

adequate to meet the present needs of the war, domestic problems and the preparation for post-war conditions is possible without total mobilization of wealth, industry and finance, as well as human resources.

"Therefore this house respectfully requests that the forthcoming plebiscite should seek the support of the people of Canada for the complete and effective conscription of war industries, accumulated wealth and financial institutions, at the same time and on the same basis of sacrifice as the suggested extension of the conscription of man-power."

Such a plebiscite would give our people an opportunity to give proper expression to their views and guide this house regarding what is in effect a new policy to which a large majority in this house gave no support, or, in whole or part, as the Prime Minister said, opposed in the general elections of 1940. In this way the vote would be an expression of the people's approval of a policy and not merely a plebiscite caused by the government's resort to political expediency. For some time attempts have been made to divide the people of Canada artificially on a question which should be decided not on the basis of partisan controversy but on the basis of the nation's need in a great crisis. This need, I repeat, involves more, much more, than a discussion of the use of man-power, though man-power is necessarily involved in it.

I repeat that the present critical war situation at home demands a complete mobilization of the total resources of our country. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation group will support such total mobilization, but demands that accumulated wealth and war industries be conscripted at the same time, in the same manner and upon the same terms as man-power. If we are to have this all-out war effort, it must be on the basis of national unity. Every discussion of these matters in this house and in the country ought to be undertaken with due regard to the unity of our people of all races, creeds, and tongues. Had the nature and objective of our war effort been clearly placed before the people, our unity would not be endangered. This house has failed to realize that the greatest danger to our unity in war is exactly the same danger we face in peace, the danger from inequality of sacrifice and opportunity. In any part of Canada where profitable industry is found side by side with low standards of living on our farms, and low wage levels with high prices in the cities, there in peace and war disunity arises. If those who live well on the proceeds of profitable industry are of a different race or tongue, the situation is aggravated because the depressed people can find no basis of unity or understanding with those whom they regard as their exploiters.

[Mr. Coldwell.]

Thus an all-out united war effort requires much more than provision for our armed forces, important as that certainly is.

At least some sources of disagreement have been removed since December 7. There were some people who before that date thought of the struggle as one not touching directly the vital interests of this country. But the attack on Pearl Harbour, the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan, as well as the declarations of war upon the United States by Germany and Italy, have brought the war to our shores. The danger of attack has been real in Victoria and Vancouver, while we know that submarines have been operating near our own Atlantic shores. The whole American continent is now in the war zone and our Latin-American friends have, therefore, recognized the need for hemispheric solidarity. There can now be no doubt in any part of this country as to the need for Canada's all-out and united support of the allied effort to defeat the aggressor powers. It is clear now that we are not in this war merely to help Great Britain, or to help Russia, or to assist the United States; we are in it, in a very real sense, to defend ourselves and our future paths to progress. That being so, we dare not do less than organize our country for an all-out, supreme effort. This we have not had, nor can we have it as long as we operate our economic life on the basis of business as usual. In other words, we must accompany any mobilization of our human resources with a thorough mobilization of industry and finance.

There are some who claim that Canadian industry and finance have already been adequately mobilized. That this is not true is shown by our output, by the lack of planning and by the huge profits and dividends which still continue to be made. Real conscription of our material and financial resources must include the following, and I want to place these points before the house in order that we may understand exactly what we mean when we speak of total mobilization and the conscription of wealth and industry:

1. The national ownership or, at least, control of all our war industries to produce everything we require to maintain civilian health and morale and to provide our fighting forces with adequate equipment.

2. An integrated production plan which utilizes every available plant and facility in its proper place without regard to the demands of big corporations and trusts.

3. A complete reversal of the present dollar-a-year-men control policy and the substitution of proportionate representatives of organized farmer and labour bodies on all control