

they must know that if we do not stop the enemy abroad we cannot stop him on the shores of Canada.

Let everyone in every part of this great partnership, this great Dominion of Canada, go forward hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder to face the common aggressor. Let no one falter or fail. Let each strive who can do the most, not who can do the least. We owe it to others that the road is still open. Let us with honour keep that road open and defend it with our united might, so that no enemy, east or west, shall traverse it to devastate our land and our homes.

Mr. R. W. GLADSTONE (Wellington South): Mr. Speaker, we are nearing the close of the debate on the bill to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act. There can be no doubt about my supporting the bill. The problem of man-power will then pass from parliament to the cabinet. My remarks to-day will be directed, sir, specifically to what in my opinion should be done after the act is amended.

I wish to assure the house that my argument in every particular will give the strongest possible support to a programme of action for immediate maximum preparations to destroy the enemy where he is, in Europe and elsewhere, before he can reach our shores.

Some persons look to the past for direction, some have confidence in the methods of the present, while others feel that we should try to redouble our efforts in anticipation of a situation that will become more desperate in the future. I shall consider, briefly, the past and the present, but in the main my remarks will be directed to our policies for strengthening our war effort in the future.

The past. Some look to the past for excuses, some for inspiration. Here, at this time, we find the no-releasers. They say the government is bound, and by their votes it will continue to be bound.

The present. Here we find the reservationists. They will support compulsory service should the necessity arise. They give reasons for delay. One is that Australia voted against compulsory service in the last war. But Australia then had Japan as an ally and France as a formidable ally. To-day our two most powerful allies, Great Britain and the United States, have compulsory service. The reservationists say that men who are called up for service may not make good soldiers. Does anyone ever question the valour of the soldiers of John Bull and Uncle Sam, of Tommy Atkins and the Doughboys? What is the attitude of the Canadian Legion towards military service?

[Mr. Jackman.]

These are the men who served voluntarily in the last war. Do they fear that Canadians called up for service will falter? Surely not, when they passed resolutions at Winnipeg and at Drummondville, Quebec, demanding conscription of money, materials and man-power.

The future. I come back to the reservation respecting compulsory selective service to be resorted to only when the necessity arises. These very words presuppose a situation more critical than the situation we are facing to-day. These words carry the implication that when the war situation is more hazardous, more terrible, then we will do more. Let me urge, let me implore, that whatever more we can do we do to-day while yet there is opportunity. Could the situation be ever more critical for Canada than it is to-day, unless the enemy landed on the British isles and the whole world, not excepting this continent, was overrun by the axis powers? Then we would be throttled and strangled commercially into serfdom.

The Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) is right in saying that our only safe line of defence is the English channel. Let us be realists in this dire situation. Let us do to-day what in utter defeat we would do if we still had the opportunity. Let not the day come when in the agony of regrets we may cry, "Alas, too late!"

This brings me to the question: what more can we do? The first step should be to eliminate internal diplomacy. That is cabinet responsibility, and I fear that too often the cabinet refuses to listen to the voice of parliament and to the urgings of the majority of the people. Internal diplomacy dampens the fighting spirit of our ministers of defence for army, navy and air. Nor is it approved by others of our aggressive ministers. They are frustrated in places by the waiting policy—"We will do more when the necessity arises."

My constituents are expecting to-day in their government the courage and determination of Marshal Foch when at the Marne in 1918 he said, "My centre is giving way; my right is pushed back. Excellent! I will attack." Are we blind to our fate if the English channel is lost? Can we not be a unit, exerting all our strength right now to stop the Hun where he is? Shall we risk further the destruction, the rapings, the wholesale murders of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, and in turn on to Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and the west?

The blessings of freedom were precious to those peoples. Shall we turn a deaf ear to them and pray that through some miracle we may be permitted to exist in isolation? I have referred to Poland. What about that desolate land? What is the appeal of their leaders who still survive and struggle in exile, as represented by the Polish national council in London, England, of which the chairman is Professor Stanislaw Grabski? It can well be recorded in a motion tabled recently in the British House of Commons. I quote:

German atrocities in Poland—that this house, having learned with indignation and horror that during the occupation of Poland the authorities of Hitlerite Germany have, for no crime other than that of being Poles, officially executed more than 140,000 men and women, tortured many more in prison and concentration camps, deported 1,500,000 to slave labour in Germany, robbed more than 2,000,000 in the western provinces of all they possessed before expelling them to central Poland, thus in every way outraging both international law and the laws of humanity itself, expresses to the Polish people its heartfelt admiration for their inspiring example of continuous and unflinching fortitude, protests in the name of civilization the policy of deliberate extermination of the Polish people, and pledges its word to heroic Poland that her sacrifices will not be in vain and that due retribution for all these crimes will unfailingly be exacted.

The plight of the Polish people will, I am sure, enlist a similar response in this part of Canada. Knowledge of such heartrending conditions ought to sink into the consciousness of any here who would falter, and strengthen their determination to assist the people of that persecuted nation.

Democracy entrusts government to parliament, and parliament delegates administration to the cabinet. There the curtain is drawn, and we know not of the cooperation, the domination and the diplomacy. What we do know is that tens of thousands of civilians have been brought to Ottawa for all manner of service in capacities administrative, expert and clerical. It ought not to be an offence to say that the hugeness of some departments makes it utterly impossible for the minister or his deputy to become aware of any weak spots with anything like the speed that war demands. It ought not to be an offence to say that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) is so burdened with responsibilities in a large way that he cannot possibly check on the many things that disturb our people and undermine their morale. If ever there was a time for Canada to follow the time-tested practice of the British parliament in creating parliamentary secretariats, surely it is now when this nation is in peril.

The Prime Minister in 1936 proposed adopting this system, but apparently one or two

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of his ministers of the day dissuaded him against his will. He will meet similar opposition to-day from at least one of his ministers who undoubtedly needs such assistance. I do not propose to argue the point further, except to say that there is growing discontent among private members that the service of more members is not utilized to a greater extent, at least in order to ferret out inefficiency.

The army is being made the subject of attack just now. The outstanding minister and his capable deputy must shoulder the blame, if any. In passing, may I comment on the notable efficiency of the minister's secretary. I urge upon the minister that as a war measure he take steps immediately to get the help of two parliamentary secretaries, one for Ottawa and one with freedom to visit anywhere. There needs to be some uprooting of the armoured officialdom of peace days. This is no social picnic; we are at war.

It has been my privilege to serve on the war expenditures committee. We had before us as witnesses some dynamic men; we had others who are wrongly placed in the service. When this committee was set up again this session the various opposition parties stressed that the committee and its successors should sit continuously for the duration. They sat for a few weeks last year and then adjourned, against the better judgment of some of the members. The same course appears to be in prospect for this year. The committee is divided into three subcommittees. One of the subcommittees effected savings of several million dollars as a matter of ordinary business adjustment. The entire cost for the whole committee was \$17,713.46. In my opinion the committee should take up continuous work when parliament adjourns, and remain at it until the opening of the next session of parliament. The work has been barely scratched.

I have been offering suggestions for improving our war effort. My suggestions and criticisms have been given merely as examples. The suggestions to some extent carry the flavour of criticism. I have spoken with restraint in order not to injure the war effort in any way. The task of the government to-day is so tremendous that errors and shortcomings on the part of individuals are inevitable. It is utterly impossible for the Prime Minister to pass upon or even have knowledge of many things that are done or left undone. That is why I feel strongly that the cabinet should recede from the seemingly immovable stand they have taken, and delegate some greater responsibility to hon. members who are elected by the people and who must answer to the people. I hope the Prime Minister will pay