

meet within the shadows of dark and threatening skies. This is no time for discussions of relatively inconsequential matters. We are faced with more widespread threats to human freedom than, perhaps, the world has ever known and let us not blind ourselves with undue optimism. All is not well with the war or with our efforts to win it. Except in Russia, north Africa, and China, the axis powers have retained the initiative and have forced the allied powers to retreat from one position to another. This is not because our armed forces are inferior to those arrayed against them, but because we have failed, I believe, so far to realize that this is a war of machines as well as of men. Our steel, copper, nickel and other resources which should have been going into tanks, planes and guns have been going, instead, into automobiles, refrigerators and the luxuries of modern life, and some, indeed, in the early stages of this war found their way to Japan. Our industrialists insisted on business as usual, and until quite recently the government did little to turn those major factories into plants for the production of war material. Indeed, propaganda throughout the country has been directed towards the more glamorous and the more spectacular course of placing men in uniform, when events have proven that the provision of modern equipment should not only have kept pace with enlistments but have outrun them.

Then, too, there has been no real challenge to all our people to put forth every effort. In Britain the people believe most fervently that they are fighting, not to safeguard their present way of life, but to build a finer, nobler Britain, in which there will be larger measures of social security and economic justice. No such dynamic yet touches the lives of our people. They see business as usual, profits much as usual, and the representatives of monopolistic trusts in key positions in the Department of Munitions and Supply and controlling many phases of our war effort. The wheat producers of the west try to make ends meet at prices that were far too low before the war began, while workers in industry see barriers erected against their right to organize in associations of their own choice. Thus our national effort falls short of what it should be, because it lacks the proper dynamic.

I said that the bright spots in the present situation were north Africa, Russia and China; in north Africa because, so Mr. Churchill told us, we have concentrated most of our new equipment there, and so at last a British army meets an axis force on nearly equal terms. The reason for the stubborn resistance of the Chinese is that they fight

[Mr. Coldwell.]

for a China that had begun to make progress towards a greater measure of economic security, more than old imperial China ever knew. This, too, is the secret of Russian courage and Russian success. Whatever criticism we might have of their methods of government, the Russian people believe firmly that they are fighting to prevent the destruction of those economic and social advances which they themselves have made during the last twenty years. That these advances have been real and marvellously efficient, the effectiveness of the Russian army, the quantity and quality of their equipment, and the magnitude of their industrial reserves, amply demonstrate. Surely we can learn some lessons from these facts. Laboriously, for over two years, we have been mobilizing our war effort, and in spite of our boasted industrial strength we have failed to provide the tools to get on with the job. It is true that Russia had built great war industries before the war. But she was also able to build new cities, new homes, new universities, new standards of life, while we did neither the one nor the other. When the test came, there were no private monopolies, no trusts, no vested interests, no contractors who refused to accept war contracts except on their own terms, no business men who needed the incentive of gain or the acquisition of wealth, to slow up her war effort and bring her to the brink of defeat. In a few weeks she was geared for total war, with the full support of a people with a future to defend. Give our people assurances of a brighter future, remove the hand of selfish gain from our war effort, and in our own way and under our own social institutions Canada can do at least as well.

Thus we can build the hope of a future upon which alone sacrifice for victory will depend. But this hope must be based on something more than fine speeches and attractive promises. As long as people see our aged folk trying to make their meagre pensions meet the increased cost of living, or pensioners, or dependents of those who perished in the last great war, or who are fighting in this one, coping with increasing poverty while industry is prosperous and its total dividends increase, social discontent will act like a canker at the very core of our war effort; for the morale of the nation is the core of resistance, the foundation of victory.

To-day our people see the owners and directors of prosperous industries in charge of our war effort. I know that among them are conscientious and patriotic citizens who are giving of their very best. But even these are human, and sometimes some confuse the welfare of the organizations they have served with