

wealth from which we are able to derive our profits, the interest on our investments.

This legislation looks to personality rather than to possessions, it looks to human life rather than to material wealth. We are seeking in making provision for old age to do something which will maintain in the individual that respect and that feeling of pride to which everyone is entitled who serves his day and generation faithfully and well, and serves it against the odds and vicissitudes particularly of our present day. That is the purpose of this legislation, and I am sure that my hon. friend, when he thinks of it from that point of view, will be one of the first to join with the rest of us in doing what he can to have it made part of the law of this land.

May I in conclusion say just one word more? Some hon. members of this House have intimated, indirectly this afternoon, directly on other occasions, that in this matter the government, and more particularly myself, have been influenced by political considerations; that this legislation is being brought forward not from conviction but for reasons of political expediency. I would ask hon. members to pardon me, in view of that circumstance, if I undertake to give to the House, not words that spring from my lips at the moment, but words which appear in a volume I wrote some years ago and which was published as long ago as eight years. The volume is entitled "Industry and Humanity—Some Principles underlying Industrial Reconstruction." It was alluded to a moment ago by my hon. friend, the member for Calgary. I will read only a paragraph or two, but they will put more succinctly than I am able to do while on my feet at the moment my convictions and beliefs on this matter. In one paragraph dealing with the question of social insurance I have these words:

Social insurance, which in reality is health insurance in one form or another, is a means employed in most industrial countries to bring about a wider measure of social justice, without, on the one hand, disturbing the institution of private property and its advantages to the community, or, on the other, imperilling the thrift and industry of individuals. Social insurance looks upon industry as in the nature of social service. It regards the owner of land or capital as a capitalist, but also as a public trustee. It looks upon the worker in industry as a wage-earner, but equally as a necessary member of the community. It places the emphasis on personality rather than on property, and on life rather than on wealth.

Workmen's compensation, sickness and invalidity insurance, widows' pensions, maternity and infant benefits, recognize wherein personal relationships in industry have changed, and where as a consequence of new conditions permanent handicaps arise. The social legislation of which these measures are an expression rejects, as unworthy, the thought that men and women voluntarily incur accident, sickness, disease, enfeebled health,

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

or dependence in distress, any more than they willingly seek enslavement of any kind. It recognizes the difficulty of differentiating between industrial accident and occupational disease; and between disease occasioned by occupation or its environments and illness otherwise contracted; also the impossibility of dissociating from economic conditions the social waste caused by excessive and preventable illness. It sees that debt binds health as it binds freedom, that sickness represents the most frequent factor of individual destitution, and that it is in painful crises that handicaps for the whole of life are oftenest imposed. 'To save the spirit of men from being crushed is quite as important as to prevent their bodies from being broken or infected. Many a man's spirit fails when, through no fault of his own, or of his family, efficiency is permanently impaired through accident, or savings become exhausted by unemployment or sickness, or where a new life in the home suggests an additional burden instead of a joy. Much invalidity and penury is due to lack of character and thrift; but much also is evidence of want of effective social control. What society fails effectively to prevent, society is in some measure under obligation to mend.

Then coming to old age pensions, I have the following:

Old age pensions are similar. They are based, not on the theory that the state owes every man a living, but rather on the fact that the provision of an assured competence for old age is an easy matter for some, whilst, for others, it is most difficult, if not wholly impossible. After all allowance has been made for superior thrift, intelligence, and integrity, it must be admitted that to the man who has capital to begin with, or whom society permits to own and control vast natural resources, there are opportunities of saving not possible to the worker who possess no capital, and who has to face uncertainties of employment and contend, unaided, against all kinds of vicissitudes. It is obvious that existing forces of world competition operate to rob advanced years of opportunities of employment, which, under the less strenuous regime of earlier times, were available to the close of life. There is need for society to assist in the protection of its members against a condition which simultaneously places burdens upon the worker whose day's work is done, and on the worker whose day's work is just beginning. If the young are to be given a fair start in life, the care of the aged should not be their first responsibility. If life-long public service in industry is to receive its fitting reward, years that are denied opportunity of employment should not be subjected to the humiliation of dependence or charity.

Those words were written, Mr. Speaker, when I had no thought of speaking on this question in the parliament of Canada. I am proud to be able to stand here to-night and to join with others in giving permanent expression in the legislation of our country to the ideas and the purposes that are therein expressed.

Hon. H. H. STEVENS (Vancouver Centre): Mr. Speaker, I rise not for the purpose of opposing this resolution. As a matter of fact, for some years I have on more than one occasion urged upon parliament the necessity of passing legislation of some character to deal with this problem of caring for old persons who have spent a life in usefulness and service to the community, and I am wholly in accord with the aim of all legis-