

Greece downwards. Washington won independence for America by compulsory measures; they defended it in 1812 by compulsory measures. Lincoln was not merely a great democrat, but his career was in itself the greatest triumph that democracy has ever achieved in the sphere of government. He proclaimed the principle of, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and he kept it alive by conscription. In the French revolution the French people defended their newly-obtained liberties against every effort of the monarchists by compulsion and by conscriptionary levies.

A further important statement is that which is attributed to Abraham Lincoln in an article in the *Vancouver Province* which just came to my attention this morning. When the Union army of volunteers was in desperate condition, President Lincoln is reported to have said:

Voluntarism is the unprincipled dodge of cowardly politicians. It has ground up the choicest seed of the nation. It has consumed the young, the generous, the patriotic, the intelligent, and the brave, and it has wasted the best moral, social, and political elements of the republic, and left the cowards, the shirkers, and the money makers to stay at home and procreate their kind.

But if we are to survive this gigantic struggle, the disciplinary and plenary powers which the government must exercise should not be limited to man-power. Man-power is of great importance. Equally important is the complete mobilization of the wealth and material resources of the nation. Some people argue that this should come first. That is a matter of opinion. My own view is that the one is complementary to the other.

Let me say at once that since July, 1940, the government has taken steps to mobilize the industry of the country and turn it in the direction of production suited to our war needs. Industry and labour alike have cooperated, and to-day I feel sure that we need not hang our heads at the record of production of Canadian labour and industry. Since July, 1940, we have been in the organization stage. To-day we have reached the production stage. Whatever part the government has played in that endeavour, certainly at the outset much was left undone. My own view is that the major credit is due to industry and labour. But it is a gigantic task to convert the peace-time activity of a peaceful agricultural and semi-industrial country like Canada into a war-time economy. It takes time and effort and leadership and good will on the part of all to accomplish this; and, while much has been accomplished, much remains to be done. To that end I advocate the principle of complete mobilization of industry, so that this country shall supply to our armed forces the necessary equipment so essential in a total war.

In the speech from the throne, the advisers of his excellency have asked his excellency to say that this parliament will be invited as an integral part of Canada's direct war effort, to approve a contribution to Britain of vast quantities of munitions, foodstuffs and supplies. We are now part of a gigantic struggle. Production of munitions and foodstuffs is an important element in this effort. Our contribution in mechanical transport has been important and impressive. Our munitions industry had to start from scratch, and, while we had a slow take-off, we have now, owing to the cooperation of industry and labour, backed by the financial resources of the nation as contributed to the government, advanced to a stage of production which is creditable to those who have been entrusted with this important task.

To make a contribution to Britain of our production of food, munitions and supplies is in line and in keeping with the policies which we have advocated since the outbreak of the war. I am glad to see that the government has now recognized the desirability of such a policy. We shall support it.

Our agricultural population has always stood ready to do its part. All it needed was to be told what to do, to be given leadership. More than a year ago I pleaded with the government to give, out of our abundance, a substantial gift of wheat. It will be recalled that this proposal did not even meet with the courtesy of any comment or reply. But I would impress upon the ministry that agriculture in Canada was, for the first two years of the war, producing in many instances below the cost of production; and so much of that situation as still obtains should be remedied.

You cannot expect agriculture to produce for less than the cost of production. For ten years they have been doing it, and agriculture is bankrupt—in my part of the country at all events. And what has happened since the war began? Owing to the fact that our agriculturists are hardly getting a new dollar for an old, men are leaving the farms for the munitions factories. There is no doubt about that. Wherever there is war industry, men, particularly young men, are leaving the farms for the munitions factories. The growth of the munitions industry has drained from many of our agricultural communities a large amount of agricultural man-power which it is absolutely essential should be maintained on the farms if we are to have not only a prosperous and contented agricultural population, but, over and above all that, the quantity and quality of production which is essential to victory.

I propose now, Mr. Speaker, to deal with the government's proposals as revealed in the speech from the throne.