

Now, what are the requisites of total war as applied to Canada at this critical juncture of our history? I have given considerable thought to this problem, and here is my blueprint of the principles underlying a total war effort for Canada to-day. It may not be complete, but such as it is I offer it to the house and to the country.

1. To muster, equip and train as many and as strong forces as possible to meet and defeat the enemy in whatever theatre of war he may be found.

2. To defend Canada and to prevent the invasion of Canada. And I point out, without arguing the question, that there is a distinction between the two.

3. To mobilize by any and every necessary means the wealth and material resources of the nation in order to provide the implements of war for our armed forces and to provide for the other services which are necessary for the carrying out of total war.

4. To mobilize and organize Canadian agriculture to produce and supply to our armed forces and to our allies as much food as it is possible to transport to them, as well as to supply our civilian population.

5. To mobilize and organize Canadian industry to produce as great quantities of armament and munitions as our facilities and available materials will permit.

6. To build and man transport ships and more ships to carry our products of food, munitions and armament to the scene of conflict.

7. Finally, and perhaps not so important, to mobilize and organize the material wealth and resources of the nation, and such of the personnel of its civilian population as are not immediately required for the armed forces and other war services, to ensure the continuance, under restricted conditions, of such peace-time activities and supplies as are reasonably necessary to maintain the physical and mental health of our own people.

Nothing less than these seven propositions will fulfil that theory and practice, if we are serious and mean what we say when we pledge ourselves to total war. In order to accomplish this the man and woman power and the total material resources of the nation, without any limitation, must be marshalled—pooled, if necessary—and put to work. It must be done on a selective basis if the best results are to flow from the effort. It may be that someone else will put these requisites in a different order. That does not matter.

In June, 1940, under great pressure, this government caused to be introduced and enacted the National Resources Mobilization Act. I

accept full responsibility and the onus, if any there be, for the position which I took on that occasion when, in company with my colleague the hon. member for Yale (Mr. Stirling), I went to the Prime Minister that June morning after the fall of France and demanded that action be taken. Under that authority, patterned after the British act of May, 1940, the government is empowered, with one limitation, to do anything and everything required for the "efficient prosecution of the war." Let me repeat those words—to do anything and everything for the "efficient prosecution of the war." That is the underlying principle of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

With the exception of one limitation the government has full and complete power and authority to mobilize and utilize every resource of the nation, except man-power, for use in a theatre of war "outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof." Therefore, with respect to man-power, the power of mobilization is strictly confined to use within the territorial limitation of the nation.

At the time I accepted that limitation on the theory that half a loaf was better than no bread. And it was a distinct step forward, having regard to the theory of moderate participation which had been government policy up to that time. It imported the principle of compulsion; let there be no mistake about that. This government thus committed itself to the principle of compulsion. It was accepted without reserve by the great mass of the Canadian people.

Did the government have any direct mandate from the people of Canada to introduce and pass the mobilization act? Most assuredly it did not. But it did have a mandate from the people of Canada to efficiently prosecute the war, and it also had the responsibility of defending the nation. At that time, and right up to this present moment, where has been the defence of the nation? The defence of the nation lies in Britain, in the English channel, in the North sea, in Russia, in the near east, in the far east; wherever the enemy may be found. There, overseas, lies Canada's defence, her first line of defence. I think we are all agreed on that principle; at least I hope we are.

May I pause here, sir, to offer a constructive concrete suggestion arising out of the rapidly changing events in the far east. Those of us who have been listening to the news have heard with quickening hearts the urgent appeals of our kinsmen in Australia, the appeals to the United States and Britain for assistance and more assistance. I am sure each of us must have been impressed by the serious situation which has developed there. Every able-bodied man in Australia has been called to the