

out to tear down every institution in the country, the individual will be a mere chattel.

Under socialism we would have uppermost at all times state paternalism, state diffusion of prosperity: taxation would be taken over, and since taxation has about arrived at its climax so far as the distribution of the income of the nation is concerned, socialism would take control of banking, currency and credit—also the investment resources of the people. It would scrap individual and human liberty; it would develop a rigid uniformity; there would be a dead level similarity, there would be no equality, no freedom of contract; there would be an excess of undeveloped potential talent, and individual talent would be standardized and repressed. We can easily see that under a system of this kind there would be no individual liberty, the only real foundation of national sovereignty and greatness. On this account socialism which is known as nationalism, communism, collectivism, would be largely on a par with anarchism and nihilism, because they have as their common objective an ideal cooperative state. They all stand for that, but beyond that we have no definite details. The very ideal of democracy is that the people must be distrustful of any power irrespective of the hands in which it is placed, and before we accept any socialist state, before we throw away the individual and collective liberty of the Canadian people, we must be very careful to know what we are to receive in lieu thereof.

If we vote down this resolution—as it will be voted down—and do not accept the principle of the resolution in regard to setting up a socialist state in Canada, we would naturally favour perfecting our own social and economic order and, if it is not functioning correctly, we should make it so function. When we take that attitude, we must realize that we are standing for the full and free development of the individual as the unit in our democracy. The individual is equipped with an intellect, an intellect that gives him an objective in life. Added to intellect there is that fire or sentiment which engenders enthusiasm to attain high ideals in life. Lastly, he has executive power, the mainspring of individual and national development. While the individual possesses these qualities, by developing them harmoniously, he can become what we might term a pillar of state—the individual or nation in miniature. Only in this way can the Canadian people achieve sovereign power nationally and internationally. As regards the development of the ideal individual, we must stand for the preservation of individual initiative, enterprise, property, profit, rivalry, and competition between one indi-

[Mr. McIntosh.]

vidual and another, the right of inheritance, the right of bequeathment, the survival of the fittest and the building up of legislation that will reflect the power of the individual as a unit in the nation. Individual leadership is the very foundation of an ideal democratic state. In the words of the poet, may we say in this connection:

O, for a living man to lead!
That will not babble when we bleed;
O, for the silent doer of the deed!
One that is happy in his height,
And one that in a nation's night
Hath solitary certitude of life.

Or quoting Emerson:

'Tis man and only man can make
A nation great and strong
Men who for truth and honour's sake
Stand fast and suffer long,
Brave men who walk while others sleep
Who dare while others fly,
They build a nation's pillars deep
And lift them to the sky.

That is the only way in which we can build up a great democratic state, a great Dominion of Canada. If we sacrifice the individual; if we destroy him and build up a socialistic state, we can never expect to play the part we ought to play as a nation among the nations, not only of the British Commonwealth but of the world.

In concluding, may I say the aim of every Canadian ought to be to harmonize the development of individual life with national life. If we do that we need not be very much afraid of our future. The ideal state is simply the individual writ large—the people in their collective and corporate capacity. In the great work of nation building:

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state;

An hour may lay it in the dust, and when
Can man its shattered splendour renovate?

Again, what constitutes a state? A state is made up of:

Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain.

If we in Canada will therefore follow along the line of sound individualism and build up a sound state based on that sound individualism, we can truthfully say of our dominion:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

Mr. F. W. TURNBULL (Regina): Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak to this motion in order that the voice of the conservative opinion in Saskatchewan may be heard, because Saskatchewan has been made the spearhead of the cooperative commonwealth attack.