

services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to man-power?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February 4. It is equally relevant to-day:

One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.

Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

Conscription on its merits

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of man-power for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment? There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for

compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events to-day are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

The glory of voluntary effort

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air forces, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian corps of fire-fighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience.

It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

A war of survival

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September, 1939, most people believed was going to be "just another European war," it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in to-day. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

Canada in danger

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is