

address as to the policy of the Liberal party was that if they came into power there might be some reduction in tariff duties, and they hoped that the central bank to be created would be Canadian owned. I believe the time is ripe for the people of Canada to demand from all political parties a clear statement as to exactly what their program or platform will be. As I am limited to forty minutes I have not at my disposal the time, for instance, to give an outline of the program of the United Farmers of Alberta; nor have I at my disposal the time to give an outline of the program of the Labour group and other groups affiliated with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. I have not the time to discuss the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation platform, but we have given it to the world; it is open to anyone to know what that program is. The program of these different groups is available to all who desire to know exactly what we are aiming at. And that is something of which the people of Canada have no knowledge, as far as the Liberal party is concerned.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver): What about the three by-elections we have had?

Mr. GARDINER: We appreciate the way the by-elections went, but after all, by-elections are not always a good indication of what the people are thinking.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver): Fairly good.

Mr. GARDINER: They may be or they may not, therefore I am not disposed to place too much confidence in the results of by-elections. But seeing that my hon. friend the member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Mackenzie) has raised that point, is it the purpose of the Liberal party to wait and see whether the discontent of the people with the present government is such that that party will be returned to power without committing itself to any program?

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver): The platform of the Liberal party was fully outlined on the 27th of February in this house by the leader of the party.

Mr. STEWART (Leeds): Also in 1919.

Mr. GARDINER: Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am going to move the amendment I read a few minutes ago. It is as follows, moved by myself, seconded by the hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre (Mr. Woodsworth):

That the amendment be amended by inserting after the word "advisers" the words "and official opposition."

The amendment as amended would then read:

We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that Your Excellency's present advisers and official opposition do not possess the confidence of this house or of the country.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle): Mr. Speaker, if the rules of the house permitted, I might be tempted to move a subamendment to the amendment to the amendment, making it a full confession that we have lost all confidence in ourselves, individually and collectively. It may appear a joke, but perhaps it would be nearer to the growing feeling of a large number of people in the country than my friends on either side of the house may think. This may be one of the last utterances of my public life. My remaining days in public, and all my days to come, are few. But suppose this were my last declaration, I may repeat here the advice which was given to me nearly forty years ago when I entered parliament for the first time, by a man who had much experience in public life, that is Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who told me: "Do not fall into the mistake into which most of us parliamentarians fall, of believing that people outside think and feel and react as we do. So long as you are in parliament think of the people outside." I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, and I say this quite seriously, after a good deal of thought and reflection and study of history, both of this country and foreign countries, that the confidence of the people in the power of parliaments and parties composing parliaments, to alleviate the sufferings of the people, is in our day very much shaken. I am no revolutionist by temperament; but I come in contact with the people who suffer, who have suffered for years, who see their children suffering around them, and who are told alternately by the interpreters of one party and the other: "It is the fault of the others; put us in power and we will cure your sufferings." Governments change but the sufferings continue, with the result that the people are beginning to doubt either the will or strength of parliaments and governments and parties to remedy the situation. In older, more civilized and more cultured countries than ours, that struggle is seen. Fascism or bolshevism or communism are not the outcome of an instinct to resort to brute force, but of this desire for a change. That is what brought Mussolini into power in Italy and Hitler into power in Germany. That is what is in a measure threatening the condition of things in France, perhaps the best ordered