

man-power which it was hoped Canada would contribute, the Minister of National Defence replied, quoting words of my own, that Canada was determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". The minister added these significant words: "By an all-out contribution, I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective." That, may I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

It should also be remembered that the demand for man-power is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, et cetera, many of which on a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of man-power.

The manpower needs of the army in perspective

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of man-power mobilization.

On February 10, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated man-power requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943, a period of fifteen months, were 90,000 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of man-power means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of man-power for a total war effort.

National selective service

In order to assist in shifting the man-power and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Can-

ada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example, been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October, 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for man-power for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

Compulsion not an end in itself

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort.

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the governor in council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the house in my statement on national selective service:

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

Conscription for service overseas and a total effort

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian