

the defence of the Empire, for Mr. Borden's promise had been foolishly enough counted on. His offer made an enormous impression in the whole world. Mr. Churchill pointed out this fact especially in the wellknown memorandum of the Admiralty. This impression will now not only be destroyed, but people will everywhere obtain the conviction that England cannot depend upon such help from her colonies. 'By rivals and enemies,' says the *Morning Post* to-day, 'the decision will be eagerly welcomed. By friends it will be regarded as ominous. The impression must inevitably be created that the solidarity of the Empire is a myth and that those powers which would like to see the overthrow of British naval supremacy need not be discouraged in their efforts by the thought that their challenge would be met by the united resources of the mother country and of every one of the daughter states.'

It has been avowed and declared by leaders of the Opposition and by their organs that the Bill if introduced again under present conditions would again be rejected in the Senate. We have no reason to doubt that such is the determination of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Under these circumstances we do not regard it as desirable either in the interests of the empire or of Canada that the Opposition majority in the Senate should be given another opportunity of rejecting the Bill and of again bringing discredit to this Dominion and detriment to the empire. Nevertheless we are firm in our determination that these ships shall be provided, and we adhere to the declaration which I made on the last day of the past session, and which I take the liberty of repeating:

It is the firm intention and determination of this Government, if it remains, as undoubtedly it will remain, in power, to bring down at a later date a proposal for the acquisition or construction of three battleships, as was provided in the Naval Aid Bill of 1912. In that way, before their completion, we hope to be able to say to the British government 'Canada is prepared to do now what the unworthy action of a partisan majority in the Senate prevented it from doing before.'

In this connection it is appropriate to call attention to the striking utterances of Mr. Churchill during the past year wherein he invited the nations of the world to stay the construction of these enormous engines of war. I take the liberty, therefore, of quoting from his utterances at some length. On March 18, 1912, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Churchill said:

Let me make clear, however, that any retardation or reduction in German construction will, within certain limits, be promptly followed here, as soon as it is apparent, by large and fully proportioned reductions. For instance, if Germany elected to drop out any one, or even any two, of these annual quota and to put her money

[Mr. Borden.]

into her pocket for the enjoyment of her people and the development of her own prosperity, we will at once, in the absence of any dangerous development elsewhere not now foreseen, blot out our corresponding quota, and the slowing down by Germany will be accompanied naturally on our larger scale by us. Of course both Great Britain and Germany have to consider, among other things, the building of other powers, though the lead of both these countries is at present very considerable over any other power besides each other. Take, as an instance of this proposition which I am putting forward for general consideration, the year 1913. In that year, as I apprehend, Germany will build three capital ships, and it will be necessary for us to build five in consequence. Supposing we were both to take a holiday for that year. Supposing we both introduced a blank page in the book of misunderstanding; supposing that Germany were to build no ships in that year, she would save herself between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000 sterling. But that is not all. We should not in ordinary circumstances begin our ships until she has started hers. The three ships that she did not build would therefore automatically wipe out no fewer than five British potential super-dreadnoughts, and that is more than I expect them to hope to do in a brilliant naval action. As to the indirect results, even from a single year, they simply cannot be measured, not only between our too great brother nations, but to all the world. They are results immeasurable in their hope and brightness. This, then is the position which we take up, that the Germans will be no gainers, so far as naval power is concerned, over us by any increases they may make, and no losers for the basis I have laid down by any diminution. Here then, is a perfectly plain and simple plan of arrangement whereby without diplomatic negotiations, without any bargaining, without the slightest restriction upon the sovereign freedom of either power, this keen and costly naval rivalry can be at any time abated. It is better, I am sure, to put in quite frankly, for the parliaments and peoples to judge for themselves.

Mr. Churchill, in the British House of Commons on March 26, 1913, said:

This time last year I offered, on behalf of the British Government, publicly and openly, not to build any British capital ships this year, if Germany built none, and I pointed out how advantageous such an arrangement would be to the relative strength of the German navy.

That proposal has not so far borne fruit. Since then we have had the new German Navy Law, and since then the German ships of 1913 have been sanctioned. Every event in this world brings its consequences with it. Since then all over the British Empire men's minds have been turned to this subject. Canada has come forward, the Federated Malay States have come forward, Australia and New Zealand are already acting, and South Africa is already on the move. A sustained impetus has been given to the opinions of millions of men spread all over the surface of the world. Great communities under their different conditions of sky and climate have shown themselves actuated by a common impulse. The results, so far as it can be foreseen, are that nine capital ships will be constructed on behalf of the British Empire in the year 1913. That year is settled, and there