

to see so many of the functions of this house relegated to the secret chambers of the east block, where the tired and weary executive give new powers of executive control to boards which are not responsible to the people or to this parliament. Government by order in council is now common practice, and it is frequently abused by amending purely civil statutes, as well as meeting war emergencies with departmental administration rapidly surrendering its functions to complete bureaucratic control.

The consideration of taxation problems used to be foremost among the functions of this house. Our people knew what was going to happen; they knew the rates that were levied; the rates were common knowledge. But under the present system of government by order in council, hundreds and hundreds of tariff changes are made and thrust upon private enterprise with shocking suddenness. Since the war began over 45,000 orders in council have been passed, and my hon. friend behind me says that another armful came over from the east block to-day. These orders in council have been passed in ever-growing disregard for the rights of parliament itself. Twenty-five orders in council are being passed every day that this parliament sits. Many excellent men are struggling to carry on this bureaucratic muddle which the government has established. On the good personalities of these controllers I shall not hesitate to comment. Under the authority of the War Measures Act the wartime prices and trade board issues a new unprecedented licence to exist to different enterprises almost every morning. This added uncertainty, at a time when the government's tariff policy is known to no one and its taxation laws are understood by so few, shatters the confidence in government that is so essential for the progress of this dominion. How in these circumstances can the executives in industry and commerce, to whom we must look for the planning and utilization of our resources after this war, prepare to give full employment to our returned soldiers and war workers when the war ends?

The vital spirit that lies behind the responsibility of parliament must not continue to be smothered under the War Measures Act. Although parliament freely gave the executive certain rights, unless the abuse of such rights is checked, this house, as the citadel of our freedom, will become the home of a new autocracy.

The normal policies of government have been conspicuously replaced by administrators' orders, commission regulations, and

board controls, authorized by order in council instead of by parliament, and applied without notice, as the expediency of each day arises. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, this fourth arm of government, established for a just purpose but extended evidently by design, threatens to undermine the bulwarks of our democracy.

With such a lack of policy for war, is it any wonder our people search in so many new fields of thought for a policy for peace? In 1939, when war was declared no fixed policy on its execution was decided. Some believed that we had a limited liability. Some believed our participation should be one of production. It was only after a careful review of every political aspect of our sovereign rights that we, all too late, joined the commonwealth air training plan. For almost a year, the war raged close to the gates of Britain before even an inventory of our human resources was taken. This was to be the basis and beginning of our man-power planning. Slowly and cautiously, a thirty-day compulsory training scheme was born, enlarged into a four-month plan in 1941, later to grow into the now infamous home defence plan. In 1942, the national selective service plan was born after the advent of the now historic plebiscite. The Prime Minister then said: "It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into wartime tasks," and the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell) said: "Even the girls must be taken from the 'golden slipper' trades."

One of the government's famous information bureaus, ponderously toiling on into the night, to save their master's face, told our people that selective service meant just what it said—"placing each where he could serve best." After five years of floundering uncertainty, we now have the glaring spectacle of national humiliation, in a policy that is costing this country between \$150 and \$200 million per annum. To maintain an army where there is no fighting, men from field, forest, factory and store, has created a vital jam in every production front at home, and has mocked the tragic need on every fighting front abroad.

For the honour of Canada I urge the government now to remove the political halo that surrounds this most ridiculous camouflage, and turn these able-bodied men back to the farms, the factories and the forests where they can produce for victory until they are marshalled for the more vital service for which they were conscripted. To-day there is no government policy to send this home army overseas, and no purpose to keep them here. On every front, at home and abroad, our comrades plead for men.