

can be effectively done to ensure that the forces of evil shall be stamped out, that the menace of slavery shall be banished, and that free men and their families may enjoy the liberty which, until this struggle began, we in this dominion had somehow taken for granted. We cannot take it for granted any longer. The menace is against Canada, as well as against the rest of the world.

Noble words those, my countrymen! But the minister is fettered by the commitments of the ministry, which prevent the fulfilment of the aims so eloquently portrayed by him in the quotation I have just read. And because everyone in this house and every thinking citizen in this country knows that in this hour of grave national crisis we must, each for himself, determine that we shall have total war, come what may, I call upon parliament to deal, and deal at once, with that crisis.

What happened at Pearl Harbour may happen at Esquimalt. What happened 160 miles off Halifax may happen at Halifax. What happened 60 miles off Long island may happen at Sydney, Saint John or Quebec. To-day the fate of Canada, of Australia, of the British empire, of all the democracies and of democratic civilization is being determined in Malaya, in the Philippines, in Libya and in the snows of Russia, and shortly it may be in Britain itself, if invasion is attempted in the spring.

And what must our contribution be? I give the answer in the words of Mr. Churchill, spoken in this very chamber less than a month ago in the hearing of most of us:

The enemy ranged against us . . . have asked for total war. Let us make sure they get it.

And speaking in Washington to the congress of that great democracy Mr. Churchill said:

Provided that every effort is made, that nothing is kept back, that the whole man-power, brain-power, virility, valour and virtue of the English-speaking world, with all its galaxy of loyal friends, are associated in a common community or state, we can be reunited by the simple but supreme good.

Again, in this chamber, Mr. Churchill summed up in these eloquent words the duty of each and all of us:

There is no room now for the dilettante, for the weakling, for the shirker or the sluggard; the mine, the factory, the dockyard, the salt sea waves, the fields to till, the home, the hospital, the chair of the scientist, the pulpit of the preacher—from the highest to the humblest, the tasks all are of equal honour. All have their part to play.

The enemy, Mr. Churchill said, have asked for total war: let us make sure they get it. And what is Canada doing to make sure they get it? The Prime Minister has stated, not once but a dozen times, that total war must be waged by total effort. But have we

[Mr. R. B. Hanson.]

total effort? Are we not shackled by dangerous and paralyzing restrictions, restrictions which are of the government's own making, restrictions which were imposed by the government without any mandate from the people, restrictions which would not be imposed to-day in the light of present-day conditions, restrictions which are impeding the fulfilment of the government's own pledges, made after we had concluded the first comfortable period of our war effort, which was to be a moderate contribution, a moderate participation?

During the past few months I have travelled from Halifax to Victoria, and have to the best of my ability sounded public opinion. I listened as intelligently and as intently as it was possible for me to do. During this period events have happened with tragic rapidity. There has been Hong Kong; there has been Pearl Harbour. These tragic events have brought about a tremendous change in public opinion in every part of Canada. Months ago, when the Prime Minister first preached total effort for total war, it was not interpreted by each of us as having a personal application; the total effort was to be for the other fellow, not for us as individuals. But I am convinced that to-day, without a full mobilization, a full marshalling, a full pooling of the complete resources, both of man-power and of materials, of this nation and of all the democracies, we cannot wage total war, and victory may elude us.

I desire to ask this house and the country two questions: Has Canada fully mobilized her material resources? Has Canada fully mobilized her man and woman power to wage total war? These are, I repeat, two vital questions which face parliament to-day. We as the elected representatives of the people must face these two questions man-fashion. It will not do to leave them to the government. If we do so we abdicate our functions as the elected representatives of the people, and we may as well declare that we are no longer a democracy. No. Parliament must face these two questions. We must no longer tolerate the making of government policy by order in council. I appeal to every hon. member in this house to join with me in urging that parliament, that this House of Commons, assume the responsibility of seeing that the supreme objective of waging total war by total effort is attained.

These two questions face us, and what is the answer? We all know in our hearts that the answer is in the negative. If we are honest with ourselves we can give no other answer. That being so, we must then determine what further steps must and shall be taken.