

the present war. May I say that this is the policy, not only of the majority of our parliamentary group but of our national council which met for two days this week and which represents the consensus of the leaders of our movement from coast to coast. I propose to place this policy upon the records of the house so that parliament and the country may have a clear idea of what it means. Our statement of policy reads:

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation declares that its duty and the duty of every Canadian is at all times to secure the unity and welfare of the Canadian people. In this crisis we place this loyalty first without being unmindful of our responsibilities as a democratic country in the present world.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation believes that the same struggle for trade supremacy and political domination which caused the last war, and was perpetuated in the Versailles treaty, is again the primary cause of the present conflict.

We have repeatedly warned that once the principles of the League of Nations were abandoned and the governments of Europe reverted to power politics and secret diplomacy, anarchy and war would inevitably follow.

The Canadian people have had no voice in the foreign policies of the European governments which have brought us to the present tragic position. Owing to the failure of our government to clarify our constitutional relations, Canada has been committed to a war policy even before parliament has had an opportunity to declare its will. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation condemns the measures by which the Canadian government has placed this country on a war footing.

Nevertheless, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation recognizes that Canada is now implicated in a struggle which may involve the survival of democratic institutions. We consider that in the cause of the allied powers lies a hope of building European peace on a more secure foundation because, in part at least, the people of Britain and France are waging a war against aggression.

In view of these considerations, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation believes that Canada's policy should be based first on the fundamental national interests of the Canadian people, as well as on their interest in the outcome of war. Canada should be prepared to defend her own shores, but her assistance overseas should be limited to economic aid and must not include conscription of man power or the sending of any expeditionary force.

In further detail the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation places the following constructive proposals before the house, as the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) asked hon. members to do when he spoke yesterday. These are:

1. Economic assistance: Canada is well fitted to make an important contribution through economic assistance. However, in the interests of Canada's economic future and for the protection of her people, the expansion of war industries must be strictly controlled. Moreover, such economic assistance should be con-

ditional upon immediate steps being taken to place the burden upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it. The tax on higher incomes should be immediately increased, and an excess profits and capital gains tax should be instituted, so as to avoid an immense addition to our national debt. The production and prices of essential commodities should be placed under strict supervision in order to eliminate war profits, and the manufacture of arms, munitions and war materials should be nationalized.

2. Defence of Canada: Reasonable provision should be made for the defence of Canadian shores. Volunteers for home defence should not be required to sign also for overseas service. This practice, now being followed, is unwarranted and should be abandoned.

3. No military participation overseas: Any attempt to send a force abroad would rob us of the man power necessary for the defence of our shores and for home production, would gravely endanger national unity, would threaten our civil liberties and democratic institutions, and would ultimately lead to conscription.

4. Preservation of democracy at home: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation protests against the encroachments on our civil liberties which the government has already introduced, and insists that democracy at home must be preserved unimpaired during the war.

After that statement had been finally drafted and approved we took up the newspapers yesterday and saw therein a statement of policy as issued by General Jan Smuts, the new Prime Minister of South Africa. No one can accuse General Smuts of being lukewarm in the interests of the British commonwealth, yet his statement in regard to cooperation coincides quite closely with our own. This statement reads in part:

Participation must necessarily be limited by considerations of geography and special conditions which attach to this country. Our primary duty is to place our own defences in the highest state of efficiency and we can best serve the cause for which we stand by so strengthening our own defences and by so surveying our national resources as to render the union safe against any inroads of the enemy.

That is the policy adopted by the new government of the Union of South Africa. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is anxious that in cooperating with the allies we shall be told precisely toward what end we are cooperating. The Prime Minister yesterday told us that the allies were fighting for freedom throughout the world and to stop aggression, but it seems to me that that is not enough. Substantially, that is what we were told in 1914. For the defeat of Germany in this war will alone guarantee neither of these things. The last great war proved that. We were told then that it was a struggle to preserve the sanctity of treaties, to end Prussian militarism, and to secure democracy in the future. These were the aims of that war, the war of