Only the corporatist system, the political-economicsocial system of the new day can bring about these results. The National Unity Party of Canada is the only federal movement which heralds Canadian Corporatism made for Canada in the Canadian spirit, and this Party alone is able to make it triumph and apply it.

NO CORPORATISM IS POSSIBLE IN DEMOCRACY.

It has been sometimes asked whether it would not be possible to apply Corporatism in democracy, under financial liberalism. This would be a complete impossibility. In the first place, because the corporations would be again divided into all sorts of political factions which would argue about influence within their ranks, would set members of corporations against each other in partisan quarrels, would perpetuate patronage and favoritism. Further, because liberal-democracy demands control of whole classes of the people (agriculture, labour, industry, fisheries, commerce, etc.) by politicians.

Liberal-democracy is "*laisser-faire*" and do-nothingness, dogeat-dog competition, while Corporatism is discipline and coordination. To fix salaries and wages, prices and working conditions rigidly is dictatorship, but a dictatorship which each class freely imposes upon itself. Corporatism and *laisser-faire* are irreconcilable with each other and it is folly to think they can be made to function together, to wed national corporatism with liberal-democracy, authority with lack of discipline, and order with anarchy.

GOD, KING, COUNTRY, FAMILY, DISCIPLINE, DIGNITY.

Canada for Canadians.

ABOUT THE NATIONAL UNITY PARTY OF CANADA

In the Fall of 1934, a nationalist political association founded by Adrien Arcand and some of his friends was launched in Montreal under the name of *Parti National Social Chrétien*. It was intended to deal only with federal politics and to combat in all circumstances Liberalism & its offshoots Socialism and Communism in the Province of Quebec.

Up to 1938, similar groups cropped up in other Canadian provinces, as a reaction to Communist propaganda, the sitting strikes and violence of the mid thirties and the Spanish Civil War.

Those various groups got in touch with one another and, after long negotiations, decided to try and merge into a national organisation.

A convention was called and delegates from eight provinces met for the formation of committees to prepare resolutions in Toronto. Empowered delegates declared the eight provincial separate parties dissolved and founded a new national organization called the National Unity Party of Canada, with a torch as its emblem and the word "*Serviam*" as its motto. A program was adopted, rules were drafted, and Adrien Arcand, the only name suggested by all delegations for leadership, was chosen unanimously. As predecided by the delegates, all documents were signed by chief delegates in Kingston, Ont., for historical reasons, on July 1st 1938.

The National Unity Party operated as a school of thought from its inception until September 2, 1939 when its activities and publications were suspended.

— Adrien Arcand in 1957, Appendix II to his "Memorandum and Request Re: Claims of Canadian Nationalists Against The Government of Canada for Unjust Internment".

ABOUT ADRIEN ARCAND

ADRIEN ARCAND was born at Montreal in the Parish of the Immaculate Conception on October 3rd, 1899 into a worker family of twelve children. He was a career journalist. As of 1920, he earned his living at *La Patrie* (a daily), at *La Presse* and at the *Montreal Star*, being fluent in English as well as in his mother tongue, French. Most of his known writings are in French.

In 1924, after basic training, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Militia with the Châteauguay regiment, whose official emblem he designed with his brother, Major Louis-Georges Arcand.

On April 14, 1925, he married Yvonne Giguère of Quebec City. They had three sons: Yves-Adrien, Jean-Louis and Pierre.

Arcand launched a humorous and controversial weekly of his own, *Le Goglu*, whose first issue appeared on August 8th, 1929, almost the whole content of which he wrote, signing it "Emile Goglu".

In November 1929, in the pages of the *Goglu* and other papers he emceed, (*Le Chameau* and *Le Miroir*) (translation: "The Bobolink", "The Camel" and "The Mirror"), Mr. Arcand suggested the idea of organizing a vast nationalist movement. This is how, a few weeks later, the Patriotic Order of the Goglus went into operation, to spread the doctrine that Mr. Arcand had elaborated.

Mr. Arcand founded the National Social Christian Party in October of 1933. At the national convention in 1938, this party was replaced by the National Unity Party of Canada and Mr. Arcand was elected leader by acclamation of the delegates of eight provinces, no other name being suggested. Five months before the war of 1939-45, Mr. Arcand announced the inevitability of this war, "which would only result in the overthrow of the European empires and the expansion of Judeo-Communism over the world, solely to dechristianize the western peoples and judaize them."

On 21 June 1940, his movement was declared "illegal" and Mr. Arcand was sent, together with his principal Canadian lieutenants, to concentration camps, under pressure from Jewry in America and England. He would be deprived of his liberty for five years and five weeks: the longest internment of its kind in the whole British Empire. He only left the camps three months after the end of the war. He could have been set free had he wanted to "do his loyal share for our glorious Soviet ally", which he persistently refused to do, every six months.

In circa 1943, Arcand's wife "obtained a special permit to visit her husband in Fredericton internment camp. The only purpose of that visit was to notify him to get prepared to come out, for it had been arranged with a personal friend and ... a minister of the Crown, that Arcand's release would be ordered within a fortnight for a sum of \$10,000.00. The repulsive deal was 'killed' in the camp." (*Memorandum*, 1957) Adrien Arcand refused, even for his wife, to have his freedom purchased.

Adrien Arcand died on August 1st, 1967, just a few months after he had penned "The Inevitability of a Social Reconstruction" in February. He was buried in a modest tomb at Lanoraie, Quebec.

Adrien Arcand was a mentor to the noted Ernst Zündel.

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Canadian Corporatism

"The powers usurped by politicians will be restored to the social classes which must hold them. It is true that liberty will diminish or disappear for certain foreign leaders, certain classes of idle profiteers, unproductive pirates, but liberty will be greater than ever for those who contribute to the advancement of the country. They will have freedom of working according to their talent at decent pay and the freedom to make plans and investments without dread of being ruined and left defenseless."

— Canadian Corporatism, circa 1938

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