

*War Appropriation*

I admit it is good, but until we regain command of the sea we cannot send an expeditionary force to the far east. This country must wake up to the fact that the war is not going to be won by the navy, any more than the war with Napoleon; it is not going to be won altogether by the air force, although the work they are doing is very material, never equalled, and wonderful. Sooner or later this country will have to contribute its quota to a peninsular war on the continent of Europe and also one in the far east, and I hope the day is not far distant when we may be ready for it, because to take the offensive, to attack, is the best defence. What defence have the people of Canada in case of a surprise attack? We do not know yet. What defence have we for the aerodromes in British Columbia? There is a unified command; the minister gave some idea of that, but it all comes back to the point that we must make up for lost time. The fact that our defences were allowed to become so inadequate is not the fault of anyone at present in the house or in the government; the people of this country and their parliament were almost a unit for disarmament, pacifism and dependence on America for defence. What precautions have we against surprise attacks? The minister made some suggestions about that. Have we priorities? No doubt we have the policy of "first come, first served," but when you want a yard of defence and there is only half a yard to go around, you have to have priority for some section of the country at the two coasts.

It must be apparent to everyone that all this weakness in our defences was known long ago. We know the trouble we have had in the far east, and the defence of the far east was the defence of Canada. How did it come about that there was a colonial conference in 1937 and Canada said, "We have no commitments, parliament will decide," and all that kind of thing? But parliament did not decide. Mr. Menzies, former prime minister of Australia, was present in this chamber not so long ago and gave his opinion as to the defence of Canada, and our empire on the Pacific; our defence in the far east is the defence of Canada just as the defence of Britain is the defence of Canada. A large part of the money provided under this resolution will sooner or later have to do with it and attack abroad not at home. It is something we have to face. It is the most important question for the people of this country. The enemy is at the front door, the back door, the side door and every door. Sooner or later we shall have to wake up to the fact that

[Mr. Church.]

we may be invaded at all our doors, and something should be done to give us the facts about that situation.

It has come out that Australia and New Zealand have announced that they were notified by Great Britain of the weakness of Britain in the Pacific. So was Canada. It could not be expected that it would be done any other way, Canada knew and did nothing. I remember when the government in 1937 and 1938 brought down the present policy about defence, on which this resolution is based. What were the cardinal principles? The cardinal principle given then of our defence was first for home defence, but our only real home defence is in Britain, the Mediterranean, Libya and the far east. That is primary, it is not secondary; if we fail over there, it is all over with us here at home a few days later. The only other cardinal principle of our defence given in 1938 was to protect Canada's neutrality in case America was attacked by a foreign power, meaning Japan. Those are the two cardinal principles of our defence policy; there are only two. That was supported in this house by nearly all hon. members on both sides. What was the result? Well, I know what was said by eight or ten prominent speakers right here in 1937-38. They said, "Oh, we do not need to spend our money for defence now. We can reduce them and rely on the league and disarmament. The United States will protect our shores. British Columbia does not need any defences, nor do the maritime provinces; the United States are going to do it on both oceans." Then war came, and we cannot get ready in a day or a year to rearm.

Let me read a paragraph from a statement of Sir Keith Murdoch of Australia. He is arguing for the immediate need of a war cabinet to meet the Pacific disaster. He said:

The entry of stout dominion minds into the war council, and of overseas service men and business men into the army, navy, air and supply councils has become of great importance for the two reasons that the dominions will not stand grave decisions going against them unless they are in those decisions, and that something must be done to improve the war management.

He is right, yet, Canada opposes it. The dominion prime ministers or their deputies can compose it.

Then we were told of the losses in the far east. Mr. Menzies, the distinguished former prime minister of Australia, who spoke to us in this chamber not so long ago, has since stated that as prime minister he was in possession of facts revealing the dangerous but inescapable weaknesses of our defences in the east. It is reasonable to suppose that