START

DÉBUT

REEL

82

MICROFILMED
BY
CENTRAL
MICROFILM
UNIT

MICROFILMÉ
PAR LE
SERVICE
CENTRAL
DU MICROFILM

Public Archives
Canada

Archives publiques
Canada

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N3

DATE JAN 23 1984 CAMERA N.8

OPERATOR · OPÉRATEUR 5-17

REDUCTION 15x DATA 06-83-821

ARC-178 (12-75)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

This microfilm is a true copy of original documentation in the Public Archives of Canada. It is provided for research purposes only. Permission to reproduce it must be obtained from the Public Archives of Canada. Responsibility regarding questions of copyright that may arise in the use of this microfilm is assumed by the recipient.

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES DU CANADA

Ce microfilm est une copie exacte de documents conservés aux Archives publiques du Canada. Elle a été préparée pour fins de recherche seulement et ne peut être reproduite sans la permission des Archives publiques du Canada. Le récipiendaire sera tenu responsable de toute infraction au droit de propriété de ce document.

W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 389

Pages C273027-C274022

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

 C273153

would endeavour to proceed in some order, for the convenience of hon. members and of the ministers, too. Last year, you will remember, the three ministers sat here day after day. Questions were asked one minute with regard to air, another minute with regard to the navy, and another minute regarding the army. It meant that we could not have our officers here at any particular time, and we had to be prepared for almost anything, and I must admit that, so far as the army was concerned, I felt that the matter was not presented in the form which was most satisfactory either to the house or myself. This year I did hope that we would arrange in connection with the two billion dollar appropriation resolution to have one department taken at a time and exhaust the subject as nearly as possible, in the manner which would be adopted if departmental estimates were under consideration. That would apply to the minister of munitions also. If we have to get into a general discussion of the three departments in connection with the supplementary bill with regard to last year, and have to do it all over again on the new bill, we do not have the same order nor do we get an opportunity of presenting the matter in as logical and orderly a fashion as otherwise, and I do not think it would be as convenient for the members. If the citizens read the reports, it would not be as satisfactory to them either. My hon. friend suggested that I might make a statement at the moment. I do not see the need of making a statement on this resolution. I have heard two speeches, the speech delivered by my hon. friend, and the speech made by the hon. member for Hastings-Peterborough, and certain suggestions have been made with regard to reserve units, home guards and some other matters. I shall deal with those at the proper time, but is there any hurry about dealing with them before Friday?

Mr. GREEN: Will the minister deal with them before the house adjourns on the 27th?

Mr. RALSTON: It depends what the questions are.

Mr. GREEN: The minister knows what suggestions have been made in the house in this debate and I want to know whether or not it will be possible for him or some other minister to deal with them before we adjourn on the 27th.

Mr. RALSTON: I shall endeavour to deal with matters that I think should be dealt with before the 27th. I say this with all due respect to my hon. friend, who made a very constructive speech indeed, that most of these things he spoke of are being dealt with in one shape or another. He talks about home guard; we talk about coast guards. It is the same thing. If it is necessary that I make a statement with regard to a matter of that kind I shall be glad to do so, but I shall have to reserve the right to decide what I think is important enough to be dealt with at this time, particularly in view of the fact that we shall be coming back shortly to be engaged in a discussion in connection with the whole matter all over again.

Mr. GREEN: Will there be an opportunity for discussion to-morrow?

Mr. RALSTON: The Minister of Finance will answer that question.

Mr. ILSLEY: If the three ministers of defence make statements to-morrow I shall never get these interim supply bills through. I suggested a week ago that they should go through quickly by consent and that we could go into the two billion dollar bill and the ministers could make their statements, so that we could have an orderly discussion. The hon. member for Vancouver South would not agree to that course because he wanted to make a speech with the Speaker in the chair on this supplementary appropriation. I had no power to dissent from that. He made his speech and a great number of other speeches were made with the Speaker in the chair, and I had no power to prevent their being made, nor did I desire to prevent these speeches being made.

Mr. CASSELMAN: And they were all within the rules.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes. But I asked the house —and I gave ample notice—to have these important supplementary and interim measures go through parliament before the recess, and that means that they will have to be through before to-morrow night. I do not think my hon. friend can get the advantage of both courses of procedure which he is asking. He has insisted on making his speech with the Speaker in the chair, rather than follow my suggestion of putting these interim supplementary measures through by consent. If he had agreed to that course we could have gone on with the two billion dollar measure and the ministers could have made their statements and have been questioned if that were desired. But if the ministers are to make their statements on this, then we shall not get through. I am asking the house to let me get this through to-morrow night, and when the two billion dollar bill comes on such statements can be made as there is time in which to make them.

Mr. GREEN: Is it the intention of the Minister of Finance that his resolutions and bills shall go through by consent to-morrow

 C273154

and following that, and for the rest of the sitting until we adjourn on Friday, the two billion dollar resolution will be under discusssion with the house in committee of the whole? Is that the intention?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. RALSTON: Perhaps we could make some arrangement about one minister coming on at a time.

Mr. CHURCH: Why were these war items not given precedence by the Minister of Finance, instead of taking up grain and the plebiscite? War is primary; these others are domestic and secondary.

Progress reported.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ILSLEY: The order to-morrow will be the $135,000,000 bill, then the $500,000,000 interim bill and then the supplementary estimates for the present year, then the interim supply for the coming year, being one-sixth of the main estimates for the year. They will be taken in that order.

Mr. GREEN: And then the two billion dollar resolution?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

It being twenty minutes after six o'clock the house adjourned, without question put, pursuant to standing order.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273155

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES

The Daily Edition is issued on the morning following each day's sitting, the speeches being reported in the language in which they were delivered. Speeches in French are translated into English and appear in that form as an appendix to the daily issue. Speeches in English are translated and appear in the French edition on the day following delivery.

Extra copies of the Daily Edition will be supplied at five cents each or $3.75 a hundred, if the order is given on the day of sitting. Order through the Debates Office.

Reprints of speeches are furnished if the order is given within seven days of first publication. Order through the Debates Office.

Hansard is available to the public by subscription. The rate for the session is three dollars. Remittance must accompany order, and should be sent to the King's Printer, Ottawa.

Following publication of the Daily Edition proofs are sent to members for revision. These should be returned within twenty-four hours.

Two indexes are issued, one to the Daily Edition, at the close of the session, and the other to the bound edition, published in book form later. The current index is compiled as the session proceeds and may be consulted in the Debates Office. For index inquiries and information as to mailing lists, telephone 2-8211, local 3246.

EARL C. YOUNG,
Editor of Debates, Room 324.

F. W. S. GALBRAITH,
Associate Editor, Room 325.

COMPTE RENDU OFFICIEL DES DÉBATS

L'édition quotidienne, publiée dans le texte original, paraît le lendemain matin de chaque séance. La version anglaise des discours prononcés en français est publiée en annexe à l'édition quotidienne du texte original.

L'édition française quotidienne, comprenant le texte original des discours prononcés en français et la version française des discours prononcés en anglais, paraît le lendemain de chaque séance.

On peut commander des exemplaires additionnels à raison de 5 cents l'unité ou $3.75 le cent, en s'adressant, le jour même de la séance, au bureau des Débats.

Pour les tirages à part de tout discours, la commande doit parvenir au même bureau des Débats, dans les sept jours de son apparition.

L'édition quotidienne est adressée à toute personne qui en fait la demande à l'Imprimeur du Roi, à Ottawa. Cette demande doit être accompagnée de la somme de trois dollars, prix de l'abonnement.

Prière aux députés de renvoyer les épreuves dans les vingt-quatre heures.

Il est publié, pour l'édition anglaise, deux index séparés, l'un pour l'édition quotidienne, après la clôture de la session; l'autre, concernant l'édition définitive reliée, paraît un peu plus tard. L'index se fait en cours de session et peut être consulté au bureau des Débats.

HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 514

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273156

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

AN APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 7th, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273157

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

Government Seeks a Free Hand

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

49876

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

Nature of Restriction upon Government

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

How Restriction came to be Imposed

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

Importance of National Unity

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of to-day, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe, also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why Plebiscite Necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

Canada's War Effort Being Placed in False Light

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out effort on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

The truth, of course, is that our army to-day is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

Parliament to Safeguard Rights of People

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

National Existence as well as National Freedom Threatened

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity. To a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity.

That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

International Situation Exceedingly Critical

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical to-day than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening to-day, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. To-day it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. *It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.*

W. L. Mackenzie King.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273167

NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

A SECOND APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 24th, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Copy not available

C273168

NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

A Second Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

APRIL 24th, 1942

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. I hope that what I say to-night may resolve any doubts in your minds about the importance of your voting YES. I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

Freedom, not Conscription, the Issue

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

World Situation Exceedingly Critical

When I spoke to you on April 7, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me, did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat to-night, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and only after careful reflection. I never spoke with a fuller consciousness of the meaning and weight of my words than I did when I told you how very critical is the situation which faces the free nations to-day.

Nothing has surprised me more than that this statement has been called into question by some of those who are urging you to vote NO on Monday next. They accuse me of exaggerating the danger. They say that I do not really believe the enemy has any designs on Canada. They say, for example, that Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, could find themselves in a desperate situation.

Now that is precisely what I did say, and it is precisely what I meant to say, because I believe it to be true. I do not believe that the United Nations are going to be defeated, if each and all of them put forth their utmost effort. But I do believe it is possible for them to be defeated, unless they put forth their utmost effort. I believe it is my duty to tell you this quite frankly. There is nothing

to be gained by pretending that the danger to us all is not great. Nothing could be more harmful than to encourage the people to believe that it is impossible for the enemy to win. Those who tell you such things refuse to face the truth.

Canada Liable to Attack

The persons who have thus been questioning my statement have not stopped there. They have gone on to say that, even if I were right as to the danger, the enemy would not attack Canada, even if he were victorious. Why, with Russia defeated, with England at their mercy, with the whole European continent at their feet, with the immense resources of the Middle East available, with the United States exposed to their attacks, why, they ask, should the Nazis attack Canada? Looking across the Pacific, they ask, why with the whole of India, Malaya and the East Indies to possess, with the almost empty continent of Australia to occupy, why should the Japanese attempt to come and instal themselves in California, in Oregon or in British Columbia? They say that Mr. King has too good judgment to believe in these dangers; that they are, in fact, unbelievable. They say that other countries are as large and much richer, or more accessible and empty, or more desirable and easier to defend than Canada. They conclude that I am knowingly exaggerating the danger to our country.

I do not believe I am exaggerating. If I did not believe it to be true, what possible motive could I have for saying that a world encircling danger may yet jeopardize the very existence of our country.

The fact that any persons could think that Canada is not liable to attack shows how little they realize how greatly conditions have changed as a result of the war. So thought most of the peoples of Europe about their countries at the beginning of the war; so, until a few months ago, thought the people of the United States; so, until a few weeks ago, thought the peoples of Australia, New Zealand and India. None of them seemed to perceive the enemy's plan of world conquest.

The Enemy Not to be Trusted

When those who tell you to vote NO say that no sensible man would wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors, they are clearly attempting to suggest that no serious danger exists. They thereby foster a false sense of security. When they say, as they have said, that one may question whether Canada could withstand invasion, if Russia, the United States and England cannot remove this danger, they are, in effect, saying that Canada should let other nations win the war for Canada. Let me ask what the fate of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Canada would be if the peoples of Russia, of England and of the United States adopted the attitude which those who thus advise you to vote NO suggest that Canada should adopt? If each of the United Nations had taken the attitude that the other nations could, without help, defeat Germany and Japan, the cause of freedom would already be lost, and Canada itself might by this time have been invaded.

When those who, in such words, tell you to vote NO, they are telling you to trust other nations to keep the enemy from our shores. They are telling you to trust the enemy to attack some other country instead of attacking Canada. At the same time, they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to do what is necessary to defend your homes and your families.

Of published statements to which my attention has been drawn the most incredible is one which reads: "by voting NO you will protect yourselves, by voting YES you will be at the mercy of your own government." I would say that by voting "NO," you may be helping to place yourself and your country at the mercy of the enemy; whereas by voting YES you will, I believe, be helping to protect yourself and your country from the enemy. At a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than those of the freely elected government of your own country?

Importance of Trusting the Government

My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, whom are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, whom are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater to-day than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription," when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Enemy Expects to Conquer All Continents

Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of to-day into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not *forced* into war. They were not even *drawn* into war. *They were themselves* aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed, that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are to-day forced to aid further Nazi aggression. The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

Enemy Gains in Asia and in Europe

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one-third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a vassal state of Germany or a dependency of Japan.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

In the Orient, as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

The Factors that Count in War

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources. We should think and speak only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

It is now altogether certain that Germany and Japan plan to unite their land forces in the course of this present year. They plan also by gaining supremacy at sea to isolate this hemisphere. Once isolated, North and South America would sooner or later be attacked both from the East and from the West. The first of these attacks might well be directed against our own country. Surely the Axis pattern of world conquest is now wholly clear. We must never forget that its aim is ultimate mastery of the entire world.

The Sweep of Aggression Continues

Even in the two and a half weeks since I last spoke to you, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been

carried still further in the Pacific. British naval losses in the Indian ocean have been severe. In Burma, despite the determined efforts of British and Chinese troops, the Japanese continue to advance. The Japanese threat to India has become daily more serious. After resistance that was heroically prolonged, the gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to retire. Signs are not lacking of the growing domination of the whole of France by Nazi Germany. In Europe and in the Middle East, the great lines of battle are definitely emerging. These ominous signs all emphasize the growing danger.

When we stop to consider the extent to which the Axis' plan of world conquest has already been achieved, it becomes perfectly clear that we cannot wait for time to win the victory for us. Unless every possible means is taken to hold the enemy while the free countries gather their strength, time will be on his side, not on ours. The fact that other nations have been struck, and Canada has so far been spared, should blind no one to the danger to our national existence. Too many nations that believed themselves safe, are to-day enslaved.

Regard for all Aspects and Dangers

You are being told that if the danger is as great as it is said to be our men should be kept at home; that if you vote YES they will all be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the imperial interests of Britain, or the interests of Communist Russia, or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own.

The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to help preserve freedom in this world, to keep the enemy away from this continent, and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact, additional provision to this end has already been made. This, like all other questions of defence, will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Grave Responsibility Attaching to Vote

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country and the parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

National Unity and National Survival

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races, and all creeds, in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not.

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Our Own and Future Generations

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations, and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

The Eyes of the World on Canada

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—everyone of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

If disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273178

Unrevised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3507 et seq

MOBILIZATION ACT

AMENDMENT TO REPEAL SECTION 3 PROVIDING LIMITATION IN RESPECT OF SERVICE OVERSEAS

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved the second reading of Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in what I propose to say this afternoon I intend to make my remarks under two main divisions. The first division will relate to the amendment, and will also have reference to the plebiscite. The second part will deal particularly with the issue of conscription.

On Monday, May 11, I moved for leave to introduce the bill which is now before the house. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of section 3 hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the governor in council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Section 3 of the Act reads:

3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

C273178

Unrevised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3507 et seq

MOBILIZATION ACT

AMENDMENT TO REPEAL SECTION 3 PROVIDING LIMITATION IN RESPECT OF SERVICE OVERSEAS

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved the second reading of Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in what I propose to say this afternoon I intend to make my remarks under two main divisions. The first division will relate to the amendment, and will also have reference to the plebiscite. The second part will deal particularly with the issue of conscription.

On Monday, May 11, I moved for leave to introduce the bill which is now before the house. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of section 3 hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the governor in council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Section 3 of the Act reads:

3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the number who are loudest in their utterances.

This demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that, for all Canada, conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940, and that, under the special powers conferred upon the governor in council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words "conscription", has been in operation since October, 1940, and compulsory service, for the duration of the war, since February, 1941.

Under the original plan, some 80,000 young men received thirty days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months training to be followed by service for the duration, more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who, subsequently, volunteered for the navy and the air force, or for service in the army anywhere in the world.

There are two methods by which most ends are attained by government. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is the power of government to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada? The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the governor in council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been deemed necessary or expedient to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government to-day.

There was, it is true, at the time the act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the governor in council. That limitation still exists. It is set forth in section 3, which provides that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the governor in council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed, the section begins with the words "the powers conferred by the next preceding section", and thereby constitute an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation. The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last.

In *Hansard* at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:

In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.

Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.

. . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act, as it stands, is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation.

The extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, and has been from the outset, a matter of government policy. Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the house. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the speech from the throne:

My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.

The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said that Canada's effort was not an all-out effort, and could not be an all-out effort because the possibility of conscripting men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to resort to compulsion, because volunteers in the required numbers have been available.

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this seeming restriction was not a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, on that score, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose without breach of faith, any extension of the application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of our war effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was equally a necessary first step before the government could seek from parliament freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will, however, not exist until parliament has removed section 3 of the mobilization act.

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and in particular, as to whether a "yes" or "no" vote was a vote for or against conscription. On this point, I should, first of all, remind hon. members of what was said in the course of the plebiscite campaign. Both in this house and throughout the country, it was made perfectly clear by myself as leader of the government, by the leader of the official opposition, and by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the house what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The question on the ballot is, however, the best answer as to whether or not the plebiscite was a vote for or against conscription.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?

Clearly the plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. It did not commit the government to conscription for services overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to decide, for or against conscription for service overseas, either conditionally or unconditionally.

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or on its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273182

The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas? As I have just said, one of the purposes of the plebiscite was to give to the government freedom thereafter to recommend to parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decision and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27. On Friday, May 8, I informed the house of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin) tendered his resignation. I felt that the reasons given by the minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore sought to have him reconsider his resignation. But the minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the minister's resignation.

In the minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the minister was one of the representatives in the cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the minister's letter.

The minister said:

> I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate —but what is still farther from the truth—a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the minister in his protest. I can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

I have already said this afternoon that a "yes" or "no" in the plebiscite was not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a "yes" or "no" for conscription for service overseas. I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the speech from the throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. In interpreting, through the press and in this house, the results of the plebiscite, I also repeated what I had previously said.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

> The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

Let me also read what I said on April 24 in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote. This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nationwide:

> When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.
>
> It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcasts delivered by the leader of the opposition on April 20. I quote:

> This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-electon pledge. . . . You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite. . . . The only question involved is whether the government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future.

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21. I quote:

> The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by parliament when and if the government presents it for discussion.

From these quotations, it will be seen that the leader of the opposition and the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation expressed precisely the same view as myself of the issue in the plebiscite.

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes further than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription, did not mean what they said; that they were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this house, who knowing the importance of national unity at a time of war did their best to remove the prejudices which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need in the interests of national security as well as of national unity for an affirmative vote, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the members of this house from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes, I believe, should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24. I quote:

> Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted, the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.
>
> To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay, and finally defeated, by the common action of all the united nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.
>
> To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—every one of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting "yes" on Monday next.

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home to us all within the past few days, with surprising suddenness. For more than a fortnight past, the forces of the United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack by Japanese forces upon Canada and the United States.

May I say that only in to-day's papers and over the radio this morning we were informed that one of the United States ships just off the coast had been torpedoed. Some men were brought ashore alive, but unfortunately one of the number died before his raft could reach the shore. That is on the Pacific ocean—a ship torpedoed by a Japanese submarine.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world."

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointed to as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding. I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could not the removal of the legal restriction have been effected by two or more steps, instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words "Canada and the territorial waters thereof", where the latter words appear in section 3 of the mobilization act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the panhandle or any place in the vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the speech from the throne? Would it have removed from clause 3 of the mobilization act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it have given the government freedom of action? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon a total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

This brings me to a further reason why I feel the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that events will so prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said:

> Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

For the same reason, we now ask the same from parliament.

I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says:

> As far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Were the element of surprise not an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and were it not a fact that no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, there would be, at the present time, no practical need for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. It is always well, however, to be prepared as far in advance as may be possible for any contingency.

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite, were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of section 3 deleted.

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the governor in council already possesses. Under that act, as interpreted by judicial decision and by the legal advisers of the government, the governor in council has authority, notwithstanding section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if, to-day, in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded the dispatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power to order their dispatch.

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the executive has of its responsibility to parliament.

To defeat the enemy overseas, and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself, is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that this power is derived from the present parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

There is nothing in the proposed amendment which could imply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as set forth in parliament and as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy as to being given complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise was clearly stated in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament in the following words:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former minister of public works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth clearly and unequivocally, on February 10, by my colleague the Minister of National Defence, in discussing the 1942-43 army programme. The minister of defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the minister added these words:

> I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work.

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

> The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all, may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them.

And these are my words:

> For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be in a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. . . .

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits; also, that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 programme. The government, however, wished to be free, without any breach of faith, to resort to conscription for overseas service should that become necessary to our national security and to the effectiveness of our war effort.

If the bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June, 1940, to give to it the powers it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the governor in council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

The amendment before the house necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. As I pointed out on January 26 in the debate on the address, and again on February 25, in the debate on the plebiscite bill, parliament is the place for that discussion.

With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said, on February 25:

> When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament, and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3517

C273188

not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in section 5 of the act, which reads:

> 5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and a copy thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if parliament is not in session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the *Canada Gazette* and copies thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the governor in council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances.

Clause 5 was inserted in the mobilization act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

On February 25 I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors of which account would be taken by the government in reaching a decision. These were known to the people of Canada at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said, as reported on page 918 of *Hansard* of February 25, 1942:

> Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time. . . .

And later:

> The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered," I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself.

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3518

C273189

me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

In most controversies, there are those who take extreme views. They want everything their own way, and if not allowed to have their own way, they begin to threaten and abuse those who venture to hold an opinion contrary to their own. They become impatient even of a consideration of a question upon its merits, or the effect their attitude may have upon the well-being of others.

In national affairs, this sort of attitude is bad enough at any time. In times of war, however, where the preservation of national unity is of first importance to the war effort of the nation, and where the issue is the most controversial in a country's history, the insistence, by any considerable portion of the population, upon an extreme position is almost certain to be fraught with the gravest possible dangers to the state.

Surveying the field of public controversy on the issue of conscription for service overseas, as it has been reflected in the press, and as doubtless it will find expression in this House of Commons, there would appear to be three general views, two of them diametrically opposed. The first is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated at once, that nothing less will suffice; the second is that conscription for service overseas should not be inaugurated under any circumstances. In other words, there are some who want conscription for overseas service, and this at once even if it is not necessary; and some who say they won't support conscription for overseas service at any time no matter how necessary it might be to help to save our own country. Each of these is a very extreme view and attitude. Neither extreme, I believe, should be permitted to prevail.

There is, fortunately, a third view—a view which I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British commonwealth of nations, and of the other united nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription. It is not for me to tell any hon. member how he should proceed in presenting the issue to his constituents. I do believe, however, that the issue of conscription for overseas service would soon vanish from the realm of political controversy if those who prefer conscription for service overseas would say to their constituents: "There are thousands of patriotic Canadians who, for reasons that are readily understood, are opposed to conscription for service overseas and that we should be prepared, at this time, to take those reasons into account"; and if those who are opposed to conscription for overseas service would say to their constituents: "I prefer the voluntary system and I will do my utmost to make it work, and I appeal to you to do the same; but, if conscription is ever needed for Canada's sake and for Canada's future, I will not oppose its application."

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

In the whole history of the world, no two peoples have ever lived so long in such close association with so little friction as those of French and British descent in Canada. In a century of political union we have built a nation which stretches across half a continent. We have conquered the wilderness. We have achieved great material progress. We all have become deeply attached to one common homeland. We have accomplished miracles in order to help defend our homeland against a ruthless enemy. No one will ever make me believe that in the hour of testing, the achievement of a century is to be imperilled by permitting any issue to arise which might threaten our national unity, and that in the hour of its greatest danger and in the time of gravest crisis for all mankind.

I am sure I need not ask hon. members of this house of all shades of politics and from all parts of Canada to weigh and consider with the utmost wisdom and prudence all that is involved of Canada's present and future in the national aspect of the problem which is now before us. It may well prove to be the most critical of any the parliament of Canada has ever faced.

Lest words of mine might appear to be biased or exaggerated, I should like to quote from an editorial which appeared in the Montreal *Standard* of May 30, and which is entitled "Crisis in Canada." It is but one of a number of editorials which have recently appeared in publications throughout Canada, which sense with clearness the real danger to Canada, should the right attitude not be assumed at this time by all whose responsibility it is to guide our country's present course and help to shape its future destiny. It presents an appeal which I believe will meet with a ready response in this House of Commons, and which I also believe expresses the true spirit of Canada. The editorial reads as follows:

> The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.
>
> It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.
>
> Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.
>
> English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.
>
> French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.
>
> If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

And this brings me, if I may be permitted to do so, to say just a word upon the duty which hon. members owe alike to their constituencies and to Canada as a whole. I know there are some who feel that as a majority in the constituencies they represent voted "Yes" or "No" on the plebiscite, they are under an obligation to take a particular stand in the present debate. I hope I made it sufficiently clear just exactly what it was on which the electors were asked to express and did express their opinion. It is not only the right but it is a duty of hon. members to interpret the view of their constituents, but it is equally a duty in so doing to see that a construction is not placed upon their views which was never, and could never have been intended. There is above all else a duty which every member owes to his constituency and to the country, once he is returned to parliament and that is to exercise all that is possible of reason and judgment in reaching a decision upon questions of supreme national interest and concern.

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3520 C273191

less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

Addressing the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774, Edmund Burke, in circumstances not dissimilar to those with which hon. members in our own parliament are faced at the present time, made the following declaration, the wisdom of which has been generally accepted by all democratic assemblies from that day to our own.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

In our own country, it might need be three thousand miles.

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws or this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect.

That opinion never carried more weight in any assembly than should be attached to it by this House of Commons as we enter upon the present debate.

I turn now from a consideration of the amendment, as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended, it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly, so far only as the mobilization of man-power is concerned, some of the requirements that must be met in order to achieve a total war effort. Until the whole man-power picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance, to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources.

By a total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of human resources, of man-power and woman-power, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

1. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food, not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other united nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these man-power needs must be satisfied from one man-power pool. It is important always to remember that the total man-power is limited. If too many men are taken from one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All man-power demands must be kept in balance.

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of man-power which it was hoped Canada would contribute, the Minister of National Defence replied, quoting words of my own, that Canada was determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". The minister added these significant words: "By an all-out contribution, I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective." That, may I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

It should also be remembered that the demand for man-power is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, et cetera, many of which on a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of man-power.

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of man-power mobilization.

On February 10, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated man-power requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943, a period of fifteen months, were 90,000 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of man-power means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of man-power for a total war effort.

In order to assist in shifting the man-power and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October, 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for man-power for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the governor in council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the house in my statement on national selective service:

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to man-power?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February 4. It is equally relevant to-day:

> One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.
>
> Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of man-power for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment? There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events to-day are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air force, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian corps of fire-fighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September, 1939, most people believed was going to be "just another European war," it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in to-day. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

I doubt if any of us begin to realize how grave the responsibility has become of determining the disposition of the country's armed forces, as a consequence of the changed conditions resulting from the entry of Japan into the war. Immediate danger no longer threatens Canada only from the east. It threatens equally from the west. Let that danger assume formidable proportions, and I ask what will be said of a government, or for that matter, of a parliament, or of a press, that continues to look only across the Atlantic to one enemy against which this country has to be protected, and fails to recognize that the strategy of the combined enemy forces may well involve an attack at any moment from across the Pacific.

In deciding upon the disposition of the armed forces, the government has to consider from day to day, just what proportion of its forces our country is justified in sending overseas, and what proportion it is necessary to keep at home. That question has had to be considered from the outbreak of war but, until Japan entered the war, it did not begin to have the importance it has now come to have.

It is perfectly clear that the enemy will have to be destroyed overseas if this continent is not to be the field of the final conflict, or possibly even an immediate field of conflict, with Canada the scene of the first invasion. It is equally true that in the event of an attack, come when it may, and from whichever direction it may, unless we have forces adequately equipped, and trained in sufficient numbers to prevent the enemy from getting a foothold upon our soil, our entire national existence will be imperilled. While we must continue to do all we possibly can to assist in accomplishing the defeat of the enemy away from our shores, we must also be in constant readiness to meet and hold him at bay should he attempt an attack upon our shores. What guarantee have we that the enemy having begun to destroy shipping off the coasts of the maritime provinces, in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in the river itself, and having attempted to gain a base for operations against the Pacific coast, we may not witness at any moment bombing of our harbours and cities alike on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and attempts to destroy railway terminals and facilities, munition plants, aerodromes and other military targets in any part of the country.

With those possibilities before our very eyes, and let me tell this house as I have told the country time and again, they are possibilities which are by no means remote, can we afford to allow any question of conscription to become the occasion of a political battle in parliament, or of political warfare throughout the country; can we allow the country itself to become distracted by and divided over such an issue? Surely the only reasonable course to take in dealing with this question is to leave to the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, to decide what disposition it may be best to make between the forces to be sent abroad and those that are

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to be kept at home, and what means it may be necessary to take to keep up the strength of the armed forces which are already overseas.

The people of Canada have clearly indicated their desire that freedom to decide on these matters should be given to the government, subject only to its responsibility to parliament. It is that freedom which, by the amendment, the government asks should now be given to it by parliament.

MR. HANSON:

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

That was done in 1917; the conditions under which men were to be drafted were brought to parliament, not left to the secrecy of the council chamber. Parliament passed upon them, and the only regulations that were left to order in council were those relating merely to matters of procedure.

It may be said that the whole framework of the National Resources Mobilization Act is an outright delegation of the powers of parliament to the governor in council, and in express terms that is true. But I have always looked upon the mobilization act as emergency legislation. God knows it was produced under an emergency. It never would have been produced if my trusted colleague and myself had not confronted the Prime Minister with the position after Dunkirk. Does anyone doubt that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Well, it never would have been done. The day we went to see the Prime Minister and demanded this legislation, he had not even read his dispatches from overseas after the fall of Dunkirk, or so he told us.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but I also told the hon. gentleman that the government was considering the very matter with which he was concerned, and were taking action on it.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No, the Prime Minister did not tell us until the next day what the government was proposing to do. I have upstairs now a memorandum in the Prime Minister's own little handwriting.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend has referred to a document which he says he has in his possession. I ask him to lay it on the table of the house.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Well, I do not have it with me, but I think I can find it and I shall be glad to do so.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Do so tomorrow.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): If I can find the memorandum which the Prime Minister sent me I will be glad to do so. I hope it has not been destroyed; I think it is in my file. In any case the Prime Minister remembers that he sent me such a memorandum.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but my hon. friend is placing an interpretation on that memorandum for which there is no justification whatever. The memorandum was to the effect that the government intended to take the action which it has taken; I agree to that.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Yes, twenty-four hours after I had made the demand. It was emergency legislation, there is no doubt about that; and when parliament is not in session of course the government must have power to act. But when parliament is in session I do not believe that the government should make use of that delegated power. That is the principle for which I am contending. I believe that in this, as in all other cases, the proper course is to ask parliament to pass legislation, if parliament be in session, specifying the manner in which those powers shall be used.

So that in this particular instance, the proper course for the government to pursue, and the one which I urge upon them with all the earnestness at my command, is to ask parliament now, by way of amendments incorporated in this bill, to prescribe the methods by which the power shall be utilized. I renew my plea that there be incorporated in this bill, in the committee stage, not only mandatory provisions imposing at once full compulsory selective service, but detailed provisions for the operation of that system, as was done in 1917. That is the democratic way, and the other is the fascist way. That is exactly the position that was taken by the Liberal party in 1917. They demanded that it be done, and it was done. I assert that we seek to have these provisions set forth now by parliament, rather than left for future determination in the secrecy of the cabinet council. Under no circumstances should the terms and principles of the administration of compulsory selective service for overseas, or for service in Canada, be delayed for future consideration, or considered behind the backs of the representatives of the people and without submitting them to the representatives of the people in parliament. That is a safe principle for every hon. member of this house to support.

Failure to do that which I have outlined will assuredly mean that we will not have the proper kind of compulsory selective service in any practical sense. Submit your principles to parliament. "Trust the people" is an old cry of the Prime Minister. He has never been willing to do that in connection with the conscription of man-power in this country. He has never been willing to trust the people. Yet there is no man in this country, no man in the whole history of Canada, who has played upon the principle of trusting the people more than has the present Prime Minister. In respect to one vital matter, which affects the liberty of the subject, he legislates in the secrecy of the council chamber; he is afraid to trust the people. If we pursue our present course we shall have only the theory of selective service on the statute books; we shall

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

not have its application. Statesmanship and national honour alike require the immediate determination of all questions relating to the fullest mobilization of man-power and material resources. Let parliament act now and, in acting, strike a great blow for victory. For myself, my course is clear. I shall vote for the second reading of this bill; but I shall insist that there be incorporated in the bill the necessary mandatory provisions to place at once at the dispoal of the state, without limitation and upon terms to be decided by parliament and not by the cabinet, the full resources of the nation in man-power, wealth and materials.

We have come now to the cross roads in our history. Two paths lie before us. The one is dark and uncertain, the other straight and direct. Which of the two will the Prime Minister and the government take? Shall he insist that we continue with interminable detours to victory? That is what we have had for thirty-two months. Shall he insist that we plod wearily along a winding and unlighted road, in the pious hope that somehow, some time, somewhere, we may grope, stumble and flounder into the open light of victory? Or will he, casting aside all fears and doubts, political and personal, boldly and confidently choose the open, the well-marked path along which the Canadian people, strong and united, will march forward to the goal we all seek to achieve, a well earned victory and an honourable peace?

On motion of Mr. Coldwell the debate was adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 6.10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273200
4287

Mobilization Act Amendment

4319

4327

Vol. LXXX.—No. 102

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Tuesday, July 7, 1942

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

Price per copy, 5 cents; per session, $3. Address King's Printer, Ottawa, Canada

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CONTENTS

Tuesday, July 7, 1942

Reports of Committees—

Canteen Funds, special committee, second and third reports, Mr. Macdonald (Brantford City) ... 4289

Radio Broadcasting, second report, Mr. McCann ... 4289

Land Settlement of Veterans of the present war, third and fourth reports, Mr. Macmillan ... 4289

The War in China. Fifth anniversary of Japanese attack—Tribute to Chinese resistance, Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury) ... 4289

Military Service. Calling up of single men and childless widowers from 20 to 40 years of age, orders in council tabled, Mr. Thorson ... 4289

War Measures Act. Tabling of orders in council passed between April 1 and June 30, 1942, Mr. Mackenzie King ... 4290

Aircraft Production. Appointment of Ralph P. Bell as aircraft controller, Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury), Mr. Howe ... 4290

Inquiry for Return: Man-power according to age classes—Enlistments, postponements, rejections, etc., Mr. Diefenbaker, Mr. Thorson ... 4290

Labour Conditions. Order in council confirming employer-employee agreements in British Columbia shipyards, Mr. MacInnis, Mr. Mitchell ... 4290

Mobilization Act. Amendment to repeal section 3 providing limitation in respect to service overseas. Bill No. 80. Continuation of debate on motion of Mr. Mackenzie King for second reading, by:

Mr. Pouliot ... 4290
Mrs. Nielsen ... 4293
Mr. Dupuis ... 4293
Mr. Jackman ... 4297
Mr. Gladstone ... 4302
Mr. Blanchette ... 4306
Mr. Coldwell ... 4309
Mr. Ferland ... 4311
Mr. Harris (Danforth) ... 4314

Amendment (Mr. Roy) lost on division ... 4319
Mr. Mackenzie King ... 4319

Motion (Mr. Mackenzie King) for second reading agreed to: yeas, 158; nays, 54 ... 4330

Bill considered in committee. Motion, (Mr. Mackenzie King) that committee rise and report progress; point of order, Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury); ruling of the Chairman confirmed on appeal: yeas, 137; nays, 44; progress reported ... 4331

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

TUESDAY, July 7, 1942.

The house met at three o'clock.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Second and third reports of special committee on canteen funds.—Mr. Macdonald (Brantford City).

Second report of special committee on radio broadcasting.—Mr. McCann.

Third and fourth reports of special committee on land settlement of veterans of the present war.—Mr. Macmillan.

THE WAR IN CHINA

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF JAPANESE ATTACK—TRIBUTE TO CHINESE RESISTANCE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Five years ago this evening, Chinese and Japanese forces clashed in a skirmish which marked the beginning of a war which has brought as much devastation and death as was witnessed in the first world war. This house will, I believe, wish me on this anniversary to pay some slight tribute to the indomitable spirit of the Chinese people and their brave leaders. The five years that have elapsed have shown that nothing can daunt their courage or shake their resolution.

On November 3, 1941, I remarked in this chamber that "the uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance", and that "the Chinese continue to die in staggering numbers in defence of their humble habitations and the good earth which for countless generations has given to the ancestors they revere and to themselves their scanty sustenance." Another eight months have passed, and the courage and resolution of China are as fresh as ever.

Most of the great industrial centres, and most of the fertile land of China, are now occupied by the invader; the principal supply routes have been cut off; the loss of Burma has increased Chinese difficulties in obtaining the weapons and munitions of war; bombings are a part of the expected daily routine in the Chinese capital; death or slavery has been the lot of uncounted millions of the Chinese people.

Out of all this suffering and anguish China has given and is continuing to give to her allies an example which serves as little else possibly could to sustain their hearts in these dark days. It is the example of a nation endowed with an ancient and splendid culture, and devoted to the arts of peace, defending itself tenaciously, skilfully and boldly against a barbarous foe which has no thoughts except those of ruthless aggression. Such is the spirit of China in this hour.

Chinese resistance is a proof of the moral stamina of democracy. China may be assured that her resistance will not be in vain, and that no matter what the cost, or what the duration of the ordeal, the United Nations will continue at her side until freedom again becomes the portion of all.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, just a word in commendation of the remarks of the Prime Minister. The people of Canada will join with the Prime Minister and the members of this house in expressing admiration of the indomitable spirit of the Chinese people. Those of us who have had occasion to read the history of China know of their contribution to civilization. It is the prayer of every one of us that that noble nation will survive.

MILITARY SERVICE

CALLING UP OF SINGLE MEN AND CHILDLESS WIDOWERS FROM TWENTY TO FORTY YEARS OF AGE

Hon. J. T. THORSON (Minister of National War Services): I desire to lay on the table copy of order in council P.C. 5840, extending the application of the national war services regulations to unmarried men or widowers without child or children who are twenty years of age.

I also desire to lay on the table copy of order in council P.C. 5841 providing for the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

issue of a proclamation under the national war services regulations calling out men who were on July 15, 1940, unmarried or widowers without child or children and who were born in any of the years from 1922 back to 1902, but that persons born in the year 1922 shall not be called out until they reach the age of twenty years.

WAR MEASURES ACT

TABLING OF ORDERS IN COUNCIL PASSED BETWEEN APRIL 1, 1942, AND JUNE 30, 1942

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): On April 21 last I tabled copies of orders in council passed under the War Measures Act between January 16, 1942, and March 31, 1942. I now table copies in English and French of the orders in council passed under the same act between April 1, 1942, and June 30, 1942.

AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION

APPOINTMENT OF RALPH P. BELL AS AIRCRAFT CONTROLLER

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): On Thursday last when the Minister of Munitions and Supply was absent I asked certain questions with respect to the appointment of an aircraft controller, as reported at page 4166 of *Hansard*. The matter was by agreement allowed to stand as a notice to the minister. I desire now to direct his attention to the three particular questions which were asked: Has any situation arisen which makes it imperative to create this new authority and to clothe the controller with such wide and unlimited powers? If so, what is that situation? I should be glad if the minister would answer this inquiry.

Hon. C. D. HOWE (Minister of Munitions and Supply): The necessity for a controller in that particular field arises from the fact that as the volume of production grows there is a tendency for one contractor to move in on the supplier of another contractor. In other words, one factory may be making parts for one aircraft, and without any knowledge of the department in Ottawa a second contractor may place work in that factory beyond the capacity of the equipment, which results in the work slowing down for both contractors. Such cases have arisen, and it is with the desire to make sure that contractors are protected to the extent that their subcontractors are not overloaded that the appointment has been made.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): And these are the only reasons?

Mr. HOWE: That is the only reason.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Was there not full power in Mr. Bell, as director of aircraft production, to take care of any such situation?

Mr. HOWE: No, Mr. Speaker; Mr. Bell as director of aircraft production had no authority over a plant that did not have direct contract with the government.

INQUIRY FOR RETURN

MAN-POWER ACCORDING TO AGE CLASSES—ENLISTMENTS, POSTPONEMENTS, REJECTIONS, ETC.

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. G. DIEFENBAKER (Lake Centre): On June 8 certain questions I had asked in regard to the mobilization of man-power were made an order for return. That information is very necessary, and I should like to know when the answers will be brought down.

Hon. J. T. THORSON (Minister of National War Services): Parts of the return have been completed, but the remainder is not ready yet. I shall make inquiries with a view to expediting the return.

LABOUR CONDITIONS

ORDER IN COUNCIL CONFIRMING EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE AGREEMENTS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA SHIPYARDS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): I understand an order in council has been passed confirming certain agreements between the employers and employees in the shipyards of British Columbia. Would the Minister of Labour table a copy of the order in council?

Hon. HUMPHREY MITCHELL (Minister of Labour): I shall be glad to do that to-morrow.

MOBILIZATION ACT

AMENDMENT TO REPEAL SECTION 3 PROVIDING LIMITATION IN RESPECT TO SERVICE OVERSEAS

The house resumed from Monday, July 6, consideration of the motion of Mr. Mackenzie King for the second reading of Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, and the amendment thereto of Mr. Roy.

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Témiscouata): Mr. Speaker, I hold in my a hand a clipping from the newspaper *L'Evenement-Journal* of Quebec city, under date of October 30 last, in which the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson), who had just returned from abroad, is quoted as comparing the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) to Hitler and blaming him for a lack of energy. According to that clipping the hon. gentleman, who had just arrived from England, said that he had been requested to ask for conscription. Then, sir, I have another clipping from the Ottawa *Journal* of June 12 of this year, in which it is stated that the Conservative vote will be cast to save the government. We see what quantities of water ran under the bridge during that period of time. Now, sir, I hold in my hand a copy of the *Canadian Mining Reporter* of January 16, 1942, published in Toronto, in which appears an editorial headed "The Pro-Conscription Banquet", in which these words appear:

It was a meeting largely composed of people too old to fight and, therefore, exempt from military service, called for the purpose of making military service outside of Canada compulsory upon those who are not too old to fight.

Then it continues:

It is one of the strangest things that a group of men and women—

That is, the committee of two hundred.

—so highly placed as are the people attending this banquet to promote conscription (to use the exact name) should be so blind to the unethical import of their action in urging the government of Canada to violate its solemn pledge to the people of Canada not to introduce conscription without first consulting the people of Canada. One of our chief taunts at Hitler is levelled at his breaking of pledges and violation of treaties. Yet this honourable company of citizens, too old to fight, sees no inconsistency in seeking to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the government as will compel them to betray the people of Canada who voted for them on the understanding that conscription would not be introduced without a mandate from the people.

Sir, I obtain my inspiration from what was said by the Prime Minister himself in this house on June 19, 1940, at page 922 of *Hansard:*

An hon. member on this side of the house made the statement publicly this morning that he felt he could go into his constituency and, by making it known to his constituents that this measure had to do with the protection of Canada and our own Canadians soil—

That was the mobilization act.

—bring forward in a very short time men from the forests, from the fields and from the factories, all prepared immediately to join the Canadian forces to resist any possible invasion, and that he would be prepared to guarantee that that could be done in constituency after constituency throughout the country, once it was understood that there was the necessity of defending our own Canadian shores. I pointed out to him that in doing that he might be making the greatest mistake possible with respect to the national interest; that, to win this war, we might wish to keep at work in the forests the men who are now working in the forests, to provide the timber which will be required for docks and wharves and required immediately; that the men who are working in the factories may be a thousand times more useful to the government of this country in giving their skilled labour to the manufacture of aircraft, munitions, or other weapons of war than they could possibly be in lining up and presenting themselves for military service; equally, that on the farms, if we are to perform what will be expected of us, we shall need all the production that can be effectively and rapidly carried out on the farms of our country.

This part of it should be completed by reading a letter which I wrote to the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) on May 16, 1941, when he asked us to help him in the recruiting of volunteers for service abroad.

Ottawa, May 16, 1941.

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C.,
Minister of National Defence,
Ottawa.

My dear Minister,

Referring to your letter of May 11, there is something that I do not understand.

Eleven months ago, the Prime Minister pointed out to me that in doing voluntary recruiting for the defence of Canada, I might be making the greatest mistake possible with respect to the national interest.

Would there be no mistake possible with respect to the national interest in doing it for overseas service? In other words, how can I do, at your request and for another country, what I had been precluded to do by the Prime Minister for our native country?

Then at page 2079 of *Hansard* for April 23 of this year another hon. member of this house quoted what was said by General Browne:

"The reserve force may have to fight and it must be ready to fight as soon as possible," he said.

"After all, there is no more war overseas than there is here now, and we may have some here sooner than they have, in view of the threats to our coast."

Then Hon. Mr. Godbout, Premier of the province of Quebec, on February 20 stated that Quebec was open to attack from the Atlantic. That view was supported by Rear Admiral G. C. Jones, commanding officer of the Atlantic coast, who with Rear Admiral P. W. Nelles does not rule out the possibility of German submarines and a supply ship penetrating into the gulf of St. Lawrence this summer. Everyone knows that submarines have come very close to my constituency. Unfortunately they caught the navy napping at the time, because I understand they were chased by a boat that was not sufficiently speedy. Then there is something else of the utmost importance; it is a question that I

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273205

directed to the Prime Minister in this house on February 16, 1942, appearing at page 654 of *Hansard:*

Mr. Jean-François Pouliot (Témiscouata): Mr. Speaker, as a private Liberal member of this honourable house, may I ask the government if the Canadian people, following the deplorable fall of Singapore and the notorious escape of a German naval squadron from Brest, can secure a definite guarantee that this country will not be invaded before the end of the war; and if so, what is it? If not, is it the policy of the government to create a large number of mobile units and to improve at once all means and ways of communication throughout this country?

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, on these questions of strategy and war policy, questions that affect other parts of the world as well as Canada and other nations as well as our own, I do not think any question should either be asked in a form which is likely to cause embarrassment, or answered, or attempted to be answered, if there is the slightest possibility of either the question or the answer being misunderstood in any part of the world. I am afraid that my hon. friend's question has been asked on the spur of the moment, and I for one would certainly not wish to reply without due consideration.

The question was put on February 16, and I have received no reply.

Then, at Selkirk, the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson) said that Canadians were the most mobile of all allied armies. Surely they are; they are all outside of Canada. What is needed, sir, is a decentralization of the army in this country. We need good military roads and we need men who are fit to defend our own country.

Here is another question, which I put on June 20, 1940, two days after the mobilization bill was brought up. I said—*Hansard,* page 1053:

Mr. Pouliot: I want to make myself as clear as posible, I am speaking only of mobilization for home defence, and I want to know if a man not in the class that may be called for military service in connection with home defence may enlist just the same, without being obliged to agree to overseas service.

Mr. Mackenzie King: The answer is yes.

Well, now, what appears in the enlistment form? Here is the declaration to be made by a man on attestation:

I, ... do solemnly declare that the above particulars are true, and I hereby engage to serve in any active formation or unit of the Canadian Army so long as an emergency, i.e., war, invasion, riot or insurrection, real or apprehended, exists, and for the period of demobilization after said emergency ceases to exist, and in any event for a period of not less than one year, provided His Majesty should so require my services.

We are told that Canada is just lacking in draftees; that is the news which appeared in the press on June 3. On the first page of the Ottawa *Evening Journal* of yesterday I see that men of special ages will be drafted for the reserve—"Government to follow call-up plan made by George McIlraith." All the cream of our youth is sent overseas, and all we have to defend this country is just the skimmed milk, men who have passed the military age or who are unfit for military service when the distance to be covered by Canadian units is so great.

Mr. RALSTON: Mr. Speaker, I want to interrupt and say that this statement is just as untrue—

Mr. POULIOT: That is all right. I have no time, and he will answer afterwards. I have only two minutes left, and I do not want to be interrupted when I have something to say. If that is not so, the minister had only to deny it on the orders of the day.

Mr. RALSTON: I am denying it now. It is just as untrue as it is mischievous.

Mr. POULIOT: What I want at the head of the Department of National Defence is not a negative minister as much as it is a positive minister.

Mr. McNEVIN: Well, you haven't the say in this matter.

Mr. POULIOT: I will ask my hon. friend to keep quiet. He represents the county of Victoria, Ontario, which was Sam Hughes' constituency. We should exhume or resurrect Sam Hughes, to improve the department.

In the *Journal* we find an article about ministers who are favourable to conscription. They are all named, and there are nine of them. Do they forget that it is time now to look after the defence of our own country? But they are the victims of propaganda. I pity them. We have their names here, in an editorial on June 13: they are all for conscription. Sometimes they say they are for voluntary enlistment, and sometimes they say that conscription will be required if voluntary enlistment is not sufficient. Well, at the rate it is going on, voluntary enlistment will not be sufficient for a long time, because after our resources of men are exhausted what can we do for the defence of this country?

There is only one other thing I will say now, though I shall say something more afterwards. I hold in my hand a newspaper of November 10, 1917, with a report of a meeting held in Quebec city, addressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the one leader who can be compared with Sir John A. Macdonald. We are just as proud of Sir Wilfrid as we are of

C 273206

Sir John A. Macdonald. He said at that time that conscription for overseas was not necessary.

What we need is to proceed according to the act that we have on the statute book. Nothing has been done for the defence of Canada under the mobilization act which we are about to change, but pressure has been exercised on the trainees in the camps so that they shall enlist for overseas. And we call it voluntary enlistment—voluntary enlistment! Farmers who have joined up have in many places no opportunity of getting leave. In many cases it has been denied to them when it should have been given to them. What will happen to the army and to the civilian population if the farmers cannot work on the land?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): On a question of privilege, if I understood the hon. gentleman correctly he stated that on one occasion I compared the Prime Minister to Hitler. I should like to say that at no time, at no place, on no occasion did I ever compare the Prime Minister to Hitler.

Mrs. DORISE W. NIELSEN (North Battleford): I had not intended to speak again in this debate, but I felt that it was very necessary to correct a statement made by the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) who has just taken his seat. When he was speaking last evening he said that I had compared French-speaking Canadians to quislings. I take great objection to that remark. I wish very much that the hon. member for Témiscouata would have a little more regard for the truth when he makes statements to this house.

Mr. POULIOT: The hon. member is not a gentleman!

Mrs. NIELSEN: No, I do not happen to be. It is true also that I have spoken in other places besides this chamber on the question of conscription, but never have I made any statement which would lead people even to infer that I regarded French-speaking people as quislings. I have said, and I will repeat, that unfortunately there are a few among the French-speaking people of Quebec who are playing a quisling role. But that is a very different thing from grouping all French-speaking people together. That has never been my intention. At a time like this, when we read in our daily papers of the fall of Sevastopol and how the Libyan campaign is going, any person or any group of persons in this country who does one thing to retard or to impede the total war effort of our people is playing a quisling role. I would not say that those playing this quisling role come only from among our French-speaking people or from the province of Quebec, because that would be incorrect. I say most emphatically that there are others in this country who are trying to impede and restrict the war effort of our people. I was not prepared to speak this afternoon, but I would mention just casually that I regard the Toronto *Telegram* as being among this class. For a year or more it has been carrying on subtle propaganda calculated to impede and to retard our war effort and to divide our people. There is no doubt about that.

There is a great difference between the attitude of many French-speaking people and the odd one or two among them who are seeking to create prejudices and to confuse their own people.

Since I am on my feet I should like to say a word or two about the amendment moved by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Roy). With reference to the policy of the government it states:

—instead of drawing closer the union of the two races in Canada has fostered dissensions which might cause an internal war, thus destroying the ideal set forth by the fathers of confederation.

In my opinion any hon. member of this house who would intimate that the two great races of this country might be led to internal conflict is playing a role which I cannot call by any other name than a quisling role. This whole amendment is decidedly against any increased collaboration or unity and against improvement in the feeling between the two peoples, and for that reason I strongly condemn it.

Mr. VINCENT DUPUIS (Chambly-Rouville): Mr. Speaker, John Stuart Mill wrote somewhere that even when there is apparent unanimity in the world on any subject, it is probable that the dissentients have something worth listening to and that something would be lost by their silence. I shall be satisfied if after I have finished some hon. member believes that I have said something worth listening to. Beyond that my ambition does not go.

I had prepared with great care a written speech in English which I thought in my naivete to be fairly good, but because of the stern determination of the Chair that hon. members shall abide by the rules, I decided to throw the whole thing into the waste-paper basket. I know your sincere desire, sir, to have representatives from Quebec speak more frequently in this house, and I am rather ill at ease in meeting that desire unless I am

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

able to obtain the indulgence of hon. members. In order to urge that indulgence, I do not think I can do better than to quote the immortal Burns and say to you:

> Thou know'st that God has form'd me
> With passions wild and strong;
> And listening to their witching voice
> Has often led me wrong.
> . . . .
> Where with intention I have err'd
> No other plea I have
> But thou art good; and goodness still
> Delighteth to forgive.

I do not think it is enough to consider this conflict only as a Canadian. In order to have a complete and perfect view of this world conflict one must consider himself a citizen of the world. After careful study of the world situation if we want to maintain our standard of life, if we want to survive, if we want to preserve our human personality, if we want to prevent slavery and paganism, in my view our duty is simple. We must do everything and we must give everything. As Canadian people we must cooperate with the other nations of the world who believe in democratic principles. We must unite and fight our common enemies wherever we can reach them.

In order to be enthusiastic about our activities in connection with our war effort we must first convince ourselves that this war is a Canadian war, that it is not a war of imperialism against another form of imperialism. We must convince ourselves that when we as Canadian people are contributing to this war to our limit we are fighting for our own liberties. So far as I am concerned I am firmly convinced that if there is any part of the Canadian nation which reveres liberty, which cherishes these attributes, it is the race to which I belong. We have many reasons to cherish those liberties. I have not the time to go into details in that regard, but it is well known to every good citizen of the French race in this country.

Having said this, Mr. Speaker, I should like to discuss the measure now before us. The effect of the passage of this amendment of the mobilization act will be to adopt the principle of compulsory service for overseas. I have asked myself, is this a wise measure? Is it necessary to adopt such a measure now? Many times I have asked myself why the Canadian government should force this measure upon us. I am not among those who would impute motives to the ministry, nor am I among those who would charge the ministry with sombre designs. I know perfectly well that every one of them is a good Canadian, just as sincere and just as patriotic as I am myself, and that each of them desires the success of our cause and the ultimate prosperity of our common country. There can be no doubt about that, and if they have seen fit to present this measure, while they might be wrong in their judgment—because as human beings we are all apt to err—neither their sincerity nor their motives, I submit, can in any way be questioned.

Some sections of this country are strongly opposed to conscription for overseas service, and may I repeat what many other members have said, that those who oppose conscription for overseas service are not to be found in the province of Quebec alone. We from Quebec do not like this measure, for certain reasons; but in other parts of the country there are other people who do not like this measure for other reasons. What I resent very much, Mr. Speaker, is imputing to the people of Quebec sentiments which are foreign to our nature. I fancy that some would say—I should like to be wrong—that Quebec is against the bill because the people of Quebec are against our war effort, because they are slackers, cowards and quitters. It is useless for me to hide my thoughts; it is just as well that I should speak openly and frankly in this house. Unhappily, sir, it is true that some of our fellow Canadians share the sentiments I have just expressed, and when they are so strong for putting this measure upon our statute book it is because they want to get these slackers, these quitters and these cowards into uniform. I resent that very much, and I am sorry that it becomes necessary for me to raise my voice to answer such an attack upon the people of Quebec.

The people of Quebec, slackers, cowards and quitters? Just look around this house, Mr. Speaker, and put that question to any member of the province of Quebec who has children of military age, and you will find that the majority of them will rise at once and reply that their children of military age have answered the call.

Quitters? Just go into my province. Go into the parishes, see and speak with the families and ask their views, and you will discover that if there are any people in this country who are anxious that we should win this war, they will be found in the good old families of Quebec.

Slackers? Mr. Speaker, I hate to speak about my own humble person, but I may be pardoned for saying that in my own families I have over twenty relatives serving under the flag. My great grandfather, a captain of militia in my own home town, joined de Salaberry in 1812 and was there at Chateauguay to repulse the invader. Slackers? His

son, also a captain of militia, formed a company in my own district and fought against the Family Compact and the bureaucrats of 1837. Slackers? Quitters? No, Mr. Speaker. God be praised, you will not find them in the province of Quebec. There might be, as the lady member (Mrs. Nielsen) suggested a few minutes ago, a few exceptions, but God knows exceptions prove the rule. While there might be a few exceptions, I read not later than last week an open letter to the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent), written by the Reverend Doctor C. E. Silcox, and what did he say? He said in part:

> The majority of the English-speaking people of this dominion were born in Canada.

And he continues:

> Not a few of them are loud in their denunciation of imperialism; many others have imbibed the "isolationist" attitudes. . . .

Quitters to be found only in the province of Quebec? No, Mr. Speaker. They are to be found in any democratic country. They are to be found even within the one family. It might happen that one member of the family has not been favoured by providence to the same extent as other members of the family. If such exist, I do not blame them; I pity them.

Let me for the purpose of my argument try to give the relationship of our nation towards the world and towards the united nations in this conflict. The whole world is now divided into two conflicting groups. On the one side there are the axis powers, with a total population of 196,000,000 people. They have already conquered, either in a diplomatic way or by force of arms, countries with a total population of 157,000,000, who are now under Hitler's heel.

On the other end there are in the United Nations 1,294,000,000 people, and excluding from this huge number those who for one reason or another are not available, we have left, as a reservoir of man-power, a population of 600,000,000. That is to say, the comparison is 600,000,000 people in the United Nations as against 196,000,000 in the axis countries. That means that as regards man-power we are now three to one. What is our relationship to the United Nations as regards population? The population of Canada, in round figures, is 12,000,000; that is, 12,000,000 to 600,000,000 now fighting against the axis. In other words, comparing our population with that of the United Nations, we are as one to fifty.

Now, we have in the active service, having enlisted voluntarily, over 505,000 soldiers, airmen and sailors, and I understand that the object of the Department of National Defence is to have about 600,000. To reach that goal would take approximately 100,000 more men. Let me point out to hon. members the uselessness, the futility of the measure now before the house, from the point of view of its results. And by the way, I may digress a moment to say that the member for Parry Sound (Mr. Slaght) gave the other evening forcible evidence of this futility when he compared what is going to happen, if this bill is put on the statute book of the country, with what happened in 1917.

By this measure the country is threatened to be divided for many years to come. What for? Merely to obtain by force the enlistment of about 100,000 men, when we know that in 1917, at a cost of many million dollars, and over a period of a year or more, the Canadian government of that day obtained not many more than 60,000 men by force, whereas, during the same period, 101,000 young men enlisted voluntarily. One has only to read the daily reports to be convinced of what I am saying.

Just read the reports in the newspapers and listen to the radio and what do you find? What is the urgent need? Not men. They are telling you that we are short of equipment, short of tanks, short of ships; we are short of guns, aeroplanes and munitions. We are not short of men. Just one of our allies, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to an official report, has 17,000,000 men enlisted. Do you mean to say that these 17,000,000 men, brave and gallant soldiers, if they were properly trained, equipped and fed, would not be able to do better than they are doing to-day?

This is not a mere academic argument; it is a very serious one. It is sufficiently serious for hon. members and even for members of the government to pause and ponder the question. Otherwise it may happen that we might fail in our duty in the matter of production. We on this continent have been called the arsenal of democracy, and while we have been so described, have we been doing our full duty in the production of armaments and of every form of equipment possible to help our allies? I do not think we are doing our duty. We are spending our time discussing the question of raising a few more men by force, but the worst result will be not the raising of a few more men but the raising of prejudices of one race against the other, one religion against the other, one class against the other; and in so doing we are doing what German propaganda is so anxious to see in any country before the Germans take over. This propaganda, as shown by Doctor Karl Hanshofer in his treatise, is the propaganda used by the enemy to conquer the nations of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273209

the world. I have seen with my own eyes and have read letters from Hitler and Mussolini to their agents in this country and in the United States, advising them to be skilful, to use all their tact and their refinements, to insinuate themselves into high social circles in order there to stir up prejudices—the English against the French, the French against the English, Catholic against Protestant, Protestant against Catholic, and everybody against the Jews. That is the order they have given to their agents. And, mind you, notwithstanding the great and important work done by our Royal Canadian Mounted Police, one of the best police corps in the world, there are still in this country German agents who are doing that work to hamper our war effort. And we are to-day, with this measure, doing exactly what Hitler desires—dividing each other on a silly matter like this. It is our serious, our sacred duty to stop helping the enemy in that way, and to proceed, as a real arsenal of democracy, to build more ships, more submarines; to make more guns, produce more food, and supply these to our allies overseas. This, I submit, is our sacred duty.

I sincerely believe that this measure should be abandoned. I do not say this because I am afraid of conscription. Let me repeat here what I have said in my own riding, that if ever this country were threatened, if ever such a state of emergency arose that we should be convinced that conscription was the last recourse to save our democracy, I would be for it and my people would be for it. It is not that I am afraid of conscription; it is not that the people of Quebec are afraid of conscription. They are enlisting in thousands freely to fight anywhere in the world, and they will continue to enlist.

Might I give a piece of advice to the Canadian government. I was speaking a few minutes ago of German propaganda. Among the worst kinds of propaganda in this country are the slogans which are whispered by the agents of the enemy and then unwittingly taken up by otherwise good, but not well-informed people and spread among our families and on the street and everywhere. One of the statements, for instance, which I know to be untrue is that "England is sending her young boys to Canada while we have to enlist to fight the wars of the empire." That is one of those slanders spread by Hitler. If our Candian government does not stop that kind of thing, does not get the official evidence with authentic facts and documents to repel such false information, it is very severely to be blamed.

Another slogan, another whisper, is that Canadians are put in the first rows whenever there is danger in an encounter between the United Nations and the enemy. This is absolutely false, and it is the duty of this government to give the evidence of its falsity through authentic facts and documents. I am going to say something about Hong Kong. I am proud to say that among those brave Canadians at Hong Kong are to be found two officers from my riding. Their parents, who live in Marieville, have never heard any news from them; they do not know whether they are alive or dead. But German propaganda is spreading in this country the information that at Hong Kong there were only colonials—not a single British soldier. This is completely wrong. To help enlistment in Canada we ought to repel and deny with official documents this false information.

We are all of us sincere Canadians; irrespective of party allegiance, irrespective of religion or of race we are all for an all-out war effort. Our ultimate and sincere desire is for victory. Nothing but victory over our enemies will bring peace and harmony and prosperity in this country; otherwise we are doomed to destruction; we shall go back a thousand years to the days of paganism. Our supreme ambition, our sole purpose, is victory. But if the victory is to be complete, effective and fruitful, it must be a victory of justice over injustice, of lofty sentiment of the soul over the lower instincts of human nature, of genuine responsible government over bureaucracy and nepotism. To summarize, it must be a victory over ourselves. Every one of us will gladly make every possible sacrifice for freedom; but when the storm is over, when the sunshine in the sky of liberty reappears, the man who went through these terrible times, gratified with that inestimable gift of regenerated Christian freedom, adorned with living charity, will turn his back on the past, and with his eyes fixed on the infinite where faith never vanishes, with indomitable courage, sustained by legitimate ambition, he will undertake anew to climb the hill of success and to reach the horizon of his dreams.

During the war of 1870 a great writer and patriot, Paul Déroulède, had a vision which was never realized. May I be allowed to quote his dream which he wrote in his immortal poem:

Lorsque nous aurons fait la guerre triomphante,
Et que notre Patrie aura repris son rang,
Alors, avec les maux que la conquête enfante,
Disparaîtra l'horreur qui suit le conquérant.

Alors notre Patrie aimante et sans rancune,
Semant ses jeunes blés sous ses lauriers nouveaux,
Fêtera le Travail, père de la Fortune,
Et chantera la Paix, mère de longs travaux.

C 273210

Et notre Nation lasse de funérailles,
En exaltant ses morts calmera ses vivants,
Et nous ne voudrons plus qu'on parle de batailles,
Et nous désapprendrons la haine à nos enfants.

May I be allowed to paraphrase him and say:

Oh oui! puisse aujourd'hui, tout à l'heure, à l'instant,
Le Canada s'élancer de victoire en victoire,
Puisse—son fier triomphe à jamais établi—
Mon nom être englouti dans ce torrent de gloire,
Et mon discours inconnu se perdre dans l'oubli!

Mr. H. R. JACKMAN (Rosedale): After listening to the many admirable sentiments expressed by the speaker who has just resumed his seat (Mr. Dupuis), I find it difficult to arrive at the same conclusion as he does. He speaks of the part which this country is playing, and the great man-power of the United Nations, which he calculates in hundreds of millions; then he goes on to make a comparison, dividing our population into the total and multiplying our contribution in armed services by the dividend. It shows that we are indeed making an admirable contribution to the war effort, but we cannot take that as our guide; it is fallacious, for many reasons, if one examines the facts—the fighting qualities, if you like, of the people who go to make up the United Nations, and the industrial contribution which those nations individually can make to the common cause. I agree with him that French-speaking Canadians are second to none in the many admirable qualities of courage, fortitude and bravery; the history of this country is evidence of that fact. But it is difficult for English-speaking Canadians to understand how the contributions of French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians can be considered to be equal. It is surely the war of both peoples who make up this common nationality, but according to a return recently tabled in this house we find that enlistments in the province of Quebec since the war began total 74,415, of whom 36,235 are considered to be French Canadians. I do not know the exact relationship which the English-speaking population bears to the French-speaking population of the province of Quebec, but when the figures indicates that slightly over one-half of the enlistments in Quebec are from the English-speaking minority, it surely does not do credit to our French-Canadian compatriots.

There must, of course, be a cause for this. Looking at the individual qualities of the French-Canadians, the cause cannot be found there, so that it must be in the leadership which they have been receiving and to which they have been subjected for the last twenty-five years. On February 5 when I had the privilege of speaking on the plebiscite, I had no hesitation in committing myself to the principle of the conscription of wealth, industry and man-power for service wherever those materials or that man-power could be most effectively used. To-day, however, we have seen the result of the plebiscite vote; and we find that the Prime Minister is still counting noses and determining the course of action that will be followed according to his count. The Prime Minister endeavoured to tell the house that the plebiscite was not a vote "yes" or "no" on the question of conscription for overseas. However, in discussing this simple amendment now before the house the Prime Minister has asked that we include the discussion of the whole principle of conscription. The two are utterly indivisible, and so they were in the minds of the people on April 27. That vote undoubtedly was a vote either for or against conscription, and we know how the people of this country expressed their will at that time.

An analysis of the vote on the plebiscite reveals that the leadership which Canada has received from the Liberal party has not been the leadership which is required when we are fighting for our survival. The hon. member for Mount Royal (Mr. Whitman), speaking last night, referred to the fact that there was no one who could replace the Prime Minister of this country, certainly no one in the ranks of the official opposition. Be that as it may—and we may have different opinions on that question—certainly so far as representing the will of the people is concerned there can be no question that the Conservative party to-day stands for the will of the people in a way that the Liberal party does not. I do not suppose, sir, that ever before in the history of the world has any nation been faced with national peril, even the possibility of extinction, and at the same time suffered a government so lacking in leadership and in preparation for defence, as has Canada. Nothing better exemplifies this lack of leadership than an analysis of the result of the plebiscite vote on April 27. Of the 245 constituencies across Canada, 182 returned a "yes" vote and 63 a "no" vote. No constituency represented by a Conservative member returned a "no" vote. All the constituencies which voted "no" were represented by members of the government party, which government with all its strength advocated a "yes" vote. But its sudden conversion and realization of the necessities in regard to Canada was too late to be of avail. In making a belated appeal to the highest

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273211

sentiments of both national honour and self-preservation the Prime Minister indicated in no uncertain terms what he believed and knew to be in the best interests of the people; and the response to that appeal is an indication of how these sentiments of honour and self-preservation were considered in various parts of the country. The record, therefore, shows that of 185 Liberal constituencies, 63, or more than one-third, voted "no". In the province of Quebec, where 64 of the 65 seats are represented by Liberals, 57 constituencies voted "no", including three represented by ministers of the crown. What retribution for the false political leadership which the Liberal party has given that province for over twenty-five years!

Now the Quebec Liberals refer to the bargain, the contract, the promise which allegedly was made at the time of the declaration of war in 1939, at the time of the Quebec provincial election and again at the time of the general election in 1940. Did the Prime Minister authorize the making of a bargain with French Canada to the effect that Canada would wage only a free, moderate and voluntary war? And did he do that at the same time he was telling the rest of Canada that we were waging total war? It is little wonder that to-day the Liberals in French Canada have no trust in the word of the Liberal party. Knowing the intentions of Germany, as they were known to everyone after the invasion of Poland, how could the Prime Minister have believed that the democratic world was not faced with the greatest struggle for its existence that it had ever known? Having watched the course of international events, the seizure of Austria, the Munich agreement and the violation of Czechoslovakia; having personally visited Hitler in Berlin and seen how Germany had been waging a total but undeclared war for five years prior to the firing of the first shot, how could the Prime Minister not realize that we were faced with the bitterest and most sacrifice-compelling struggle of all time? But what do we find? In his opening campaign speech over the radio he said to the people of Canada that a national government would bring about conscription. Well do I remember when those fateful words were uttered. As one who had tried to keep abreast of international developments and to understand their significance, my heart sank within me that anyone, for base purposes, political purposes, would trifle in this manner with the destiny of our nation.

The most immature politician knew that the people of Canada, after two decades of peace talk and of pacifism, were not prepared to accept in those days, when the false security of the Maginot line was uppermost in their minds, the bitter necessity of conscription. There was always the hope that economic strangulation of Germany might bring about an early termination of the war. Nor am I proud of the record of other political parties in regard to the issue of conscription, which issue was forced upon them by the Prime Minister.

Let me continue, sir, with an analysis of the plebiscite and the effect on the national spirit where Liberalism prevailed.

In the province of Ontario, out of 84 seats only 2 voted "no"; these two constituencies were represented by Liberals. As regards the Ontario constituencies of Cochrane and Nipissing, we find, in the first one, 15,536 "yes" votes and 11,730 "no" votes, and in Nipissing 22,252 "yes" and 17,468 "no" votes. Only by a slight margin did they come into the "yes" bracket. We find that the province as a whole voted 84 per cent "yes". In Hamilton West, represented by the Minister of National Revenue (Mr. Gibson), we find a vote of 21,531 for and 3,937 against. Compare this with the constituency of Lincoln, represented by a Conservative, and similar in many ways to the other; there the vote was 23,702 for and 2,771 against. Take two other constituencies which are closely parallel and represented respectively by a Liberal and a Conservative. Waterloo North, represented by a Liberal, gave 13,077 "yes" votes, 7,055 "no" votes; Waterloo South, represented by a Conservative, 13,297 "yes" votes, 2,334 "no" votes—about the same number of "yes" votes but less than one-third the number of "no" votes.

I go across the country to Manitoba and point to the "yes" votes recorded in the Conservative constituency of Souris—8,046 "yes" to 479 "no"; the second highest percentage in Canada, as compared with that represented by the Minister of Mines and Resources (Mr. Crerar), with 8,829 "yes" against 1,870 "no" votes. Contrast either of these with that of the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson): 11,873 "yes" to 5,860 "no". Truly, Mr. Speaker, leadership counts in this country.

Then we go on to Saskatchewan. There we find that Lake Centre, so ably represented in this house by a Conservative, polled 8,673 "yes" votes to 2,165 "no"; while in the constituency of Melville, represented by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner), the voting was 8,599 "yes" and 6,470 "no". About the same number voted "yes", but three times as many voted "no" as in the other constituency to which I have referred, in the

C 273212

same province. Then we find at Prince Albert, represented by the Prime Minister, 9,884 "yes", 3,195 "no"; Saskatoon City, represented by a Conservative, 16,710 "yes", 2,074 "no". In an area adjacent to Saskatoon City, that of Rosthern, represented by a Liberal, we find 3,527 "yes" and 3,988 "no"—the only constituency in Saskatchewan failing to come under the "yes" banner.

In British Columbia we find the same thing. In Vancouver Centre, represented by the Minister of Pensions and National Health (Mr. Mackenzie), the result was, 21,961 "yes" and 4,922 "no", whereas in Vancouver South, so ably represented in this house by a Conservative, there were 31,986 "yes" against 4,680 "no"—about the same number of votes in both constituencies, but the Conservative member polled 10,000 more "yes" votes.

It is the same story from one end of the country to the other, and nothing is more indicative of the lead which a party or a member can give to the people than is the vote on the plebiscite.

Let me take the results in my own city of Toronto. There the same tendency is shown. The highest "yes" vote in that city, as well as in the whole of Canada was recorded in the riding of Eglinton, represented by a Liberal, but by a Liberal, as we found out last evening, to the chagrin of every right-thinking member of this house, who has found it necessary, on this nation-saving principle of conscription, to differ from a government which refuses to give voice to the will of the great majority of the people. He has given a leadership equal to that which has been forthcoming from Conservative members who refuse to put party before principle. The constituency of Eglinton adjoins on the north my own constituency, and in the north end of that constituency, I am glad to report, there was at least one polling subdivision where not a single "no" vote was recorded.

The other two ridings in the city of Toronto which are represented by Liberal members are Trinity and Spadina. The hon. member for Trinity (Mr. Roebuck) made a speech in this house on the plebiscite which was the most perfect example of mugwumpery that I have ever seen. It was in two parts, one being a high-class exposition of the merits of conscription, and the other an equally high-class exposition of the merits of the continuance of the voluntary system. The people of Trinity, however, returned a vote of 90 per cent in favour of the affirmative. The hon. member has seen fit to be led by rather than to lead his people. How typical of the whole attitude of the Liberal administration. As a result of such leadership, Trinity and the neighbouring riding of Spadina returned the two lowest "yes" votes in the great city of Toronto.

Although apparently the need is still great, time does not permit me to appeal to some quarters of this house on the reasons why we are at war and what we have at stake. With the enemy knocking at the gates, there is time only for action. As I said in the plebiscite debate on February 5, 1942, the Prime Minister and the other ministers of the cabinet failed, without even trying, to inform the people of Quebec of the true issues at stake in this struggle for survival, and the effect on them personally should we not carry the war to a successful conclusion.

Why are the ministers of the crown not telling the people of Quebec what the issues are and what defeat will mean to every one of us? I do not think this government has failed in any more signal instance than in its refusal, its complete failure, to tell the people of Quebec just what are the issues at stake—just as the hon. member who preceded me made a perfectly splendid case not only for Quebec but for the war, and then went on to show that the war is still not Canada's war, and that we are better off in building up an army to defend ourselves on the shores of Canada. I could quote a memorable passage from a speech of the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin) to the effect that we cannot possibly defend ourselves on the shores of Canada against an enemy if that enemy breaks through the line either in Great Britain or on the Pacific.

The leadership which the Prime Minister has given has been far short of what the people as a whole expected. Certain elements in the community have been appeased by the result—of the government's incredibly slow and unrealistic policy which has brought about a feeling of complacency and dampened the ardour even of the most loyal and patriotic citizens. This slowness of action and the policy of playing for time recalls one of Pope's great verses, which I shall quote with the substitution of one word:

> Complacency is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

On the other hand, the Conservative party has not only given leadership to the people but it has not hesitated to advise its supporters, as well as all the people of Canada, in connection with what it believes and knows to be in their best interests, no matter what the sacrifice may be. And the Conservative party does this, not on a single occasion when the enemy is already knocking at the gate,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

but even when the enemy is far off and there is still time to protect our country with a minimum of loss and full assurance of victory.

I wish to draw attention to the statement of the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent), who said that Canadians of French origin had to think out the reasons why they should support this war by fighting the enemy wherever the enemy was to be found, whereas Canadians of British origin rose spontaneously to the aid of Great Britain. In support of his argument he quoted an editorial which contained the following reference to the Prime Minister:

> If he had tried to keep this country out of a war in which the safety of Britain was at stake he would have been swept out of office by a tide of anger which neither he nor his government could have withstood.

He quoted that editorial as being descriptive and typical of the mood and thought of English-speaking Canadians. Without considering the time, September 10, 1939, the events leading up to the declaration of this war, the attempts of Great Britain to keep the peace of the world, and the well-recognized German aim of world domination with its herrenvolk, second class peoples and bartered slaves, his deduction would be quite correct. In the light of the surrounding circumstances, however, his deduction is wholly unwarranted.

Well I remember returning from a tour of Great Britain in 1937 with the reflection that in that country there was too much champagne at the top and not enough milk at the bottom, a condition which is happily being rectified. English-speaking Canadians have had no concern with British expeditions in Waziristan and elsewhere where it was necessary to suppress foreign-inspired and foreign-supported wars against Britain's far-flung possessions. This world war, in contrast, is a war for our survival and the survival of our children. A little later in the same speech the Minister of Justice recited how the French-speaking Canadians had on more than one occasion helped to save Canada from outside aggression. At the same time he pointed out how in 1849 a group of Montreal merchants showed so little loyalty to Britain that, when that country withdrew a preference on Canadian wheat and butter, they signed a petition for annexation to the United States. Almost in the same breath he speaks of the strength of the blood attachment of the English-speaking Canadians to Great Britain and then points out that such sentiment does not exist where there are economic interests at stake. Of course, there is an attachment to Great Britain, because Great Britain has in the modern world been the mother of democracy, the mother of parliaments, and the protector of the small nations and minorities. But no one has given a better demonstration than he of the fact that English-speaking Canadians fight not only for their economic welfare but for their right of survival as a free nation.

The ministers of the crown in the debate on this bill have given us a series of speeches on the subject of conscription for overseas service which are utterly confusing. Some argue against the very principle of conscription while we already have conscription of wealth, industry and man-power for everything except overseas service. There is no uniformity of opinion or of sentiment in the administration of this land. While the outcome of the vote on this matter is not in question, the time of the implementation of conscription for service wherever the enemy is to be found is still in the lap of the gods, as long as the Prime Minister refuses to heed the will of the people and prefers to play politics, always in the hope that time will be in his favour. Time and our preparations for survival are fast running out.

I wish to draw particular attention to the statements of one of the ministers of the crown, as well as of several private Liberal members, all of whom are in their hearts right-thinking individuals, but endeavour to excuse their lack of fortright attitude by arguing that a voluntary army is better than a conscript army, and by pointing out that the volunteers who were serving in the front line in the last war did not look with favour upon the conscript reinforcements. Do they not know that before this war is over, every available man who can be spared will be required to fight the enemy? By their own reasoning, therefore, is it not far better that Canada have one army of soldiers who are selected because of their fitness, rather than two armies, one of volunteers and one of conscripts? The sooner Canada gets away from this invidious distinction the sooner the difference which they themselves brought up will disappear in its entirety. Let us do as the United States does and have universal selective service, where every man and woman will be told to serve in the field, in the factory, or in the forces, according to his or her ability to best serve his or her own country.

The Prime Minister has said that the Canadian army overseas, composed entirely of volunteers, is the finest fighting force in the world. I hope it is, for there are no finer fighting men on the face of the globe, but can we yet say that it is superior to the British or American armies, where the men are selected by a just and equitable law? The Prime Minister's statement is an affront to

the American nation, which is a true democracy, the people of which believe in the elementary principles of justice and equality. I have not heard the point raised in the present debate, but any member who does not believe in the principle of selective service might ask himself whom he is endeavouring to protect. Is he protecting those who have already volunteered to keep the enemy away from our shores, and who, when the fighting starts, will require reinforcements unless they are to bear the brunt of the battle without rest and without relief? Or is he, on the other hand, seeking to protect those who do not feel the call of duty to protect themselves, their parents, their brothers and their sisters; those young men who are content that others should die that they may live? When such a question arises I thank God that my heart and my head both cry out for justice and equality. This inequality is not confined to any one section of our country. It exists in greater or less degree in all parts, and for various reasons. But to-day there is one reason for compulsory selective service which dwarfs all others, and that is the preservation of our nation from a vicious and so far victorious enemy. Inequality is the greatest cause of disunity.

Where there is a difference of opinion, everything must be done to bring about an understanding of the different points of view. But there are some principles and some laws which do not admit of compromise, and one of these is the law of self-preservation. As the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) stated, "We can pay too high a price for national unity." I think he might have added that if we must choose between having a nation or national unity, we must choose to preserve the nation.

I should like to ask the following questions, which I have asked before but to which I have received no answers. What does the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot), from whom we hear so much, report now as the present opinion "of the entire rural population, where there exists a strong sentiment in favour of annexation to the United States, or at least of a formal alliance with our powerful neighbours?" That was his statement to this house on June 18, 1940. Are his constituents who were willing to join the United States willing to be led by their laws now, just as are the million or more French Canadians in the New England states?

And I wonder what is the opinion of the hon. member for Quebec-Montmorency (Mr. LaCroix), who stated on the same day, "Why not continue with our voluntary participation and wait at least until the United States enacts conscription of men?" He was then taking shelter under the Monroe doctrine. Is he now willing to fight for it? It is only in the province of Quebec that one hears the expression "national unity". Elsewhere it is accepted as a fact.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must draw the hon. gentleman's attention to the rule against reading speeches. The hon. member is reading his speech, and I would ask him to refrain.

Mr. JACKMAN: I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that you drew my attention to the rule, because we find that the ministers read their speeches in the house, and it is a very bad example for private members.

There is no one who strives more heartily than I do for the principle of national unity. I believe that those who raise contentions against it do not have that principle at heart as much as I have myself. Certain members who raise this question would do much to destroy national unity; they exercise an influence out of all proportion to their true worth in this house, and members of their party, all of them being on the government side, do little or nothing to offset the influence which their contentions exert.

If there is one thing which the debate on this amendment to Bill No. 80 has brought out, it is this: It has given the lie once and for all to the contention that it was because of the Military Service Act of 1917 and the method of its enforcement that conscription to-day is a subject abhorred by the French Canadians. The French Canadians are now represented in the government party to the extent of sixty-four out of their sixty-five seats. It is their own Liberal ministers who have the enforcement of conscription if this bill passes, and yet we find on their part the same reluctance and the same complete lack of confidence which they claimed followed from the policy of the Union government in 1917 with respect to the enforcement of the Military Service Act. The fact is that the French Canadians as a whole have so far been against conscription and are unwilling to have it, no matter which party, no matter whether a national government or a union government, brings it into being. The reason for that, of course, is that they are willing to fight for their country once they realize the necessity of doing so. Once they come to the belief that the war overseas or the war in the Pacific is about to approach Canada, or that if we fail there it will approach Canada, then they are quite willing to have conscription. But surely

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273215

they must know that if we do not stop the enemy abroad we cannot stop him on the shores of Canada.

Let everyone in every part of this great partnership, this great Dominion of Canada, go forward hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder to face the common aggressor. Let no one falter or fail. Let each strive who can do the most, not who can do the least. We owe it to others that the road is still open. Let us with honour keep that road open and defend it with our united might, so that no enemy, east or west, shall traverse it to devastate our land and our homes.

Mr. R. W. GLADSTONE (Wellington South): Mr. Speaker, we are nearing the close of the debate on the bill to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act. There can be no doubt about my supporting the bill. The problem of man-power will then pass from parliament to the cabinet. My remarks to-day will be directed, sir, specifically to what in my opinion should be done after the act is amended.

I wish to assure the house that my argument in every particular will give the strongest possible support to a programme of action for immediate maximum preparations to destroy the enemy where he is, in Europe and elsewhere, before he can reach our shores.

Some persons look to the past for direction, some have confidence in the methods of the present, while others feel that we should try to redouble our efforts in anticipation of a situation that will become more desperate in the future. I shall consider, briefly, the past and the present, but in the main my remarks will be directed to our policies for strengthening our war effort in the future.

The past. Some look to the past for excuses, some for inspiration. Here, at this time, we find the no-releasers. They say the government is bound, and by their votes it will continue to be bound.

The present. Here we find the reservationists. They will support compulsory service should the necessity arise. They give reasons for delay. One is that Australia voted against compulsory service in the last war. But Australia then had Japan as an ally and France as a formidable ally. To-day our two most powerful allies, Great Britain and the United States, have compulsory service. The reservationists say that men who are called up for service may not make good soldiers. Does anyone ever question the valour of the soldiers of John Bull and Uncle Sam, of Tommy Atkins and the Doughboys? What is the attitude of the Canadian Legion towards military service? These are the men who served voluntarily in the last war. Do they fear that Canadians called up for service will falter? Surely not, when they passed resolutions at Winnipeg and at Drummondville, Quebec, demanding conscription of money, materials and man-power.

The future. I come back to the reservation respecting compulsory selective service to be resorted to only when the necessity arises. These very words presuppose a situation more critical than the situation we are facing to-day. These words carry the implication that when the war situation is more hazardous, more terrible, then we will do more. Let me urge, let me implore, that whatever more we can do we do to-day while yet there is opportunity. Could the situation be ever more critical for Canada than it is to-day, unless the enemy landed on the British isles and the whole world, not excepting this continent, was overrun by the axis powers? Then we would be throttled and strangled commercially into serfdom.

The Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) is right in saying that our only safe line of defence is the English channel. Let us be realists in this dire situation. Let us do to-day what in utter defeat we would do if we still had the opportunity. Let not the day come when in the agony of regrets we may cry, "Alas, too late!"

This brings me to the question: what more can we do? The first step should be to eliminate internal diplomacy. That is cabinet responsibility, and I fear that too often the cabinet refuses to listen to the voice of parliament and to the urgings of the majority of the people. Internal diplomacy dampens the fighting spirit of our ministers of defence for army, navy and air. Nor is it approved by others of our aggressive ministers. They are frustrated in places by the waiting policy —"We will do more when the necessity arises."

My constituents are expecting to-day in their government the courage and determination of Marshal Foch when at the Marne in 1918 he said, "My centre is giving way; my right is pushed back. Excellent! I will attack." Are we blind to our fate if the English channel is lost? Can we not be a unit, exerting all our strength right now to stop the Hun where he is? Shall we risk further the destruction, the rapings, the wholesale murders of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, and in turn on to Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and the west?

C 273216

The blessings of freedom were precious to those peoples. Shall we turn a deaf ear to them and pray that through some miracle we may be permitted to exist in isolation? I have referred to Poland. What about that desolate land? What is the appeal of their leaders who still survive and struggle in exile, as represented by the Polish national council in London, England, of which the chairman is Professor Stanislav Grabski? It can well be recorded in a motion tabled recently in the British House of Commons. I quote:

> German atrocities in Poland—that this house, having learned with indignation and horror that during the occupation of Poland the authorities of Hitlerite Germany have, for no crime other than that of being Poles, officially executed more than 140,000 men and women, tortured many more in prison and concentration camps, deported 1,500,000 to slave labour in Germany, robbed more than 2,000,000 in the western provinces of all they possessed before expelling them to central Poland, thus in every way outraging both international law and the laws of humanity itself, expresses to the Polish people its heartfelt admiration for their inspiring example of continuous and unflinching fortitude, protests in the name of civilization the policy of deliberate extermination of the Polish people, and pledges its word to heroic Poland that her sacrifices will not be in vain and that due retribution for all these crimes will unfailingly be exacted.

The plight of the Polish people will, I am sure, enlist a similar response in this part of Canada. Knowledge of such heartrending conditions ought to sink into the consciousness of any here who would falter, and strengthen their determination to assist the people of that persecuted nation.

Democracy entrusts government to parliament, and parliament delegates administration to the cabinet. There the curtain is drawn, and we know not of the cooperation, the domination and the diplomacy. What we do know is that tens of thousands of civilians have been brought to Ottawa for all manner of service in capacities administrative, expert and clerical. It ought not to be an offence to say that the hugeness of some departments makes it utterly impossible for the minister or his deputy to become aware of any weak spots with anything like the speed that war demands. It ought not to be an offence to say that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) is so burdened with responsibilities in a large way that he cannot possibly check on the many things that disturb our people and undermine their morale. If ever there was a time for Canada to follow the time-tested practice of the British parliament in creating parliamentary secretaryships, surely it is now when this nation is in peril.

The Prime Minister in 1936 proposed adopting this system, but apparently one or two of his ministers of the day dissuaded him against his will. He will meet similar opposition to-day from at least one of his ministers who undoubtedly needs such assistance. I do not propose to argue the point further, except to say that there is growing discontent among private members that the service of more members is not utilized to a greater extent, at least in order to ferret out inefficiency.

The army is being made the subject of attack just now. The outstanding minister and his capable deputy must shoulder the blame, if any. In passing, may I comment on the notable efficiency of the minister's secretary. I urge upon the minister that as a war measure he take steps immediately to get the help of two parliamentary secretaries, one for Ottawa and one with freedom to visit anywhere. There needs to be some uprooting of the armouries' officialdom of peace days. This is no social picnic; we are at war.

It has been my privilege to serve on the war expenditures committee. We had before us as witnesses some dynamic men; we had others who are wrongly placed in the service. When this committee was set up again this session the various opposition parties stressed that the committee and its successors should sit continuously for the duration. They sat for a few weeks last year and then adjourned, against the better judgment of some of the members. The same course appears to be in prospect for this year. The committee is divided into three subcommittees. One of the subcommittees effected savings of several million dollars as a matter of ordinary business adjustment. The entire cost for the whole committee was $17,713.46. In my opinion the committee should take up continuous work when parliament adjourns, and remain at it until the opening of the next session of parliament. The work has been barely scratched.

I have been offering suggestions for improving our war effort. My suggestions and criticisms have been given merely as examples. The suggestions to some extent carry the flavour of criticism. I have spoken with restraint in order not to injure the war effort in any way. The task of the government to-day is so tremendous that errors and shortcomings on the part of individuals are inevitable. It is utterly impossible for the Prime Minister to pass upon or even have knowledge of many things that are done or left undone. That is why I feel strongly that the cabinet should recede from the seemingly immovable stand they have taken, and delegate some greater responsibility to hon. members who are elected by the people and who must answer to the people. I hope the Prime Minister will pay

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

 273217 C

heed to the admonitions of private members and thereby obviate the necessity for more plain speaking and hurt feelings or worse.

It would be unfair for me, in my desire to help our war effort, to overlook the bright side of the picture. Canada has a record of achievement in many fields of which we all should be and are exceedingly proud. Some critics are ignoring this and doing very great damage. Our Prime Minister and all his cabinet have planned and worked unceasingly during these critical years. It is amazing how well they have stood up under the terriffic strain. We are deeply grateful that the Prime Minister appears to be in such good health at present. We realize to-day more than ever before the value of his leadership in pre-war days in knitting together the English-speaking nations for the preservation of civil and religious freedom. History will accord to our present Prime Minister a high place among world statesmen who have striven to promote peace and good-will among nations.

I have already paid tribute to our three ministers of national defence. May I be permitted to single out one or two other ministers for much merited praise. Our Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) has given a demonstration of accomplishments possible only through a combination of high qualities. His pioneering in controls has become the example for similar action in the United States. Our Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) surely was born and trained for the great undertaking which is his responsibility. Who will say he has any superior anywhere for his great work? I pay tribute to his administrators, his technicians and his great, loyal organization.

I pay tribute also to the men and women of the war industries, whose skill I have seen in many factories. He who would belittle our war effort needs only go through one of our great war industries to be convinced of the amazing contributions Canada is making. The same applies to agriculture, with its phenomenal increases in the production of bacon, cheese and foodstuffs generally.

A few minutes ago I said that internal diplomacy dampens the fighting spirit of our ministers of national defence for army, navy and air. I said that the consideration should not be and must not be, "we will do more when the necessity arises"; it should and must be, "we will do immediately all that can be done."

The question is, what more can we do? Surely it will not be sufficient to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act and then dismiss parliament, possibly until 1943. Something more is needed to uplift the morale of the people. If reverses continue, the people's confidence in eighteen ministers who are waiting for the necessity to do more will be shattered. What may have been sufficient in administration before the war cannot be regarded as sufficient for the present herculean ordeal. As a humble member of this parliament I appeal to the Prime Minister to replace his proneness to overcaution by a policy of greater boldness and greater trust in the people whom we represent. Scarcely a week passes without an election being called by Prime Minister Churchill. We would be better with frequent by-elections in Canada. Many elections are needed now in connection with a dozen or more vacancies in the other house, and to bring new and more persons into the administrative circles of government. The country will welcome some assurances in this regard. The other house should be used or disbanded. There are highly qualified and experienced men in that house who should be given an opportunity to render service to Canada. We are paying them and letting them die of dry rot.

This is a programme that I lay on the conscience of every cabinet minister. The only alternative, in my estimation, is that parliament do now prorogue to be called in extra session in September. I beseech the Prime Minister that extraordinary measures be taken for the greater assurance of the men and women of Canada who trust him, who pray for him, and who feel that, with the billions being expended, there should be a broadening and strengthening in administration.

I must now commence to shape my remarks toward a conclusion. I have spoken frankly my views as to the inadequacy of our administration respecting the volume of detailed responsibility during this crisis. I am much concerned about future days and what I have chosen to describe as internal diplomacy. Make no mistake about it; Canada will be saved only by the men behind the guns, shooting outside Canada, on the warships, in the bombers and fighters, and with the shock troops.

Shall we place limits on our gratitude to Greece for her heroic delaying action? Shall we place limits on our efforts to bring relief to Russia before she is crushed? These nations and many others have become martyrs for our freedom. We draft men for service in Canada and territorial waters; shall it be said that we limited our compulsory service to the last area, where we hoped there would never be any fighting? No; that spirit can never win on the fighting fronts, nor can it maintain respect for Canada among free nations if

 C 273218

freedom survives. Moreover, it will be heartbreaking to our brave men on the fighting fronts.

Maximum strength in this war is our imperative duty to ourselves and to our allies. That maximum strength may well be the strength of eight provinces united, rather than of nine provinces with reservations. Is Canada to be in the position of saying to the nations who are defending us all round the world, "We cannot send more men until they volunteer to go, but we will sell you food and guns and bombers and ships." Or shall we, as a soldier said to me in a smoking-car, "use the sneaking way of pressing the lads to go active?"

Russian women are shouldering guns to destroy the enemy, whose plans call for our destruction in order that he may possess our fair land. The Prime Minister, the Minister of National Defence and others have emphasized that the matter of compulsory service for overseas has been magnified beyond its real importance. I agree that it represents but a fraction of the great contribution Canada is making in this war; but it has been seized upon by some as a focal point for attack upon the government in a way that reflects upon Canada's whole war effort. The ill effects of this criticism have spread to the United States. Editorials are being published in that country, one of which I have in my hand which appeared in the Arizona *Daily Star* of Tucson, Arizona, and which constitutes an undesirable reflection upon Canada as a whole and upon one of our provinces in particular. This ought not to be. Our airmen, our sailors, our soldiers, and the men and women of all services created a great and glorious record for Canada long before our great neighbour and ally came into the war. But we must guard against any recession from the high place we have earned in the eyes of the world.

My original plan in preparing this speech contemplated concluding at about this point, but happenings of recent days impel me to emphasize a suggestion I have already made. Some days ago a lady wrote me protesting against certain expenditures for advertising. I replied, giving the best explanation I could obtain from the department concerned. The lady wrote me again, and I will quote one paragraph of her letter:

> I appreciate your courtesy in replying to my letter, but your explanation left me cold. All the more so after Mr. McLean's exposure of a day or so ago. Is there no way of ending this sort of thing which I feel, during war time, is absolutely criminal.

This brings me again to my suggestion that parliamentary secretaries should be appointed, at least during war time. A similar plea was made by the hon. member for Parry Sound (Mr. Slaght) in a speech in this house on February 12, 1942, after his visit to the British isles a few months earlier. As reported at page 588 of *Hansard* the hon. gentleman said:

> I was in Mr. Herbert Morrison's room, and there was with him a young gentleman, a member of the house, whom he introduced as his private secretary. Mr. Morrison turned to him at times for verification of certain figures, and this young gentleman was very helpful. I said to Mr. Morrison, "I don't suppose you could carry on without your private secretary." He answered, "Carry on? I could not possibly. I have three private secretaries, and with them I find it difficult to do all the work I have to do."

Then let me quote one paragraph from the speech of the hon. member for Simcoe East (Mr. McLean), in this house on July 2, 1942, as reported at page 4175 of *Hansard:*

> I suggest that in this one comparatively small department of which I am speaking, $150,000 a year would be a very, very conservative estimate of what could be saved if we exercised the same care in the supervision of the work of this branch that any member would exercise in his own private business.

This saving in one department alone would more than pay all added costs in connection with the necessary parliamentary secretaries. But seemingly the protests of hon. members are to be of no avail, nor have they been under previous governments. There is no existing legislation providing for the appointment of parliamentary secretaries, but I suggest that, if the government so desired, the authority could be obtained before this parliament adjourns. Or, I repeat, are we to adjourn in a few days, possibly until 1943, without any strengthening of the administration? The time of some key ministers is so occupied with details, to their distraction from major planning, that they are unable to take long range views and make preparations to keep the enemy from shooting us down on our very doorsteps. Should there not be ministers without portfolio, who would be free to substitute for ministers who might be absent through illness, or on government business, possibly outside Canada? What is the situation to-day in two departments, namely those of transport and public works? We all regret that the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin), who occupied the two portfolios, was seriously ill for several months. Some months ago the deputy minister of public works died, and as yet no permanent appointment has been made. All this has occurred during a period of much needed, rush construction for war purposes. The Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Michaud) is the Acting Minister of Public Works. The

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

vacant position of Minister of Transport is placed on the overburdened Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe). Why should all this be, during a period when ministers are so hard driven? Why should the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) have had to become Minister of National War Services for many months while this important department was being organized? Why do we continue to add to the tens of thousands of civilian employees and minimize supervision by the elected representatives of the people?

Mr. Speaker, the need for compulsory selective service for overseas is not chiefly or solely for men for our fighting forces overseas; it is for the highest efficiency anywhere and everywhere. Ernest Bevin said, "We can recreate wealth but we cannot recreate liberty". If we place reservations on our assistance to the allies now, how can we expect them to do otherwise with us should the enemy reach our shores?

The constituency which I have the honour to represent bears the historic name of Wellington. We voted 90 per cent "yes" in the plebiscite. In the matter of enlistment we are standing united for total war, regardless of ancestry or religion. I must hold high the torch thrown to us by the men who fought in the last war. I must see that we do not fail or falter in the support of the men who have fallen in this war and others who are now pledged, if needs be until death, that liberty and justice shall not perish from the earth.

Mr. J. A. BLANCHETTE (Compton): Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday, the 1st of July, this country celebrated the three-score and fifteenth year anniversary of the founding of its federal union. It was only fitting that we should have done this in times of crisis, as it is always proper that we do so also in ordinary times. It is fitting and proper that the reverence due our forefathers for this confederation act should be reflected not only in our words but, even more, in our thoughts and actions.

Shall the confederation of 1867 remain, what it was intended to be by our forefathers, a federated union of all Canada? Shall the confederation of Canada be preserved and revered as it has been in the past? Shall confederation continue to be the *modus vivendi* of the citizens of this great dominion? The answer, Mr. Speaker, remains with each and everyone of us, depending upon the stand we take whenever questions of importance, such as the present bill, shall come before us.

There is not an hon. member or a Canadian worthy of the name who does not believe and wish that Canada and the allied nations shall achieve victory. Being all agreed upon the aim we have in view, the division or difficulty, at least as I see it, is rather one of means.

It seems to me that, if national unity in time of peace is not only necessary but indispensable, as I believe it is, in time of war it should not be thrown to the four winds in the presence of an immediate danger or of such calamities as the present war has brought to our very doors. On the contrary, I maintain that the greater the danger, the more unity should be enhanced, for it is in danger that fortitude and strength are needed and should be marshalled; and, just as force is the result of a series of weaknesses joined together, likewise as a corollary is weakness the resultant of disunited forces of strength.

Had I not had occasion to express my views oftentimes on the floor of this chamber on the subject of conscription, I would deal perhaps more lengthily with it at present. I will, however, content myself with merely summarizing the reasons which I mentioned on September 8, 1939, while having the honour of seconding the address in reply to the speech from the throne on that occasion, reasons which I reiterated on February 16 last on the floor of this house.

I have been opposed to conscription in the past, just as I am to-day, because I do not believe that it is conducive to Canadian unity, because it proved almost a failure during the last war, and because present enlistments show that it is not needed at this time. In making my assertions in opposition to conscription, I feel that I am in rather good company, since, of the ministers who have spoken thus far, the large majority have expressed themselves as being of the opinion that conscription is not at present necessary; some of them, and not the least of the members of the government, going so far as to say that it may never be necessary.

That conscription is subversive of our national unity I shall not labour lengthily to prove. We have had most positive proof of this in this very house since the debate began, just as we have had all the testimonials for which one could wish from the press of the country. If conscription is proposed at the present time, be it by this or any other government, a total war effort in its true sense will be but vain words, a thing of the past, an effort which we possessed and which we threw to the four winds, a mirage which we may always see before us, but which, try as we may, we shall not attain.

The charge is sometimes made that Quebec wishes to dictate to the rest of the country by the attitude which it has taken on the plebiscite, in giving a majority "no" on that question. Quebec does not wish to dominate the rest of the country any more than Ontario or some of the other provinces did when they refused to consider the findings of the Rowell commission when all the provinces gathered together here in Ottawa a few months ago to discuss this important matter. Ontario, through her leaders, signified her opposition to this report. I do not believe anyone could have justly accused Ontario of wishing to dictate to the rest of Canada. In like manner, I do not think it can be truly said that Quebec by voting "no" wishes to dominate the rest of Canada. It is true that the holding of the plebiscite cost a lot of money, but likewise the Rowell commission cost an enormous sum of money. There is this distinction. Whereas in Ontario the "no" in connection with the Rowell commission was given by the leaders, in Quebec the "no" was given by the people themselves.

When the framers of confederation established English and French as the official languages of the Dominion of Canada, it was a great step toward national unity. Since 1867 this fact has played no small part in contributing toward national unity. A few days ago I had occasion to attend the graduation exercises at a French institution in Ottawa, and it was with great satisfaction that I heard the announcement made that La Société St-Jean-Baptiste had put up a prize for the student of that institution who had shown the greatest progress in the study of English during the year. That was a contribution toward national unity. On June 22, 23 and 24 last there was held in Montreal in the Sun Life auditorium a conference of different groups which put on a programme under the title of "Pull together, Canada." This was a complete success, and at the end of the conference all the actors, who were Anglo-Saxons, came before the curtain and sang "O Canada" in perfect French. The audience rose at the first note and properly stood at attention. That also was a step toward national unity. Trivial things, trivial testimonials you may say, but was it not Daniel Webster who stated so correctly:

> Great events happen seldom, and affect few; trifles happen every moment to everybody; and though one occurrence of them adds little to the misery or happiness of life, yet the sum total of their continual repetition is of the highest consequence.

Did not another author ably and truly state:

> Think naught a trifle, though it small appear;
> Small sands the mountain, moments make the year.

And trifles, life. We have, and rightly so, certain weeks of the calendar devoted to certain purposes, such as victory loan week, Red Cross week and, recently, army week. All of these are most efficacious in bringing about a certain awakening of our efforts in a given direction, and help to intensify our war effort. At times I ask myself whether it would not be advantageous to the unity of the country for us to set aside a national unity week, when efforts could be made to cement more closely the unity of the country and to destroy the agencies of disunity which are gnawing at our existence. During this proposed week of national unity programmes and functions could be arranged which would perhaps help greatly to bring about a better understanding. Perhaps a golf game could be arranged with the editor of the *Globe and Mail* and the editort of *Le Devoir* of Montreal on the one side, and the president of La Société St-Jean-Baptiste and the grand master of the Orangemen on the other. I feel certain that once such a contact was established and continued, there would result a better understanding and a greater tolerance of one another's views upon national questions, whether they be political, racial or religious.

As I see it, national unity can exist only if there is perfect harmony between the natural and historic rights of one group and the political rights of the other group. Rights, duties and obligations are not necessarily dependent upon a majority-minority norm, unless we have a leaning toward nazi philosophy. These same rights, duties and obligations are based upon the more sacred law of justice. Let there be equal rights for the co-partners who have made this nation, equal rights in language, in the benefits and advantages of confederation in all its spheres and domains. This must be predicated upon the logical deduction of equal rights and sacrifices. As Mr. Leslie Roberts has so truly said:

> Canada has not been truly represented as to whether she is fighting this war as a British colony or as one of the united nations, and it is the continuing element of colonialism in Canada's war effort, real or apparent, that is causing so much trouble.

Frank R. Scott, commenting upon this attitude, states:

> We have not made up our minds to be an independent nation in world affairs and consequently everything we do looks as though it were done for somebody else and not for ourselves. We have failed even to provide ourselves with the symbols of nationhood. Service

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

across the Atlantic represents the imperialist time and looks like defence of the British empire rather than the defence of Canada or Canadian interests. Who will decide the use of Canadian troops overseas? Who will decide when they are to go and where they are to go? These questions touch the realities of the problem in Quebec. The more Canada insists on having a voice of her own in the joint allied councils, the more she gets away from the old military tradition that her part is just to offer troops for Britain to use where Britain wants them, the easier it will be to bridge the gulf between Quebec and the other provinces. This is not a new issue in Canada; it dates from 1763. All that Quebec means by the "no" vote is that she does not wish her children to die for any country other than their own. This is nothing very startling.

We have throughout the world, in many countries, many who desire the realization of Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world". This is a highly altruistic view to take, and would that it could be realized. Any system or plan that may be formulated, however, either as a world plan or as one for our own country, which does not take account of the historic, cultural and political differences of people will fail.

The June, 1942, "Fortune Survey" speaks of Canada's divided loyalties and states:

Question some Canadians, and you find them more royalist than the king. Talk with others, and if you interpret them shrewdly, you find them more American than Chicago.

Although there may be a great deal to be said for such an attitude, I feel that the loyalty which we owe ourselves first and foremost is that due to Canada, if we wish this country to continue to progress as it has done in all its fields and endeavours.

Coming to the second division of my remarks, namely, that conscription was not a success in the last war and that it is not at present needed, I will not annoy this house with arguments already presented in this sense by previous speakers. It is a well known fact that the last conscription measure in the great war brought us at the most some 25,000 men, and I am one of those who believe that were conscription resorted to at this time, the results obtained in additional men would be more than offset by the disadvantages of the measure in other domains and fields of our war effort. No matter what government may pass and enforce a conscription bill, there will be numerous exemptions, as there should be, of those engaged in agriculture, fishing, necessary basic war industries, munitions works and shipbuilding, so that when all is said and done, the additional men brought in by the enforcement of such a measure may again, as was the case in the last great war, compel all those who were in its favour to affirm that, after all, this measure was not necessary and that it was a terrible mistake to have had recourse to it.

As stated by the hon. Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) present plans are to have under arms by next March some 600,000 men. Under date of May 7 last the Ottawa *Evening Citizen* published the following item which most hon. members have undoubtedly seen. It is entitled, "Recruitment jumps sharply with 609 enlistments in a day", and goes on to say:

A total of 609 men, the highest figure in any one day since the outbreak of the war, with the exception of some days during the recruiting campaign of last summer, enlisted Tuesday in the Canadian active army, the defence department announced last night.

Speaking of military district No. 5, including Quebec city and taking in quite a number of the counties in the province of Quebec, the Montreal *Gazette* as late as June 29 last published a news item headed, "Quebec district becomes one of the best". It goes on to say that this has been accomplished under the direction of Brigadier Vanier, soldier and diplomat, and that Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. J. Godreau has been appointed head of the recruiting office, a man of extraordinary initiative and activity, who has made of his new appointment a great success. It further states:

Day after day recruits come to give their voluntary services. Recruiting in the month of May, 1942, doubled that of 1941.

With reports such as these undoubtedly coming in from all the military districts, I cannot fathom, Mr. Speaker, why there should be any need for conscription. At the present rate of enlistments, surely there will come a saturation point in the number of men that Canada will be able to furnish for overseas service, and we do not know at what time we may need an active defence force for our own shores. I heartily agree with the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell) when he stated last week that he is asking himself if we are not doing too much for a country of our population and our resources. That was also referred to by the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe).

A few days ago I had the opportunity of meeting on the train on which the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) often travels, a member of the Canadian munitions board during the last war, and I believe he is acting in the same capacity to-day. This gentleman in conversation with me stated that three years after the last war a cable was sent from London to Canada advising us not to send more men but to send more food, and we may again find history repeating itself in that respect. In view of the number of men we already have in the service, I am wondering whether we should not concentrate most of our efforts now on the supplying of food, munitions and equipment to the allied countries.

At times I ask myself whether some of those outside this house who demand immediate conscription have not motives other than military as their reasons for asking for conscription now. I also ask myself whether, if this measure were passed, they would cease their agitation. Already we have heard and read statements as precursors which indicate that they will not cease the agitation that has been made but that it will continue to be made against this government.

Although I feel that the present government has given us a balanced war effort such as no other government could have given us, and having at all times had confidence in its leader, I sincerely hope that in the event that this bill is passed its principle will not be applied.

For my part I am not able to reconcile the syllogism that conscription is not at present necessary, that it may never be necessary, and that, therefore, we should vote for conscription. I have received an express mandate from my constituents with regard to the matter, and my intentions are to respect what the hon. member for Trinity (Mr. Roebuck) has termed, and rightly so, the supreme wish of the majority of the electors of the constituency.

My intentions are to vote against the bill as it is at present drawn.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before the house adjourns I should like to point out the difficulty that arises in determining whether a member is reading or delivering his speech. The desire of the Speaker is always to apply the rule. Remarks have been made to me as to why I was not calling to order certain members who appeared to be reading their speeches. The reason lies in the difficulty of determining whether a member is consulting his notes or reading, and the Speaker sometimes refrains from intervening before being certain of an obvious violation of the rule. Our desire is, at all times, to impartially apply the rule, to which we repeatedly draw all hon. members attention. These remarks are made now because my attention has been drawn to an apparent inequality of treatment meted out to hon. members. I want to correct that false impression.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): I intend to make to-night only a few brief remarks. The debate has already been somewhat prolonged, largely by the amount of discussion that has been undertaken by members on the government side of the house, which indicates the disagreement there is in the government party and which, I presume, reflects to some extent some difference of opinion in the government itself.

Since I last spoke in this house, when I had the privilege of outlining a detailed total war policy, the military situation has become very much worse. In our opinion this demands immediate action on all fronts, in our own dominion and elsewhere; and I would suggest that this house should not adjourn without taking all the action necessary to meet the critical situation which now faces this country as one of the united nations. To leave the matter to some subsequent decision of the government, by order in council, is, as I said on June 11, something of an abdication of the rights of this parliament and of the responsibilities which we owe to the Canadian people who sent us here.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) himself on more than one occasion has condemned the practice of doing by order in council what should be done in this parliament. My colleague the hon. member for Vancouver East (Mr. MacInnis) yesterday quoted from a speech which the Prime Minister made in this house on June 17, 1920, as reported at page 3691 of *Hansard*, and which I recommend to the attention of the house at this time:

It is beneath the dignity of parliament—indeed, it is bringing parliament into contempt—to ask us to enact as a law a code of regulations that we have not even perused.

That is precisely what we are asked to do now. If we support the amendment contained in Bill 80, we give to the government the right by order in council, by regulation, to bring into effect something which may affect the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men, and without any reference to this house at a subsequent time. The Prime Minister went on:

I hope I shall never see the day when as a member of this parliament I shall be prepared to consent to any legislation without knowledge of the particulars to which it is proposed to give the force of legal enactment.

To-day we are being asked by the Prime Minister, and by the government of which he is the head, to enact legislation which gives

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

that government the right to pass regulations which shall have the force of every kind of legal enactment without any reference to this house. That, I say, is wrong. To postpone the decision and the formulation of a definite and adequate policy at this time would also, in my opinion, be a betrayal of the urgent and immediate needs of this war.

It has been said that the war will be won or lost by the campaigns this summer. I do not believe that to be altogether true, but I do believe that the campaigns of this summer will have a profound effect, at least upon the duration of the war, and that we in this house at the present time should take upon ourselves the responsibility of seeing to what extent we as a nation can make our best contribution to this great struggle.

What are the compelling needs of the situation at the present time? The situation in the middle east, which we have been following with almost bated breath during the last two weeks, again indicates that the primary need in relation to the war in that area is the right kind of equipment in the right place at the right time, and those of us who this evening listened to the news as it come over the British broadcasting system at a quarter to seven will have noted that the Russian papers to-night reported, as did the Russian government, that the situation was one of extreme gravity as far as Russia is concerned. The crying need of Russia is, and will be if the railway line is cut between Moscow and the south, more and more of the right kind of equipment and supplies to assist the armies of the gallant Russian people.

This afternoon in the house the Prime Minister lauded the efforts of the Chinese republic, which for five years has been withstanding the most dreadful kind of invasion and the most dreadful kind of war. During those five years China has cried aloud, not for men, for she has many millions of them ready to fight, but for guns, for tanks, for aeroplanes, for everything and every sort of equipment in order that she may wage the modern kind of warfare. We say that in this country we ought to have mobilized our industrial strength to a greater extent than we have done no matter how well we may have done up to the present time.

We require now, it seems to me, a complete mobilization to make the supreme effort this year. I am not forgetting, of course, that this means that we require transportation, both to transport the equipment and the weapons of war and to transport the men who will use those weapons. So to-day we need to speed up our shipbuilding industry. Let us not forget that while we are doing much now in the way of shipbuilding, yet for a considerable time we did not do nearly what we might have done. We need, too, a planned use and conservation of raw materials.

The statement of the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe), reported in the press—I think it was yesterday—brought that very forcibly home to us all. He warned industry that the shortage of raw material might in all probability mean that some industries would have to close down. We have been using these raw materials at a prodigal rate. We have been using them not for our war effort but for all kinds of peace-time needs, because in most instances it was more profitable to make peace-time goods than to produce war equipment. The vital need to-day which is recognized by everyone, I believe, and projected by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, is that something shall be done to relieve the pressure on the eastern front in Europe by an attack on Hitler's armies in the west. For this we have men trained for many months, trained, indeed, for years; but we are told that up to now we have lacked the ships and the equipment in order to make such a project successful. For this ships and equipment and men are needed, and I believe I have placed them correctly in the order in which they are needed.

What should this house do? In our opinion, this house should decide now, at once, without further delay, for total mobilization of industry, of wealth and of man-power. But what are we doing under this bill that we are discussing? We are merely allowing the government once more to postpone its decision on one phase of the mobilization that I have mentioned, and that not the most important. This, it seems to me, is distinctly an abdication of the responsibility of this parliament; it is undemocratic, it is unworthy of our tradition. This is the place where these grave decisions should be taken; this is the place where the policy should be laid down; this is the place where every regulation to be used under that policy should be carefully scrutinized by members of this house.

I know it was suggested recently that the government should not act finally under the powers it now seeks, until it makes further reference of its policy to this parliament. Then why this debate? Why this debate which has engendered across this country a great deal of bitterness, a great deal of unnecessary bitterness, sowing seeds perhaps of further bitterness? Let us do what it is necessary to do now, in the light of the circumstances which confront us. The course proposed by the government of getting the power now, of

waiting and of coming back again to this house at some future date to discuss the issue anew, is a course, in my opinion, of procrastination born of political expediency, with further bitterness in the offing, and future unnecessary debate.

I want to make it very clear, as I said on June 11 when this measure was under discussion then, that we do not propose to be parties to this kind of political manoeuvring, for such it clearly is. We shall make our protest to-night by casting our vote against this measure. As I have said, we need definite measures placed before this house for the scrutiny of parliament and for the total mobilization of all our resources now; placed before this parliament now, while it is in session, and then the guarantee of immediate action following whatever we decide to do. I am sure that this would inspire our allies, would help to confound our enemies and would give our people that dynamic and that challenge to go forward which they desire. It would show that we are aware of the critical condition of our common cause, and would enable us to hammer out in this house a policy that would suit the peculiar needs of the country in which we live. It would enable us to maintain our unity, to pull our maximum weight and to help to turn the tide decisively in the direction of early victory for the allied nations. If the government will not give such leadership to the country at this time, let it make way for a government that will.

M. CHARLES-E. FERLAND (Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm): Monsieur l'Orateur, le bill 80, que nous sommes appelés à discuter et à approuver, contient le principe de la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer par décret du conseil, sans l'approbation du Parlement. Comme j'ai toujours été opposé à la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer et que les électeurs du comté de Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm, que j'ai le privilège de représenter, sont aussi opposés à cette mesure, je dois déclarer immédiatement que j'enregistre ma dissidence, que je ne puis approuver ce bill et que je me vois dans l'obligation de voter contre le Gouvernement. C'est, cependant, avec le plus profond regret que je me sépare de mon chef sur cette question, parce que le très honorable premier ministre du Canada (M. Mackenzie King) a toujours eu ma confiance, il a encore la constante considération et la confiance générale de toutes les provinces de la Confédération. Le très honorable premier ministre, je suis heureux de l'admettre, est un honnête homme, un parfait gentilhomme, un politique sincère et clairvoyant. Il est l'un des plus grands premiers ministres de l'Empire britannique. Malheureusement, sur une question comme celle-ci, je ne puis le suivre.

On connaît le mot célèbre d'Aristote, ce prince de la pensée antique, rempli d'une pieuse admiration pour Platon, son maître vénéré, mais se refusant à le suivre, pour cela, dans chacun de ses engagements et dans chacune de ses erreurs: "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas!" Je suis l'ami de Platon, mais plus encore de la vérité!

La vérité, monsieur l'Orateur, c'est que ce bill ouvre la porte à l'adoption de la conscription pour le service outre-mer; la vérité, c'est que, après l'adoption de cette mesure, nous aurons la conscription pour le service outre-mer en 1943, peut-être même d'ici à la fin de 1942. La vérité, c'est que le Gouvernement semble se laisser trop influencer par les conscriptionnistes, par la presse anglo-canadienne et par une minorité qui, dans le pays, réclame, à cor et à cri, depuis le commencement de la guerre, la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer.

J'ai approuvé le plébiscite au mois de février dernier. A ce moment-là, le Gouvernement promettait que, s'il était relevé de ses promesses, de ses engagements anticonscriptionnistes, et si la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer devenait nécessaire, cette question serait soumise au Parlement; elle serait étudiée et jugée à son mérite, non par le Gouvernement et par décret du conseil, mais par le Parlement. Le Gouvernement a donc changé d'attitude sur cette question depuis la tenue du plébiscite. C'est une délégation de pouvoirs que le Gouvernement nous demande. Sous le gouvernement Bennett, nos chefs et nos députés libéraux ne se sont-ils pas scandalisés parce que le gouvernement s'était fait donner par le Parlement un blanc-seing, ou un chèque en blanc, pour la distribution des crédits votés pour remédier au chômage? Aujourd'hui, il s'agit de la distribution du capital humain en dehors du Canada, sur tous les théâtres de guerre. N'est-ce pas là une question nationale plus importante que la distribution de quelques millions de dollars?

Des VOIX: Très bien! Très bien!

M. FERLAND: Je répète que le Gouvernement a changé d'attitude. Le premier ministre disait à la radio, le 7 avril dernier,—je cite:

La question de la conscription, envisagée comme elle doit l'être, est une question d'ordre militaire; c'est au Parlement qu'elle doit être discutée; ce que le Gouvernement demande aujourd'hui pour lui-même et le Parlement, c'est la liberté d'étudier et de discuter cette question,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

comme toutes celles qui ont trait à la guerre, sans être lié par aucun engagement et en ne tenant compte que de la sécurité nationale.

Et, plus loin, il ajoutait:

Le seul endroit où l'on puisse décider convenablement de la nécessité d'une mesure ou d'une initiative quelconque est le Parlement; au Parlement, le Gouvernement peut exposer sa poljtique et fournir les renseignements qui, seuls, permettront d'en arriver à une décision sage.

Qui ne se rappelle, monsieur l'Orateur, cette déclaration formelle du très honorable premier ministre, le 27 février dernier, en cette Chambre, lorsque parlant, sur le plébiscite, il nous disait:

Si, à l'époque troublée que nous traversons, si, dans les jours critiques que nous vivons, vous ne faites pas confiance à votre Gouvernement et à votre Parlement, en qui et en quoi mettrez-vous donc votre confiance?

Donc, avant le plébiscite, c'était le Parlement qui devait décider. Par conséquent, j'affirme de nouveau que le Gouvernement a changé d'attitude et de politique, qu'il adopte une politique nouvelle, qu'il adopte même la conscription, contrairement à ce qu'il avait décidé au mois de janvier dernier, à savoir que cette question vitale, cette question d'importance nationale serait étudiée, jugée à son mérite et approuvée ou désapprouvée, non pas par décret du conseil, mais par la volonté du Parlement.

Monsieur l'Orateur, j'ai toujours été opposé à la conscription, et je crois être en bonne compagnie lorsque je persiste dans cette attitude. En effet, si nous jetons un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur la politique du parti libéral depuis 1914, nous constatons que tous les grands chefs de ce parti dans la province de Québec ont toujours prêché contre la conscription. Sir Wilfrid Laurier lui-même, au mois de juillet 1917, donna la véritable doctrine du parti libéral pour l'avenir en déclarant:

Je m'oppose à cette loi de conscription parce qu'elle renferme en germe le désaccord et la désunion; parce qu'elle est un obstacle, un empêchement à l'union des cœurs et des âmes sans laquelle il est impossible d'espérer que jamais cette Confédération atteigne sa fin, le but que l'on recherchait lorsqu'on l'établit.

Toute ma vie je me suis opposé à la coercition; toute ma vie je me suis battu pour l'union. Et l'inspiration qui m'a toujours guidé dans cette voie restera mon guide tant que j'aurai un souffle de vie.

Il n'y a pas que sir Wilfrid Laurier qui a toujours enseigné cette doctrine. Sir Lomer Gouin, l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux, qui a été président de cette Chambre, et, aujourd'hui, l'honorable Adélard Godbout, premier ministre de la province de Québec, et notre chef vénéré, le très honorable M. King lui-même, depuis vingt-cinq ans ont toujours enseigné la même doctrine. Nous ne devons pas être surpris si, après avoir ainsi enseigné une théorie politique, après avoir prêché une doctrine politique de non-conscription pour le service outre-mer, la province de Québec demeure aussi irrévocablement opposée à cette mesure de guerre.

A mon avis, je ne serais pas digne de siéger dans cette Chambre et de continuer à représenter mes électeurs, après l'enseignement du parti libéral depuis un quart de siècle et surtout après le vote sur le plébiscite, si j'approuvais cette mesure de conscription. La loi que nous étudions est intitulée "Loi modifiant la Loi de 1940 sur la mobilisation des ressources nationales". Elle retranche de la loi de 1940 sur la mobilisation des ressources nationales l'article 3, qui se lit comme suit:

Les pouvoirs conférés par l'article qui précède ne peuvent pas être exercés aux fins de requérir des personnes de servir dans les forces militaires, navales ou aériennes en dehors du Canada ou de ses eaux territoriales.

Le Gouvernement aura donc le pouvoir maintenant, par cette loi qui se trouvera dans nos statuts, après l'abrogation de cette clause 3, d'imposer la conscription par décret du conseil. Il aura le droit d'envoyer en dehors du Canada et de ses eaux territoriales, partout, sur tous les théâtres de la guerre, nos recrues et nos militaires qui ont été mobilisés, depuis juin 1940, pour leur service militaire, sous la garantie légale et formelle que jamais ils ne seraient appelés à servir en dehors de notre pays.

Nous sommes sur le point de prendre le vote sur cette importante question. Nous pouvons aujourd'hui tirer des conclusions. Nous savons maintenant quelle est l'attitude de la plupart des députés de cette Chambre et nous devons constater qu'il a été établi péremptoirement, à la satisfaction des plus exigeants, que la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer n'est pas une mesure actuellement nécessaire. Le très honorable premier ministre a répété souvent depuis plusieurs mois, et encore ces jours derniers, que la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer n'est pas encore nécessaire et qu'elle ne sera peut-être jamais nécessaire. Et la plupart de ses ministres n'ont-ils pas soutenu la même thèse et fait la même déclaration? Tous, ils nous ont dit que, au moment actuel, le système du volontariat est satisfaisant, que nous avons suffisamment de volontaires pour répondre à tous nos besoins et que la conscription n'est pas nécessaire.

Les conservateurs—et c'est leur politique—nous ont dit, eux, qu'il faut la conscription immédiate pour le service outre-mer. C'est leur doctrine, c'est la théorie du parti conservateur. On ne doit pas être surpris de cette

attitude. Ils sont logiques avec eux-mêmes. Depuis vingt-cinq années, ils enseignent cette théorie, ils prêchent cette doctrine.

Quant aux députés libéraux de la province de Québec, ils ont continué logiquement à suivre la tradition et les enseignements répétés et approuvés par leurs chefs et au sujet desquels il n'y a pas eu de protestations depuis vingt-cinq ans. Ils ont continué à s'opposer à la conscription. Que disent les députés libéraux de langue anglaise? Si j'en excepte quelques-uns, que je pourrais compter sur les cinq doigts de la main, la plupart des députés libéraux de langue anglaise ont tous pris la défense du Gouvernement et de sa politique actuelle du volontariat, et la plupart d'entre eux ont admis et déclaré que, dans le moment, la conscription des hommes pour service outre-mer n'est pas nécessaire. Il est donc prouvé et admis par l'immense majorité des membres de cette Chambre que la mesure que l'on nous demande d'adopter ce soir n'est pas nécessaire. C'est une mesure de conscription pour le service outre-mer que tout le monde proclame n'être pas nécessaire. Nous n'avons pas besoin de cette mesure-là. Mais nous l'adoptons quand même et nous allons insérer un bill de conscription dans les statuts du Canada.

Monsieur l'Orateur, sans prolonger trop mon discours, car je veux être bref, je désire signaler quelques déclarations des ministres de notre Gouvernement. L'honorable ministre des Munitions et des approvisionnements (M. Howe) a affirmé, au cours de ce débat, qu'il y avait de nombreuses raisons et de fortes pour que le Canada concentre ses efforts à ravitailler les nations alliées de fournitures de guerre, plutôt qu'à négliger ce domaine en vue d'envoyer des hommes outre-mer en quantité négligeable, si l'on tient compte des effectifs en présence dans le monde. Le rôle du Canada, disait-il, consiste à maintenir, entre la production des fournitures et des munitions et la mobilisation des soldats, une politique "équilibrée."

Et l'honorable ministre de l'Agriculture (M. Gardiner) disait qu'avec le système actuel, le volontariat, on pourrait prélever une armée de 750,000 hommes sans la conscription et que, d'ici à la fin de l'année, on aurait déjà obtenu au moins 600,000 soldats. Que disait le ministre des Services nationaux de guerre (M. Thorson)? Il faisait, lui aussi, après le ministre des Munitions, après le premier ministre lui-même et après le ministre de l'Agriculture, l'un des plus forts plaidoyers contre la conscription que nous ayons entendus dans cette Chambre. Je note ici quelques-unes de ses déclarations: Tous les arguments visant la thèse des impérialistes et des tories, disait-il, se confondent. Particulièrement, leurs arguments confondent la guerre totale avec l'imposition de la conscription. Je suis convaincu, a-t-il affirmé, que l'imposition de la conscription à l'heure actuelle ne constitue pas un progrès vers un effort de guerre totale.

Je pourrais citer plusieurs autres ministres. Je pourrais citer le ministre de la Justice (M. Saint-Laurent) qui, dans un discours magistral, a bien représenté, lui aussi, le point de vue des Canadiens français. Il a parfaitement démontré que la conscription non seulement n'est pas encore nécessaire mais qu'elle serait nuisible à notre effort de guerre et à l'unité nationale. Et n'avons-nous pas entendu, hier même, l'honorable ministre des Pêcheries (M. Michaud) nous dire que la conscription, à l'heure actuelle, serait un suicide pour le parti libéral? Monsieur l'Orateur, je n'ai pas l'intention de faire partie de l'équipe des suicidés et je suis bien décidé à voter contre cette mesure de conscription.

Malheureusement, le Gouvernement, par cette mesure, s'éloigne des principes adoptés par le parti libéral depuis vingt-cinq ans. Je considère que cette mesure est antilibérale, antidémocratique, antinationale et que c'est le peuple qui, par ses représentants au Parlement, devrait être appelé à décider une question de cette importance, et non le Gouvernement lui-même. Le Canada fait un effort de guerre total; je suis satisfait de l'effort de guerre du Canada. J'approuve le Gouvernement dans sa politique générale de participation à la guerre, d'aide aux alliés, en même temps que nous pourvoyons à la défense du Canada. Mais notre pays ne peut pas être à la fois le plus vaste grenier et le plus grand arsenal de l'Empire britannique et, en même temps, le plus grand fournisseur de soldats à la cause des alliés. Nous n'avons, en chiffres ronds, que douze millions de population. Nos voisins du sud ont 134 millions d'habitants, et l'honorable ministre des Munitions et des approvisionnements nous disait, au cours de ce débat, que les Etats-Unis n'atteindront l'effort de guerre du Canada que le jour où ils auront placé sous les drapeaux et au service des alliés, sur tous les théâtres de guerre, au moins 6 millions de soldats.

Nos ressources sont limitées. La bonne volonté du peuple canadien est sans limite, il est vrai, mais il me semble que, dans un certain milieu, chez nos adversaires, on voudrait, par une forte pression, pousser le Gouvernement à mettre tout à feu et à sang dans notre pays, avec le résultat qu'après la guerre la population canadienne serait mécontente du parti libéral.

Les provinces anglaises auront de l'animosité contre la province française. Il y aura une querelle de races, une division dans le

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

pays. L'unité nationale sera brisée par cette mesure de coercition, et tout cela parce que le Gouvernement aura écouté une minorité dans ce pays, une minorité qui réclame sans cesse et sans nécessité une mesure de conscription. Je dis, à dessein, "une minorité". Au cours du débat, nous avons entendu des députés déclarer que le vote affirmatif du peuple canadien sur la question du plébiscite signifiait le consentement à la conscription. Quelle que soit l'interprétation que l'on puisse donner à cette mesure, je dis qu'il n'y a qu'une minorité qui a dit "oui" lors du plébiscite. Il y avait sur les listes électorales 6,800,000 électeurs et électrices; il n'y en a que deux millions et demi, sur 6,800,000, qui ont dit "oui" et, encore là, ces deux millions et demi n'ont pas dit au Gouvernement: Nous voulons la conscription. C'était un plébiscite et non pas un referendum sur la question de la conscription, comme le voulait sir Wilfrid Laurier en 1917. Le très honorable premier ministre et bien des orateurs après lui disaient à la population qu'un vote affirmatif ne signifiait pas la conscription, mais voulait tout simplement dire qu'il s'agissait de faire confiance au Gouvernement, au premier ministre et au Parlement, qui devait étudier et décider lui-même cette question.

Monsieur l'Orateur, je termine mes observations afin de ne pas prolonger ce débat. Napoléon Ier, qui, pourtant, avait rétabli l'ordre des avocats, aboli durant la révolution française, voulait que l'on puisse couper la langue à tout avocat qui critique le gouvernement. Je termine en disant que je m'oppose à cette mesure et que je m'opposerai à toute autre mesure de conscription, même si l'on devait me couper la langue.

Mr. J. H. HARRIS (Danforth): I appreciate the opportunity, Mr. Speaker, of again voicing my sentiments, on behalf not only of my constituents, but of the Canadian people, in asking, pleading, yes, and demanding that those in authority over us give us more and more of an all-out war effort. I was privileged on armistice day some nine or ten months ago to make that plea. I did so in no uncertain terms, and I should like to be privileged to do it again to-night. My sentiments were reiterated in February, March, April, May and are again to-night.

I am not so much concerned about the amendment as I am about the main motion. I feel disposed to vote for the main motion, but before I cast my vote I want to hear from the lips of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) that he will carry out his pledge to the Canadian people and give us action on the motion which eliminates section 3 as well as action on the mobilization act while we are here. He should not wait until parliament prorogues. To my mind, the travesty of the whole situation is that for six long weeks or more we have listened to the pros and cons of an issue which has stirred up our people in different parts of Canada. A vote is to be held toward the close of the session; recess will be declared; and then, because of the procrastination of our leaders, the country will dilly-dally along for another two, three or four months before some action is taken on something which is vital to our country. The hon. member for Wellington South (Mr. Gladstone) intimated that it might be 1943 before we, assuming our duties as members representing constituents, shall have an opportunity of voicing our opinion upon whether the government is going far enough, and perhaps some of us passing our opinion that the government is not going far enough.

I am sorry to say that Hitler has made some progress with an all-out effort on behalf of his people. Anything less than that on our part, any half way measures will place this nation in a position similar to the positions of those other nations of which we have read. We can hardly imagine that what has happened there could happen here. To read the press is like reading ancient history, like reading of something that did not happen in our time. I wonder if we are not going to know what is going on in this world until the enemy comes up the St. Lawrence and bombards those shores, or comes up through the lakes to Kenora. Are we not going to wake up to the situation until that time? Are we going to sit and argue about what happened hundreds of years ago, as the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) was trying to tell us a few days ago? Should we not be realists and realize what is going to happen? The Aleutian islands have been attacked and the Japs now have a base there. If we do not attend to the situation along with our cousins to the south, the Japanese will be able to make an entry there.

What are the people of British Columbia thinking? They are thinking as they have always thought, that we as part and parcel of a section of the civilization of this world should, side by side with Britain, protect ourselves. Many of these people came from Great Britain, but many others are of the race represented so well in this house by the hon. member for Skeena (Mr. Hanson). They are ready to do their part to serve this general cause. They did not vote "yes" on the plebiscite because they were afraid, because they were nervous; they voted "yes" because they had red blood running through their veins. I was going to say "red corpuscles",

but they have red blood running through their veins. These people have assimilated the ideas of Canadianism, and they see a great future for everything that Canada holds dear. Not only are they ready to fight and work 100 per cent for the cause, but they feel that the elimination of section 3 should make it possible for all of us to do that. They look to us for help on that particular coast.

The people in the three prairie provinces voted "yes" on the plebiscite for a similar reason. In my opinion, they voted "yes" for conscription. There is not a list of casualties overseas that does not contain the name of someone from Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba. If the records are searched it will be found that the people of these three provinces have come to the front, particularly in connection with their defence, perhaps quicker than any others. My hon. friends in front of me come from down by the sea, the maritime provinces. I do not know whether they have in their hearts and minds the ideas that were given last night to this honourable chamber by the Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Michaud). I feel that I know these people because I know some of their history. I think of them as the sons and daughters of those who came over on the ship *Hector* many years ago. Running through their veins is the blood of the highlanders who fought on the Plains of Abraham. When they voted "yes" for the plebiscite, in my opinion they voted for conscription.

We all know what the answer was in those two keystones of the arch of confederation—Ontario and Quebec. We have heard it said as to how Ontario feels. I hesitated to participate earlier in this debate because I felt that the house was getting too much of a feeling from Ontario, particularly the central part. I deprecate with all the intensity I can put into my words some of the utterances which have been made in this honourable chamber with regard to Toronto. Toronto is no mean city. The citizens of Toronto are no mean people. They contribute much. Even some Ontario members criticize the one-tenth of Canada's population which happens to be in that particular centre of Toronto. There are others who may have a little more cause to criticize because of press statements and other utterances which have emanated from that particular centre. But to them all I say, "you are doing an ill service, a disservice, when you criticize the effort and energy that the Toronto people are putting into the war effort".

The hon. member for Eglinton (Mr. Hoblitzell) has been favoured with a seat behind the treasury benches. Of course he could not put across his full message last night, but we all know where he stands. When the hon. member for Eglinton rose in his place to make his speech, in his first sentence he gave credit to you, Mr. Speaker, for finding a place and giving him time in which to speak. But before that sentence had come to a full stop, there was a suggestion that he was not having the full accord of the whips of the Liberal party who are at present charged with the responsibility of arranging the list of speakers. My point is that he represents a large body of Toronto electors, as I do, who voted "yes" on the plebiscite by twenty to one, and they also thought they were voting "yes" for conscription. So much for the people of Ontario.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that I know my good friends in the province of Quebec. I challenge anybody to produce any sentence of mine in a period of two decades which casts any reflection on their Canadianism, on their fixity of purpose, or on their anxiety to serve this country in every field in ordinary peace time. At the same time I make this general observation that the leadership they have been getting has not been of a kind which would tend to let them come to their own conclusions in a quiet way. True are the words of the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Picard) when he said that it is the 10 per cent, these demagoguges, who are the ones that are saying things and giving leadership of a kind in the province of Quebec; but the sound-thinking people of that province—and that takes in, he said, 90 per cent of its people—have a love and admiration for British institutions and are devoted to the constitution and to British ideals, but the leadership they have been getting across the whole of Canada has not given them much to look up to.

What has the Minister of Pensions and National Health (Mr. Mackenzie), who was leading the house a few moments ago and who is not in the chamber at the moment, to his credit in the matter of leadership in the matter of unity in this whole dominion? Where does he stand in this debate? Of course he is going to vote for the elimination of section 3. But how does he stand on conscription? How does he stand on the plebiscite? We have yet to learn whether he is of the right blood and the right stuff. He has not given the leadership we would like to have, and I feel badly for the people of his province for the leadership they are getting in these difficult and trying days.

I might almost join the three prairie provinces. I did not like to hear the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) say from his place in the house the other day that any party in this country which would impose conscription must have no political past and would certainly have no political future. I wonder

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

whether he would pin his faith and his action and his war effort on a political sentiment of that kind.

There is quite a diversity of opinion when one comes to Manitoba. What is the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson) doing to make sure we get an all-out war effort? I would like to let the women of Canada answer that. What do the Canadian Women's Voluntary Services think of the effort he is making on behalf of Canada at this difficult time? When they of their own free will and by their own efforts were organizing the women of Canada as best they could to carry on patriotically in this war, suddenly they found themselves bereft of their name, and their objectives taken away from them, through the formation of the Women's War Services of Canada. The Canadian Women's Voluntary Services were doing all their work voluntarily, free of cost to the government, at their own expense; yet they were supplanted overnight by an organization that pays some $4,800 for a chief, $3,600 for an assistant chief, and salaries to many others. It may have been necessary to put that work in some sort of order, but would not the better way have been to use the Canadian Women's Voluntary Services, which was already in existence?

Again, referring to a committee on which I have the privilege to serve, I find that in the division which has to do with national salvage and which was under the supervision of a dollar-a-year man, one Mr. Mark Cohen, who was doing a real service to the country in that position and knew something about the business, he has been supplanted by a Mr. Laferle, at $5,000 a year. He was transportation manager for one of the large companies, but I have not yet been able to find out whether he knows a great deal about the job of work he is now doing.

The idea I want to leave with this house is that the Minister of National War Services, with his past history and his isolationist speeches in this house, and by his very make-up, is not of a kind to stiffen the backbone of the Prime Minister so that he may give us the all-out war effort that our people demand.

The Minister of Mines and Resources (Mr. Crerar), who served in the last Union government, a valuable man of great experience, has been in many grooves of thought, politically speaking, and has hopped from one to the other faster than a grasshopper out west can hop. I think one more hop from him would be a good thing for Canada, and that is if he were to hop across the Hall of Fame to the senate chamber and allow another minister to take his place. I say that with all kindliness, because I have a great deal of admiration for him, but he lacks the push and drive needed in a minister in war time. He is not as young as he used to be.

I come now to my hon. friends who twin up as the exemplification of youth in this cabinet, gallant and honourable men, the Minister of National Revenue (Mr. Gibson) and the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). Let them rise in their places and show their youth; let them not only show that they have running through their veins the white corpuscles of famous grandsires, but let them try to dig up a few red corpuscles also. So far in this debate we have only had manifestations of the white atom in the ministerial blood stream. I should like to see, especially in this time of stress and strain, the red corpuscles, diatoms or dyads, coming to the surface in these two youthful ministers to prove that they are worthy sons of worthy grandsires.

My hon. friend the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell), gallant gentleman that he is, served in the navy and shows some independence of thought. He has a grip on his department, but let me tell him, Mr. Speaker, that he is not simply operating a department in these serious days but is helping to decide policy on behalf of a nation that is in peril. When he put out to sea as he did in his fine speech the other day, so far, so good. It was too bad that he had to limp back to port. He did not stick to his guns, But he has a chance to redeem himself yet and to come out for an all-out war effort.

My hon. friend (Mr. Howe) who operates the greatest spending department of all in the government should have more help and assistance. I am not going to say very much about him. I would hesitate to harass any minister of the crown, and anything I do say I hope will be of a constructive nature. If it is not of a constructive nature, I trust at any rate it will be of the kind that will rouse hon. gentlemen from their complacency and impel them to more and more concerted action.

From the province down by the sea comes the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley), who is doing a good job in his department, though whether or not he is more of a tax collector than a Minister of Finance is something we have yet to find out. If I could be as modest as he looks in carrying that portfolio, I would feel that perhaps modesty was a blessing under every circumstance. I say to him that he should carry out the ideals of a Minister of Finance, the ideals that he has in his mind and heart, so far as the conduct of the war is concerned. If he does, the Prime Minister

will be greatly assisted in observing the pledge which he gave to the Canadian people when he spoke on this particular measure, declaring that he wished to be free. As I remember his words, he said that in the light of the discussions which would take place in the house in this debate—and he invited speeches from all hon. members—he was determined to give us action.

My leader (Mr. Hanson) on June 9 made a statement which was repeated to-night by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. Coldwell), and when the Prime Minister makes his statement in closing the debate I would ask him to reiterate what he said with regard to such action as would be taken after the casting of to-night's vote. I have still an open mind, in view of all these discussions, as to the way in which I am going to vote. I feel like voting for the elimination of the section, and supporting the main motion, but as regards the amendment I am not quite so sure. Once this discussion is out of the way, I hope that we shall have some action on the part of the government, which will result in revitalizing the people throughout Canada and inspiring them with the confident belief that we have an active government that will support the war effort in every possible way.

I have a couple of minutes to spare, and I will therefore come back to the Department of Munitions and Supply. I made a suggestion to the minister in charge of that department and coupled it with a suggestion to the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson). The condition that obtains to-day with respect to those employed in munitions and supply is that they are taking young men of military age for the production of commodities we need in the war—munitions and supply. But old men are not wanted. On Saturday morning last a man named Francis Wilmot, about fifty years of age, applied to the John Inglis Company for a position, but he was rejected on the ground that he was too old. To-day in my mail comes a letter dated July 4, from a young man. I will give the letter to the minister in confidence, because I do not want this young man to be prejudiced in his position with the John Inglis Company. This letter will explain the point I am trying to make. In the course of it this young man says:

> The John Inglis Company where I am employed in . . . division, under . . . has taken notice of my application for postponement of my military duties.

This young man is twenty-two years of age, and he was called on June 30. He has eight days from June 30 in which to appear. He wants a postponement and he is of military age, but an older man of fifty years cannot get a job in the plant. The munition plants are filled with young men who should be serving in the ranks in the army. Can you build an army with men of forty to forty-five? To a degree, yes. At twenty-five I could swim a mile, but at fifty I can swim only a quarter of a mile.

An hon. MEMBER: Can you prove it?

Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): I can prove it. In your salt water, with the buoyancy, I might be able to manage a little more. However, my point is that the Prime Minister could not run one hundred yards as fast to-day as he could twenty-five years ago—

An hon. MEMBER: You don't know the Prime Minister.

Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): I could say something rather unkind but I will not. It might depend on who was chasing him. The house has the sense of what I am saying.

An hon. MEMBER: No.

Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): The older men, I contend, should be put into the munitions plants, and the younger men should be serving in the defence of their country.

Going down again to the province by the sea, we find the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston), who knows pretty well the conditions that exist there, and his views with regard to the plebiscite and conscription are well known. They are not quite as clear, concise and powerful as I should like to see them driven home to his colleagues in the House of Commons. They are not quite as clear, concise and powerful, or as well driven home, as the views of the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power) who gave the honest and frank statement of a statesman. They are not as clear, concise and powerful, either, as the views of his colleague (Mr. Macdonald, Kingston City), who comes from down by the sea. He gave a frank statement and, as I understood it, he expressed himself bluntly with regard to the question of conscription. We have three more ministers, hon. gentlemen from the province of Quebec. There we have a review of the situation; there we have a picture of the Liberal party in action. So much for the treasury benches; so much for the picture of the Liberal party in action.

Then we had the speech this afternoon of the hon. member for Wellington South, and other speeches mostly from hon. members from Quebec. We had one from the hon. member for Humboldt (Mr. Fleming), and a few from hon. gentlemen from other parts of the country who were not quite sure which way they ought to jump.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

I like the rugged honesty of the ex-Minister of Public Works, the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin). He told us in precise terms that he had divorced himself from every other consideration in his older days in the determination to stand by his people. He said he would translate to the house the ideas which actuate the people of his province. In other words, he was the mirror image and reflection of his people. I do not agree with the sentiments he expressed. I like far better the courageous attitude taken by the Minister of National Defence for Air. He is a Canadian from the province of Quebec, as is the ex-Minister of Public Works, but he also remembers that he is a Canadian first and a Quebecker second.

Where does the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) stand? What is he? I listened and tried to understand his position, but I could not form a conception of just where he stands. I wonder what attitude he will take with regard to the defence of Canada league, or some such organization, which is at present working in the province of Quebec. The people in that province have subscribed to four principles, one of which is that they will not stand for conscription. As to the other three, hon. members will find them set out in the press. I will not trespass on my own time in order to recite them.

I wondered when I read those four clauses which it is suggested might be read from the church steps on Sunday whether the Minister of Justice will take them under review and see if they are not much more of a hindrance to recruiting than anything that fell from the lips of Colonel Drew. I am using that only as a parallel. The solid thinking people of Quebec have no leadership, have no head; they have had twenty-five years of listening to leadership of a kind that has made for disunity in this country. I think on mature reflection, after a little more experience in the Canadian House of Commons, the Minister of Justice will not carry us back to 1849, to two or three hundred years ago, as he did. That will not help in any way the unity of this country. To my mind it does not help at all; it hinders recruiting; it hinders Canada from going forward in the way she ought to go. I hope the good people of the province of Quebec will frown these resolutions down:

1. Firm determination never to accept conscription for overseas service nor any measure which leads thereto or renders its application possible;

2. To demand of the government that it do not amend article 3 of the mobilization act;

3. To recall to the government that the adoption of any such measure of conscription will forever compromise the unity of Canada; that it may perhaps lead French Canadians to doubt the accuracy of the allied war aims because the government will assume an attitude contrary to that defined in the Atlantic charter by Roosevelt and Churchill;

4. To give to the present resolution the greatest possible publicity in order to inform the public, either by reading the resolution at the doors of the church on Sunday or by distributing copies or by publishing it in the local and parochial press or by means of posters.

I hesitate to mention the church of any denomination, but I take my lead from the Minister of Justice when he referred to the church in this chamber and what the church thought about things.

I ask, who is the King of Canada at the present time? King George. When the oath of office is taken, hon. members who occupy a seat in this chamber swear allegiance to King George. Whom then are we fighting for? Are you going to fight for your king, or are you going to go back on your oath of allegiance? Listening to some of the speeches in this house or reading the translation of some of them, I say with due respect to my colleagues that in the heights of eloquence to which they rose some of them forgot the oath of allegiance which they had taken. They forgot where they are heading. These leaders who will make these speeches on the church steps about these four resolutions, where are they going to lead you? Can you go to the United States? You do not want to go to the United States; your church does not want you to go there. The Minister of Justice will remain here in Canada; he is of Canadian birth. Do my hon. friends from Quebec want to have an independent republic within the confines of Canada? By no means. We can work together, but we cannot do so if a leading minister of the crown states from his place in this house in effect that, "we are impossible of assimilation". That is not so. I know it is not so. From the very depths of my soul I say, after twenty years here and after doing business for over thirty years with people of Quebec, that assimilation is possible. Some of my best business associates and friends are French Canadians. If, Mr. Speaker, you will pardon a personal reference, an associate of mine earns a salary by teaching the French language. That is the way we can get along together. I say to the Minister of Justice, do not speak about the possibility of separation. I am glad to see the minister shaking his head, saying "no". I exhort all my fellow members when making speeches to remember that they swore to be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George VI, but bear that allegiance and do that work side by side with your fellow Canadians of English-speaking

origin and side by side with Britain in an all-out war effort. Hitler trampled on the nations which were giving a half-out effort. Do not let it be said that we Canadians in our day and generation in like manner gave only a half-out war effort and found ourselves trampled under his feet. When Mr. Churchill spoke to us in this chamber, his last words were, "Hitler asked for total war; let us give it to him."

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is on the amendment. Those in favour of the amendment will please say "aye."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Aye.

Mr. SPEAKER: Those against the amendment will please say "nay."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Nay.

Mr. SPEAKER: In my opinion the "nays" have it.

Mr. ROY: I ask that the vote be registered.

Mr. SPEAKER: It requires that five members shall stand in order to have a recorded vote, and since only two are standing, I declare the amendment lost. The question now is on the main motion.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER: If the Prime Minister speaks now he will close the debate.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In bringing to a conclusion the debate on the second reading of the bill which is before the house, I do not intend to review in detail the arguments which have been presented from different sides. In all that has been said, I have found no reason to alter any of the statements or opinions I expressed in introducing the bill on May 11, and in opening the debate on the second reading on June 10.

I believe the debate itself has more than justified the wisdom of the course the government has adopted in bringing before parliament for consideration, the methods of raising men for service overseas.

It has been recognized from the outset that the question is highly controversial. Had its controversial character been the only factor of which the government was obliged to take account, the task would have been comparatively simple.

In opening the debate, I stated that changed conditions in the character and scope of the war were sufficient of themselves to make necessary at this time the fullest consideration of the question by parliament. I carefully refrained from saying anything of other factors which had forced the issue in a manner which has served to emphasize rather than to lessen its controversial character. I still propose to refrain from saying anything about this particular aspect of the controversy beyond drawing the attention of hon. members to how wholly unnecessary and misleading it has been.

In the present war, the issue of conscription for service overseas was first raised, not in parliament by the responsible spokesman of any political party, but outside parliament altogether. The effort to make it a political issue became evident a little over a year ago in the course of my visit to western Canada.

On each occasion when the issue was pressed to the fore, the method adopted was the same. An attempt was made to identify the single question of the method of raising men for service overseas with "a total effort". It was asserted that the need was an immediate one, and would have to be met immediately.

Conscription for overseas service was certainly not necessary when the agitation was started in Calgary, over a year ago. At that time, those who were responsible for the agitation asserted that conscription for overseas service had become imperative. It certainly was not necessary at the time the new leader of the Conservative party issued his manifesto for National Government and an all-out effort. It certainly was not necessary when, as a part of the same campaign, the committee of two hundred in Toronto sought to identify "total effort for total war" with the immediate introduction of conscription for overseas service. It certainly was not necessary at the time the government's intention to hold a plebiscite was announced in parliament. Nevertheless we were told by hon. gentlemen opposite that, considering how long the plebiscite would take, the government should be censured, and the plebiscite itself condemned. It certainly was not necessary at the time of the by-elections in Welland, in York South, in St. Mary's, Montreal, and in Quebec East, though we were told, at the time, by its advocates that conscription was the real issue of those campaigns. It is now clear that conscription for overseas service was not necessary at the time the result of the plebiscite was announced.

In the present debate there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada; in the air force, in the navy or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273233

war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissension, it might have been considerably reduced.

I mention these facts first of all to make perfectly clear that the government has meant what it has said when it has stated, as up to the present it consistently has, that conscription for overseas service was not necessary, either on the ground of obtaining the necessary recruits, or to enable the government to meet its objective of a properly balanced total war effort.

I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country. The government is asking for this freedom solely because it is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, it is in the national interest that the power should be possessed by the administration.

There is nothing to which some of my political opponents have devoted more of their time and attention than in seeking to make the public believe that, as the head of the administration, I have been actuated primarily by considerations of party interests. It is represented that my aim, above all else, has been to maintain the unity of the party which I lead, in order that I may retain office at the head of a party administration. I do not deny that I have, at all times, striven to maintain the unity of the party which has honoured and entrusted me with its leadership. I owe that duty not only to the party but also to the country, more particularly as my following in this House of Commons is the foundation of the administration which was entrusted by the people, in war time, with the task of government. However, I deny most emphatically that, at any time in the course of my public life, I have ever placed any interest of party above the national interest. Least of all have I had any such thought in conducting the affairs of the country at this time of war.

It surely cannot be said that, in asking by means of a plebiscite for release from any obligations arising out of past commitments, I was acting from motives of party advantage. Nor can it be said that in introducing the present bill at the time it was introduced, I was seeking, as some hon. gentlemen opposite and their press continue to say of me, to appease the large following I have in the province of Quebec, and in virtue of which, they like to say, I am able to keep myself in office.

In the last general elections, I did win the support of the province of Quebec to the extent of all but one of its entire representation in this house. Perhaps this might not be an inopportune moment to remind hon. members and the country that apart altogether from the political support obtained from the province of Quebec, I was accorded, in the other provinces of Canada, a considerable majority over and above that of the combined representation in this House of Commons of the Conservative party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit party. Indeed the supporters of the government from the provinces other than Quebec number all but half of the total membership of this House of Commons. Secure as I have felt in the confidence thus accorded me by the Canadian people as a whole, I have considered that it increased my obligation to endeavour to see that all questions of national importance were determined solely in the national interest. This, I have felt, was a special obligation of the Prime Minister at a time of war.

I have had no more trying experience in my political life than the realization that the course which I believed it was in the national interest for the government to follow at this time was one which would occasion a division in the ranks of my loyal followers. On the other hand, realizing Canada's position as I see it in the present world crisis, I should have felt as false to the interests of every member of my own following as to the country itself, had I not sought from parliament at this time the powers which the bill asks should be given to the administration.

I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing to-day. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion. The results of the plebiscite showed that, as respects the application or non-application of conscription for overseas service, the vast majority of the people of Canada were prepared to trust the judgment of the present government. I should not like the debate to conclude without expressing, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our appreciation of so great a trust.

C273234

It is true that the present bill is a logical sequence of the plebiscite, but its origin is not to be found in the results of that measure. Because the results of the plebiscite have, by some, been represented as a mandate for conscription for service overseas, the significance of the present bill has, as a consequence, been distorted in the eyes of others. Both the plebiscite and the bill have, in fact, a common origin. Each owed its existence to the policy of the government as set forth in the speech from the throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Each was a necessary step, but only a step in the accomplishment of that policy.

This is the statement of policy as it appears in the speech:

> The government is of the opinion, that at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should . . . possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as it may arise.

The one and only particular in which the administration was not free to act in accordance with its judgment was with respect to the methods of raising men for military service.

So far as the government's policy as expressed in this bill is concerned, it is not a new policy; it is identical with the government's policy as set forth in the speech from the throne, which parliament approved by the adoption of the address. Because of prior commitments regarding the methods of raising men for military service overseas, the necessary freedom could only be secured in two stages.

The one stage was to seek from the people release from a moral obligation arising out of past commitments, and the other stage, to seek from parliament the removal of a limitation expressed in existing legislation. The former—the release from the moral obligation—was sought and obtained by the plebiscite; the latter—the removal of the legal restriction—is being sought, and I hope will be obtained, by the present bill. But while the second step—the bill which is now before the house—was a logical sequence of the results of the first step, namely, the plebiscite, it does not owe its origin to that measure, but to the policy of the government as set forth in the speech. And may I say to my hon. friend and former colleague the ex-Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin) that he was with me and with all of my colleagues at the time when the policy was settled, and he agreed with all of us at the time that it was a desirable policy for the government:

The government's policy as set forth in the speech from the throne was due not to any political pressure or popular clamour but to what the government, as a result of the changed conditions of the war, had come to recognize as the only sound policy "at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history."

In all sincerity, may I ask would any other policy be justifiable in the face of conditions as we have seen them develop from month to month, and from year to year since the commencement of the present war, and as we know them to-day? If after almost three years of conflict, the course of the war had been different; if, for example, Germany, after overrunning the most of Europe, had been driven out of some, or even one of the countries she has subjugated; if Germany was now more concerned with her own defence than bent, as she continues to be, upon further conquest; if Japan had remained out of the war, instead of challenging the might of the United States, as well as that of the British commonwealth and other of the united nations, there might have been reason to question the need for removal of any limitation upon the complete freedom of the administration to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of situations as they may arise. But when the very opposite is the case, when the war, instead of remaining upon a single continent has become a war which is world-encircling, embracing all continents as well as all oceans, a war in which all of the great powers of the world have either been partly destroyed, or are fighting for their very existence, and in which the survival of civilization itself is at stake, would it not have shown a lack of responsibility had the government not sought from parliament, in plenty of time, the widest possible powers to cope with any and every situation as it may arise?

A government is responsible not only for what it does, but for what it fails to do. A like responsibility, it seems to me, rests upon the parliament of the country, once its members are appealed to by the government to assist the administration in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, and thereby to preserve the nation's security, and it may be its very existence.

On June 11, the former Minister of Public Works, objecting to the introduction of the bill at the present time, exclaimed, as reported in *Hansard* at page 3562:

> In the name of heaven, what is the use of having a dead principle in our statute books?

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

My hon. friend, in asking that question, was thinking only of the application of conscription for service overseas. He entirely overlooked one very important aspect of the bill. The present bill seeks to remove the limitation on compulsory military service outside Canada and its territorial waters. It will not only remove the statutory limitation on compulsory service overseas; it will equally remove the restriction on compulsory service elsewhere in this hemisphere. In so far as service in other parts of North America and the adjacent islands is concerned, the amendment of the mobilization act, once it becomes law, will in no sense be "a dead principle in our statute books."

At any moment, its application may become an urgent necessity. Recent events, no less than a glance at the map are enough to disclose that, in a tactical sense, the defence of our east and west coasts is inseparable from the defence of the adjacent territories of the United States. We have recognized from the beginning of the war that the same is true of Newfoundland and Labrador. To strengthen our own immediate defences, it will be necessary to extend the scope of compulsory service to these areas. In the event of actual hostilities on any considerable scale in this hemisphere, any restriction on the movement of troops back and forth between Canada and neighbouring territories would be intolerable.

It is true that before the plebiscite was held, I said that the government, in an emergency, would authorize such action by order in council under the War Measures Act, and would later ask parliament to amend the mobilization act. But that surely is an undesirable method to employ if parliament has the time to give to the government the necessary authority in advance.

Moreover, the government has equal power to follow the same procedure in the case of compulsory service overseas. It is because of its deep sense of its responsibility to parliament, that the government is seeking, for the one case as for the other, the requisite authority from the present parliament.

The debate has shown that objection to the present bill is due in the main to one of four reasons. There may be others, but they have not been set forth in a pronounced way in any of the speeches which have been made.

The first two of these reasons for opposition represent the extremes of widely divergent points of view. At the one extreme are those who object that the bill does not go far enough. At the other extreme are those who say that the bill goes too far. Those who hold to the first of these extremes wish to have the principle of conscription applied immediately to service overseas, regardless of whether or not compulsion is needed to obtain the necessary enlistments, and regardless as well of prejudicial consequences which might arise from an unnecessary application of conscription to overseas service. Those who hold to the opposite extreme are unwilling to have the principle of conscription applied to service overseas not only immediately, but at any time, and this regardless of the consequences whatever they might be.

In referring to those who take this extreme view, I wish to differentiate sharply between hon. members who are in accord with the government's policy of a total war effort, but who honestly and sincerely believe that conscription for overseas service will not increase our total effort, and might even serve to prejudice that effort, and those others, happily very few in number, who have indicated clearly by their attitude, not only in the present debate but in the past, that they are prepared to see Canada risk defeat rather than accept conscription for service overseas. In 1937, in 1938 and in 1939, some of these hon. members opposed the preparations for the defence of Canada because they maintained that Canada was in no danger. If I interpret their words aright, they are still prepared to overlook the designs of the enemy, and to discount his strength, despite the fact that his design of world conquest is increasingly clear, and despite the continued success of his arms. They are prepared to leave to others to do for Canada, for their homes and their families what they are unwilling to do not only for others, but even for their own country, and for themselves. They refuse to see the need to bring about the destruction of the enemy as speedily as possible, and as far as possible from Canada. They are prepared to risk subjecting the Canadian people to the fate of those countries which, in such numbers, have already experienced the terrors of invasion, and of conquest, by a ruthless and relentless foe.

The members who are thus unwilling to look beyond the shores of Canada have referred repeatedly to Australia which country, at an earlier stage in the war, sent troops overseas, and has since been obliged to recall some men for her own defence. But why did Australia send her troops overseas if it was not that she recognized the need of a collective defence? Why, may I ask, was the United States so ready to send an army and naval forces to Australia in her hour of need? Was is not because the United States realized that unless the enemy were defeated overseas, he would

have to be defeated on American soil; and was it not also because Australia had earned the respect and help of other nations by sending her armed forces overseas against the common enemy?

And here let me protest equally against the deliberate misrepresentation of Canada's position which continues to come from many who represent the other extreme. Some hon. members opposite have said, and the press which supports them keeps repeating the statement, that the government is unwilling to send men overseas. They seek to create the impression that, because Canada has had no occasion to resort to conscription for overseas service, that no Canadian troops are being sent overseas. This obviously is being said solely for political purposes, for they know full well that such is not the truth, and that a false impression is thereby being created.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Will the right hon. gentleman point out a single speech by any member of this party to the effect which he has just now stated.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes. The hon. gentleman, sitting I think two seats behind my hon. friend, said the other day that I was not willing to have men sent overseas. His speech was quite clear on that point, and he made the statement in this house.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: If the Prime Minister is referring to me, such a statement was never made by me, directly or indirectly.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Or by any other member.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I was going to quote what my hon. friend had said to-night, but I refrained from doing so, not wishing to bring any hon. member's name into the discussion. But when the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) asked me to name any one member of this house who had made a statement of the kind, I was obliged to make the reference I did.

Mr. STIRLING: That does not make it right.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall give my hon. friend the quotation.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Put it on *Hansard*.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall put it on *Hansard* to-morrow.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Put it on *Hansard* to-night.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I ask the Prime Minister to withdraw his statement or to produce the statement alleged to have been made by me.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): On a point of order, the Prime Minister must accept the member's statement or quote that statement which he alleged was made. I heard the Prime Minister's statement with the greatest surprise. I have followed this debate most intently, and I do not recall any such statement on the part of anybody in this house.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Withdraw.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If I might be permitted to proceed.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I think we ought to have a ruling.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not propose to do other than proceed with my speech at the present time.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Then I suggest that the right hon. gentleman—

An hon. MEMBER: Sit down.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Who said "sit down?" I have the right to rise on this question, and no member of the government or anyone else has a right to tell me to sit down.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The Prime Minister must accept the statement of the hon. member for Lake Centre (Mr. Diefenbaker) or produce the evidence upon which he bases his assertion. I do not recall anything of that sort from any hon. member on this or any side of the house.

Mr. POULIOT: An hon. member is supposed to withdraw any language that is unparliamentary. When a statement is made in parliamentary language by an hon. member and it is denied by another hon. member, the matter is closed.

Mr. SPEAKER: A point of order has been taken, and the Prime Minister has indicated that he would like to continue his speech. I suggest that the Prime Minister be allowed to complete his statement, and then the matter can be taken up.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): With great respect I suggest that that is not good enough. The Prime Minister made a statement and, when challenged to name the hon. member concerned, he indicated the hon. member for Lake Centre. The hon. member for Lake Centre denies specifically having made any statement such as that attributed to him. The Prime Minister must accept that statement and withdraw.

Mr. POULIOT: That is not according to the rules of the house.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273237

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If the leader of the opposition will allow me, I shall now read the statement to which I made reference. It will be found on page 3621 of the House of Commons debates of June 15, 1942, in the first paragraph of the hon. member's speech. He said:

> Up to the present time the only two ministers who have spoken in this debate on behalf of the government have been the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner), both of whom have consistently opposed military service overseas, and from whom, having regard to the speech to which we have listened to-day, we cannot ever expect in my opinion to have military service overseas regardless of what the people may demand.

Mr. ROWE: That is not at all what the Prime Minister said.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say—

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: There is no such inference in that at all.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This statement that I have consistently opposed military service overseas is made in the face of the fact that I have since the beginning of this war done all that lies within my power to see that the largest possible number of men were sent overseas in the navy, the air force and the army; and the numbers of men who have enlisted for service anywhere in the world to-day is the answer I make to the member who has just interrupted.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

An hon. MEMBER: Apologize later.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: There is nothing to apologize for. On a question of privilege, Mr. Speaker, the context shows that the reference was entirely to compulsory service for overseas.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But what is the result? False impressions are thereby also being given to other countries. This is most detrimental to Canada, and is most unfair to Canada's magnificent army overseas.

No one can object to the honest advocacy of conscription by those who believe sincerely that it will advance the country's war effort. But surely there are better ways to advocate conscription than by belittling the Canadian army, and seeking to create the impression that because the men who are steadily going forward have offered their services voluntarily, Canada is not sending troops overseas.

Both extremes, for opposite reasons, are helping to create the wholly false impression that Canada is not sending or is not willing to send her men to meet and defeat the enemy overseas. Both, for political ends, are prepared to discredit their own country in the eyes of the world.

These two extremes can never be reconciled. The debate must have made it wholly clear even to those who support either extreme, that the adoption of their views would only serve to weaken, and perhaps to destroy, the national unity which all should wish to see maintained. It would be equally destructive of an effective war effort.

Were this House of Commons, on grounds of national necessity, or for any other reason, obliged to yield to either extreme, many hon. members might well find their present position one of considerable embarrassment. Their embarrassment, however, both in the present and in the future, is more likely to arise, indeed, is, I believe, certain to arise, should they fail to lend their support to a policy which avoids extremes, and which, at this time of war, alone gives hope for the preservation of national unity. National unity, it seems to me, can best be preserved by hon. members giving to the government charged with carrying on Canada's war effort, the support which the government must receive from parliament, if its great responsibilities are to be discharged in a manner which will truly serve the national interest.

If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the words: "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary", I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances taken into account, it is the only sound policy.

We are not dealing with theories, either of government or of war, upon which, without grave risks to themselves and others, men can afford to continue to differ. We are faced with conditions which actually exist, and which have to be met. They must be met with as large a measure of general consent as may be possible, if both Canada and our allies are not to suffer. It is from this point

C273238

of view that, regardless of any position thus far taken with respect to the present bill, I now ask all hon. members to view their obligations alike to their constituencies and to Canada.

I said that objection to the bill had been raised on four grounds. I have dealt with the first two. Those who oppose on other grounds do not differ fundamentally with the policy of the government with respect to service overseas: "Not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary". But they assert that, if the bill is to receive their support, something more is required. The assurance demanded, in the one case, is that if provision is to be made for the conscription of men for service overseas, then provision must equally be made for what is generally termed "the conscription of wealth"; that the two must go together. That, as I understand it, was the purport of the amendment proposed by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation group.

First of all, may I say to my hon. friend the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation group, and to those who share views similar to his own, that the power to conscript wealth at whatever time, and to whatever extent may be deemed advisable and necessary, is already in the act which the government is asking parliament to amend, not by further limiting its provisions, but by extending their application.

The power to conscript wealth will remain unrestricted. There are no limitations upon this power other than such as may result from the judgment of the government in exercising its discretion. The legislation itself as I have pointed out is enabling legislation, and as respects both the conscription of wealth and conscription of man-power will, if the bill is adopted, remain enabling legislation. The government in both particulars will be free to exercise its discretion as the needs of the war may demand.

I need not, I know, remind hon. members that the ground on which, on its second reading, a bill merits support or rejection, is one of principle. It is not a question of additions to or subtractions from its provisions. These are matters to be dealt with when the bill is in committee. What, so far as principle goes, the government is seeking by the bill is exactly what the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation implies the government should have, namely, complete freedom, subject to its responsibility to parliament, as respects the application of conscription in any direction. To impose conditions of any kind upon the exercise of the government's discretion, other than such as attach to its responsibility to parliament, is to destroy altogether the all-out freedom of action by the administration which it is the principle of the bill to secure.

If this year's budget does not serve to convince hon. members and the people of Canada generally of the government's readiness to conscript whatever wealth is necessary to distribute the burden of Canada's war effort as equitably as possible, it is difficult to imagine what more in the way of assurances to this end would be regarded as adequate.

I come now to the last of the reasons which have been urged by some for not supporting the bill, and by others for hesitating to give their support until the government's exact intentions are more fully known.

From both sides of the house, objection has been raised to the possibility of resort to conscription for overseas service at some future date without a further reference to parliament. When, however, hon. members speak of coming again to parliament, some appear to have one thing in mind; and others quite another.

All are agreed that the present bill, if enacted, will give to the government the power to make conscription applicable to service outside Canada, whenever and to whatever extent in the judgment of the government it is necessary and advisable. Some contend that should the government decide that conscription for overseas service has become necessary and advisable, the government should before any action is taken, announce its decision to parliament, and, at that time, by further legislation, define the terms and conditions of such service, or at least permit a second debate on the question of its immediate application. There are others who do not advocate a second debate on conscription, much less further legislation, but who maintain that a due recognition of the ministry's responsibility to parliament demands that, as soon as possible after the government's decision has been reached, it should be communicated to parliament, and before effect is given thereto, that opportunity should be given hon. members for an expression of their views.

May I say, as emphatically as I can, that in no case would I wish to countenance a second debate on conscription.

In setting forth the reasons why the government had not proceeded by stages, in removing the limitation in the mobilization act with respect to service outside Canada, I made the statement that such a course would not have met the purposes of the plebiscite as outlined in the speech from the throne,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

one of which was to ensure to the government complete freedom of action, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

I gave, however, another and very important reason. I said that to amend the act in any particular would necessitate a debate in both houses of parliament—a debate moreover which would inevitably be a debate on the question of conscription; that this would mean going all over the same ground again. Speaking on this aspect of the matter on June 10, I said:

Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people, or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

Whatever may have been said or thought of the truth of this statement at the time it was made, after all that has since been said in the course of the present debate, for and against conscription for service overseas, it will, I think, be agreed that on this question little more, if anything of value, could possibly be added. It must now be wholly apparent that this House of Commons itself, not to speak of the country, would be impatient of any attempt to traverse the same ground anew; and that public opinion would strongly resent any such procedure.

It is well, therefore, that it should once again be clearly stated that while this bill does not, regardless of circumstances, commit the government to conscription for overseas service, parliament, by enacting this bill, is placing it within the discretion of the government to impose conscription for service overseas, if, in its judgment, the needs of the situation as they may arise should so demand.

This is one of the reasons why the government has been ready to allow to hon. members on the second reading of the bill, the fullest latitude to discuss from all possible angles, and on all possible grounds, the question of the application of conscription to service overseas, and has not sought, in any way, to curtail the debate. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a like opportunity could be afforded at any other time.

If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time—should the situation so demand—that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the united nations.

It has, I think, been made abundantly clear that, so far, at least, as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the cabinet in reaching a decision.

In speaking in this house on the purpose of the plebiscite, I said as reported in *Hansard* of February 25, 1942, at page 913:

At page 913:

What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable, and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist, and as they are known to the government at the time.

And later:

The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered.

I added:

May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered", I have in mind the conditions as they exist in respect to the war in different theatres, and the conditions as they may exist in Canada itself.

It is perhaps well that I should remind hon. members that these statements were made as early in the present year as February 25. They were repeatedly referred to in the course of the campaign on the plebiscite in explanation of its objectives, and of how the government proposed to exercise its power, if given a free hand. It cannot therefore be said that the government's policy, as it finds expression in the present bill, was not fully known both to parliament and the public, before and during the time the plebiscite was held.

As to the right thing being done by the government at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country, and also in parliament, on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that differences will still exist concerning the wisdom of the decision.

A second debate on conscription is one thing. A vote of confidence in a government before it undertakes to enforce a particular course of action is quite another and wholly different thing.

If an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt, at any time, as to the adequacy of its support by parliament, and least of all in a time of peril. The assurance of the confidence of parliament is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons.

In the speech from the throne, it was stated that the government was of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the importance to be attached to the words "subject only to its responsibility to parliament" as they appear in the speech from the throne, there may well be differences of view. The responsibility of the ministry to parliament would be the same whether these words were there or not. Their presence in the speech would seem, however, to endow them with special significance.

How important may be the significance to be attached to them, each hon. member will necessarily decide for himself. For myself, and in this I speak only for myself, holding the views I do, and the views I have always held concerning the responsibility of the executive to parliament, I do not believe that this House of Commons would feel it had been shown the degree of confidence it had a right to expect from the ministry, if, in a matter of so great concern to the whole of Canada, the government were to act before so important a decision had been made known to the house.

While it is true that if the present bill becomes law, the administration will possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment, I can imagine what would be said by some hon. members opposite, and indeed by many hon. members on this side of the house as well, if, with parliament in session, and before acquainting hon. members with the decision of the government, I were to sign an order in council putting into effect conscription for service overseas, and immediately thereafter were to come to this house and inform hon. members of the action the government had already taken.

If the need should arise for sending overseas as reinforcements men called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, the procedure should be as open and above board as it can possibly be made. Unless it is understood that parliament will be informed in advance, all kinds of suspicion will be aroused and all sorts of rumours will be in circulation from day to day.

The right of the public to be informed of the decision of the government before it is enforced was set forth clearly in the address

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273241

I made in opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7. Speaking on this very matter in a nation-wide broadcast, I said:

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any steps which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

I intend, at the same time, to see that before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, hon. members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

In following this course, I hope it will be agreed that I am fulfilling the spirit of an earlier undertaking given to parliament on February 25, that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits". The debate on the merits of conscription has, of necessity, come on the present bill. What really is important hereafter is that the government's decision should immediately be presented to parliament, and that the government should be prepared to stand or fall on its decision.

It may be said that such a course will involve a delay; and that what is needed is action. It will quite rightly be said that if action had not become imperative, the government would not have reached a decision. Such an objection might justifiably be raised if a second debate were to be permitted on the question of conscription. It is not, however, an objection to the course proposed. If the government decides that it is necessary to apply conscription for overseas service, there need be no delay in enforcing that decision. And unless it became apparent that the ministry had ceased to enjoy the confidence of this House of Commons, there would be no delay.

Even if parliament is not actually sitting, it can be brought together in a few days. Under our war-time practice of adjourning rather than proroguing the session, there would be no opening formalities. There would be no need of further legislation, merely an expression of confidence in some form. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a situation in which the lapse of a week will affect sending reinforcements overseas, since arrangements to that end could proceed concurrently with the reassembling of parliament. As the former Minister of Public Works himself suggested on June 11, as reported in *Hansard* at page 3562:

In seven days, conscripts are not going to be sent overseas. . . . Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription.

Debate of course would have to be curtailed. Following precedents established at Westminster, I would feel that, if any, at most a very short time should be allotted for discussion.

No matter how drastically discussion might have to be restricted, every member by his vote would have the opportunity to express his confidence or lack of confidence in the government. There need, in fact, be no debate.

Within the past week, a resolution of non-confidence in the government was debated in the British House of Commons. It arose as a result of criticism directed against Mr. Churchill on account of his continuing to hold the office of Minister of Defence in addition to that of Prime Minister. The debate was definitely limited in time. In less than two days, hon. members found ample opportunity for an expression of their views.

As to the means by which this house, with respect to the government's decision, could be given the opportunity to express its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration, hon. members are well aware that it is possible at any time for any hon. member to move a vote of want of confidence on a motion to go into committee of supply. Should the government deem it advisable to proceed by that method to ascertain the opinion of the house, the government would so arrange. If, at the time, there were no estimates before the house, the government could bring in a special supplementary estimate, and immediately move to have the house go into committee of supply. Any hon. member who wished to do so, could then move a vote of want of confidence.

C 273242

There is another, and a more direct method of procedure. That is the method which was followed in the parliament at Westminster in January last, after Mr. Churchill's return from his earlier visit to the United States and Canada. On January 27, Mr. Churchill expressed to the House of Commons his desire to be sustained by a vote of confidence.

The following day, Mr. Attlee moved:

That the proceedings on the motion relating to confidence in His Majesty's government be exempted, at this day's sitting from the provisions of the standing order (sittings of the house).

This was agreed to.

Mr. Attlee then moved:

That this house has confidence in His Majesty's government and will aid it to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Debate took place on January 28 and 29. At the end of the latter sitting, the house divided: ayes, 464, and noes, 1.

Hon. members will, I believe, be interested in Mr. Churchill's own appreciation of the importance and significance of the vote he was asking from the House of Commons. On January 27 he said:

From time to time in the life of any government, there come occasions which must be clarified. . . .

Since my return to this country, I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the house is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives.

I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

This is not a new attitude on my part. It is one that I have repeatedly expressed, and to which I intend at all times to adhere. I so expressed my attitude in this very matter to the Canadian people, on April 24. In my final broadcast in the plebiscite campaign, I said:

This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater to-day than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

I might point out, that in January last, when Mr. Churchill sought a vote of confidence in his administration, none of his critics had even suggested that he should resign, and that someone else should take his place. He felt, however, that criticism of himself and of certain aspects of his administration had reached the point where he required the assurance that he was sustained by the support of those from whom in parliament his power was derived. I believe that the leader of a government charged with great responsibilities in a democratic country feels, at all times, the need of such an assurance, and at no time more than on the eve of embarking upon added responsibilities.

Mr. Churchill, I think, had this very much in mind when, answering his critics in the House of Commons at Westminster on Thursday last he said:

Everything that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government. . . .

And later, referring to himself as the prime minister, he added:

. . . and then to undermine him in his own heart, and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation.

But there is another reason why Mr. Churchill has felt from time to time the need of being sustained by a vote of confidence of fellow members in the House of Commons. Parliamentary responsibility is twofold. Members as well as ministers have their responsibilities. Mr. Churchill felt that the people of the United Kingdom had a right to know where their representatives stood, and what support they were prepared to give to the administration in its grave task of carrying on

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the war. He felt the people of the United Kingdom were equally entitled to know what support was being withheld from the administration, and why it was being withheld. The same I believe to be true at this time of war of the parliament and people of Canada.

As I conclude, may I repeat what I said to the people of Canada in appealing, on April 7, for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite:

To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost cooperation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country —and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

I did not use those words lightly. I appeal to every hon. member to ponder their significance in the light of what has since occurred and of the situation as we know it to-day. Who can doubt that our security, that the security of this hemisphere depends upon holding the German and Japanese forces in check in the old world until, from the new, sufficient strength can be gathered to overcome their terrific power.

The machines and weapons of modern war have annihilated space; they have all but destroyed time. Remoteness and distance provide no protection. In this war "overseas" has in reality lost its meaning. The conflict is one, single and indivisible, whether it is fought on the sands of Egypt, on the steppes of Russia, in the depths of China, on the islands of the Pacific, in the arctic wastes, or in the skies over Britain and Germany and the conquered countries of Europe. There can be no security for us, for our homes, and families, until the forces of the enemy are defeated and crushed.

The government and people of Canada have a heavy responsibility to the half million young Canadians who have offered their all for our safety. We owe them all that we can give. Wherever they are fighting, they are fighting for Canada, for their own country, for its safety and for its future as well as for freedom for other lands. That future is in our keeping; and we, in this parliament, owe it to our gallant young men, when the war is won, to hand on to them, so far as it lies within our power, a free and united Canada.

The house divided on the main motion (Mr. Mackenzie King) which was agreed to on the following division:

YEAS

Messrs:

Abbott	Hatfield
Anderson	Hazen
Bence	Healy
Bercovitch	Henderson
Bertrand (Laurier)	Hill
Black (Chateauguay-Huntingdon)	Hlynka
Black (Cumberland)	Hoblitzell
Black (Yukon)	Homuth
Blackmore	Howe
Blair	Hurtubise
Boucher	Ilsley
Bradette	Isnor
Breithaupt	Jackman
Bruce	Johnston (Bow River)
Casselman, Mrs. (Edmonton East)	King, Mackenzie
Casselman (Grenville-Dundas)	Kinley
Chevrier	Kirk
Church	Kuhl
Clark	Leader
Claxton	Leduc
Cleaver	Leger
Corman	Little
Crerar	McCann
Cruickshank	McCuaig
Dechene	McCubbin
Diefenbaker	McCulloch
Donnelly	MacDiarmid
Douglas (Queens)	Macdonald (Brantford City)
Edwards	Macdonald (Halifax)
Emmerson	Macdonald (Kingston City)
Esling	McGarry
Evans	McGeer
Fair	McGibbon
Farquhar	McGregor
Fleming	McIlraith
Fraser (Northumberland, Ont.)	McIvor
Fraser (Peterborough West)	MacKenzie (Lambton-Kent)
Fulford	MacKenzie (Neepawa)
Furniss	Mackenzie (Vancouver Centre)
Gardiner	MacKinnon (Edmonton West)
Gershaw	McKinnon (Kenora-Rainy River)
Gibson	MacKinnon (Kootenay East)
Gladstone	McLarty
Golding	MacLean (Cape Breton North-Victoria)
Graham	McLean (Simcoe East)
Grant	Macmillan
Gray	McNevin (Victoria, Ont.)
Graydon	McNiven (Regina City)
Green	MacNicol
Gregory	Marshall
Hansell	Martin
Hanson (Skeena)	Matthews
Hanson (York-Sunbury)	Maybank
Harris (Danforth)	Mayhew
	Michaud
	Mills
	Mitchell
	Moore
	Mulock
	Neill
	Nielsen, Mrs.
	Nixon
	O'Neill
	Perley
	Pinard
	Pottier
	Purdy
	Quelch
	Ralston
	Reid
	Rennie
	Rickard
	Roebuck
	Ross (Calgary East)
	Ross (Hamilton East)
	Ross (Middlesex East)
	Ross (Moose Jaw)
	Ross (St. Paul's)
	Ross (Souris)
	Rowe
	St. Laurent
	Sanderson
	Shaw
	Sissons
	Slaght
	Soper
	Stirling
	Stokes
	Taylor
	Telford
	Thorson
	Tripp
	Turgeon
	Turner
	Tustin
	Veniot
	Vien
	Ward
	Warren
	Weir
	White
	Whitman
	Winkler
	Wood—158.

NAYS

Messrs:

Authier	Gingues
Bertrand (Prescott)	Jean
Bertrand (Terrebonne)	Lacombe
Blanchette	Lacroix (Beauce)
Bonnier	LaCroix (Quebec-Montmorency)
Bourget	Laflamme
Brunelle	Lafontaine
Cardin	Lalonde
Castleden	Lapointe (Lotbinière)
Cloutier	Leclerc
Coldwell	Lizotte
Coté	McDonald (Pontiac)
Crète	MacInnis
d'Anjou	Marier
Denis	Mullins
Dubois	Noseworthy
Dubuc	Parent
Durocher	Poirier
Eudes	Pouliot
Fauteux	Raymond
Ferland	Rhéaume
Ferron	Roy
Fontaine	Ryan
Fournier (Hull)	Sylvestre
Fournier (Maisonneuve-Rosemont)	Thauvette
Gauthier	Tremblay
Gillis	Wright—54.

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): I am authorized by the hon. member for Matapedia-Matane (Mr. Lapointe) to say that he was paired with the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power). Had he voted, he would have voted against the motion.

Mr. COTE: I am authorized by the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Picard) to say that he was paired with the hon. member for Rosthern (Mr. Tucker). Had he voted, he would have voted against the motion.

I am authorized by the hon. member for Brome-Missisquoi (Mr. Hallé) to say that he was paired with the hon. member for Winnipeg South (Mr. Mutch). Had he voted, he would have voted against the motion.

Mr. DUPUIS: I was paired with the hon. member for London (Mr. Johnston). Had I voted, I would have voted against the motion.

Motion agreed to, bill read the second time and the house went into committee thereon, Mr. Vien in the chair.

On section 1—Short title.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the committee rise, report progress and ask leave to sit again.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mackenzie King moves that the committee rise—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Before this motion is put, Mr. Chairman, if I may, I should like to make this statement. Because of the speech that was made by the right hon. the Prime Minister to-night concluding the debate and at a time when no one else could reply, a speech in which it was indicated that the government has looped the loop three times—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

The CHAIRMAN: Order. The motion has been put to the committee.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Before the motion was put, Mr. Chairman, I was on my feet. I take exception to your statement, Mr. Chairman. The motion was not put to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. leader of the opposition is too old a parliamentarian to challenge the authority of the Chair when the Chairman is standing.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): It is a question of fact.

The CHAIRMAN: Order, please. I have put to the committee the motion made by the Prime Minister.

Mr. HOMUTH: No, it is not put yet.

The CHAIRMAN: My ruling from which the hon. member may appeal is that the question was put to the committee and that it is not debatable.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I leave it to the judgment of the house whether the motion was put to the committee. I was on my feet before the Chairman put the motion.

The CHAIRMAN: Order.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Then I desire to appeal from your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BENCE: It is a political gestapo.

M. ROY: Monsieur l'Orateur, si vous voulez me le permettre, je désire vous demander respectueusement où nous en sommes rendus. Nous n'avons rien compris, dans cette partie-ci de la Chambre, à cause du bruit. Voudriez-vous nous dire où nous en sommes rendus?

Une VOIX: Nous sommes à prendre un vote.

Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and the Chairman of the committee made the following report:

Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury) was addressing the committee when the Chairman called him to order on the ground that a motion that the committee rise had been made and was not debatable. Mr. Hanson claimed that the question had not been put and appealed from the Chairman's ruling.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I expressly dissent from the statement read to Your Honour by the Deputy Speaker. The Deputy Speaker as Chairman of the committee of the whole had not put the motion. I was on my feet before he had put the motion. It should read: He claimed he had put the motion. The report is contrary to the facts, and that is why we are appealing from the ruling.

Mr. McGREGOR: More gestapo.

Mr. SPEAKER: The report as I have received it is:

Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury) was addressing the committee when the Chairman called him to order on the ground that a motion that the committee rise had been made and was not debatable. Mr. Hanson claimed that the question had been put and appealed from the Chairman's ruling.

The house divided on the question: Shall the ruling of the Chairman be confirmed? And the ruling was confirmed on the following division:

YEAS

Messrs:

Abbott	Brunelle
Authier	Casselman, Mrs. (Edmonton East)
Bercovitch	Castleden
Bertrand (Laurier)	Chevrier
Bertrand (Prescott)	Claxton
Black (Chateauguay-Huntingdon)	Cleaver
Blair	Cloutier
Blanchette	Coldwell
Bonnier	Corman
Bradette	Coté
Breithaupt	Crerar
Dechene	McIvor
Donnelly	MacKenzie (Neepawa)
Douglas (Queens)	Mackenzie (Vancouver Centre)
Dupuis	MacKinnon (Edmonton West)
Durocher	McKinnon (Kenora-Rainy River)
Edwards	McLarty
Emmerson	MacLean (Cape Breton North-Victoria)
Eudes	Macmillan
Evans	McNevin (Victoria, Ont.)
Farquhar	McNiven (Regina City)
Fauteux	Marier
Ferland	Martin
Fleming	Matthews
Fontaine	Maybank
Fournier (Hull)	Mayhew
Fournier (Maisonneuve-Rosemont)	Michaud
Fraser (Northumberland, Ont.)	Mills
Fulford	Mitchell
Furniss	Mullins
Gardiner	Mulock
Gershaw	Nixon
Gibson	Noseworthy
Gillis	O'Neill
Gingues	Pinard
Gladstone	Poirier
Golding	Pottier
Graham	Purdy
Grant	Ralston
Gregory	Reid
Hanson (Skeena)	Rennie
Healy	Rickard
Henderson	Roebuck
Hill	Ross (Calgary East)
Howe	Ross (Hamilton East)
Hurtubise	Ross (Middlesex East)
Ilsley	Ryan
Isnor	St. Laurent
Jean	Sanderson
King, Mackenzie	Sissons
Kinley	Slaght
Kirk	Soper
Lalonde	Sylvestre
Leclerc	Taylor
Leduc	Telford
Leger	Thorson
Little	Tremblay
McCann	Tripp
McCuaig	Turgeon
McCubbin	Turner
McCulloch	Ward
MacDiarmid	Warren
Macdonald (Branford City)	Weir
Macdonald (Halifax)	Whitman
McDonald (Pontiac)	Winkler
McGarry	Wood
McGeer	Wright—137.
McGibbon	
McIlraith	
MacInnis	

NAYS

Messrs:

Anderson	Church
Bence	Cruickshank
Black (Cumberland)	Diefenbaker
Black (Yukon)	Esling
Blackmore	Fair
Boucher	Fraser (Peterborough West)
Bruce	Gray
Casselman (Grenville-Dundas)	Graydon

Green	MacNicol
Hansell	Marshall
Hanson (York-Sunbury)	Neill
Harris (Danforth)	Perley
Hatfield	Pouliot
Hazen	Ross (Moose Jaw)
Homuth	Ross (St. Paul's)
Jackman	Ross (Souris)
Johnston (Bow River)	Rowe
Kuhl	Roy
Lacombe	Shaw
McGregor	Stirling
MacKinnon (Kootenay East)	Stokes
	Tustin
	White—44.

And the house having resumed in committee:

Progress reported.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: To-morrow the first item in the order of business will be the house in committee of the whole on Bill No. 56, to make provision with respect to insurance of property against war risks and the payment of compensation for war damage, in the name of the Minister of Finance; second, the house in committee of the whole on the resolution in the name of the Minister of Finance with respect to Canadian National Railway securities. If those measures are disposed of, the third item will be Bill No. 18, to amend the Alberta Natural Resources Acts.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 11.22 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273247

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION

The following is the English translation of a Speech delivered in French on the date indicated

Tuesday, July 7, 1942.

MOBILIZATION ACT

Mr. CHARLES E. FERLAND (Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm): Mr. Speaker, Bill No. 80, which we are now considering, involves the principle of conscripting men for service overseas by order in council, without the approval of parliament. Since I have always opposed the drafting of men for service overseas and since the citizens of my constituency of Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm, whom I have the honour to represent, are equally opposed to such a measure, I wish to state from the very outset that I cannot support this bill and shall vote against the government. However, it is with the deepest regret that I find myself obliged to take issue with our leader, for the Right Hon. Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mackenzie King) has always enjoyed my trust as he still enjoys the respect and general confidence of all the provinces in confederation. The Prime Minister, I am pleased to say, is an honest man, a perfect gentleman, a sincere and far-sighted statesman. He is easily one of the greatest premiers in the British commonwealth. On an issue such as this, however, I regret that I cannot follow his leadership.

Hon. members will recall the famous reply of Aristoteles, that prince of ancient scholarship, who, although filled with a pious admiration for Plato, his revered teacher, refused to endorse his every pledge and error: "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas!" I love Plato, but I love truth even more!

Mr. Speaker, the truth is that this bill opens the door to the adoption of conscription for overseas service; the truth is that, once this measure is passed, we shall have conscription for overseas service in 1943, if not by the end of 1942. The truth is that the government seem to be too easily influenced by the conscriptionists, the Anglo-Canadian press, the minority who, in this country, have been clamouring since the outset of the war for conscription for overseas service.

I supported the plebiscite bill last February. At that time, the government promised that if they were released from past commitments, from their anti-conscription pledges, parliament would be consulted if conscription of men for overseas service ever became necessary; the question would be decided on its merits, not by the government or through orders in council, but by parliament. The government must have changed its policy in the matter since plebiscite day. It now seeks from us a power of attorney. Under the Bennett regime, our leaders and the Liberal members were scandalized because the administration had obtained a blank cheque in connection with the distribution of unemployment appropriations. To-day, Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of distributing our man-power outside of Canada, on all theatres of war. Is this not of greater national importance than the distribution of a few million dollars?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. FERLAND: I repeat that the government has changed its stand. On April 7 last, the Prime Minister made the following statement over the radio:

> The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a military question. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions concerned with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

And he went on to say:

> The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

We all recall, Mr. Speaker, the words spoken in this house on February 27 by the right hon. Prime Minister, on the question of the plebiscite. We recall his asking us in whom we could trust during these critical times, if not in our government and in our parliament?

And so before the holding of the plebiscite, parliament was to make the decision. Consequently I wish to state once again that the government have changed their attitude and their policy, that they are adopting a new

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

policy, that they are even adopting conscription, contrary to the decision they had taken in January last, namely, that this vital question, this question of national importance would be dealt with, judged on its merits and approved or rejected, not by order in council but according to the expressed will of parliament.

I have always opposed conscription, Mr. Speaker, and I feel that I am in good company in maintaining such a stand. Indeed as I review the policy of the Liberal party since 1914, I find that all the great leaders of that party in the province of Quebec have always opposed conscription. Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself, in July, 1917, expressed the true doctrine of the Liberal party when he stated:

> I oppose this bill because it has in it the seeds of discord and disunion; because it is an obstacle and a bar to that union of heart and soul without which it is impossible to hope that this confederation will attain the aims and ends that we had in view when confederation was effected.
>
> All my life I have fought coercion; all my life I have promoted union; and the inspiration which led me to that course shall be my guide at all times, so long as there is a breath left in my body.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was not alone in teaching that doctrine. It was endorsed by Sir Lomer Gouin, by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, a former Speaker of this house, as it is nowadays by the Hon. Adelard Godbout, premier of Quebec, and by our revered leader the Right Hon. Mr. King, who has spent the last twenty-five years expounding it. No one should be surprised if the province of Quebec, subscribing to the political doctrine we have advocated in the past and to a policy which barred conscription for overseas service, remains unalterably opposed to this war measure.

I feel that in view of the Liberal party's teachings during the last twenty-five years and especially in view of the plebiscite vote, I would not be worthy of sitting in this house as the representative of my constituents, if I were to support this conscription measure. The legislation now before us is entitled "The National Resources Mobilization Amendment Act, 1942." It strikes out of the National Mobilization Act, 1941, section 3, which reads as follows:

> The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

Henceforth the government will be empowered by this measure appearing in our statute books, once clause 3 has been deleted, to enforce conscription by order in council. They will be empowered to send outside Canada and her territorial waters, anywhere, on all theatres of war, our recruits and soldiers who have been mobilized for military service since June, 1940, under the legal and solemn guarantee that they would never be called upon to serve outside this country.

As we are about to vote on this important measure, it is fitting to draw certain conclusions. We are now aware of the attitude of most hon. members of this house and we have to admit that it has been shown conclusively, in the light of actual requirements, that conscription of men for overseas service is not yet necessary. The Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) has often stated during the last few months, as he did only a few days ago, that conscription of men for overseas service is not yet necessary and that it will perhaps never become necessary. Have not most of his ministers taken the same stand and made the same statement? All of them have told us that for the time being the voluntary system is satisfactory, that we have sufficient volunteers to meet every requirement and that conscription is unnecessary.

Faithful to their age-old policy, the Conservatives told us that immediate conscription for overseas service was necessary. It is their creed and a favourite theory of theirs. They are being logical since they have taught and advocated this theory for the last twenty-five years.

As for the Liberal members from the province of Quebec, they have logically continued to respect the traditions and the consistent teachings of their leaders, against which no protest has arisen during the last twenty-five years. They have continued to oppose conscription. What about the English-speaking Liberal members? If we except a few who could be numbered on the fingers of one hand, most of the English-speaking Liberal members have supported the present policy of the government concerning the voluntary system of recruitment and most of them have acknowledged and stated that, at the present time, the conscription of men for overseas service is unnecessary. Thus has it been proved and recognized by the great majority of the members of this house that the measure we are requested to pass to-night is unnecessary. It is generally admitted that this measure of conscription for overseas services is not neeeded. Nevertheless, it will be adopted and a consription bill will be introduced in the Statutes of Canada.

Mr. Speaker, although I do not wish to take up too much time, I would like to refer to the statements made by certain members of the cabinet. The Minister of Munitions

and Supply (Mr. Howe) stated in the course of this debate that numerous and strong reasons existed for our country to concentrate on the supplying of allied nations with war materials, instead of neglecting this field for the purpose of sending an insignificant number of men overseas, when the total strength of the opposed armies is taken into account. Canada's task, he said, consists in maintaining a proper balance between the production of munitions and supplies and the mobilization of recruits.

The Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) stated that under the present system of voluntary enlistments, it would be possible to raise an army of 750,000 men without conscription and that, by the end of the year, 600,000 soldiers would already have enlisted. What did the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson) have to say? Together with the Minister of Munitions and Supply, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, he made one of the strongest cases against conscription ever heard in this house. Here are a few of his statements: all the arguments of the imperialists and the tories are conflicting. Especially do these arguments mistake total war for conscription. I feel he said, that the adoption of conscription at the present time would not constitute a step toward a total war effort.

I could quote others. I could quote the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) who, in a splendid speech, ably stated the views of French Canada; clearly showed not only that conscription is unnecessary at this time but that it would hamper our war effort and endanger national unity. And did we not hear yesterday the Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Michaud) tell us that conscription at this time would mean suicide for the Liberal party? Mr. Speaker, I have no intention of joining the suicide squad and I am quite determined to vote against this conscription measure.

I submit that in this measure the government is unfortunately departing from the principle adhered to by the Liberal party for over twenty-five years. I consider that this measure is anti-Liberal, anti-democratic and anti-national, and that the decision on such an important matter should be left to the people, through their representatives in parliament, rather than to the cabinet. Canada is putting forth a total war effort which is satisfactory in my opinion. I support the government in their general policy of participating in this war, of helping our allies and of providing for the defence of Canada. But our country cannot be both the greatest granary and arsenal of the British empire and the best provider of soldiers for the allied armies. Our population is only 12,000,000 in round figures. Our neighbours to the south are 134 million strong and the Minister of Munitions and Supply stated in the course of this debate that the United States would equal Canada's war effort only when they have placed six million men under arms and in service on every allied theatre of war.

Our resources are limited. There is no limit to the good will of the Canadian people, it is true, still it does seem to me that certain of our opponents are desirous of forcing the government to put the whole country to fire and sword and thereby cause among the Canadian people great resentment against the Liberal party once the war is over.

There will be antagonism as between the English-speaking and French-speaking provinces. Racial strife and disunion will be rampant. National unity will be disrupted by this measure of coercion and all because the government will have listened to a minority in this country which is urging without respite, as without necessity, the passing of a conscription measure. I have purposely referred to a minority. During this debate, we have heard hon. members state that the affirmative vote given by the Canadian people on the plebiscite meant their acceptance of conscription. Whatever interpretation may be given to this measure, Mr. Speaker, I claim that the affirmative vote on the plebiscite was given by a minority only.

The voters' lists contained 6,800,000 names of men and women, and only two and a half millions out of that number voted "yes". Even at that, these two and a half millions did not specifically tell the government by their vote that they were in favour of conscription. It was a plebiscite and not a referendum on the question of conscription as the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier requested in 1917. The right hon. Prime Minister, and a great number of other speakers told the people that by answering in the affirmative they were not voting for conscription but simply showing their confidence in the government, in the Prime Minister and in parliament which was going to discuss this matter and decide on it.

Mr. Speaker, I must conclude my remarks so as not to prolong this debate further. It was Napoleon I who, although he had re-established the law corporations which had been suppressed during the French revolution, was in favour of cutting off the tongue of any lawyer who criticized the government. In closing, let me say that I am opposed to this measure and that I shall oppose any other conscription measure, even if my tongue should be cut off.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273250

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES

The Daily Edition is issued on the morning following each day's sitting, the speeches being reported in the language in which they were delivered. Speeches in French are translated into English and appear in that form as an appendix to the daily issue. Speeches in English are translated and appear in the French edition on the day following delivery.

Extra copies of the Daily Edition will be supplied at five cents each or $3.75 a hundred, if the order is given on the day of sitting. Order through the Debates Office.

Reprints of speeches are furnished if the order is given within seven days of first publication. Order through the Debates Office.

Hansard is available to the public by subscription. The rate for the session is three dollars. Remittance must accompany order, and should be sent to the King's Printer, Ottawa.

Following publication of the Daily Edition proofs are sent to members for revision. These should be returned within twenty-four hours.

Two indexes are issued, one to the Daily Edition, at the close of the session, and the other to the bound edition, published in book form later. The current index is compiled as the session proceeds and may be consulted in the Debates Office. For index inquiries and information as to mailing lists, telephone 2-8211, local 3246.

EARL C. YOUNG,
Editor of Debates, Room 324.

F. W. S. GALBRAITH,
Associate Editor, Room 325.

COMPTE RENDU OFFICIEL DES DÉBATS

L'édition quotidienne, publiée dans le texte original, paraît le lendemain matin de chaque séance. La version anglaise des discours prononcés en français est publiée en annexe à l'édition quotidienne du texte original.

L'édition française quotidienne, comprenant le texte original des discours prononcés en français et la version française des discours prononcés en anglais, paraît le lendemain de chaque séance.

On peut commander des exemplaires additionnels à raison de 5 cents l'unité ou $3.75 le cent, en s'adressant, le jour même de la séance, au bureau des Débats.

Pour les tirages à part de tout discours, la commande doit parvenir au même bureau des Débats, dans les sept jours de son apparition.

L'édition quotidienne est adressée à toute personne qui en fait la demande à l'Imprimeur du Roi, à Ottawa. Cette demande doit être accompagnée de la somme de trois dollars, prix de l'abonnement.

Prière aux députés de renvoyer les épreuves dans les vingt-quatre heures.

Il est publié, pour l'édition anglaise, deux index séparés, l'un pour l'édition quotidienne, après la clôture de la session; l'autre concernant l'édition définitive reliée, paraît un peu plus tard. L'Index se fait en cours de session et peut être consulté au bureau des Débats.

HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 514

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273251

National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940

Bill 80

Unrevised Hansard
July 22nd, 1942,
Pages 4919-4924

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: When the government decides that it is necessary and advisable to resort to conscription as a method of raising men for service overseas, an order in council will be passed dealing with members of the forces as a whole. It will not be a matter of passing a series of orders in council, but one order in council will cover the entire force. That, I think, answers my hon. friend's first question.

As to the second, what he proposes is further legislation at this session of parliament, the introduction of an act which will amount to a military service act or something equivalent to it. My hon. friend will realize that that would mean a second debate, which would resolve itself into going over, time and time again, very much the ground already covered, notwithstanding that at the present time we have the existing regulations in reference to the calling up of men under the mobilization act. Any regulations that will be passed with respect to service overseas, I should say, broadly speaking, would be similar if not wholly identical. I cannot see wherein it is necessary to embody all these regulations in the form of an act. To introduce further legislation at this session would help to defeat one of the main purposes of this legislation, namely to get into the hands of the government, as soon as possible, the power which it is desirable it should have at this particular time.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Just to follow up this question which the Prime Minister has just answered, is it still the intention, if the order in council he has mentioned is passed, that before it can become effective he shall consult parliament for a vote of confidence, as he stated in one of his speeches on the second reading?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall have something to say about that a little later on.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): I think it has a distinct bearing on these sections, because I know, as one of the members of this house, that many people throughout the country, especially in the armed forces, have not very much confidence in the government as constituted with the present leader; they pin their faith to the ministers of the armed forces.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, it is because of hon. members like my hon. friend who has just spoken that I have felt it absolutely necessary to have an expression of the confidence of this house before I undertake to put any conscription act into force with respect to service overseas.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: As soon as these amendments are passed, those men called to service under this bill will, subject to proclamation, be available for service overseas, subject to further submission to parliament, or whatever the scheme is which the Prime Minister intends to follow.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is no submission to parliament with regard to conscription. Let me make it perfectly clear that, so far as coming back to parliament for any purpose is concerned, there will be no coming back to parliament for a second debate on conscription, nor will there be any coming back to get the approval of parliament of the decision made. When the government makes its decision that decision is made, and it will be carried out either by this government or by some other government. It will not have to be approved by parliament first. The question whether or not a ministry headed by myself will enjoy sufficient confidence in the minds of hon. members of this House of Commons and of the people of this country to administer conscription, once it has been decided that conscription for service overseas shall be enforced, is a separate matter, and it is a matter on which I shall wish to have an expression of confidence.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: The point I was coming to is this. As soon as these amendments are passed, all men will be called up and will be subject to service overseas.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is right, once an order in council to that effect is passed.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Once an order in council is passed, as the Prime Minister says. Then the matter of the call-up of these men becomes very important. Parliament places the power in the hands of the government to determine when and if these men shall be

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT -
Epreuve illisible

C 273252

4920 Bill 80 Hansard July 22-42

sent overseas. The time has come for the government to place before this house the plans it has in reference to the calling up of men. The present scheme of calling up men is working a detriment to industry and to agriculture. It is not distributing the sacrifice fairly across Canada by provinces and according to population. Some months ago, on March 24, the Prime Minister announced, when he referred to orders in council in reference to man-power that had been passed, that a proclamation was being issued. I quote from page 1711 of *Hansard:*

> A proclamation is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921, who on July 15, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

The Prime Minister recognized on March 24 last that the scheme of calling men then in effect and still in effect was not such as would fairly distribute the call across the dominion, and announced that, in order to carry into effect the scheme he had in mind, the lottery system would be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid the hon. member is too far afield. Sections 2 and 3 are not capable of supporting the line of reasoning he is now developing.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: What I am trying to find out and what the people of Canada want to know is this. What is this government going to do with the power when it is given it? How will the scheme be administered? On March 24 the Prime Minister promised the establishment of the lottery system in order to distribute the call equitably across the dominion. My question is this—and I submit that it is relevant and one on which the people of Canada have a right to have information: How is this act when amended going to be carried into effect? Here we are in the month of July calling up 25,000 men, not on the basis of population in the various provinces, but in a haphazard manner, and in the month of August, 15,000—

Mr. RALSTON: It is the other way about; 15,000 in July and 25,000 in August.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Well, 15,000 in July.

Mr. RALSTON: I do not call them. The Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson) is not here at the moment, but they are called on the basis of population.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I will come to that in a moment. There will be 15,000 in July and 25,000 in August—

Mr. POULIOT: And 35,000 in September.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: What the number will be in September we do not know yet. The minister says they are being called up according to population. I have here a return brought down on July 20 in answer to a series of questions which I asked over six weeks ago in order to ascertain the position of affairs in so far as the man-power situation in Canada was concerned. This is the question I asked:

> Has a survey been made by the government with a view to ascertaining how many men are still available for military service in each of the foregoing classes?

That is the classes from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

> If so, who made the survey and when was it made?
>
> How many men were estimated to be still available for military service by provinces, military districts and/or administrative divisions in each of the said age groups?

Surely, after nearly three years of war the government should be in a position to tell the people what it will do with the powers that are being given under this act, what its plans are, how many men will be allocated to agriculture, how many to industry and how many to the armed services of the country. Yet here is the answer given by the government:

> The question of the number of men available for military training in the age groups subject to proclamation is under continuous consideration by the registrars of the administrative divisions and the mobilization division of the Department of Natonal War Services. It is not possible to say definitely at any given time how many men are still available for military

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ag 22

C273253

training in each division until after the necessary deductions have been made for voluntary enlistments, persons rejected on application for enlistment, men unfit for military service, men essential to war industries, persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture within P.C. 2252, persons whose military training will be postponed as conscientious objectors, et cetera, in the national interest, et cetera.

That is the answer of the government to the people of Canada—it reveals no plan—no survey. No one knows what will happen when this act is amended, who will be called, how many will be called. There is continuing uncertainty and delay. I ask the government to tell the people to-night—not next September, October or December, but to-night—what they may expect, what the plans of the government are, and whether the main effort of this dominion will be concentrated, in the armed services, in agriculture or in industry. Surely it is time that this government, having had ample opportunity since March 24, should give a better answer than was given yesterday by the Minister of National War Services. When I asked him if the lottery system would be brought into effect, he said, "The question is being given reconsideration". Does that mean that a decision was made that it would not be brought into effect and that the matter is now being reconsidered? The Minister of National Defence says that they call the manpower of this dominion according to population—

Mr. RALSTON: I said I did not make the call, but I assumed or understood that that was so.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Then why is it that in certain districts in Ontario, according to the return brought down here yesterday, they are calling men from twenty-five to thirty years of age, and that in other parts of Canada they are not calling them beyond twenty-three and twenty-four? Is there any equity or equality of service in that? I ask the government to-night in the interests of the morale of this country, in the interests of the men in the services, in the interests of the people as a whole, to announce its policy and plan definitely once and for all.

The Prime Minister says, "we will wait until conditions get worse and then, after we decide as a government to bring into effect conscription for overseas service, parliament will be called." Surely with conditions as they are to-day all over this world no one can say that they could be much worse. I ask the government—not in a critical sense, there has been nothing critical in the words I have spoken to-night—I implore the Prime Minister and the government to tell the people once and for all what this government will do, in a voice that will be heard all across Canada. Let them tell the people that delay and procrastination and expediency will no longer be considered as necessary elements in Canada's war effort.

Mr. FRASER (Northumberland, Ont.): That is the speech of a leader!

Mr. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): A few minutes ago I asked the Prime Minister two questions. I am satisfied with the answer to the first, but far from satisfied with the answer to the second. The Prime Minister gives, as the only reason for not bringing down some bill containing these regulations, the element of time. He said nothing to refute the advisability of having such a bill. It seems to me that the argument of time is not a very strong one. The government started moving in this direction in June, 1940; in the speech from the throne in January of this year they intimated that they were going to ask the people to release them from certain moral obligations. The government have had these regulations under which men have been called up now for nearly two years. Surely it would not have been difficult to have these framed into a bill and have it brought down in the house during this session. It seems to me that the time of members of the House of Commons is not nearly as important as the effect on the morale of the people of Canada if we proceed to conscript human life in this country on the basis of a series of regulations administered by a series of boards, each of them administering and interpreting the regulations in their own way, with various age groups called up, and different bases upon which postponements and exemptions are granted. As the war progresses, the feeling between different parts of Canada, whether justified or not, that some parts are being discriminated against and some favoured, is bound to rise. It seems to me that the few days or even weeks it might take to pass such a bill would be fully justified by results.

As a matter of fact, the party of which the Prime Minister is leader fought its most heated political battle in 1917 around this very issue, when it refused to give the Union government of that day power to conscript human life by regulation, and insisted that the clauses and conditions under which men would be called up should be placed on the statute books. The Prime Minister says that what the government want most is with all possible speed to get this power. That does not jibe very well with the statement he made on July 7 that they propose to refer this matter back to parliament for a vote of confidence, and if parliament is not sitting,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273254

to take the few days to call parliament together. If he is going to have time to call parliament and refer this matter back for a vote of confidence, he certainly could find time to bring a bill down in this house and, if necessary, refer it to a special committee and place something on the statute books that will be uniform, standardized, so that the people of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific will know that the same conditions, the same responsibility, the same obligations, rest equally and equitably upon all Canadians and that there is no loophole for possible discrimination, favouritism or partisanship. The feeling that there is such a loophole is bound to occur in war time unless every possible precaution is taken against it. It seems to me that it would be in keeping with the tradition of the government's party to bring down such a bill and thereby assure the people of Canada that the conscripting of human life is done on the most fair and equitable basis possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is this difference between the situation in 1917 and that to-day. In 1917 all the regulations had still to be framed. To-day we have regulations that have been in existence since the National Resources Mobilization Act was passed. The act has been on the statute books now for a couple of year; the regulations have been framed; action has been taken under them; they are known, and what is perhaps most important of all is that the years have brought experience in the framing of regulations, the benefit of which could not have been obtained in any other way. The regulations that will govern hereafter will be, as I said a moment ago, to all intents and purposes the same regulations, only made applicable over a wider area. Therefore the necessity for any legislative enactment setting out the regulations at this time is entirely different from what it was in 1917. It is correspondingly unnecessary.

Mr. GREEN: In connection with the suggestion of the hon. member for Weyburn, does the Prime Minister not think it might be wise if a special committee were set up whose duty it would be to consider such regulations as are passed from time to time under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

An hon. MEMBER: No, there are too many committees.

Mr. GREEN: Those regulations affect the lives of hundreds of thousands of Canadians and affect them drastically. It would go a long way toward doing away with misunderstanding if the representatives of the people in this house were able at least to go over the regulations carefully. This could very well be done by a committee. I realize that it could not be done now, but I suggest that when we come back again such a committee be set up. They could also consider the regulations passed by the wartime prices and trade board. There is a great deal of misunderstanding in connection with those regulations, and it would help a great deal if they were considered by some committee of this house.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The last part of the hon. member's remarks was rather reassuring, where he spoke of having a committee at another session. I have a certain sympathy with his outlook and would be inclined to consider carefully in the interval what steps might be taken to meet his wishes. But I would not think it advisable to attempt such a committee at this session.

Mr. GREEN: Yes; I realize that, and said so.

Mr. CHURCH: Many will be called but few chosen. Hitler may arrive first.

Mr. MacINNIS: There is a matter I want to bring to the attention of the Minister of National Defence, and I must do so to-night for fear I shall not have another opportunity before the session ends. It has been brought to my attention that certain employers are notifying their employees that under these war services regulations the government has made arrangements with them by which the government accepts the categories in which the employers place their employees in priority for calling them for service. If the minister would like to have the point made with a little more clarity, I should be glad to read a letter sent to each of its employees by a large company in British Columbia.

Mr. RALSTON: I know of such a suggestion from the Department of National Defence with respect to the reserve army. I know of no such suggestion from the Department of National Defence with regard to the active army. It must be some suggestion from the Department of National War Services or one of its boards, because I do not think the Department of National Defence has made any arrangement of the kind. Perhaps my hon. friend is dealing with the reserve army; is he?

Mr. MacINNIS: No; it affects all services. The first category is A, covering employees who the management consider should be available to the company at all times and who should not join the reserve army, A.R.P. or other civilian protection organizations.

Mr. RALSTON: That is the point; it is the reserve army, the A.R.P. or other civilian organizations. It has nothing to do with the active army.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Mr. MacINNIS: Then there is the next category, B: employees who may join outside organizations other than the reserve army, but whose services with such organizations should be available only outside regular working hours. Then there is category C: employees who may join any of the services, active or reserve, but who, before doing so, should give their immediate superior proper notice. Then the last paragraph reads:

> Telephone service is a vital necessity in every phase of military and civilian war activities and this is recognized by the government, who have left it to the management of the company to arrange for the retention of adequate trained personnel to maintain service.

The companies concerned, I am told, are using this agreement with the government or with the Department of National War Services, however you like to put it, to discriminate as between employee and employee. If they have one employee who has been active in trade union work they put him in category C, even though because of age, physical condition and for other reasons he should be in one of the other categories. I have these examples before me. This is a very dangerous and serious situation, when one employee finds himself discriminated against because of his labour activities; finds himself in such a category that if and when he is called, the company will make no effort to have his services retained, while another person who may be younger and more physically fit will have the company intercede on his behalf. I want to tell the ministers concerned that this is having a very serious effect on the morale of those working people who are likely to be called for military service.

Mr. RALSTON: I should like to hear more about this, because if it has anything to do with the active army I am very much interested. May I say to my hon. friend that so far as I know there is no tribunal with any power to make any decision with regard to whether or not a man shall receive a postponement as far as his services in the active army are concerned, except the boards appointed under the department of my colleague the Minister of National War Services. If any other body is doing that or attempting to do it, it is acting absolutely without authority, as I understand the situation.

Mr. MacINNIS: I should be glad to furnish the information I have to both the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of National War Services.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to point out that the remarks of the hon. member have been directed more to the general administration of the National Resources Mobilization Act than to the two sections now before the committee. The general administration of the act will come up for discussion at another time. I do not believe the remarks of the hon. member are sufficiently relevant to the two sections now before the committee.

Mr. MacINNIS: I did not think the points of order raised by the Chair this evening were well taken, because my understanding of this bill is that it amends the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN: In one particular.

Mr. MacINNIS: Very well. Section 2 of this bill amends section 2 of the 1940 act, and in discussing section 2 of Bill No. 80, we must discuss it in relation to the other part of this section of the National Resources Mobilization Act. Otherwise section 2 taken by itself does not make sense and has no substance. Sections 2 and 3 which the committee, I think wisely, have decided to consider together, make a whole; and everything contained in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, I submit, a proper subject for debate at this time.

The CHAIRMAN: It might be shorter to listen to the remarks of the hon. member.

Mr. MacINNIS: Yes. However, I do not wish to debate the matter further. I will take it up, possibly in a more satisfactory way, with the Minister of National War Services.

Mr. THORSON: I shall be very glad to satisfy my hon. friend as to the situation now existing.

Mr. STIRLING: I do not think the Prime Minister replied to the question of the hon. member for Lake Centre with regard to the intention of the government in the matter of the lottery. The remarks of the Prime Minister on March 24 were so distinct that I know a great many people in Canada have been wondering when the lottery system was going to be commenced. The right hon. gentleman said, at page 1711 of *Hansard:*

> In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

Has the government decided to give up the method of choosing by lot, or when does the Prime Minister expect it to be commenced?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The information I gave to the house at that time came to me from the Minister of National War Services, who is in the house this evening and who, I understood intended to make some reference to the matter. I would ask him to do so now.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273256

Unrevised Hansard
July 23rd, 1942,
Pages 4973-4988

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) has just made an eloquent plea for unity. He has said to the hon. members of this house: Forget all past differences, no matter what the record of the government may have been in its war effort; no matter what political differences there may have been between us; the danger in the world to-day is so great that men of all parties and all classes should unite, forget the past, and—if I understood him aright—devote their entire energies simply to the winning of the war. That was fine eloquence; it was a noble appeal. But may I say to my hon. friend that if he had begun his remarks of yesterday with those words and had followed them up in accord with the significance of words of the kind, his utterances would carry much greater weight than they do at the moment.

May I remind the house of yesterday's proceedings. My hon. friend came into this chamber with a carefully prepared address. It was typewritten. He had evidently given considerable thought and preparation to it. He knew that the proceedings in committee would not permit of his making a prolonged address without the consent of all members of the house; and having in mind his desire to get on the record this carefully prepared statement, he made an appeal to the house and asked that he be given unanimous consent. I think I can say quite honestly that if after objection had been raised by members in different parts of the house I had not myself risen to say that I would support my hon. friend in his request, the opportunity which was accorded at that time would not have been given him. Having been given the opportunity, the first thing my hon. friend said was, Oh, yes; I appreciate the kindness of the Prime Minister. No doubt he has been in a similar position himself and appreciates the difficulty of such a situation and is therefore helping me to meet it, or words to that effect.

May I say to the hon. gentleman that I have been in many positions, but I cannot recall that at any time in my life I was in the position where I asked a favour of another man in order that I might have an opportunity to knife him as strongly as I could. I would not pay so much attention to my hon. friend's request but for the plea for unity we have had from him to-night and the fact that before preferring his request he had his speech all prepared and knew what was in it. From beginning to close, it was the strongest effort he could make to help to destroy me in the public life of the country. The whole purpose of the speech, from beginning to close, was an effort to destroy confidence in this administration. Yet he says we must win the war. How are we to win the war, I ask my hon. friend, if there is to be no confidence in the ministry carrying on the war? It would be all very well if his words ended with their utterance and were not reported. But what happens? What the leader of the opposition said is sent broadcast not only throughout this country but throughout the world. It is taken up by the gentlemen of the press gallery and sent to the different countries of the world, to the United States, to Great Britain, even to our enemies. What impression do they get from the speech delivered yesterday? What is the impression anyone would get who listened to that speech or who may have read it to-day? It would be that the Prime Minister of the country was not deserving of the confidence of parliament; that he did not enjoy the confidence of the people; that Canada's war effort was being rendered infinitely less effective than it should be on that account. Yet my hon. friend takes exception to my wishing to have some expression of confidence on the part of the house before I continue to add to the responsibilities I have carried during the last three years.

My hon. friend speaks about our having been at war now for three years. I wonder if he realizes what load has been on my shoulders for these three years of war. A little later on he may reflect with regret upon

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

some of the words he used yesterday afternoon concerning the manner in which I have sought to discharge the duty I have to our country.

What was my hon. friend's pretext for the speech he made? He said I had introduced some new matter in the speech I made on the second reading of the bill, and therefore it was necessary and desirable for him to intervene in the committee stage to make the kind of speech that should have been made on the second or third reading of the bill. Well, my hon. friend knows as well as I do, to begin with, that the new matter, as he calls it, which I introduced was not new in the sense of being something which was not wholly relevant to the subject under discussion on the second reading. He knows also that all he had to do was to ask His Honour the Speaker whether in any way I had infringed the rules by introducing new matter into my speech. In that event he could have taken exception to it and so exposed me. But his speech was not occasioned because of any new matter. That was a mere pretext. Indeed, the whole of his speech had nothing to do with new matter. It was all old matter, the repetition of things he has been saying over and over again by way of attack upon myself and upon the government ever since we have been carrying on the duties of a government in this period of war.

Let me remind the house of some of the things my hon. friend said when he spoke. I made a note at the time of some of the references he made to me, and I propose to quote from them to the house on this occasion. But speaking of old matter, if I wished to refer to old matter I think I would not have much trouble in embarrassing my hon. friend. He was eloquent this evening about his convictions on the matter of conscription—how he has always believed in conscription; why this parliament should believe in conscription; that it is necessary for the winning of the war, and so on. Here is a little bit of old matter, the record of a speech made by the hon. gentleman, as reported in the Montreal *Daily Star* of October 30, 1941, just three months before the present session started. What did my hon. friend say then as to conscription being all-important and, above all else, being the thing for which all members of this parliament should stand? I quote:

"I have been urged to declare for conscription of man-power," Mr. Hanson said, "what would happen if I did? Immediately the Conservative party in parliament nailed conscription to its masthead, we would consolidate all those forces that have been opposed to us since 1917 and they would be marshalled against us."

This is the hon. gentleman who now says that conscription is the thing that everyone should agree upon, the hon. gentleman who says that he has never made a political issue of it; but he then said that the Conservative party, if they were to nail conscription to the masthead, would immediately have all the other forces marshalled against them.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Would the Prime Minister read that part in which I said that I tried to avoid its becoming a political issue?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will read the whole of it. My hon. friend said:

Conscription is bound to come to the front more and more insistently, but it must come from the people themselves. To make it a political move would defeat the very purpose of those who have it in view. . . . Our sense of citizenship must be such that we will go out and tell the people what the situation is, but if you make conscription a political issue you will retard its adoption.

A political issue is what the hon. gentleman opposite and his friends have made this question from the very beginning.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. HOMUTH: You have had twenty-five years of training.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think I can prove pretty quickly the truth of what I have just said. This afternoon when my colleague the former Minister of Transport (Mr. Cardin) was speaking on this question of conscription and how it had come to the fore he said that it had been largely the result of agitation, agitation on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite and their press in different parts of the country and others who represent them or for whom they speak. The result of agitation! My hon. friend described my course yesterday as a tortuous course, that first one step had been taken, then another and another in order to bring conscription more and more to the fore. It was this course he was describing as tortuous yesterday. But today when my hon. friend and former colleague comes out and says that the steps leading to the present bill were the result of agitation, and in so doing hands a bit of toffee to the opposition party and their friends, hands what I think the children call "an all-day sucker," my hon. friend grabs this thing and takes the whole credit to himself, implies that he has been the one who from the start has led this agitation and helped to make a success of the issue of conscription.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I said he did me too much credit.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273258

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but my hon. friend took it all to himself. The moment what had been, when he was describing my course, a tortuous course, when my hon. friend was told it had led to a certain result it became a series of progressive steps. Progressive steps the stages are described as when he has had to do with a course followed; a tortuous course when I have had anything to do with it.

What were some of the adjectives, phrases and epithets he used in describing this so-called tortuous course of mine? First he said I had sought all along only to preserve my political position, then that I had sought only the consolidation of my political position. That is all the credit he gives me as leader of the government in dealing with the question of the progress of the war and the measures necessary for it, that my whole aim and purpose have been to consolidate my position politically, to consolidate the position of the party politically.

Then he went on to speak of my course as one marked by procrastination, a course marked by appeasement. Next he referred to my method of speaking as casuistry, and finally, running out of epithets in that direction, he began to talk about twisting and turning and opportunism and indecision and timorousness, a comedy of errors, a lack of courage, and political expediency. These epithets ran all through my hon. friend's speech as his means of seeking—what? Of seeking to undermine confidence in the government and its leader at this time of war and great peril, for no purpose other than the political benefit he thinks he himself is going to be able to derive therefrom.

There was something that I must confess I was surprised at my hon. friend saying. I can understand some of the epithets he used. I was surprised when my hon. friend not only sought by his different utterances to create the impression that there was lack of unity in the cabinet; that there was lack of unity in the party; that there was dissension in the ranks of my followers, and after having tried to sow that sort of seed he turned to hon. members on this side of the house and said to them that some of them felt that I had betrayed them. But he added—and let me use his own words so that there will be no mistake—"And they have every right to think that he has betrayed them." Well, I say to my hon. friend that I think he will live to see the day when he will greatly regret having accused me of seeking to betray anyone and, most of all, members of my following in this house.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That is what the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères said, that he had been betrayed.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He did not say I had betrayed him. I noted his remarks very carefully. He said there was a time when certain people might think they were betrayed, a very different thing from my hon. friend accusing me of betraying anyone.

What did my hon. friend advise me to do? I had made certain pledges. His party, the party of which he is the leader, had made certain pledges—the same pledges. All hon. members of this house know well that at the beginning of the war the parties generally saw the seriousness of the kind of political discussion that would arise once the question of conscription for service overseas came to the fore, and all parties were united in saying to the electorate that they would do their utmost to prevent conscription for service overseas ever becoming an issue in this country at this time of war. It was not I alone; it was all parties, including that of my hon. friend. He was returned to this House of Commons in an election in which on this question of conscription for overseas service his own leader took exactly the same position as I did.

When I saw that it was necessary and desirable in view of changed conditions in the world for the government to have the power it now seeks, I recognized that a certain pledge had been given, I then said that before any action could or would be taken it would be necessary for me to go to the people of this country and ask them to release me and all others from commitments made, so that my hands and the hands of all might be free for any action it might subsequently be desirable or necessary to take. But my hon. friend who talks about betrayal said to me here, and to this house, that the thing I ought to do was to break, to ignore that pledge and go ahead and by force and might of majority put through conscription regardless of any pledge given. When he talks about betrayal, what is that but betrayal? Wholesale betrayal of the entire nation is what my hon. friend was advocating. Should his conduct in office be the same as his advocacy in opposition, if he had been in the position I am in to-day, he would have carried out that betrayal.

May I say a word about the change in world conditions. Here may I speak more particularly of what my friend and former colleague the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères said this afternoon as to the government's action being the result of agitation. I have in my hand the speech from the throne which was delivered at the beginning of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4976

C 273259

present session. My hon. friend was a member of the government at the time. With much of what he said this afternoon I am in entire agreement and most hearty accord; particularly is this so of what he said about the necessity of a majority being careful how it exercises its powers and of not ignoring the rights of a minority. But may I say to my hon. friend that I cannot agree with him when he says it was agitation which caused the government to make its policy, as announced in the speech from the throne at the beginning of this session, one of seeking the power which we have sought in this legislation. The reason was—I am sure that on reflection my hon. friend will recall—the changed condition of this world war. At the beginning of the present war nearly all persons in Canada believed it was going to be a second European war. Hon. members need not refer to speeches I have made in the past about whether troops would cross to Europe or not; they need only look in the British *Hansard* to see what members of the British parliament said about there not being another war in which Britain would send expeditionary forces to the continent. The leader of the opposition need only look at what his predecessor, Mr. Bennett, said in this House of Commons about no more expeditions being sent from this side to Europe. After the last war there was an intense feeling throughout the country that if the nations of Europe were going to continue to quarrel among themselves, they would have to straighten out their own quarrels. When the present war broke out there were many people who did not begin to have any appreciation of its probable scope and extent. It required not merely education but also time, vision and experience to bring home to the public of this and of other countries the true nature of this conflict.

It was under those circumstances that this government led this country into war, or rather took the responsibility of recommending to His Majesty that he declare that a state of war existed between Canada and Germany. At that time the belief was that for the most part the conflict would be wholly and solely within Europe. But what occurred between then and the time the speech from the throne was prepared this year? Between that time and the preparation of the speech from the throne the whole scene had completely changed. Practically all of Europe had been overrun by the conqueror. Poland and Czechoslovakia had been invaded and crushed. Denmark and Norway were under the heel of the aggressor. Belgium was conquered. The Netherlands were conquered. France had collapsed. Jugoslavia had been overrun. Greece had been overrun. Armies were in conflict along the border of Russia. The whole situation in Europe had changed completely. War was being carried on in Africa. But there was another circumstance which was most important. In addition to the war in Europe and in Africa, war had broken out on the far side of the Pacific. Japan had entered the war; she and Germany had both declared war on the United States, and before this house met this year Japan had made her strength felt in a powerful way in the far east. If I am not mistaken, by that time the Netherlands East Indies had been overrun; Singapore had fallen, and Australia was in danger of being invaded. These were the circumstances in which this house met at the beginning of this session. These were the circumstances, as my hon. friend and former colleague well knows, which account for the fact that this government had included in the speech from the throne the statement that it was desirable for the government to have the power for which we are now asking in this present legislation. Let me read the clause as it appears in the speech from the throne:

> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments—

That was with respect to methods of raising men for military service overseas.

> —possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.
>
> My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

Those were the circumstances. It was not the agitation on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite, but the fact that it was recognized by the government, as indeed it was its duty to recognize and to act accordingly, that instead of being a European war this was a world-embracing war, and that unless the enemy could be defeated in other parts of the world the last phase of the war in all probability would be fought out on Canadian soil.

I say to my hon. friend and former colleague that if he is at all doubtful as to that being the view which he himself held, I would recall to him what he said in his broadcasts to the people of his own province during this very session. Here may I pause to say that I do not think hon. gentlemen opposite have appreciated or sought to appreciate in any way the service that was rendered by my former colleague at that time. They

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

have been ready to find fault with him in one particular after another, but they have been very quick to forget the noble service that he and his fellow ministers from the province of Quebec rendered at the beginning of this war, when they made clear to the people of their province why Canada should enter this war unitedly. They have been very quick to forget that when gentlemen belonging to their own party sought to divide the province of Quebec and, to have the government of the province take a different stand, my former colleague and his fellow ministers from Quebec were the ones who spoke to their people and gave them the reasons why they should stand solidly behind this government in its policy of prosecuting the war to the utmost possible extent.

Speaking on the plebiscite, here are the words which my hon. friend used in addressing the people of the province of Quebec:

> It is your war; the war of every one of you. They are deceiving you in saying this is England's war. It is the war of our civilization against dictatorship. It is the war of those who are dear to you and of your way of life against a system of terror and slavery.

Those I am sure were the motives which actuated my hon. friend when he agreed, with other members of the government, to our seeking power to take whatever course might become necessary in order to meet a future situation. And he added:

> A member of the Quebec legislature said a few days ago that he hoped that the present war would make Canada an independent nation. But if Canada were to-day an independent nation, we would surely be engaged in the war.

Speaking on April 9, in another broadcast, my hon. friend said:

> To my fellow citizens of Quebec, I wish to say simply, without weakness and without shame, that it is better not to run the risk of isolating ourselves. We wish others to show confidence in us; let us then show confidence in them. Let us not speak only of rights; let us think sometimes also of the obligations which guarantee those rights . . . and No will lead you nowhere and assure you of nothing. With the rest of the country let us provide for our defence everywhere in order to keep away from us both the black peril of infidel Germany and the yellow peril of deceptive Japan.

That was the world vision which my hon. friend had and shared with all of us, and which I believe he still has. I mention it only to bring home to all hon. members of this house the fact that the government, in pursuing the course that it has taken and in seeking the power that it is seeking by this particular bill, has been motivated solely by what was most in the national interest and has had its course, as must be the case in all matters that affect the lives of men, influenced by the course of events in the world about it. We are not in the same position to-day that we were in three years ago. What country in the world is in the same position to-day that it was in three years ago? Who will venture to say what position this or any other country is going to be in a year from to-night? Knowing the rapidity with which the enemy has made headway in all quarters of the globe; seeing what he has done in Europe; seeing the strength of his forces in Russia at this very hour; seeing the battle that is taking place in Egypt; witnessing the conquests of Japan as we have witnessed them in the past few months; having had U-boats in our own rivers and having had our own shores attacked, who will say where we are going to be in relation to the enemy a year from to-night? I should like to know what government would survive that did not anticipate in advance all possibilities, and seek to provide against them in every way at its command. I know what the cry would have been if we had failed to take this step. There would not have been an incident of any kind, of an adverse nature, which would not have been put down to the fact that the government had not taken the power to conscript men for service overseas even if that should be considered necessary.

What government could stand against a charge of that kind?—that it had not been willing even to take power that might be necessary to save the country in a world situation such as we are facing at the present time. I say that no government would have been true to the country that would have tried to avoid its responsibility in that way. But we are taking the responsibility, meeting every situation as it comes, and seeking to discharge our responsibilities to the best of our ability.

Oh, yes, let me say a word about leadership. There has been quite a little said yesterday and to-day about leadership. Something was said about leadership in the province of Quebec. Of course my hon. friend the leader of the opposition could not help getting in the same old jibe that his party has kept up from the beginning of the war—that this country is not getting the leadership that it needs at the present time.

May I just remind the house that the ink was hardly dry on the order in council which set out the declaration of war between Canada and Germany when we were told—and I think it was by the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Bruce)—that while the present leader of the government had been a very good leader in times of peace, was in fact a splendid leader in times of peace—though I did not hear that

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273261

said very often by hon. gentlemen opposite in times of peace—he was not the man to lead the country in a time of war. From that day to this, every few weeks and months one sees evidence of a new drive, that we had better have a change in leadership, and so on and so on. Everything that has been possible for the opposition, the opposition press or the opposition public to do to belittle the leader of the government in this period of war, they have done, most of them without any reserve whatsoever.

They talk about publicity. For example, they complain about Canada's publicity in the United States. They say that our publicity in that country is poor, and that the people over there do not appreciate our war effort. Well, where does the United States get most of its Canadian publicity from to-day? It gets it from the press which reports the utterances of my hon. friend, utterances like those of yesterday. How can we expect to have a proper impression of Canada's war effort out of what these gentlemen have been seeking to have it appear, when they have, in large part, a monopoly of the press, and use press agencies to help to send these speeches abroad?

My hon. friend talks about leadership. May I say to him that there are some things which speak for themselves, despite anything anyone can say, or any construction one may seek to place upon them. For twenty-three years I have held the position of leader of my party. In that period of time I have had the pleasure—it was not altogether a pleasure, but a pleasure, in part—of seeing seven different leaders from the Conservative party sit opposite me, and for the most part they were in opposition.

This leader, who is not much good, at least has had the satisfaction of having seen no less than seven Tory leaders come and go, and seek to put him out of the leadership of his party! May I say to my hon. friend that, very fine in some respects as his own leadership has been, I do not think it has been altogether a bed of roses for him. I do not think it has been a magnificent triumph in the eyes of his own following, if what I read sometimes in the press is correct.

But speaking of leadership, my hon. friend, after referring to some proposed course of mine, said, "What a spectacle!" Well, I have witnessed many spectacles in my experience in political life, but never before have I witnessed the spectacle of a political party which had to have two leaders, one in the house and one out of the house, neither friendly with each other, and neither carrying the support of his own party. That is the spectacle we have had for many months past in the case of the party which my hon. friend leads in this house.

An hon. MEMBER: When Rome burns!

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is the hon. gentleman who preaches to the house about leadership! This is the gentleman who says that the country has not the kind of leadership it needs! Well, thank the Lord it has been spared this two-headed brand of leadership—and that is what exists, so far as the party opposite is concerned.

Mr. GRAYDON: "If Hitler were only a Tory, what a licking we could give him!"

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, I will not repeat what is being said by some of my friends round me, there may be attributes in Hitler that are not far removed from those of some of the party opposite.

May I come now—

An hon. MEMBER: Come to the war.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —to the reason my hon. friend gave for seeking to make his long speech of yesterday. He said that I was seeking to introduce some new formula—I think that is what he called it—and that he was taking exception to my so doing. Just what was it to which my hon. friend was taking exception? So that the record may be clear on the point I think I had better read to the house what I said on July 7 respecting the new matter, as I understand it, which my hon. friend said I had introduced at that time. I quote now from *Hansard* of July 7, page 4327:

> If the need should arise for sending overseas as reinforcements men called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, the procedure should be as open and aboveboard as it can possibly be made. Unless it is understood that parliament will be informed in advance, all kinds of suspicion will be aroused and all sorts of rumours will be in circulation from day to day.
>
> The right of the public to be informed of the decision of the government before it is enforced was set forth clearly in the address I made in opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7. Speaking on this very matter in a nation-wide broadcast, I said:
>
> "The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any steps which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273262

And this is the new matter:

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

I intend at the same time to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, hon. members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

May I ask wherein does any part of this new material not relate to the question of procedure on the very matter contained in the bill which the house is discussing at the present time? Suppose I had said nothing about my intention of informing parliament of the government's decision before seeking its enforcement? What would hon. gentlemen opposite have said? I have to consider what I am going to be face to face with if I fail to take a particular course as well as what I am going to be faced with if I take a particular course. Hon. gentlemen opposite know there is no single subject to which they have directed their opposition toward myself during the last two or three years to a greater degree than in alleging that I was not carrying out what I professed to believe in, namely, the responsibility of the executive to parliament; that I was continually ignoring parliament; that I was doing everything by order in council. There is not an order in council that the government has passed, I believe, to which hon. gentlemen, either in particular or in general, have not taken some exception. They talk about everything being done in the present administration simply by order in council. Yet when it comes to the most important order in council that will be passed during the life of this parliament, these hon. gentlemen say that I am taking a mistaken course in coming to parliament and informing parliament about that order in council before action is taken to enforce its provisions.

I just want to remind hon. members of what some of them have said on this matter during this debate. I am considering now just exactly where I would be if I had not made the statement that I was going to inform parliament immediately the government made its decision; that I was going to seek to get from this house an expression of confidence in this administration if it was to carry out the enforcing of that particular order. I have in my hand a copy of the speech made by hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, on May 28 of this year. I am going to read only a sentence or two which will help to illustrate the quotation I would have been faced with had I taken a different course. My hon. friend said, as reported at page 3114 of *Hansard:*

Let parliament take the responsibility; let parliament pass upon such regulations. The whole theory of doing these things by order in council is wrong.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That is as to the regulations.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The emphasis has been on doing things by order in council. The order in council which will be passed will be an order putting into force regulations that are already known. The essence is that they will be put into force by order in council. My hon. friend also said that he did not think we could get the same spirit of equality if this sort of thing were done merely by order in council, and he objected to such a method. Then on June 10 my hon. friend said, as reported at page 3533 of *Hansard:*

"Trust the people" is an old cry of the Prime Minister. He has never been willing to do that in connection with the conscription of man-power in this country. He has never been willing to trust the people. Yet there is no man in this country, no man in the whole history of Canada, who has played upon the principle of trusting the people more than has the present Prime Minister. In respect to one vital matter, which affects the liberty of the subject, he legislates in the secrecy of the council chamber; he is afraid to trust the people. If we pursue our present course we shall have only the theory of selective service on the statute books; we shall not have its application.

I wonder how my hon. friend would have rung the changes in this house on that declaration if I had not declared that I was going to see that this parliament was informed of any decision this government had made as soon as it was made and before action was taken to carry out the enforcement of the order itself.

Not only is it the leader of the opposition, but the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. Coldwell) has been equally strong in his language. Indeed, both of them repeated to-day their objection to not having parliament fully informed on these matters, even to the extent of having parliament legislate again upon them. On May 28 the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party used these words, as appear at page 3116 of *Hansard*:

The decision as to whether we are going to compel men to surrender their lives or their property in the interests of this dominion and of our war effort with the united nations is

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

not the responsibility of the military authorities; it is the responsibility of this parliament. And I agree that under no circumstances should the government take unto itself powers that ought to lie in this chamber.

When we are dealing with the futures of the young men of this nation, this is the place where the decision should be taken, to the very last degree.

Suppose a decision were taken and parliament not informed until action had been taken to send men overseas? Would there not be a repetition of the remarks I have just read? Would not this parliament and this country be told over and over again that I, of all men, had been one who sought to do everything in the secrecy of the cabinet council and to ignore parliament altogether? Speaking on June 11, as reported at page 3544 of *Hansard*, the hon. member said:

We have no right to give a blank cheque to the government to do nothing, or to make regulations for the conscription of man-power, which may be no better understood or more equitably administered than the regulations already in effect and about the meaning of which there is no general agreement by the Department of National War Services which is charged with their administration. Under the circumstances my colleagues and I do not propose to give the government a blank cheque to do by order in council what this parliament alone should do.

I draw attention to one word used there because it is significant. It is not merely action taken by order in council; it is the administration with respect to which my hon. friend wants to have some word to say.

Mr. COLDWELL: The administrative regulations.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As to how they would be administered, yes. Then I come to the hon. member for Lake Centre (Mr. Diefenbaker), who is reported at page 3624 of *Hansard* as follows:

We have a right to know how the act will be administered;—

If you are going to know how it is going to be administered, you will want to know what ministry is going to administer it. That is the first step. That is what I am proposing that this parliament shall know. The hon. member continued:

—we have a right to know its mechanics and its provisions. We have a right to see that under these regulations favours will be denied, that favouritism will not be permitted, so that there will be honest administration.

Again a question of administration. That seems to be the important question in connection with this particular measure. Here is a statement which I quoted the other evening and to which exception was taken by the hon. member for Lake Centre on the ground of its not conveying his true meaning. I am going to give it the meaning he says he intended to convey. He was speaking on June 15, and I quote from page 3621 of *Hansard:*

Up to the present time the only two ministers who have spoken in this debate on behalf of the government have been the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner), both of whom have consistently opposed military service overseas, and from whom, having regard to the speech to which we have listened to-day, we cannot ever expect in my opinion to have military service overseas regardless of what the people may demand.

When I read that the other evening my hon. friend said that he had not meant military service overseas, he had meant compulsory military service overseas. What is the charge being made against me at this time by one of the leading followers of my hon. friend opposite? It is:

. . . having regard to the speech to which we have listened to-day—

That was the speech of the Minister of Agriculture.

—we cannot ever expect in my opinion to have military service overseas—

That would be compulsory service, to use his own words.

—regardless of what the people may demand.

If that is the view members of this house have, do they not believe it is about time that an opportunity should be given to them to say whether they have or have not confidence in the administration that is to have this extra responsibility?

My former colleague, speaking in the first debate, gave one strong reason why parliament should know immediately the decision was made and before further steps were taken. Speaking on June 11, the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères said, as reported at page 3560 of *Hansard:*

It is not to be applied by act of parliament, as it was in 1917, with the regulations attached to the bill and presented to parliament. No; it is to be done by order in council, and it may very well be that the order in council applying conscription, forcing the boys of Canada to fight anywhere in the world, will be kept secret.

That is a rather serious statement or charge to make. It will be rumoured about the country that there is going to be so much secrecy in this matter that the order in council applying conscription, authorizing the boys to fight anywhere in the world, will be kept secret. There is one very effective way of answering a charge of that kind, one that cannot be denied, and that is that the minute a decision is reached by the government to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273264

4981

resort to conscription for service overseas this parliament will be advised of it, and that course is the one which will be taken.

I might quote from many speeches which have been made by hon. members on this side. I shall mention only one, but I give it as a reason why amongst others I think it is necessary that I should know if and when the time comes whether men of my own party are going to support me if it falls to my duty and obligation to have to enforce conscription. I read here from the words of one of my personal friends, the hon. member for Rimouski (Mr. d'Anjou), who, speaking this way, and very feelingly—and I take no exception to what he said, but I feel sorry that he found it necessary to say it—remarked, as reported in *Hansard*, June 29, at page 4052:

When speaking on the plebiscite, I stated that I had faith in my leader and in his cabinet. I must say that I have now lost that faith. I truly believed that I could trust the Prime Minister of Canada.

Then he says later on, speaking of my former colleague:

He too had faith in the government. Having been deceived, he had enough courage to resign.

As I said, I am not surprised that the faith of some of my followers may have suffered—I will not say, a shock, but at least that it has been a little difficult for them to understand some things. The really great things of life, the important things in life, are often not to be understood by any individual act; it is the life as a whole that counts, it is the future as well as the present and the past that have to be taken into account; and in taking the action which I have taken in regard to this matter I have had in consideration above all else the national interest and the problems which men from all parts of this country have to face in their several constituencies. If I have not sought to proceed as hon. gentlemen opposite think I should have proceeded, and a year and a half ago taken steps to put conscription into force immediately, whether it was necessary or not, it is because I have known only too well that such course would have been the most disastrous that the leader of any government could take at any time in this particular country. I say to the hon. member for Rimouski that I believe he will live to see his faith restored, by the events of the coming years. In the light of the possibilities of the future, he will come to see very clearly why I have taken the course I have in the past and in the present.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Even if we lose the war.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What I wish to make perfectly clear is this. The responsibility of being a member of a government at a time of war, to say nothing of having the responsibility of being head of a government, is the greatest responsibility which can be put upon the shoulders of any man, and no leader of a government and no government can carry on the duties of government in time of war unless absolutely sure of its following in the House of Commons. This is the position that I feel the present administration has come to, or more particularly that I myself have come to, at the present time, after three years in which hon. gentlemen opposite, some of their press and some of their friends have been doing all they possibly can to undermine the administration, and to cause not only the people of Canada but the people of other countries to lose faith in myself as leader of an administration in time of war. Now that we have come to a crisis I feel it is absolutely necessary, if I am to carry on longer as the head of the administration, that I should know whether I have a solid following in this House of Commons and in the country.

I am not going to spend time reading many extracts from the press; I get quite enough of them, morning, noon and night, when I pick up certain journals. But I am going to read a paragraph from one editorial which appeared shortly after I made the speech I did in this house on July 7, in which I said that I thought it would be necessary to have an expression of confidence from the House of Commons. I ask hon. members in listening to this paragraph from this particular editorial whether they believe that, if this kind of thing is given currency day in and day out in different parts of Canada, it will be possible for any man who has responsibility to carry on in time of war. I quote from the Toronto *Globe and Mail* of July 10, 1942:

It is bad enough for our Prime Minister to be revealing some of the earmarks of a dictator and trying to suppress the privileges of parliament,—

This is at the moment when I am saying to hon. gentlemen opposite that, before seeking to enforce this decision, I intend to come to parliament and give hon. members an opportunity of saying if they have confidence or have not confidence in myself and the government. At the moment I am saying this, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* comes out and says that the Prime Minister is—

—trying to suppress the privileges of parliament, of which he has been such a vociferous champion, but there would be some toleration for dictatorial methods if they were promoting the country's war effort and enhancing its prestige abroad. But the lamentable feature

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273265

of Mr. King's tortuous and thimble-rigging courses which have been brought into high relief in the late debate is that they have now done irretrievable damage to the reputation of this young nation in the outer world. The valour of its sons in the last war had set the seal upon Canada's claim to full nationhood and given her a place of honour and influence among the nations. But to-day our Prime Minister, by assiduous and discreditable pursuit of partisan ends—which he has the effrontery to deny—at the expense of our solemn obligations has dragged that good name in the dust and frittered away the high prestige which heroic youth had won with precious blood.

I ask hon. members, if a leading publication in the largest city in Ontario can issue that sort of thing to the people of the province at a time of war, how can anyone expect that a man who has the least self-respect would be willing to ask the country to have him continue in office if he thought the people believed that sort of thing about him?

As a matter of fact, I think I know pretty well the confidence the people of this country have in me, and I am not afraid to go before the people at any time. That brings me to the answer to the question of the hon. member for Souris (Mr. Ross); and by the way, I should like to quote what he said, because it is very much to the point. What did he say yesterday? It is found in *Hansard* at page 4920:

> Mr. Ross (Souris): Just to follow up this question which the Prime Minister has just answered, is it still the intention, if the order in council he has mentioned is passed, that before it can become effective he shall consult parliament for a vote of confidence, as he stated in one of his speeches on the second reading?
>
> Mr. Mackenzie King: I shall have something to say about that a little later on.
>
> Mr. Ross (Souris): I think it has a distinct bearing on these sections, because I know, as one of the members of this house, that many people throughout the country, especially in the armed forces, have not very much confidence in the government as constituted with the present leader; they pin their faith to the ministers of the armed forces.

My hon. friend nods his head. Well, if there is not much faith in the present leader of the government, the sooner he knows it the better. I can assure my hon. friend and every member of this house that any time they wish to have a vote of want of confidence I am willing to give them the opportunity, and the moment such a vote carries no one will leave office more quickly than your humble servant. What did my hon. friend say this afternoon? He began to tremble in his seat after he had heard that possibly there was going to be a vote of confidence. He had been uneasy about it ever since he asked me the question this afternoon, what was I going to do if, when the vote of confidence took place, it should prove to be a vote of non-confidence—would I go to the governor general and ask him to have one of my colleagues lead the government, or would I go to His Excellency and ask for a dissolution of parliament. My hon. friend was a little bit afraid of a dissolution, and yet he and his leader yesterday spoke about myself as the one who talks about trusting the people. But the moment we come anywhere near the people, my hon. friends, and those who think like them, begin to get very anxious indeed.

An hon. MEMBER: Don't be a child.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister does not—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Just a minute. The Prime Minister has referred to the question I asked him this afternoon, and he said I was trembling from fear. I wish to deny that statement, and I invite him to Souris if he resigns.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I did not catch what my hon. friend said, but I notice he could not sit still anyway, and had to rise and make an interjection. May I say to my hon. friend that what I will do when the time comes will depend upon what happens at the time and what I think best in the national interest.

While I am dealing with remarks of some hon. gentlemen opposite may I refer to the hon. member for Lake Centre (Mr. Dienfenbaker). The hon. gentleman made a statement which affords a reason why I think it is important that not only this house but the country should know what confidence there is in the present administration. I am glad to observe that the hon. member has just come in. Speaking on July 22, yesterday, as reported at page 4921 of *Hansard*, he said:

> The Prime Minister says, "we will wait until conditions get worse and then, after we decide as a government to bring into effect conscription for overseas service, parliament will be called." Surely with conditions as they are to-day all over this world no one can say that they could be much worse.

I was astonished when I looked at *Hansard* this morning and found that those words which my hon. friend attributed to me appeared in quotation marks. I challenge him to point to any place at any time where I used words such as he has in quotation marks in *Hansard* to-day.

> The Prime Minister says, "we will wait until conditions get worse and then, after we decide as a government to bring into effect conscription for overseas service, parliament will be called."

There the quotation ends.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

An hon. MEMBER: He was dreaming as usual.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He was not dreaming; he was doing something else though, and he knows it. I ask my hon. friend to rise now in his seat and tell me if I ever used words such as those.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I say no. Those words are placed there in parenthesis, and I say to the Prime Minister that with the conditions we face to-night all over the world I cannot understand the type of address which apparently he is trying to make to the house.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The words are not in parenthesis; they are in quotations, and I say that those quotations are not justified. I have made no statement of the kind—never at any time—and my hon. friend knows it as well as anyone else. I should like to know who put those quotation marks there. However, let us pass that over. The serious part of my hon. friend's statement, perhaps the most serious, is not putting those words in quotation marks, but in attributing to me any statement that we will wait until conditions get worse and then decide. Is there any justification for an expression such as that? When I have said that we would wait until the time came for putting in conscription, I have not said that we were waiting until conditions got worse. I have said that we were waiting until conscription is necessary, which is a very different thing. And I have made no other statement than that.

My hon. friends opposite a year and a half ago were saying that it was necessary to have conscription for overseas service. At the time I said it was not necessary, and from that time until the present they have been repeating that statement and I have been replying to them. It was not necessary for the reason that up to the present time more men have been offering for overseas service than it was possible for the government to train and send overseas. That is a very different thing. Suppose we had conscription for service overseas in force at this hour. I think I am right when I say that not an additional man would be called out, not one more man would be receiving training at the present time, not one man more would be sent overseas at the present time, for the simple reason that we have more men ready to go overseas to-day than it would have been necessary to raise by conscription to meet the situation at the present time.

Mr. HOMUTH: We have conscription now.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I said, for overseas service. If we had conscription for overseas service at this moment, we still have more men offering to go voluntarily than we are sending across the sea now. May I ask my hon. friend who has interrupted me whether this is what he proposes—that we should take men who are called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act to serve in Canada and send them overseas in preference to men who have volunteered to serve anywhere, who are waiting to go overseas, and who wish to go? Unless that is what he means there can be no force in the kind of argument which hon. gentlemen opposite present.

Mr. HOMUTH: May I answer the question?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Mr. HOMUTH: I contend that our camps are filled to-day because we have conscription in Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): That is not a question.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That does not answer my question with respect to conscription for service overseas.

An hon. MEMBER: But it answers his.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In the matter of putting conscription for service overseas into force, should that become necessary there will be no delay in conscripting or training men. Exactly the same number will be called up by exactly the same method, regardless of geographical sphere of service. If the supply of volunteers fails there will be no question of starting a new system; all that will be required will be to extend the scope of service of men already called up and trained. That is the answer to the question as to the effect of delay in putting this system into force.

I wish to make perfectly clear my reason for saying that I desire to come back to parliament and inform parliament of the decision which may be made and why I would seek an expression of confidence before undertaking to continue as head of a government that is to administer conscription for service overseas. I have been careful in what I have said to speak for myself alone. I can speak only for myself as to the course I shall take if I have a certain responsibility, but I do say this, and I say it most emphatically, that no man, I do not care who he is, could carry on a government in time of war unless he had the confidence of the House of Commons, expressed in a reliable majority, behind him.

13

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4984

July 23, 1942

C 273267

There have been in the course of this debate many things which have given me reason to feel that the degree of confidence in my ability to carry on up to this particular point, which I know I have enjoyed very greatly, particularly from men of my own party and, I believe, in large measure from many hon. gentlemen opposite, may not be as great in me as one qualified to administer conscription for overseas service. If that is the case let me say that I do not wish to assume any obligation that hon. members of this house have not full faith in my carrying out to the letter. May I say this to my fellow-members of the House of Commons: I have shirked no responsibility of any kind since this war came on that I believed to be in the national interest. I have not hesitated to ask this House of Commons for any measure that I thought was essential in the national interest.

I do not expect ever in my life—in the remainder of it—to have any obligation to assume which will be comparable with the obligations I have assumed in the past, when it fell to my lot to go into the council chamber and advise my colleagues—yes, at the time of Munich—that if Hitler made a move against Czechoslovakia, at that time I would advise that this country should go to war against him. When I made my position known to my colleagues in the cabinet a year before the present war, I realized the kind of conquest he was bent on. And when war came against Poland I again told my colleagues that I believed this country should enter this war at the side of Britain and fight this oppressor of mankind, this man who is seeking to gain the conquest of the world and to destroy freedom. I had had deep searchings of heart before that time. I was taking a very grave responsibility when I came into this chamber and asked this House of Commons to support a policy which would carry Canada into the war. I had taken the greatest responsibility that any human being on earth can take, that of bringing his own country into the war. I did not shirk that responsibility because I believed it was in the interest of our country that we should take that step. And after three years of war I ask my friends in this house to-night whether they think I was wrong in taking that step at that time.

I feel exactly the same about this matter of conscription for overseas service. Up to the present time I have not felt it necessary to conscript men for service overseas because our Canadians were doing honour to themselves and to their country by enlisting for training for service anywhere in larger numbers than we could prepare them. But I say to-night that, with the world situation what it is with the situation between Germany and Russia what it is at this moment, the situation in Egypt what it is at this moment, the situation on the Pacific as we know it to be at this moment, I would be derelict to the responsibility which I bear to the country and to my fellow-members if I did not say to them that I believed it was absolutely in the interest of the country that the government should have power to take any step at any time that it deems necessary, so long as it takes that step in the light of its responsibility to parliament.

Now I know there are some hon. members who do not attach the same significance to those words that I do. But I attach very great significance to them. When I say that what I wish to do I wish to do in the light of my sense of responsibility to parliament I am not talking about the shadow of responsibility; I am talking about the substance of responsibility. If I am persuaded that it is necessary and desirable to resort to conscription of men for overseas service, I am going to support that view. But the minute I support that view, if it is the view of the cabinet, I wish to be able to come to this House of Commons and say: The cabinet has reached this decision; the next step will be to enforce it. Before that next step is taken I want this House of Commons to declare whether it has confidence in me as the head of the administration that is to carry out this policy of conscription or whether hon. members prefer to have another government in the place of the administration now in office. That is my conception of carrying out my responsibility to parliament.

Some hon. gentlemen opposite keep saying over and over again, as the leader of the opposition said to-night, "I have no confidence in the Prime Minister; a lot of us have no confidence in the Prime Minister; we reserve our right to vote as we think best on the motion of confidence," but can you think of anything more ridiculous than when they are offered that opportunity the tenor of their words is, "Oh, for goodness sake, do not give us that opportunity; we don't want it; we don't want to have to vote on an expression of confidence or otherwise." I say the people of this country will want to know two things: first, whether the head of the government that is carrying on this war has the confidence of the majority in this House of Commons, and second, where the members of this House of Commons stand, each one of them, not by their words but by their vote, on the question of the course that may be thought necessary by the administration in the winning of the war. And I intend, if it lies in my power, to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

14

see that this House of Commons gets that opportunity, so that the people will know exactly where each and every one of us stands.

Let me say this in conclusion. If I propose a course in this parliament, immediately some hon. gentlemen opposite find fault with it. If the Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Churchill, who is all-powerful in the support he has, proposes a course, of course he is applauded for it by the same hon. gentlemen. They say that was the right thing for him to do.

Mr. JACKMAN: National government.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, that is where we come pretty much to the crux of the whole situation. My hon. friend belongs to that little group of Tories who feel that nobody else is able to carry on a government unless they are members of it. May I ask my hon. friend this question, because he was elected on the basis of national government. Who was it raised the question of national government in this country at the last general election? It was his leader and the members of his party. So keen were they on national government; so strongly did they believe that national government was the cry that was going to sweep Canada, that they actually struck out their old time-honoured name of Conservatives and called themselves national government candidates.

Mr. JACKMAN: I ran as a Conservative candidate, supporting the policy of national government.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend ran under a leader who ran as national government leader and who said that national government was the policy of his party, and all hon. gentlemen opposite know it. I simply mention the matter because if national government has been anathema ever since, hon. gentlemen opposite are responsible, because they are the ones who put the issue to the people and got the answer from the people themselves.

Now I come back to the example of Mr. Churchill. I ask this house to listen to these words and to ask themselves whether they might not have been spoken by myself tonight after this long debate as giving expression to much that has been said in the course of it. Less than three weeks ago Mr. Churchill returned to Great Britain from the United States. While he had been away a handful of his opponents had been directing different charges against his administration, doing what they could to undermine the confidence of the people in his administration. This is what Mr. Churchill said in his first great speech in the house after his return:

> This long debate has now reached its final stage. What a remarkable example it has been of the unbridled freedom of our parliamentary institutions in time of war.
>
> Everything that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government; has been used to prove that the ministers are incompetent and to weaken their confidence in themselves; to make the army distrust the backing it is getting from the civil power; to make workmen lose confidence in the weapons they are striving so hard to make; to represent the government as a set of nonentities over whom the Prime Minister towers and then to undermine him in his own heart and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation—all this has poured out by cables and radio to all parts of the world, to the distress of all our friends and the delight of all our foes. I am in favour of this freedom which no other country would use or dare to use in times of mortal peril such as those through which we are passing, but the story must not end there, and I make now my appeal to the House of Commons to make sure that it does not end there.

And later.

> Do not let the house underrate the gravity of what has been done.
>
> Now that it has been trumpeted all around the world to our disparagement, and every nation, friend and foe, is waiting to see what is the true resolve and conviction of the House of Commons, it must go forward to the end.

The most effective statement made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain during the course of that speech was when he reminded the house that they had two alternatives; they could dismiss the present government or support it, but they had no right to impair its efficiency and reduce its prestige abroad by a process of "sniping." That is exactly where we are at the present time, and I am saying to members of this House of Commons tonight that none of them have a right to continue to undermine confidence in the government that is carrying on the war unless they are prepared to put some other government in to take its place; and they have no right to do what they can to seek to destroy the Prime Minister of the country in his own eyes, in the eyes of his fellow-citizens and in the eyes of the world, unless they have someone whom they can put in his place and who is prepared to take the responsibility that is mine at this time.

On a previous occasion, after he had been in Washington before, Mr. Churcill found that the same thing had happened. His back had hardly been turned before a small, vociferous group began to make charges against the Prime Minister for having done this, for not having done that, and the like. He came

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

back and found his strength impaired, his prestige lessened, and what did he say? He addressed the House of Commons on January 27 and asked for a vote of confidence in himself. He said:

From time to time in the life of any government there come occasions which must be clarified . . . . Since my return to this country I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the house is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives.

After two days of debate a division was taken, and Mr. Churchill was supported by 464 votes to 1. Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not expect any such support.

Mr. ROSS (Souris): You would hardly make a comparison between yourself and Prime Minister Churchill, would you?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is my gallant and wise friend saying?

Mr. ROSS (Souris): It is on *Hansard*.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I want to make one thing perfectly clear—

Mr. ROSS (Souris): The Prime Minister asked what I said. I asked if he was making a comparison as between himself and Prime Minister Churchill.

An hon. MEMBER: Why not?

Mr. ROSS (Souris): Read the history of the last war, 1914-18.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The last thing in this world I wish to do is to make comparisons between myself and anyone else, let alone Mr. Churchill. No one knows better than I do the burden that Mr. Churchill is carrying and the magnificent manner in which he is carrying it. He is a noble example to all of us, and I am seeking to follow his example; not to compare myself with him but to follow his example: to do the best I possibly can in the position which I hold, for the time that I may hold it, but also realizing that I cannot pretend to carry on the duties of leadership of a government in time of war efficiently or effectively unless I enjoy the confidence of the members of the House of Commons. That is all I am asking for.

Now let me make one thing perfectly clear, so that there will be no mistake about it. I notice that some sections of the press have interpreted my remarks to mean that I was coming back to parliament to get approval of the decision of the government. I cannot make it too plain that when this bill passes both houses, as I believe it will pass, and is assented to, the government will have been given by parliament power to conscript men for service overseas. That power will rest in the government. It will be there. The policy of the government is to exercise that power when it believes it necessary to do so, when it is necessary to resort to conscription to make Canada's war effort more effective. When the decision is made by the government —if and when it is made—that settles the matter as far as conscription is concerned. Conscription will have been enacted; the government will have declared that it is necessary for the carrying on of the war. There will be no question of referring that matter to parliament at all. And may I add this, that if that should happen between now and the end of this year there could not be a debate on it, even if some hon. members might wish to have one. Every hon. member knows that His Honour the Speaker would immediately rule out of order a second debate on conscription, even if this house would tolerate it. It would be against the rules of the house, so there is no use in anyone seeking to make out that I am trying to have a second debate on the question of conscription, that I am going to take a long time in order to get this matter settled. This matter will be settled to-night, I believe, as far as this House of Commons is concerned. Then this bill will go to the senate and later will be given assent by the governor general. That will settle the question of the power the government will have, and according to my policy already stated the decision will be settled by the administration under the power given to it by this legislation.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is a very different thing when a decision has been reached which places additional responsibilities on the ministry, responsibilities which must be viewed by any wise ministry in the light of all that has gone before; in the light of all that has taken place during this debate in this House of Commons; in the light, as my hon. friend the former minister said this afternoon, of what is going to be the result of the enforcement of that policy not only in the immediate future but for all time to come; I say when all that responsibility is added to the responsibility already on the shoulders of the ministry, I think it very desirable that this House of Commons should say whether it is prepared

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

15

to give its support to the administration to carry on with that extra responsibility, or whether it is going to withhold its support just at the time it is most needed. That does not mean a matter of taking any time. I will not delay to look up his words, but my hon. friend the leader of the opposition said something to the effect that I was going to ask for a second debate on conscription.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend is quite right; that I was going to put through conscription by closure.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No; a vote of confidence by closure.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No; my hon. friend said conscription by closure. I will quote his words, so that there may be no mistake about it. Here is what my hon. friend said, as reported at page 4905 of *Hansard*:

> Later in that speech of Tuesday, July 7, the Prime Minister indicated that the debate would have to be curtailed. Well, who will do the curtailing. There is only one way to curtail debate in parliament, and that is by invoking the rules with respect to closure. Consequently, what the Prime Minister said on July 7 was that the action of his government in imposing conscription would be submitted again to debate in the House of Commons, but that closure would be applied in the debate, and the motion or resolution put through under closure.

There could be no clearer words than those. My hon. friend says he did not use them, but—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I did not say that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then what did he say?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The record will speak for itself.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why did I look up the reference, if it was not to make perfectly sure?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The right hon. gentleman was wrong in his first reference, and I think he is wrong in the second. I will leave it at that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I find I was right in my first reference, because he said:

> What the Prime Minister said on July 7 was that the action of his government in imposing conscription would be submitted again to debate in the House of Commons—

I did not say anything of the kind.

> —but that closure would be applied in the debate, and the motion or resolution put through under closure.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): "Resolution put through under closure."

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It was closure in reference to the question of conscription.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No; the resolution of confidence would be put through under closure.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Now my hon. friend is taking exception to the resolution of confidence being put through under closure. And yet he says he is so sure of his ground he is prepared to vote want of confidence immediately. I ask my hon. friend if there could be any more absurd attitude for a leader to take than this, to say that he has not confidence in the ministry, but will require weeks of debate if necessary to prove that there is anything in it. That is what it comes to.

16

I want to make perfectly sure at the present time that, so far as I am concerned, coming to this house for an expression of confidence at any time, undue time will not be consumed in debate. Hon. members will be given within a certain period of time, a chance to show where they stand and that will be a period of time which the people of this country will deem reasonable and sufficient for the purpose. I hope that is clear so that the country and hon. members will see there are not any delays whatsoever. Once the decision of the government is reached the government is going to proceed immediately and rapidly with the question of confidence and in carrying out to the full the intent and purpose of its decision.

I have spoken at greater length than I had intended to speak. My hon. friend closed his remarks with an appeal for unity at this particular time of war. I am not going to make that appeal in my own words, but, like my hon. friend, I should like to leave a few words with hon. members at the close of this long and very important debate. The words I wish to leave to-night are words which interpret better than any I have ever seen anywhere else what I believe to be the real inner meaning and significance of this great struggle.

I doubt if the people of Canada as yet begin to realize, not only the scope of this war, not only the terrible character of it, not only the rapidity with which it is encroaching upon the very confines and coasts of this continent. I doubt if they realize, or have yet fully realized, what this war really means to mankind.

Of all I have read on the subject, no passage has impressed me more than one I came across written by a young Canadian woman now in

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

her thirties who, for some ten years or more suffered as an invalid. This young lady, Audrey Alexandra Brown, was born in Nanaimo, and is now living, I believe, in Victoria, out on the Pacific coast. I give these words to the hon. members to-night as words to be taken into the hearts of all, excepting none. I give them as words to be kept constantly before us to help us realize the character and the magnitude of the task it is our duty to seek to meet:

There is no place for separatism and dissension among us now, if there ever was. For it is plain that mankind has come to the cross-roads. It is easy to cast back to Genghis Khan or the dark ages and declare that nothing is happening now which did not happen then. It is easy, it is comforting, and it is a lie. Certainly, brutality and force are not new among men. It has always been true that, as the Psalms have it, "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty". Men who are little more than savages can be expected to behave as beasts. But never before in history has a nominally civilized, a nominally Christian nation deliberately made the profession "Evil be thou my good". This war is unlike all other wars, for the deformed monstrosities that sheltered in darkness have crawled out of that darkness and openly challenged the world for the possession of its soul! They no longer fight under cover, they flaunt in steel. For Germany to win this war would not mean merely a re-drawing of boundaries or a shift in sovereignty. It would mean the destruction of the free spirit of man.

There can be no stronger plea for national unity.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273272

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

Proposal to Withhold Calling Up of Men under the National Resources Mobilization Act

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1943*

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think it is advisable for me to intervene at an early stage in the debate on this amendment to the amendment if for no reason other than first to make perfectly clear what in reality the amendment to the amendment says and proposes and, in the second place, what, in our parliamentary practice, it means.

Notwithstanding the fact that the hon. member who has just taken his seat has read the subamendment in part, I should like to repeat what he has read, and also a portion of the subamendment he did not read. After it is stated that the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin) moves, seconded by the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Dubuc) the subamendment begins:

That all the words after the word "that" in the first line of the said amendment be struck out and that the following be substituted therefor.

Amendment One of Non-confidence

The point I wish to make perfectly clear is this, that the amendment of the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères is in the nature of a want of confidence motion in the present government. The hon. member seeks to effect that end by substituting a want of confidence motion of his own for the want of confidence motion moved by the leader of hon. members sitting immediately opposite. The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères proposes that the house should strike out of that amendment all the words except the first few, namely, "We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that—". Those words are allowed to remain, but all the words following are to be stricken out, and in their stead are to be substituted words which I shall read in a few minutes.

I do not know that I could take any exception to that part of the subamendment

* The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved on January 29th, 1943. On February 1st an amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and a sub-amendment by the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. On February 18th, the sub-amendment of the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was defeated by a vote of 182 to 20. The Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., thereupon moved another amendment to the amendment.

(Sub-headings have been inserted for the convenience of readers. They do not appear in the official report.)

74045

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

which would strike out the want of confidence motion on the part of the Progressive Conservative party. I doubt however if they will be prepared to have their want of confidence motion eliminated in order that they might support the substitute motion which is being proposed by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères.

The words the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wishes to substitute are the following:

This house is of the opinion that in view of the recognized shortage of farm labour, also the admitted shortage of labour in war industries and in other essential industrial and transportation activities, Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Let me examine these various statements. First:

This house is of the opinion—

And what is the opinion in which we are asked to concur?

—that Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service—

Note first these words:

—should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act—

"Should have provided"—in other words before parliament assembled, and when the speech from the throne was being prepared, it is suggested by the hon. member that, instead of setting forth what was set forth in the speech from the throne of the government's programme, the government should have had His Excelleny say that a part of the government's programme was to withhold the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

Withhold Calling Up of Men for Military Service

That point I wish to make perfectly clear. It indicates what my hon. friend thinks the government should have done, namely, that it should have come to the house when parliament assembled and told hon. members that part of its policy was to withhold at once the operation of that part of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

And for how long was the operation of this portion of the act to be withheld? The next clause in the amendment makes that clear:

—until at least a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house.

Only yesterday the hon. member for Broadview (Mr. Church) requested a debate in the house before another important matter, namely, social security, should go to a committee of the house for investigation. As his reason for wishing to have the debate at once he said that matters which went to committees were likely to be discussed there for the whole of a session, and that in all probability no recommendations would be made until the end of the session. As I said to him at the time I did not think my hon. friend was correct in that assumption. In any case it is perfectly clear from the amendment to the amendment that what the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wished the government to do was to tell the house that until there had been full investigation by a committee of the house into the matters to which he has referred in his subamendment there should be no further operation of that part of the act which relates to the raising of men for military service.

But an even more remarkable feature, perhaps, is what the investigation was to determine. This investigation was—

—to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

In other words it was to be left to a committee of the house to determine the means and the methods by which Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

Committee of House to Determine Policy

My hon. friend is an old colleague. I have known him well, both within the cabinet and without it; and I recall very distinctly that when we were colleagues in the cabinet together no one was more insistent than my hon. friend upon the government having a policy of its own, and not leaving it to a committee of the house or any other body to determine its policy. Yet to-day he suggests in regard to the all-important matter of winning the war that the best method to employ from now on would be to leave the matter, in the first instance, to a committee of the house.

This is all the more surprising, coming from the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, when we find that the hon. member himself has quite frankly stated his warm approval of what the government has already done in the matter of its war effort. And this war effort, which my hon. friend has praised so unreservedly, was achieved by the present administration, with the support of the house, it is true, but without any reference to a select committee in the first instance. Let me read what the hon. member said in that regard in one of his speeches in the present debate:

The speech from the throne also reviews our war effort. It has been a magnificent effort, I admit, and I am glad of it. All Canadians are proud of it, and we have the profound satisfaction of having it recognized that our war effort surpasses that of any other country of our size. As far as man-power and finance are concerned, our war effort is superior to that of the great republic to the south, the United States.

I say to my hon. friend: If the government of the day was capable of so planning its war effort that up to the present time it merits the encomium which he himself has passed upon it, surely the government still remains capable of deciding the best ways and means by which Canada's war effort may be carried on during the remainder of the time it may have that responsibility.

But my hon. friend goes a step further. He suggests that we carry this out without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country. I shall have a word to say later in regard to that particular clause.

Serious Consequences of Course Proposed

I have indicated what my hon. friend in his amendment says the government should have done when it came to parliament, when parliament opened. I want to ask him, and I want to ask hon. members: what would have been said of the government if it had come to this house with the recommendation which he says we should have made at the time, or if we had followed the course which he says we should have adopted? Assuming that we had agreed to the view of my hon. friend and had come to this house and said: We have decided to withhold the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men for service until a committee of this house has made a full investigation and reported to the House of Commons on the best ways and means of carrying on the war from now on. How would that have been received in different quarters?

To begin with, so far as this House of Commons is concerned, there would instantly have been a cry from the other side to the effect that we no longer enjoyed the confidence of the house because we were unable to state a policy which was our own with respect to the carrying on of the war. What would have been the effect upon the people of Canada of a pronouncement of this kind? Simultaneously, from one end of the country to the other, it would have been said that the government was preparing to back out of the war; that the government was quitting the war altogether; that it had started off by suspending the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men.

May I point out in this connection that it is to that part of the mobilization act which refers to the calling up of men for the defence of Canada in Canada and immediate environments that my hon. friend's amendment refers. My hon. friend has made no reference in any particular to the sending of men overseas; that does not enter into it. He himself was a party in the cabinet to the drafting of the National Resources Mobilization Act; he was a supporter of it on the floor of this house. My hon. friend will recall that the National Resources Mobilization Act was enacted immediately after the collapse of France. He was eloquent at that time in his support of the act. Why? Because of what it would mean for the defence of Canada, as well as for the defence of freedom in other parts of the world. Throughout the country there was the strongest appeal for the support of this act, and the calling up of men under it to serve in the defence of Canada. Has the situation so developed that to-day the defence of Canada by men called up under the mobilization act is not as necessary as it has been at any time in this war? Unless I am wrong in my reading of the times, the necessity is greater than ever for protection against an enemy as powerful as the axis powers are at this present time. Let me repeat, my hon. friend was one who supported the policy embodied in the act; he advocated it; but now he says that we should suspend the operation of an important part of the very act he so strongly endorsed.

Effect Upon Canada's Armed Forces

What would have been the effect of action of that kind on the part of our government upon our men who are serving in all parts of the world in the armed forces of the country? What would have been the effect upon our troops in Great Britain and elsewhere? I

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

say that it would have created consternation in the minds of the men of the armed forces in all parts of the world, if it could have been said by anyone that the government of the day at this time of war had ceased to continue in operation the part of the mobilization act which related to the defence of Canada itself. Those men who are a long distance from home, who are helping to protect this country and to save it from disaster, would be asking themselves: Is this the kind of support we are getting from our home country and from our government? Is our parliament going to support that kind of action? Does it mean that while we are fighting here we are not going to get the reinforcements that we had hoped would be ready to come if they were necessary? Does it mean that we are not going to get the supplies that are needed at the time of our greatest need? I ask my hon. friend, I ask all hon. members, what would be the effect upon the whole war effort of Canada if a feeling of that kind were spread abroad among the armed forces of this country?

Effect Upon Great Britain and Other Dominions

What would have been the effect upon Great Britain and the British dominions? Great Britain to-day has her men fighting in all parts of the world. They are fighting for the protection of Canada as well as for the protection of Britain. They are fighting for the defence of freedom throughout the world. They are fighting to prevent the axis powers from dominating this world. What would have been the effect in Great Britain if the government of Canada had met this parliament with the announcement that it no longer intended to operate under an act with respect to the calling up of men for military service which the parliament of Canada itself had passed, until a whole session of parliament had been devoted to making an investigation as to ways and means in which the war effort of Canada could be carried on from now on?

What about Australia, where men are fighting the Japanese? They are fighting our battle as well as their own when they are keeping the enemy engaged in the southwestern portion of the Pacific. What about the men of New Zealand, who have been fighting in Africa and in other parts of the world and who, at any time, may have to fight on their own territory? What about the men of South Africa who are fighting in north Africa? These men are fighting for the defence of their soil and for the defence of freedom. What would have been the effect upon them if they had read that the government of Canada had for the time being suspended the operation of an act which related to the calling up of men for the defence of its own country and territory?

Effect Upon United States and Other Allies

To go a step further, what would have been the effect upon our allies other than those I have mentioned? What would have been the effect in the United States? If my hon. friend had wished to give to the isolationists of the United States the finest weapon they ever had, he would have put one into their hands by having a proposal of that kind accepted. That weapon would be put into their hands now if this House of Commons were to adopt his amendment at this time. Does anyone think that, throughout the United States, from one end of that country to the other, attention would not have been drawn to the fact that the government of Canada had ceased to call up men? What would those isolationists have asked of their administration? We would soon have heard of a widespread demand throughout the United States that there be no more calling up of men for military service. How much would we be helping the cause of freedom and the allies if a cry of that kind were raised in the great country to the south? But my hon. friend has made clear in one of his speeches what he feels about the service that is being rendered by others of our allies. When I referred a moment ago to what my hon. friend said about the war effort I was referring to what he said on February 9, not last night.

I want to read to the house another statement which my hon. friend made on February 9, and I must say that when I heard him make that statement I felt that at last he had grasped the full significance of this war—that it was a world war, that it was a war which affects all the countries which love freedom, and that every country which sought to preserve its freedom was helping to preserve the freedom of other countries. No words could have been more emphatic than those which were used by my hon. friend when he said, speaking of China and Russia:

Effect in Particular on China and Russia

Dear old China, that we love so much to-day, that we praise so much to-day and proclaim to be one of the first peoples in the world!

And a little further on:

We have discovered that she is a great country, a country that deserves our praise and support. We have modified our views; we have become a little more courageous and

ready to help China now, as well as Russia. Let us give them what they need most, not men but food and armaments. That is what they want to enable them to carry on this struggle. As a matter of fact they are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for their country.

That is what my hon. friend said, that China is fighting as much for us as she is fighting for China. I think my hon. friend had the correct vision then, the larger vision, and realized that we owe it to China to do all we can in a similiar way for her, that in fighting for ourselves, we are also fighting for her, and vice versa.

What did he say with respect to Russia:

If we have some success to-day, who has achieved that success? The Russians. Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that if my hon. friend would go out through his own province from one end of it to the other and make those statements to the people, he would be rendering a real service to his country and a real service to the cause of freedom. I believe that there are few truer statements, no more correct perspective of this war and its significance for Canada as well as for our allies than are to be found in these two statements made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères. If we have some success to-day, he asks, who has achieved that success? I would not confine the answer to the Russians; I would include all the countries that are banded together as part of the united nations. It is true that the Russians have within the last year taken a part in the war which has saved other nations of the world and, in the mind of my hon. friend as expressed in the words I have quoted, has saved this dominion from being conquered—that is what it is—Russia has saved this dominion from being conquered. Without Russia, he asked, where would we be? And he went on:

Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

Are we going to reward China, are we going to reward Russia, for what these great countries have done for us as well as for themselves and others through the sacrifices of their men and women, by telling them that we in Canada have now reached a decision that we are not going to call up any more men under our National Resources Mobilization Act for service in our own country, but are going to suspend our war effort for a time while parliament and the government make up their mind how best we can carry out the war aims of Canada? I say to my hon. friend that if his resolution were to carry, and these words were to be read in China and in Russia to-morrow, there would be cause for humiliation indeed on the part of this country, and shameful humiliation at that.

Effect Upon Our Enemies

There is one other all-important aspect to be considered. I have spoken of the effect of his proposals upon our allies. What about their effect upon our enemies? And here I hope this House of Commons will appreciate the real significance of amendments of this character and of statements of this character when made in this House of Commons. The hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) said that in every home throughout his province the people would be reading to-day the statement which was made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères last night. Well, perhaps, Mr. Speaker, in every home in Germany to-day that statement is being poured into the ears of the German people. Perhaps in every home in Japan this statement of a former member of the government of Canada —and stated as being such—is being poured into the ears of the Japanese people. You ask, why would they do that? Well, could anything bring more comfort to the enemy than to tell them that the parliament of Canada at last had had one of its members stand up and advocate that the Canadian government should not have its war policies clearly defined and those policies carried out until a committee of the House of Commons had begun, after months and months of study and investigation, to indicate what should be done?

Here may I read the last words of the proposed amendment and give them their true significance:

. . . until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Do not those last words carry with them the implication that the government's policies are destroying the economic, social and national life of the country? And if they carry that implication in our minds here, or were intended to have that implication on the part of the mover of the subamendment, how will they be interpreted in Germany? How will they be interpreted in Japan? They will be interpreted there as meaning that already in Canada the economic, social and national life of the country is beginning to be destroyed. Destroyed why? Because of Germany's successes! Because of Japan's

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

successes, because of the power of the axis! It will be said that because of these successes we see already in the Dominion of Canada, the first of the great dominions of the British empire, a former minister of the crown and a member of parliament saying that the economic, social and national life of the country is being destroyed or about to be destroyed or may be destroyed in consequence of the war and the government's war policies. Is there anything that these axis powers desire more than to sow that kind of belief in the minds of their people, that here and there, first one nation, and then another nation, and then another, are becoming dissatisfied and beginning to withdraw from active participation in the war in which they have been participating up to the present time? I can imagine what Goebbels is saying to the German people. I can imagine what his vile tongue will repeat to the German people as to what is taking place in the Dominion of Canada. I wish to repeat that these are the things that count in this war—the morale of a people, the belief in the unity and determination of a people. These things mean more at this present crisis than any thing else could possibly mean. For any word to go out from Canada which could be construed in any way as meaning that the economic, social and national life of Canada was being destroyed because of the part we are taking in this war—I say that nothing more unpatriotic could possibly be expressed.

Present Position of Canada's Economic, Social and National Life

But is it a fact? What about the economic, social, and national life of our country? My hon. friend has spoken about agriculture and about industry. Is it not true that to-day industrial and agricultural production is greater than it has ever been in the history of Canada? Is it not true that the incomes of the people, the revenues of this country are higher to-day than they have been at any other time in its history? Is it not true that more men and women are in gainful employment to-day than have ever been in gainful employment in Canada in the whole of our history? How then can it be said that our economic, social and national life is being destroyed? I believe that there has never been a time in Canada's history when the Canadian people, speaking generally—not taking note of individuals here and there, but speaking generally—were more united and determined in any effort than they are in our war effort at the present time? And may I add to what I have said, as to the position of Canada, that there never was a time when consumer goods were as equitably distributed among the great body of the people as they are in Canada at this time.

Significance of Vote of Want of Confidence

Let me come now to the nature of the amendment to the amendment itself. I indicated at the outset that it was a no confidence motion, and I want every hon. member of this house to understand that. Those who support this motion are supporting a motion of no confidence in the administration. I want to ask the mover of this motion, the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, this question: If he has no confidence in this administration, in whom has he confidence? I ask, has he confidence in the Progressive Conservative party opposite? Is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and is he prepared to give his support to that party? Has he confidence in the Social Credit party, and is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the leader of the so-called Canadian party, the hon. member for Laval-Two Mountains (Mr. Lacombe), and is he prepared to give his support to him? Is he prepared to give his support to the new leader of le bloc populaire Canadien? And I notice there are several others who are styled as independents. Is he prepared to give his support and confidence to them? If he is not prepared to give his support and confidence to any of these parties, or groups, or individuals, why does he try to destroy the confidence of the people of this country in the one party upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of carrying on this war?

Danger of Too Many Parties and Groups

There is something I should like to point out at this moment, which I think is very significant indeed in the history of Canada, in the light of what we have witnessed in Europe since the beginning of the war. It is the danger there is to a country that begins to have a great number of different political parties. Look at France as she was prior to the war. Why did France collapse? France collapsed because, prior to the war itself, there began to spring up in that country political party after political party and personal and political rivalries—personal rivalries as well as political. We had an illustration of that sort of thing in this house last night. My hon. friend who moved this motion rose to

introduce it, and immediately the hon. member for Gaspe (Mr. Roy) felt that he was a political rival and that he should score, that he must have an opportunity of presenting a motion, no doubt something of the same character, before the hon. member, who was a former minister of the crown, obtained a chance to present his motion.

Mr. ROY: May I be permitted.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is my hon. friend saying?

Mr. ROY: Will the Prime Minister permit me to make a statement?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly.

Mr. ROY: The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères did not rise before me; I rose before he did.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think *Hansard* will show very clearly where the personal and political rivalries came in, and I want to emphasize that fact. Those gentlemen who are forming new parties of their own, who are constituting themselves new leaders with a view to asserting certain views of their own in particular parts of the country, are doing the very same thing that was done by individuals in France in seeking to create parties and groups which would be able to satisfy their own personal ambitions, their own political aims; and the result was that the chamber of deputies in France—

Mr. GAUTHIER: On a point of order, I would call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to standing order 41. Even the Prime Minister is not allowed in this house to impute motives to any member, be he independent or a member of le bloc populaire Canadien, and this is the second time that the Prime Minister has done so this afternoon. I want him to withdraw that remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: With reference to the point of order raised by the hon. member, I did not take it that the Prime Minister imputed motives to anyone.

Mr. LACOMBE: Mr. Speaker, if you will permit me, I will read standing order 41:

> No member shall speak disrespectfully of His Majesty, nor of any of the royal family; nor of the governor or person administering the government of Canada; nor use offensive words against either house, or against any member thereof. No member may reflect upon any vote of the house, except for the purpose of moving that such vote be rescinded.

I think the Prime Minister should withdraw the remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already ruled that I did not take it that the Prime Minister had used offensive remarks regarding any hon. member, or imputed motives to any hon. member.

Possibility of Situation Being Created in Canada Similar to that of France

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I spoke of personal ambitions and political aims, and I said that certain gentlemen had personal ambitions and political aims in this country, seeking to exert their influence beyond this House of Commons among the people of the country. These different parties are beginning to create within Canada itself a situation such as existed in France prior to the beginning of the war. I say it is part of my duty, perceiving that situation, and realizing what it has led to in the old world, to point out that danger to the people of Canada at this time. And I say—and I hope my hon. friends will heed these words—if they will look at the present situation of the French people to-day, in France, in north Africa, and what has helped to make the situation the tragedy that it is, they will see the unwisdom of forming innumerable political parties for personal aims and political ambitions.

Efforts to Preserve National Unity

Now, Mr. Speaker, the session opened last year with an effort to divide this house on a major political issue. I thought I perceived at the time where that issue would lead, if this house ever became divided and the country became divided upon it. I did my utmost to keep this country united through the whole of that crisis, and I am a proud man to-day because I feel that I succeeded in that great aim despite all the belittlement, all the detraction that persons from different parts of this country as well as some inside this house sought to level at me. What I want to make plain is this: I do not intend to go through another storm of that kind this session. If we are going to have this session open with an effort again to divide this country, to destroy the unity that we now have, the sooner the government of this country knows it the better. And I want to say to my hon. friends around me that I look to them to show where they stand in their support of me. If we are going to have a multitude of leaders in this country I want to know whether I have the support that will commend my leadership to the people of all Canada, or whether I am among the number that cannot count upon their own following.

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1943.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273279

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

November 1st, 1944.

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

When I returned on October 18th from a visit to the Canadian troops in Italy, in Northwestern Europe and the United Kingdom, I felt compelled to recommend as a result of my own observations and inquiries in the battle theatres, and on the information and advice received from my officers, that due to Infantry casualties being much greater than had been forecasted on the best information available, it had become necessary to secure substantial numbers of additional trained Infantry personnel in order to make reasonable provision for the reinforcement of our troops overseas.

Since it appeared clear to me that enough volunteer personnel could not be made available to meet the need, I considered that I had no alternative but to recommend that N.R.M.A. personnel be sent overseas as reinforcements. I felt that this was necessary to fulfil our pledges to our fighting men.

The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet. My recommendation was not accepted.

Alternatives were suggested such as reducing our commitments or breaking up units or formations. I felt I could not concur in this when these trained N.R.M.A. men were available; and that at this crucial period Canada's duty was to support our men in the line, and not to relax but to go on with the task to help shorten

the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the war and speed the victory.

It was suggested that, if a further appeal were made to trained N.R.M.A. personnel by Ministers of the Crown and others, such personnel might volunteer for General Service in sufficient numbers to meet the need. This suggestion involved delays which I considered would be serious if the appeal was not successful. Consequently I wished to be assured that it was Government policy that if, after the appeal, the need for reinforcements overseas still existed and volunteers were not available, N.R.M.A. personnel would be sent. This was the course which I and some other colleagues had understood would follow from your speech in 1942. It was in effect what I, as Minister, have repeatedly said in the House since then.

No such assurance was forthcoming. On the contrary it has developed in the discussions that the Government as a whole (certain colleagues excepted) do not consider thatyour speech committed the Government to this course.

I consider myself bound by what I have said in the House. Our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcing our troops, and consequently and as requested by you, I at once tender my resignation as Minister of National Defence.

In the stand I have taken I have considered that my first thought should be my duty to our fighting men in our Overseas Army.

I wish every success to the distinguished citizen who I understand will take up the duties of this Department, and at the same time I want to express to you my very sincere appreciation of the opportunity I have had of serving in Canada's war activities.

Yours very sincerely,

J. L. Ralston

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa,
November 5, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

I thank you for your letter of the 1st instant which I received while at a meeting of the Cabinet yesterday forenoon. I regret that until today I have not had an opportunity to send you a reply.

You will recall that it was not until the 19th of October that you informed the Cabinet War Committee that you had received a report from the Chief of Staff at Canadian Military Headquarters in London, stating that the future effective maintenance of our forces in the two theatres of operations required that additional personnel be made available from Canada.

This was the first report made to the government that the army's reinforcement position was causing concern. You will recall the assurance given the Cabinet during the first week of August, that additional military commitments then being sought would not adversely affect this position. During discussions at Quebec, at the time of the Conference in September, when future plans for the Canadian army, navy and air force were being considered, no intimation was given of any prospective insufficiency of reinforcements for the Canadian army.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

From the 19th of October, as you are aware, the Cabinet has been giving its time almost exclusively to a most careful study of the whole situation, exploring every possible aspect of it, but without deciding upon any of the courses explored.

There is one paragraph in your letter to which I regret I must take exception. You say, "Our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcing our troops, and consequently, as requested by you, I at once tender my resignation as Minister of National Defence". Surely you are in error when you say that "our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcing our troops". From the outset, the government has been agreed that the matter of reinforcing our troops was "vital". I have never agreed to a single increase in our military commitments without first asking and receiving assurances that the additional commitment would not jeopardize our capacity to provide needed reinforcements. The only difference which exists is one of the method or methods of meeting this fundamental vital necessity.

In your letter you also say "In the stand I have taken I have considered that my first thought should be my duty to our fighting men in our overseas Army." I need scarcely say that I have always had the same thought and conception of duty towards all of our fighting men. It is for this reason that I have striven as I have to see that Canada's effort in the present war should be the maximum of which our country is capable. That is why I feel so strongly that at the present time no course of action should be taken if it can possibly be avoided, which, while not certain of accomplishing its purpose, would divide the country and thereby prejudice much that has been so magnificently accomplished throughout more than five years of war - and this on the eve of certain victory.

I have made it clear that I am prepared to follow the course outlined in my speeches in parliament in 1942, if that course should ever be necessary, but I do not believe that it has become necessary.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

From the 19th of October, as you are aware, the Cabinet has been giving its time almost exclusively to a most careful study of the whole situation, exploring every possible aspect of it, but without deciding upon any of the courses explored.

There is one paragraph in your letter to which I regret I must take exception. You say, "Our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcing our troops, and consequently, as requested by you, I at once tender my resignation as Minister of National Defence". Surely you are in error when you say that "our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcing our troops". From the outset, the government has been agreed that the matter of reinforcing our troops was "vital". I have never agreed to a single increase in our military commitments without first asking and receiving assurances that the additional commitment would not jeopardize our capacity to provide needed reinforcements. The only difference which exists is one of the method or methods of meeting this fundamental vital necessity.

In your letter you also say "In the stand I have taken I have considered that my first thought should be my duty to our fighting men in our overseas Army." I need scarcely say that I have always had the same thought and conception of duty towards all of our fighting men. It is for this reason that I have striven as I have to see that Canada's effort in the present war should be the maximum of which our country is capable. That is why I feel so strongly that at the present time no course of action should be taken if it can possibly be avoided, which, while not certain of accomplishing its purpose, would divide the country and thereby prejudice much that has been so magnificently accomplished throughout more than five years of war - and this on the eve of certain victory.

I have made it clear that I am prepared to follow the course outlined in my speeches in parliament in 1942, if that course should ever be necessary, but I do not believe that it has become necessary.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

There has not been a time since the war began that it has not been recognized that resort to conscription for service overseas would occasion the most serious controversy that could arise in Canada. I can think of no course of action fraught with greater danger to our war effort - to say nothing of the unity and strength of Canada today and for generations to come - than a general election at this late stage of war on the conscription issue. I believe that such an issue would almost certainly arise were the House of Commons to be asked to endorse an Order in Council extending the terms of service of N.R.M.A. personnel to include service overseas. Until it is apparent that conscription for overseas service is necessary to the full support of Canada's forces overseas, and that its application would prove effective, the Government would not be justified in taking the risk of widespread national dissension.

As to any request by me for your resignation, you will recall that on several occasions you stated that if the recommendation contained in the report of the Chief of Staff was formally made to the Cabinet and not accepted, you would feel compelled to resign, in view of what you had said in parliament. Subsequently you stated that you saw clearly that the Cabinet were not disposed to accept your recommendation. In view of your possible resignation on these grounds, I felt it necessary to ascertain the views of General McNaughton. This I did, and ascertained that General McNaughton was not satisfied that compulsory service was necessary to provide full support for the army overseas. In reply to my further inquiries, General McNaughton indicated to me that, with the co-operation of the Cabinet, he believed it would be possible to obtain the necessary reinforcements by voluntary means, and that in this belief he would be prepared to assume the responsibility of Minister of National Defence should you resign. In these circumstances, I expressed the opinion that there should not be further delay in reaching a decision.

I cannot express to you too sincerely my own thanks for your great services as a colleague in the years we have shared the responsibilities of office. Nor can I

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

-4-

to surely express my recognition of what your services in all war activities have meant to Canada in these most difficult years.

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(1)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

for ~~over~~ seas. He ~~stated~~ stated that he was satisfied that the reinforcements sent and being sent to Hong Kong had been well trained, also that he was satisfied with ~~the~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ of the ~~[illegible]~~ the reinforcements had been adequate in respect of most all members, but for a certain ~~[illegible]~~ reasons beyond his control he had to admit that reinforcements had been inadequate in respect of the infantry arm. The report of the Chief of Staff went on to say that he was not satisfied that anticipated reinforcements would be adequate

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

" to meet future requirements in this war against Germany "

~~The~~ the report of the Civil Staff be included as far as it will relate ~~must be followed~~ to future ~~in the~~

" I recommend, therefore, that the members required cannot be found from general personnel ~~[illegible]~~ a Command, that the services of N. R. M. A. personnel ~~a Command~~ be extended to include overseas service in any theatre "

~~For this~~ This ~~may be~~ ~~referred~~ was the first ~~re~~ - commendation ~~[illegible]~~ the Government

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

which the assurance from the Chief of Staff to obtain during the period of August, the effect that of an additional brigade were added to the formation in Italy at that time it would not

advantage to the Canadian Corps of the army operations, that

would You must realize the betrayal from other countries at this time, the Canadian Government, there would be no need to remind the Commonwealth to maintain the army. at Shamptin Jan would recall that the numbers of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Chiefs of the Canadian Army Council
with the Chiefs of Staff of the United Kingdom at Quebec
on September 14th, and the
Chiefs of Staff of the United States
at Hyde Park on the succeeding day

Every endeavour was made to secure
from the Chiefs of Staff
all information necessary to
explain the conception of
the proposed operations
for which reinforcements were required so far
as Canada's army was
concerned, or any particulars
of a kind to result in Can

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

- services for this Sea Service
in order to obtain the
required numbers. As I
have said it was not until
~~Nov~~ Oct 19th ~~this~~ that ~~this~~
~~the Government was informed that~~
~~Britain~~ such a decision
might become necessary.

From this moment-
of the ~~Government~~ the Cabinet
~~have~~ this issue always
~~remained~~ in the front
- foremost of the whole situation
~~affecting~~ ~~everything~~
~~everything~~
~~of~~ affected by it ~~the~~
~~at no time~~ but questions
~~of~~ Conscription &
any of the ~~alternatives~~
suggested. It was not

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

~~booked~~ reinforcements where needed from France & future General Service Veterans, ~~living~~ in Canada ~~and~~ ~~that~~ already ~~in the~~ from ~~the~~ ~~numbers~~ ~~Canadians~~ in United Kingdom, and elsewhere in Europe. ~~It was~~

~~It was~~ ~~What would be~~

It was finally ~~decided~~ ~~that~~ ~~only~~ ~~to~~ recall those ~~who~~ only ~~by~~ ballot ~~from~~ ~~those~~ ~~who~~ ~~the~~ Selective could be called

I have already ~~drawn~~ attention ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~wording~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~in~~ connection with the draft of still ~~that~~ ~~of~~ the numbers required ~~would~~ be found from General Service personnel in Canada, ~~that~~ the terms of service of N R M A

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Personnel be excluded ~~from~~ include
overseas service in any theatre
of war from the ~~~~ date
being limited to ~~~~ reference to
funding via ~~~~ funding of
civilians personnel being worked
by Canada ~~~~ it was clear
~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
by the Government ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~
~~~~

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

that it will be well to
Consider this.
~~I am quite sure~~
~~that public opinion~~
~~is entirely~~ ~~decisive~~ ~~for~~
~~one more year of war~~

There has not been a time
since the Conscription issue
that it has not been recognized
that resort to conscription
for service overseas would
occasion the most serious
controversy that could arise
in Canada, ~~with consequences~~
~~that no one could~~
~~foresee~~. ~~For some~~
~~three years of war~~
~~the necessity~~

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

I can think of no course of action fraught with greater danger to the entire war effort of Canada, than ~~~~ to say nothing of keeping ~~~~ in the present ~~~~ for ~~~~ Government in ~~~~ a general election ~~~~ at the present time on ~~~~ a conscription issue. I cannot see how ~~~~ could be avoided ~~~~, but that must become inevitable ~~~~ the only course for Canadians to pursue would be to back up the fullest support which the King Government must have, I would have to take the responsibility of advising such a course ~~~~

Should it become ~~~~ necessary to ~~~~ for the time being to put effect to an order in

Vessel offer A ob By Nov 1 pp

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

in Council regarding the ~~[illegible]~~
terms of Service of N. R. M. Personnel to include persons ~~[illegible]~~ overseas in any theatre.

~~[illegible]~~ the head of an amendment ~~[illegible]~~ I could not recommend that it be followed.

~~[illegible]~~ I have made it clear that I am ~~[illegible]~~ an impression to persons who volunteered ~~[illegible]~~ would be called in any theatre of war in 1942 & if that course should ever be necessary I do not think that it would be necessary, and

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

There is one passage in
Sam Hughes letter to which I
think the ~~Prime~~ Minister
should reply.
You say "Our differences are
fundamental on the vital matter
of reinforcing our troops, and
consequently ~~consequently~~ and
as requested by you, I am
tender my resignation as
Minister of National Defence"
I do not ~~say~~ think our differences are
fundamental on the vital
matter of reinforcing our troops"
It is ~~a~~ plain something which is
not denied. NO one in Canada
~~has~~ from the beginning of the
war to this present moment has

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

~~felt was strongly~~ responded
the ~~total~~ market by reinforcing
our troops as ~~a~~ "fundamental
total; ~~it was then of the~~
~~view definitely~~ Not seek in
the whole program by an exp
~~I have not commented~~
~~any~~ As no economist in
the room I agreed w
a Smyth ship being lost
~~with respect~~ ~~about eight~~
~~about~~ ~~light as about~~
~~effect~~ without the
specific assurance that
it would not affect
adversely the total

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

meaning of our troops having
all the needed
reinforcements, and that
without the meaning of
any resort to conscription.
The difference
between
is solely that I have used
fundamental
word meaning
most effective word
for

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to any [illegible] ~~in my~~ last
mess

Can you on ~~your~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ in
~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

respect to ~~the~~ our fighting
men in every branch of the
armed services. Now for
this reason above all others
that I have spoken on the
~~to our whole business effort~~
~~in the present~~ to our
National Canadian effort in the
present war
~~effort, and that no~~
~~Course of action should be~~
should be a united
effort in all directions
If at any point to strength at the
present time
and the Course of action that
be taken
~~to be one~~ If it can honestly be considered
~~to be one~~ to be one which would meet with general
~~best~~ approval
all human the country and

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

22/

proclaiming in the most dignified
form of our country's history
[illegible]

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273304
(3)

J. L. RALSTON

OTTAWA

November 6, 1944.

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, PC., MP.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Prime Minister,

Your letter of November 3rd came to my apartment very late in the evening of that date. On consideration I felt that it called for an answer, and I regret that over the week-end imperative matters which I could not escape have prevented my writing you earlier.

In the second, third and fourth paragraphs of your letter you appear to imply that the main issue was in some way affected by the fact that the need to provide for additional Infantry reinforcements was not reported by me until October 19th on my return from my overseas inspection trip. I think this has really no bearing on the issue of sending N.R.M.A. men as reinforcements or on my recommendation to that effect. If it has any bearing it seems to underline the urgency of the necessity which I reported. I cabled you from London on October 13th indicating my apprehensions. I reported to you personally on the 18th, the same day I arrived home. I reported to War Committee the next day. I do not think your letter represents all the information given by me to you or to War Committee or to Cabinet from time to time with regard to the reinforcement situation; but suffice it to say that I have not at any time withheld any information which appeared to require attention.

The point is that when I obtained information which led me to believe that the need for Infantry reinforcements could not be met by Departmental action alone, I so reported at the earliest possible date, and I presented this information as fully as possible with my recommendation

for /

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

for action. The fact that such information was not expected or was disturbing has no bearing, I think, on the essential question of the necessity which I presented.

Regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August: You refer to the combining of existing units in Italy into an Infantry Brigade. Any assurance on this point was given by the Officers who knew the situation, and as I have already told you, the Corps Commander advised me when I was in Italy recently that the casualties sustained by this Brigade were no greater than those which had been forecasted for the Units if they had operated separately.

The discussions at Quebec, of which you make mention, had nothing to do with the reinforcement situation overseas, but were in connection with participation in the War against Japan.

The point is that we are faced with a practical situation which has to be met.

You take exception to my statement that "our differences are fundamental on the vital matter of reinforcements". I have given the facts regarding these differences in my letter of resignation. I think, when my recommendation has not been accepted, when there is disagreement between us as to what was the policy to which the Government committed itself in 1942, and when there is disagreement as to what is the present policy, that these are fundamental differences.

You say you are prepared to follow the course outlined in your speeches in Parliament in 1942 if that course should ever be necessary, but you do not believe it has become necessary. There is disagreement between us on the vital point as to the meaning of the word "necessary". Your view, recently expressed, is that you consider it means "necessary to win the war", "necessary to defend Canadian soil", "necessary to avert some great calamity or catastrophe". I took the word "necessary" to mean primarily "necessary to keep our Overseas Army reinforced". I always thought

that /

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

that this was the meaning given to the word in Council and Parliamentary discussions. There is, I think, a vital and fundamental difference between us on this point.

In my letter of resignation I said that my first thought was my duty to our fighting men in our Overseas Army. You say that for the proper accomplishment of this purpose nothing should be done which would divide the country, and in this connection you speak of a General Election.

I must point out that when Bill 80 was introduced and discussed in the House, nothing was said about an election. The declared procedure, as appears from your speeches, was that if the Government decided that it was necessary to send N.R.M.A. personnel overseas it would go to Parliament, announce its decision, and ask for a vote of confidence, and that there would be no second debate on the question of conscription. You said that debate would have to be curtailed and that only a short time, if any, would be allowed for discussion. The suggestion now of a General Election on the matter is the introduction of a new condition not contemplated or discussed at the time Government policy was laid down two years ago.

You mention that you always received assurances that additional commitments would not jeopardize our capacity to provide needed reinforcements. I recall that I have repeatedly said that I could not undertake that reinforcements would always be available wholly from volunteers. My point now is that due to an unexpectedly heavy proportion of Infantry casualties and the developments of the war we need trained reinforcements, which I consider on the best examination I can make of the situation are not available from volunteers. And we have unused manpower resources in the trained N.R.M.A. personnel, which I think we are bound to use.

In this connection I should remind you that all the formations which we are seeking to support today are formations which had been authorized by the Government and approved by Parliament previous to your speeches in 1942.

This /

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

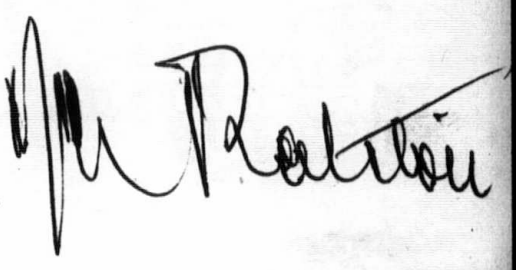
PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

This brings me to your point about disunity in Canada. My speeches in the House make it clear, I think, that I have realized, from the first time the question was raised, the grave possibilities of division. That is why from the beginning to the end of my association with the Department of National Defence I have done everything I could to avoid it, and to maintain a wholly volunteer Army overseas. I have had regretfully to come to the conclusion that to make reasonable provision for reinforcements it was necessary to recommend action to make N.R.M.A. men available. It seemed obvious that some measure of difference or disunity could not be avoided whichever course were taken. What weighed so heavily with me in the stand I have taken were our pledges to our fighting men and indirectly to their families.

I want to thank you most sincerely for your very generous references to any services I may have rendered to Canada during these difficult years.

Yours very truly,



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, November 7, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Hayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I notice that in a reply to a request for an explanatory statement on your resignation, which appears in the press of this morning, you are reported as having said that you feel "that responsibility for informing the public belongs primarily to the Prime Minister".

With this, of course, I am in complete accord. The report adds that you had said you recognized that in this matter the public and the armed forces were entitled to full information consistent with military security.

With this also, I agree. The report continues: "I would assume, said Col. Ralston in his statement, that the Prime Minister would inform the public of the circumstances by making available my letter of resignation and any further correspondence between us in the matter. The correspondence will speak for itself. I therefore refrain from making any statement at present".

In addition to this obligation upon a member of a government to respect military secrecy in making information public, there is also the obligation of secrecy respecting proceedings in the Cabinet, imposed by the oath of the Members of the Privy Council. The first paragraph of the Privy Councillor's oath, obligates Members of the Council to "keep close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in Privy Council, without publishing or disclosing the same, or any part thereof, by word, writing or any otherwise to any person out of the same Council, but to such only as be of the Council."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your letter of November 1st, you say:

> "The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet"

In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were treated and debated in Council.

This Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other Members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, and one concerning the imperative nature of which I am sure you will be equally solicitous. It is an obligation of which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation.

Apart from their contents, I have, at a time of war, the added responsibility of giving the most anxious thought, in the light of their possible effect upon Canada's war effort and the war effort of the Allied nations, the time and place at which publicity should be given to the publication of any communications passing between Members of the Privy Council. This is something to which, of course, I am giving the most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273310

Ottawa, November 2, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I notice that in a reply to a request for an explanatory statement on your resignation, which appeared in the press of this morning, you are reported as having said that you feel "that responsibility for informing the public belongs primarily to the Prime Minister".

With this, of course, I am in complete accord. The report adds that you had said you recognized that in this matter the public and the armed forces were entitled to full information consistent with military security.

With this also, I agree. The report continues: "I would assume, said Col. Ralston in his statement, that the Prime Minister would inform the public of the circumstances by making available my letter of resignation and any further correspondence between us in the matter. The correspondence will speak for itself. I therefore refrain from making any statement at present".

In addition to this obligation upon a member of a government to respect military secrecy in making information public, there is also the obligation of secrecy respecting proceedings in the Cabinet, imposed by the oath of the Members of the Privy Council. The first paragraph of the Privy Councillor's oath, obligates Members of the Council to "keep close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in Privy Council, without publishing or disclosing the same, or any part thereof, by word, writing or any otherwise to any person out of the same Council, but to such only as be of the Council."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your letter of November 1st you say: "The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet". In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were treated and debated in Council.

This Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, one of which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation. ~~The imperative nature of the obligation is one which I am sure you will be equally solicitous.~~

Especially at a time of war, I have the added responsibility of considering with the utmost circumspection and care the time and place at which publicity should be given to the publication of any communications passing between members of the Privy Council. In this connection, I have to consider, above all else, the possible effect of any course of action upon Canada's war effort and the war effort of the Allied Nations.

Yours very sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273312

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa, November 7, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
~~Mayfair Apartments,~~
O t t a w a.

~~My~~ dear Bob
~~My dear~~ Ralston:

I notice that in a reply to a request for an explanatory statement on your resignation, which appeared in the press of ~~this morning~~, you are reported as having said that you feel "that responsibility for informing the public belongs primarily to the Prime Minister".

With this, of course, I am in complete accord, and will be a standard I must ask you to maintain. The report adds that you had said you recognized that in this matter the public and the armed forces were entitled to full information consistent with military security.

With this also, I agree. The report continues: "I would assume, said Col. Ralston in his statement, that the Prime Minister would inform the public of the circumstances by making available my letter of resignation and any further correspondence between us in the matter. The correspondence will speak for itself. I therefore refrain from making any statement at present".

In addition to this obligation upon a member of a government to respect military secrecy in making information public, there is also the obligation of secrecy respecting ~~proceedings in the~~ Cabinet, imposed by the oath of the Members of the Privy Council. ~~The first paragraph of the Privy Councillor's oath, obligates Members of the Council to~~ keep close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in Privy Council, without publishing or disclosing the same, or any part thereof, by word, writing or any otherwise to any person out of the same Council, but to such only as be of the Council."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your letter of November 1st you say: "The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet". In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were "treated and debated" in Council.

This Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, one of which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation. The imperative nature of the obligation is one which I am sure you will be equally solicitous.

Especially at a time of war, I have the added responsibility of considering with the utmost circumspection and care the time and place at which publicity should be given to the publication of any communications passing between members of the Privy Council. In this connection, I have to consider, above all else, the possible effect of any course of action upon Canada's war effort and the war effort of the Allied Nations.

Yours very sincerely,

following me to know as to the time and place at which publicity should be given to such communications as I know. This responsibility is particularly equal at a time of war

for which Prince he later commended

W. Lyon Mackenzie King,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET - Paragraph re Publication

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in the light of ~~my~~ this obligation ~~or in fairness to colleagues~~, in ~~making public~~ advising any publication of those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or those portions of my reply referring to what you have said respecting these discussions. ~~I do not need to point out that speculation, which could not fail to be harmful to the war effort, would be bound to arise if partial texts of the letters were made public.~~

(4)

~~In the circumstances, there would seem to me to be two possible courses, either of which might appropriately be followed. You might make a public statement setting out the nature of the difference which caused you to leave the Government, We might mutually agree to an further exchange of letters which could be made public, with or without a withdrawal of the existing exchange which, if not withdrawn, could be treated as a personal record.~~

I should not ~~think~~ consider a statement ~~would be~~ for us of exchange of letters in which the nature of the difference which caused your resignation ~~was stated~~ recommend your resignation would be clearly set forth in terms which could be made public.

(5) I believe there should an exchange of letters between us in advance which ~~in which~~ the question on which disagreement ~~was stated~~ publication could occur.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Épreuve illisible

Nov. 12

My dear Malcolm:

I wish ~~in this message to say~~
that in a reply ~~to my message~~
~~I have received~~ in which I should
~~like to have~~

~~Your letter received~~ from Sir
in regard for an official
statement ~~on~~ on your conversation
~~with~~ when others in the room
You ~~may~~ that you felt that
are reported as having said
responsible for informing the
public belongs primarily to
the Prime Minister.

~~In all~~ this, of course, I ~~should~~
am in complete accord
~~with your~~

~~You~~
I ~~do~~ feel ~~that a Boy Scout is not~~
~~entitled to get credit~~
~~for~~ advice that you have said
you recognize that in this matter
the consent and the armed forces
were entitled to final information
consistent with military security

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

I will rise also, I agree
the report contains I would
assume, and the Minister in
his Statement, that the French
language would enjoy, in
public, by all circumstances of
hearing ourselves my letter
of resignation and any further
correspondence between us in
the matter. The correspondence
will speak for itself. I therefore
refrain from making any statement
at present"

In addition I
to this objective to respect
existing secrecy in ~~the~~ making
~~public~~ information ~~available~~
in formulating ~~public~~ there is
also the objective, I believe,
~~that~~ both

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of the members of the Privy Council,
~~[illegible]~~ the Privy Councillors each
~~The first paragraph of [illegible]~~
~~obligation [illegible] the Privy Council~~
obligation to keep close and secret all such
matters as shall be treated, debated
and resolved on in Privy Council, without
publishing or disclosing the same or
any part thereof, by word, writing, or
any otherwise to any person not of
the same Council, but to such only as
be of the Council.

3/ This oath is not less binding
upon the Private Councillors than
upon all other members of the
Privy Council. As it an obligation
I am bound to respect; and
~~[illegible]~~ as confirming what
I am sure all must do
It is an obligation ~~[illegible]~~ of which I must

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

~~27~~ 3 1/2

... Dec. Cabinet of ~~...~~ November 1st ...

Dear Sam

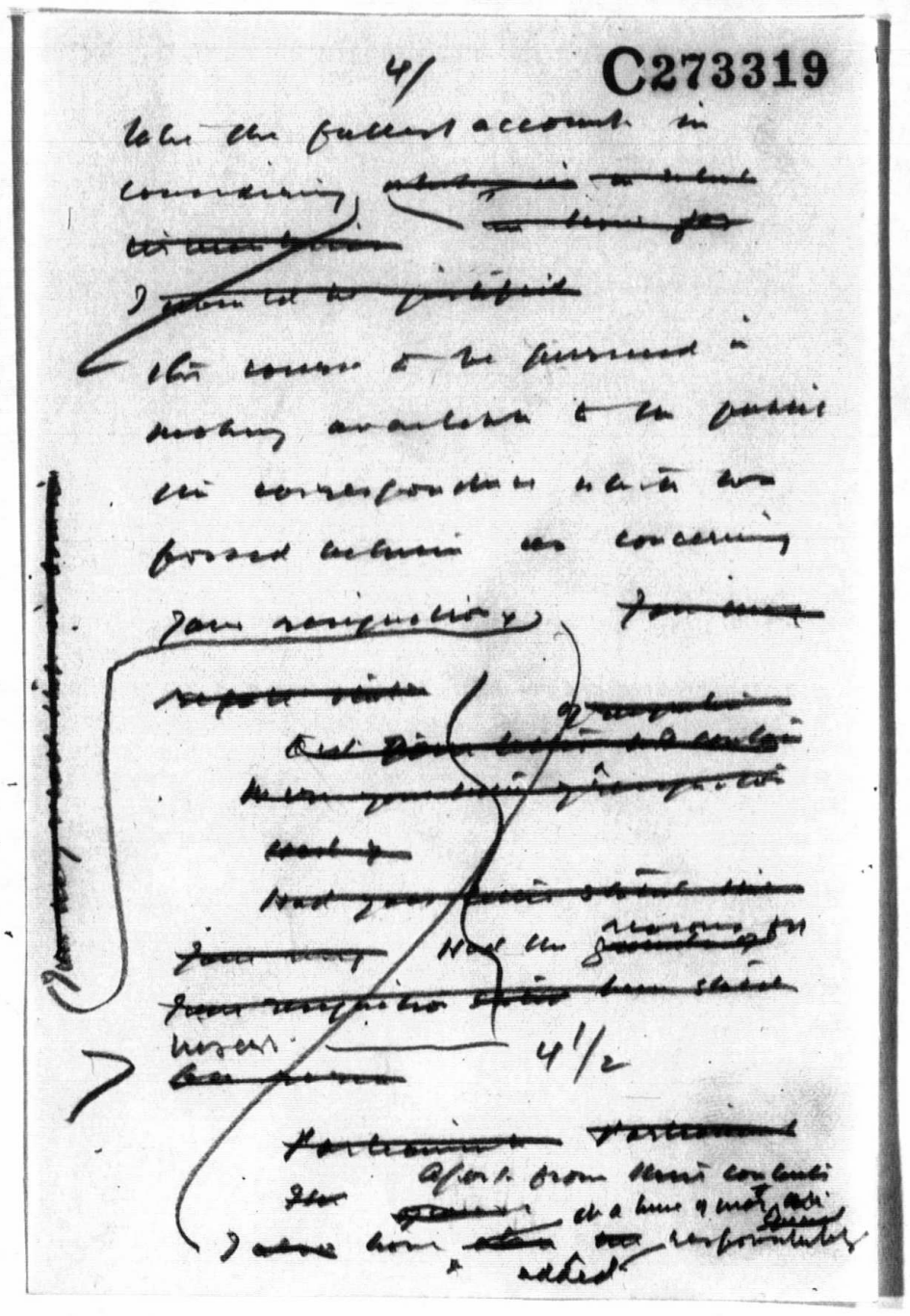
"The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet" ... subsequent paragraphs ~~[illegible]~~

Don proceeds to set forth ~~...~~ position taken by Mr. Churchill and ... in Council. 2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

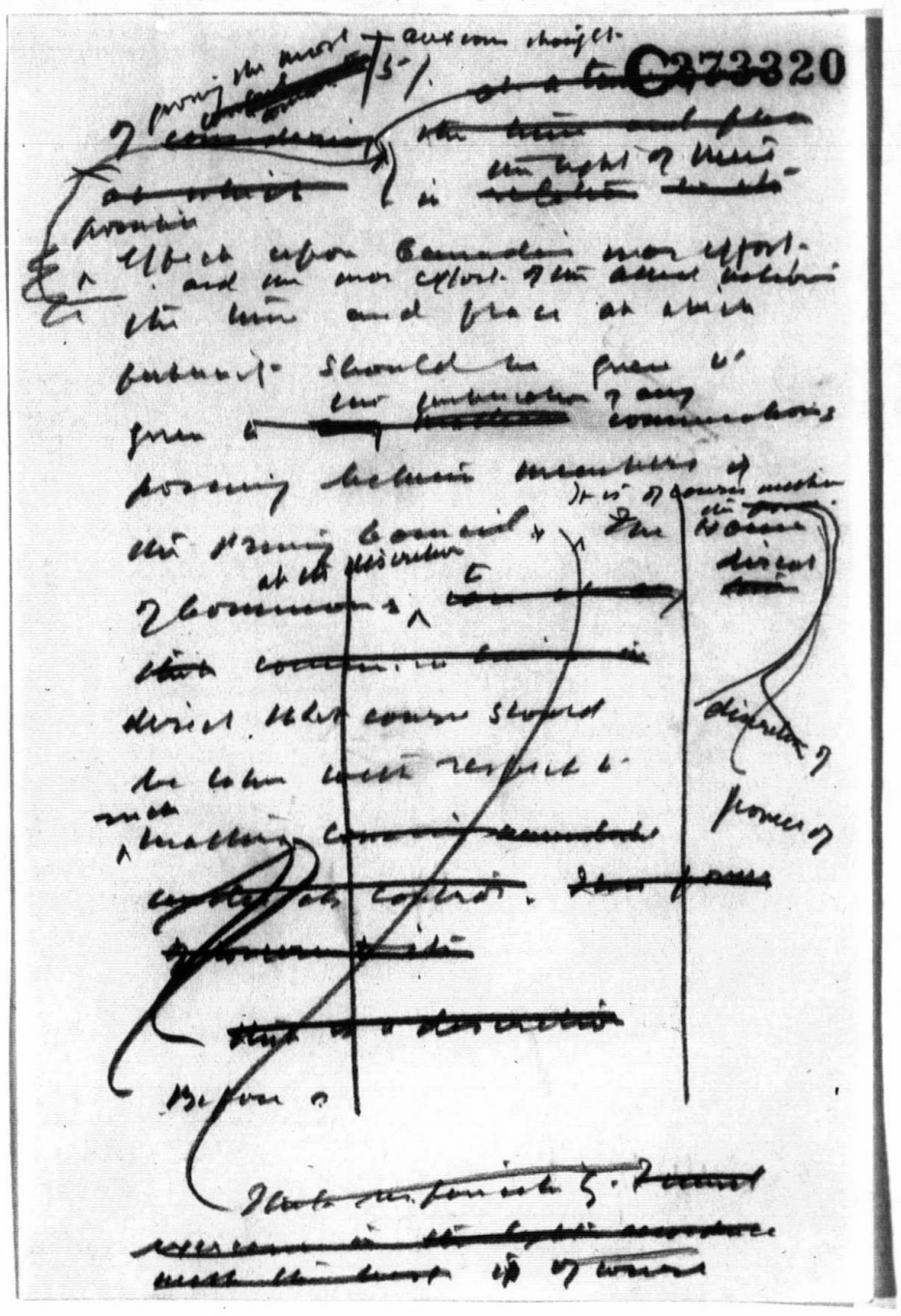
POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273322
(4)

Secret

Ottawa,
November 10, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,
Ottawa.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th. It seems to call for one or two observations.

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements, given in August, has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. You will recall that the matter arose out of proposals submitted by you on the recommendation of Lt.-General Stuart for the authorization of certain additional personnel for various units and formations of the army overseas, including the formation of the additional infantry brigade to which you refer. The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the state of the reinforcement pool.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed there, but rather to the fact that no question of any possible need of additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, and the probable duration of the war and the future employment of our forces were under discussion, there was any possibility of our having to resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements for the army, before the end of the war in Europe, surely that possibility should have been made known. In the absence

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of any such information, members of the Cabinet were entitled to assume that the reinforcement situation continued to be satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in Parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard. I think you are in error in attributing to me any different significance to the word "necessary" than that which it has in my speeches in parliament.

The reference to a general election in my letter, as in our previous discussion on the matter, was not to its being "a condition" to the application of conscription under existing legislation, but to a general election being an almost inevitable consequence of any such attempt to impose conscription at this stage of the war. I felt that this possibility must be taken into account as it bears directly upon the question of the best method of securing additional trained men for overseas service. In deciding upon the best method for the attainment of a given aim, it is imperative to take into account the probable, as well as any known consequences of each and every possible course of action.

In your letter you recognise the grave possibilities of division resulting from the course you recommended. It is because I took so grave a view of the probable division which would result, and of the possibility that disunity and division in the country might seriously weaken our support for the army, as well as for other phases of our war effort, that I believed it was preferable to redouble our efforts to secure the required results by voluntary means, including a special appeal to the N.R.M.A. personnel and a review of the employment of the very considerable number of General Service personnel serving in Canada and the United Kingdom.

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Secret

Ottawa,
November 10, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,

Ottawa.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th. It seems to call for one or two observations.

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. You will recall that the matter arose out of proposals submitted by you on the recommendation of Lt.-General Stuart for the authorization of certain additional personnel for various units and formations of the army overseas, including the formation of the additional infantry brigade to which you refer. The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the state of the reinforcement pool.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed there, but rather to the fact that no question of any possible need of additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, and the probable duration of the war and the future employment of our forces were under discussion, there was any possibility of our having to resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements for the army, before the end of the war in Europe, surely that possibility should have been made known. In the absence

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of any such information, members of the Cabinet were entitled to assume that the reinforcement situation continued to be satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in Parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard. I think you are in error in attributing to me any different significance to the word "necessary" than that which it has in my speeches in parliament.

The reference to a general election in my letter, as in our previous discussion on the matter, was not to its being "a condition" to the application of conscription under existing legislation, but to a general election being an almost inevitable consequence of any such attempt to impose conscription at this stage of the war. I felt that this possibility must be taken into account as it bears directly upon the question of the best method of securing additional trained men for overseas service. In deciding upon the best method for the attainment of a given aim, it is imperative to take into account the probable as well as any known consequences of each and every possible course of action.

In your letter you recognize the grave possibilities of division resulting from the course you recommended. It is because I took so grave a view of the probable division which would result, and of the possibility that disunity and division in the country might seriously weaken our support for the army, as well as for other phases of our war effort, that I believed it was preferable to redouble our efforts to secure the required results by voluntary means, including a special appeal to the N.R.M.A. personnel and a review of the employment of the very considerable number of General Service personnel serving in Canada and the United Kingdom.

Yours very sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa,
November 9, 1944

Secret

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th. It seems a cruel fate for one of the Ministers

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. ~~The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers of General Service men for Italy.~~ The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the ~~question of~~ reinforcements ~~for the Canadian army overseas~~. Note of the Govt

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed ~~there~~, but rather to the ~~significance to be attached to this~~ fact that no question of ~~the~~ any need of additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, ~~at which time~~ the probable duration of the war, ~~and matters bearing directly thereon~~ were discussed, there was, ~~in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference,~~ a possible need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements for the ~~Canadian~~ Army, before the end of the war, ~~that circumstance~~ should have been made known ~~at the time~~.

You will recall that the matter arose out of proposals submitted by you as the recommendation of the General Staff for the authorization of certain additional personnel for various units and formations

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

2 1/2

SECRET - Paragraph for Reply

In your letter you recognize the grave possibilities of division resulting from the course you recommended. It is because I took so grave a view of the probable division which would result, and of the possibility that disunity and division in the country might seriously weaken our support for the army, as well as for other phases of our war effort, that I believed it was preferable to redouble our efforts to secure the required results by voluntary means, including a special appeal to the N.R.M.A. personnel and a review of the employment of the very considerable number of General Service personnel serving in Canada and the United Kingdom.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273328

In the absence of any such ~~representations~~ information, members of the Cabinet were ~~surely~~ entitled to ~~feel~~ assume that the reinforcement situation ~~was~~ continued to be satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in Parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard. ~~If I think you are in error when you~~ in ascribing to me, any ~~such statement and desire to impose~~

The reference in my letter to a general election, ~~as was the case on all~~ discussion on the matter, was not to its being "a condition" to the application of conscription under existing legislation, but to a general election being an almost inevitable consequence of any such attempt, at this stage of the war, ~~and that~~ this possibility must be taken into account as it bears directly upon the question of the best method ~~to adopt to~~ to secure ~~what may be required in the way of~~ additional trained men for overseas service. In deciding upon the best method ~~to adopt to secure~~ a given aim, it is imperative to take into account the probable as well as any known consequences of each and every course of action.

2 per cent

add 2/2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa, November 9, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th.

The statement in my letter of the 3rd inst. regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers for Italy but the assurance sought and given had direct reference to the question of reinforcements for the Canadian Army overseas.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed while there, rather was it to the fact that if, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, at which time the probable duration of the war and matters bearing directly thereon were discussed, there was in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, a possible need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements, for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that circumstance should have been made known at the time. In the absence of any such representations, Members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to feel that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your letter of November 1st, you say:

"The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet"

In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were treated and debated in Council.

This Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other Members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, ~~and one concerning~~ the imperative nature of which I am sure you will be equally solicitous. ~~It is an obligation of~~ which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation.

~~Apart from their contents, I have~~, especially at a time of war, the added responsibility of giving the most anxious thought, ~~in the light of their possible effect upon Canada's war effort and the war effort of the Allied nations,~~ the time and place at which publicity should be given to the publication of any communications passing between Members of the Privy Council. ~~This is something to which, of course, I am giving the most careful consideration.~~

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

Top Secret.

MEMORANDUM

C 273331

W.H. Pickersgill

my suggestions for revision of copy "B" attached

A.M.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Confidential

(B)

C 273332

Ottawa,
November 9, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston: It seems to call for one or two

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th upon which I feel I should write certain observations:

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. You will recall that ~~The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers of General Service men for Italy.~~ The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the ~~question~~ state of reinforcements ~~for the Canadian army overseas.~~ the pool

~~out submitted by you at the recommendation~~ proposals submitted by Ministers

General Stuart's ~~the~~ for the authorization of certain additional personnel for the army overseas including the formation of ~~and the~~ additional infantry brigade to which you refer.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed while there, but rather to the ~~significance to be attached to this fact~~ fact that no question of the any possible need of additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, ~~at the time~~ when members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, ~~at which time~~ the probable duration of the war, ~~and matters bearing directly thereon were~~ discussed under there was, (in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference,) (a possible need of) resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements for (the Canadian) Army, before the end of the war, that (circumstance) should have been made known at the time.

and

and the future employment of our forces

any possibility of our having to

possibility our

in Europe, namely

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In the absence of any such (representations) members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to (feel) that the reinforcement situation (was) satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in Parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

The reference ~~in my letter~~ to a general election, as ~~was the case on all~~ discussion on the matter, was not to its being "a condition" to the application of conscription under existing legislation, but to (a general election) being an almost inevitable consequence of any (such) attempt, at this stage of the war, ~~and~~ that this possibility must be taken into account as it bears directly upon the question of the ~~best method~~ (to adopt) to secure ~~what may be required in the way of~~ additional trained men for overseas service. In deciding upon the best method to adopt to (secure) a given aim, it is imperative to take into account the probable as well as any known consequences of each and every course of action.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273334

Ottawa,
November 9, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
Ottawa.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th.

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers of General Service men for Italy. The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the question of reinforcements for the Canadian army overseas.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed there, but rather to the significance to be attached to this fact that no question of the need of additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, at which time the probable duration of the war and matters bearing directly thereon were discussed, there was, in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, a specific need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that circumstance should have been made known at the time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Confidential (A)

Ottawa,
November 9, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th. ~~in which I [illegible] make certain observations.~~ Allies & family call for 11 2

The statement in my letter of the 3rd instant, regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August ~~has reference~~ to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose ~~in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers of General Service men for Italy~~. The assurance sought and given had direct reference to the ~~question~~ of reinforcements ~~for the Canadian army overseas~~.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed ~~while~~ there, but rather to the ~~significance to be attached to this~~ fact that no question of the need for additional reinforcements was raised at that time. If, on September 14th, ~~at the time~~ members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, ~~at which time~~ the probable duration of the war and ~~matters bearing directly thereon~~ were discussed, there was, in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, ~~a specific need of resort to conscription to obtain~~ additional reinforcements for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that ~~circumstance~~ should have been made known at the time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In the absence of any such representations, members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to feel that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in Parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

The reference in my letter to a general election, as was the case on all discussion of the matter, was not to its being "a condition" precedent to the application of conscription under existing legislation, but to a general election being an almost inevitable consequence of any such attempt at this stage of the war, and that this possibility must be taken into account as it bears directly upon the question of the best method to adopt to secure what may be required in the way of additional trained men for overseas service. In deciding upon the best method to adopt to secure a given aim, it is imperative to take into account the probable as well as any known consequences of each and every course of action.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Mr Churchill, ~~the Australian~~ and the Prime Minister of South, ~~the~~ as their own protracted discussion of the most ~~important subjects~~ matters, having thoroughly discussed, ~~and~~ their views in their mind of ~~Japan~~ any of our ~~for that~~ marketing advantages ~~in~~ ~~a product~~ ~~for~~ ~~obtain~~ ~~this~~ a concrete ~~proposal~~ to ~~obtain~~ ~~reason~~ for ~~cancel~~ for the ~~cancellation~~ ~~agreement~~ before the end of the ~~war~~ ~~circumstances~~ that ~~food~~ should have been made known ~~at~~ at that time. In the absence of any ~~such~~ representations, ~~they~~

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273397A

Ottawa, November 7, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th.

The statement in my letter regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers for Italy but the assurance sought and given had direct reference to the question of reinforcements for the Canadian Army overseas.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed whilst there, rather was it to the fact that if, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, at which time the probable duration of the war and matters bearing directly thereon were discussed, there was in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, a possible need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements, for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that circumstance should have been made known at the time. In the absence of any such representations, Members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to feel that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your present letter, you quote the following words used by you in your letter of resignation: "My first thought was my duty to our fighting men in our overseas army". You then, referring to myself, go on to say: "You say that for the proper accomplishment of this purpose nothing should be done which would divide the country, and in this connection you speak of a general election."

I take it the reference to "this purpose", in the second paragraph, is to what is owing to Canada's fighting men in the Overseas Army, rather than your thought, or your duty, as the paragraph as worded would seem to imply.

before you further I decided to omit
and substitute what is on the
following page

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In your letter of November 1st, you say:

"The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet"

In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were treated and debated in Council.

This Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other Members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, and one concerning the imperative nature of which I am sure you will be equally solicitous. It is an obligation of which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation.

Apart from their contents, I have, at a time of war, the added responsibility of giving the most anxious thought, in the light of their possible effect upon Canada's war effort and the war effort of the Allied nations, the time and place at which publicity should be given to the publication of any communications passing between Members of the Privy Council. This is something to which, of course, I am giving the most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, November 7, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th.

The statement in my letter regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers for Italy but the assurance sought and given had direct reference to the question of reinforcements for the Canadian Army overseas.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed whilst there, rather was it to the fact that if, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, at which time the probable duration of the war and matters bearing directly thereon were discussed, there was in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, a possible need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements, for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that circumstance should have been made known at the time. In the absence of any such representations, Members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to feel that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, November 7, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P.,
Mayfair Apartments,
O t t a w a.

My dear Ralston:

I have duly received your letter of November the 7th.

The statement in my letter regarding the assurance as to reinforcements given in August has relation to the assurance specifically given at that time by the Chief of Staff to the War Committee of the Cabinet that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory. The matter arose in respect of a request from the Chief of Staff for additional numbers for Italy but the assurance sought and given had direct reference to the question of reinforcements for the Canadian Army overseas.

The reference in my letter to the discussions at Quebec was not to any specific matter discussed whilst there, rather was it to the fact that if, on September 14th, at the time members of our War Committee and our own Chiefs of Staff were in conference with Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, at which time the probable duration of the war and matters bearing directly thereon were discussed, there was in the mind of any of our military advisers, or for that matter in the mind of any one present at the conference, a possible need of resort to conscription to obtain additional reinforcements, for the Canadian Army, before the end of the war, that circumstance should have been made known at the time. In the absence of any such representations, Members of the Cabinet were surely entitled to feel that the reinforcement situation was satisfactory.

What was meant by the word "necessary" as used in my speeches in parliament in 1942, will I think be wholly clear from the context as it appears in Hansard.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Confidential

Ottawa,
November 10, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,

O t t a w a.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

I notice that in a reply to a request for an explanatory statement on your resignation, which appeared in the press of the 7th instant, you are reported as having said that you feel "that responsibility for informing the public belongs primarily to the Prime Minister". With this, of course, I am in complete accord, and in the broadcast I made on Wednesday night, (the 8th instant), I sought to discharge that responsibility.

The report added that you had said you recognized that in this matter the public and the armed forces were entitled to full information consistent with military security. With this also, I agree.

The report continues: "I would assume, said Colonel Ralston in his statement, that the Prime Minister would inform the public of the circumstances by making available my letter of resignation and any further correspondence between us in the matter. The correspondence will speak for itself. I therefore refrain from making any statement at present".

In addition to the obligation upon a member of a government to respect military secrecy in making information public, there is also the obligation of secrecy respecting Cabinet deliberations, imposed by the oath of the Members of the Privy Council, "to keep

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in Privy Council, without publishing or disclosing the same, or any part thereof, by word, writing or any otherwise to any person out of the same Council, but to such only as be of the Council."

The Privy Councillor's oath is not less binding upon the Prime Minister than upon all other members of the Privy Council. It is an obligation I am bound to respect, one of which I must take the fullest account in considering the course to be pursued in making available to the public the correspondence which has passed between us concerning your resignation.

I have the added responsibility for which I will be held accountable by parliament, of advising the Crown as to the time and place at which publicity should be given to such communications. This responsibility is particularly great at a time of war.

In your letter of November 1st you say: "The whole question was discussed at very considerable length both at meetings of the Cabinet and of the War Committee of the Cabinet". In subsequent paragraphs you proceed to set forth matters which were "treated and debated" in Council.

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in the light of this obligation, in advising the publication of those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or of those portions of my reply referring to what you have said respecting these discussions.

I believe there should be an exchange of letters between us with respect to which no question as to the propriety of publication could arise.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) W. L. Mackenzie King.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET - Paragraph re Publication

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in the light of ~~my~~ this obligation ~~or in fairness to colleagues~~, in ~~making~~ advising the public of those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or of those portions of my reply referring to what you have said respecting these discussions. I do not need to point out that speculation, which could not fail to be harmful to the war effort, would be bound to arise if partial texts of the letters were made public.

In the circumstances, ~~there would seem to me to be two possible courses, either of which might appropriately be followed. You might make a public statement setting out the nature of the difference which caused you to leave the Government, or~~ We might mutually agree to an ~~further~~ exchange of letters which could be made public, ~~with or without a withdrawal of the existing exchange which, if not withdrawn, could~~ would be treated as a personal record.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET - Paragraph re Publication

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in the light of ~~my~~ this obligation ~~on in fairness to colleagues~~, in ~~making public~~ advising the publication those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or those portions of my reply referring to what you have said respecting these discussions. ~~I do not need to point out that speculation, which could not fail to be harmful to the war effort, would be bound to arise if partial texts of the letters were made public.~~

~~In the circumstances, there would seem to me to be two possible courses, either of which might appropriately be followed. You might make a public statement setting out the nature of the difference which caused you to leave the Government, or~~ We might however mutually agree to an exchange of letters which could be made public, ~~with or without a withdrawal of the existing exchange which, if not withdrawn, would remain could be treated as a personal record.~~

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Secret - Paraphrase re Publication

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in fairness to my colleagues, in making public those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or those portions of my reply referring to [redacted] what you have said respecting these discussions. I do not need to point out that speculation, which could not fail to be harmful to the war effort, would be bound to arise if partial texts of the letters were made public.

In the circumstances, there would seem to me to be two possible courses either of which might appropriately be followed. You might make a public statement setting out the nature of the difference which caused you to leave the government or we might mutually agree to a further exchange of letters which could be made public, with or without

A withdrawal of the resignation would be the simplest course, if you could see your way clear to it.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET - Paragraph re Publication

I cannot feel that I would be justified, in the light of ~~my~~ the obligation ~~or in fairness to colleagues~~, in ~~making~~ showing the public those portions of your letter relating to the deliberations in Council or those portions of my reply referring to what you have said respecting these discussions. I do not need to point out that speculation, which could not fail to be harmful to the war effort, would be bound to arise if partial texts of the letters were made public.

In the circumstances, there would seem to me to be two possible courses, either of which might appropriately be followed. You might make a public statement setting out the nature of the difference which caused you to leave the Government, or we might ~~mutually~~ agree to a ~~further~~ exchange of letters which could be made public, with or without a withdrawal of the existing exchange which, if not withdrawn, ~~could be treated~~ would remain as a personal record.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET - Paragraph for Reply

In your letter you recognize the grave possibilities of division resulting from the course you recommended. It is because I took so grave a view of the probable division which would result, and of the possibility that disunity and division in the country might seriously weaken our support for the army, as well as for other phases of our war effort, that I believed it was preferable to redouble our efforts to secure the required results by voluntary means, including a special appeal to the N.R.M.A. personnel and a review of the employment of the very considerable number of General Service personnel serving in Canada and the United Kingdom.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Secret - Paragraph for reply

C 273351

In your letter you recognize the ~~grave responsibilities~~ division ~~that would be resulting~~ from the course you recommended. [redacted] It is because I took [redacted] so grave a ~~view~~ of the ~~possible~~ probable division which would result, ~~from the course you recommended~~ and of the possibility that division in the country might seriously weaken our support for the army, as well as for other phases of our war effort that I ~~have~~ believed it ~~was~~ preferable to redouble our efforts to secure the required results by voluntary means, including a special appeal to the N R M A personnel and a review of the employment of the very considerable number of General Service personnel serving in Canada and the United Kingdom.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

J. L. RALSTON

OTTAWA

November 14, 1944.

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
OTTAWA, Canada.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have your letter of November 10th marked "Secret", in reply to mine. (It refers to my letter of November 7th; I presume you mean my letter of November 6th.)

With reference to the assurances given by the responsible Officers to the War Committee, I had the same assurances as you, and as explained to me and to you the changed situation arises from the unexpectedly heavy proportion of Infantry casualties.

Regarding the meeting at Quebec, I still think thatthis has, for the reasons mentioned in my letter of November 6th, really no relevance to my recommendation.

You speak as if "any possibility" of having to resort to conscription for overseas service had not been in mind. May I point out that your speeches in 1942 envisage that very possibility, and the initiation and passing of Bill 80 was in the light of that possibility.

You will recall also that I went to you at Quebec regarding certain reports I had heard as to your expressed attitude on this matter; and the fact that I asked you, and you gave me, your assurance then that you would stand by your speeches in 1942, indicates that, at least in my mind, the possibility still existed; although I must say that at the time I had no expectation of the developments which have since occurred.

As a matter of fact, it was, I

think/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273353

think, at the next meeting of War Committee following the Quebec Conference that I did indicate, as a result of further information received in the meantime, the possibility of difficulties regarding Infantry reinforcements and the necessity, in my view, for keeping N.R.M.A. personnel available in the light of the uncertainties.

May I again come back to the real crux of this matter, which is the actual and urgent situation which I reported instantly on my return from overseas, and which I considered left me no alternative but to recommend as I did.

Yours very truly,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

J. L. RALSTON

OTTAWA

November 14, 1944.

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, PC., MP.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
OTTAWA, Canada.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

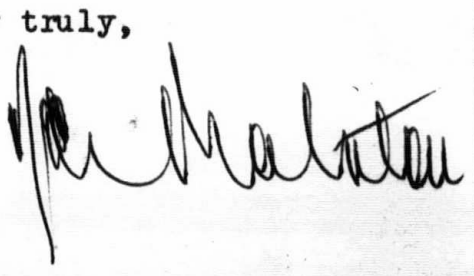
I have your letter of November 10th regarding the release of my letter of resignation and the further correspondence between us.

I do not think there could be any injury to security whatever in publishing the letter and the correspondence, particularly in view of the information given to the public in the speeches by yourself and the Minister of National Defence and by the Minister of Justice.

Regarding Privy Council secrecy, I feel I ought to point out that your own speech of November 8th contains references to matters treated, debated and resolved in Council discussions, and I am sure these references would not have been made had you not considered that they were permissible. Furthermore, you had no hesitation in May 1942 in publishing the correspondence regarding Honourable Mr. Cardin's resignation, which contained references to Council discussions.

In any case, permission to make such matters public is vested in the Crown, and since the matter is of intense public interest I beg most respectfully to suggest that you advise His Excellency to assent to the release of my letter and the further correspondence.

Yours very truly,



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa,
November 20, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

With reference to your letter to me of November 14th concerning publication of the correspondence between us beginning with your letter of resignation of November 1st, I have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that it is in the public interest that all of the correspondence in question, including that concerning its publication, should be made available to the House of Commons, and I have so advised His Excellency the Governor General.

His Excellency has been pleased to give permission accordingly and it is my intention, therefore, to table the correspondence in the House of Commons when it assembles on Wednesday next.

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa,
November 20, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

With reference to your letter to me of November 14th concerning publication of the correspondence between us beginning with your letter of resignation of November 1st, I have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that it is in the public interest that all of the correspondence in question, including that concerning its publication, should be made available to the House of Commons, and I have so advised His Excellency the Governor General.

His Excellency has been pleased to give permission accordingly and it is my intention, therefore, to table the correspondence in the House of Commons when it assembles on Wednesday next.

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273357

Ottawa,
November 20, 1944

The Honourable J. L. Ralston, K.C., M.P.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

Dear Colonel Ralston:

With reference to your letter to me of November 14th concerning publication of the correspondence between us beginning with your letter of resignation of November 1st, I have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that it is in the public interest that all of the correspondence in question, including that concerning its publication, should be made available to the House of Commons, and I have so advised His Excellency the Governor General.

His Excellency has been pleased to give permission accordingly and it is my intention, therefore, to table the correspondence in the House of Commons when it assembles on Wednesday next.

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W. Lyon

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re Corner

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273359

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

O t t a w a,
November 3rd, 1944

Dear Prime Minister,

The events at the conclusion of Wednesday's Council meeting leave to be cleared up the crucial point of adequate reinforcements for our men overseas. By this I mean the reinforcements necessary to enable our forces to do no more and no less than their fair share in the battle-line; to do this without having their ranks depleted or filled with untrained men, and without opportunity for the necessary time off for men who may be wounded before they are sent back to duty. If McNaughton can get the men to do this in adequate numbers by voluntary means, well and good; but if he cannot, what then? It certainly looks now as if the war will go over until Spring or early Summer. It may be, therefore, not a question of finding reinforcements for a few weeks or months. It may be a question of finding them for six or eight months or even longer.

When the Plebiscite was taken, and supported by a large majority across Canada, it was implicit in it that conscription would be used if necessary to support our fighting men. Otherwise it had no meaning. When the Government asked Parliament to approve "Bill 80", Parliament did so by a large majority and thus put the seal of its approval upon this policy. I am sure that this was the meaning put upon it by the people in all parts of Canada, including the Province of Quebec. Quite frankly, what I should like to know now is, is this policy to be changed? In short, is the utilization, as reinforcements, of the trained men we have in Canada, beyond those of their number who enlist voluntarily, definitely "out" as a matter of Government policy?

I would be very grateful if you could give me an early reply to this question.

Yours sincerely,

J. L. Ilsley

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King,
PC.,Ph.D.,MP.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

O t t a w a,
November 3rd, 1944

Dear Prime Minister,

The events at the conclusion of Wednesday's Council meeting leave to be cleared up the crucial point of adequate reinforcements for our men overseas. By this I mean the reinforcements necessary to enable our forces to do no more and no less than their fair share in the battle-line; to do this without having their ranks depleted or filled with untrained men, and without opportunity for the necessary time off for men who may be wounded before they are sent back to duty. If McNaughton can get the men to do this in adequate numbers by voluntary means, well and good; but if he cannot, what then? It certainly looks now as if the war will go over until Spring or early Summer. It may be, therefore, not a question of finding reinforcements for a few weeks or months. It may be a question of finding them for six or eight months or even longer.

When the Plebiscite was taken, and supported by a large majority across Canada, it was implicit in it that conscription would be used if necessary to support our fighting men. Otherwise it had no meaning. When the Government asked Parliament to approve "Bill 80", Parliament did so by a large majority and thus put the seal of its approval upon this policy. I am sure that this was the meaning put upon it by the people in all parts of Canada, including the Province of Quebec. Quite frankly, what I should like to know now is, is this policy to be changed? In short, is the utilization, as reinforcements, of the trained men we have in Canada, beyond those of their number who enlist voluntarily, definitely "out" as a matter of Government policy?

I would be very grateful if you could give me an early reply to this question.

Yours sincerely,

J. L. Ilsley

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King,
PC.,Ph.D.,MP.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273360 C2

Ottawa, November 10, 1944

The Honourable T. A. Crerar, M.P.,
Minister of Mines and Resources,
O t t a w a.

My dear Crerar:

As mentioned to you over the 'phone on Saturday afternoon (the 4th instant), I had at that time duly received your letter of the previous day. You will appreciate the reasons which caused me to ask you if I might be permitted a delay of a few days before sending a reply. I regret that the very urgent matters to which I have since had to give the closest attention have occasioned so long a delay.

Since your letter was received, I have spoken to the people of Canada on the question of reinforcements for the army. It was agreed in connection with the appeal then made that it would be contrary to sound judgment for me to say anything which would imply doubt in the success of the policy on which the appeal is based. I, personally, continue to hold that opinion. I adhere very strongly to the view that it is psychologically unsound for one to commit oneself for or against any particular course of action until the outcome of the particular policy being pursued is known. Otherwise controversy between alternative methods is bound to develop which in itself would almost certainly prove to be prejudicial for the success of the method being pursued. It seems to me that to achieve our objective, there must be utmost concentration on the course it has been agreed to follow with no suggestion that it is not likely to succeed.

I have made it clear that I am prepared to follow the course outlined in my speeches in Parliament in 1942 if that course should ever be necessary. If I have left any doubt on that point, I assure you now that that the policy set forth in 1942 has not changed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

As to what was implicit in the plebiscite and parliament's action thereon, I cannot do better than refer you to what was set forth in the statement I made in the House of Commons on June 10th, 1942, at which time I was speaking on behalf of the government. The interpretation of the plebiscite and of parliament's action thereon were clearly set forth at the time when the matter was one which was fresh in the memories of all.

In reply to the specific question of your letter: "In short, is the utilization, as reinforcements, of the trained men we have in Canada, beyond those of their number who enlist voluntarily, definitely 'out' as a matter of Government policy?", I cannot do better than quote from what I said in a broadcast delivered on the night before last (the 8th instant) in which, referring to the draftees, I said: "..so long as they are in the army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered".

Again, may I apologize for not having found it possible to send you a more immediate reply.

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273362

C27.92

Ottawa, November 10, 1944

The Honourable T. A. Crerar, M.P.,
Minister of Mines and Resources,
O t t a w a.

My dear Crerar:

As mentioned to you over the 'phone on Saturday afternoon (the 4th instant), I had at that time duly received your letter of the previous day. You will appreciate the reasons which caused me to ask you if I might be permitted a delay of a few days before sending a reply. I regret that the very urgent matters to which I have since had to give the closest attention have occasioned so long a delay.

re appeal on victory loan
keeping Conservatives on board

Since your letter was received, I have spoken to the people of Canada on the question of reinforcements for the army. It was agreed in connection with the appeal then made that it would be contrary to sound judgment for me to say anything which would imply doubt in the success of the policy on which the appeal is based. I, personally, continue to hold that opinion. I adhere very strongly to the view that it is psychologically unsound for one to commit oneself for or against any particular course of action until the outcome of the particular policy being pursued is known. Otherwise controversy between alternative methods is bound to develop which in itself would almost certainly prove to be prejudicial to the success of the method being pursued. It seems to me that to achieve our objective, there must be utmost concentration on the course it has been agreed to follow with no suggestion that it is not likely to succeed.

I have made it clear that I am prepared to follow the course outlined in my speeches in Parliament in 1942 if that course should ever be necessary. If I have left any doubt on that point, I assure you now that that the policy set forth in 1942 has not changed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

As to what was implicit in the plebiscite and parliament's action thereon, I cannot do better than refer you to what was set forth in the statement I made in the House of Commons on June 10th, 1942, at which time I was speaking on behalf of the government. The interpretation of the plebiscite and of parliament's action thereon were clearly set forth at the time when the matter was one which was fresh in the memories of all.

In reply to the specific question of your letter: "In short, is the utilization, as reinforcements, of the trained men we have in Canada, beyond those of their number who enlist voluntarily, definitely 'out' as a matter of Government policy?", I cannot do better than quote from what I said in a broadcast delivered on the night before last (the 8th instant) in which, referring to the draftees, I said: "..so long as they are in the army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered".

Again, may I apologize for not having found it possible to send you a more immediate reply.

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273364

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

O t t a w a,
November 17th, 1944

My dear King,

A week ago this evening, after Council, you handed me a reply to my letter to you of November 3rd. Since then I have been confined to my home by illness until today, and so have had to delay my reply until now.

May I say quite frankly that your letter was a disappointment to me. The urgency of the need for action in the matter of reinforcements does not appear to be in dispute. If they are to be supplied in time there is practically only one source from which they can come, and that is the pool of trained men called up under the N.R.M.A. This was indicated pretty clearly in your recent radio address.

There are only two methods whereby they may be made available; either by these men volunteering for active service overseas, or by conscripting them into overseas service. Frankly, I doubt very much if your appeal - or, indeed, any appeal which might be made - will produce the numbers required. No matter what we think about it, this question is being discussed today everywhere throughout Canada. It is being discussed in the camps where these men are training, and the controversy will not help to get the necessary number of volunteers. Because of the urgency of the matter, it appears to me quite definite that if the needed numbers are not secured from the fully-trained men available, within the next few weeks, then the Government has no recourse but to act under the powers conferred by "Bill 80".

There are two good reasons why this should be done.

Our Canadian soldiers, both in Italy and on the western front since Invasion Day, have brought great honour to Canada. Their losses have been considerable. There are many who will never return. Every ship which returns to our shores from Britain carries its quota of wounded men

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,Ph.D.,M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

Forward, please.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273364

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

O t t a w a,
November 17th, 1944

My dear King,

A week ago this evening, after Council, you handed me a reply to my letter to you of November 3rd. Since then I have been confined to my home by illness until today, and so have had to delay my reply until now.

May I say quite frankly that your letter was a disappointment to me. The urgency of the need for action in the matter of reinforcements does not appear to be in dispute. If they are to be supplied in time there is practically only one source from which they can come, and that is the pool of trained men called up under the N.R.M.A. This was indicated pretty clearly in your recent radio address.

There are only two methods whereby they may be made available; either by these men volunteering for active service overseas, or by conscripting them into overseas service. Frankly, I doubt very much if your appeal - or, indeed, any appeal which might be made - will produce the numbers required. No matter what we think about it, this question is being discussed today everywhere throughout Canada. It is being discussed in the camps where these men are training, and the controversy will not help to get the necessary number of volunteers. Because of the urgency of the matter, it appears to me quite definite that if the needed numbers are not secured from the fully-trained men available, within the next few weeks, then the Government has no recourse but to act under the powers conferred by "Bill 80".

There are two good reasons why this should be done.

Our Canadian soldiers, both in Italy and on the western front since Invasion Day, have brought great honour to Canada. Their losses have been considerable. There are many who will never return. Every ship which returns to our shores from Britain carries its quota of wounded men

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,Ph.D.,M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

Forward, please.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and they will continue to come in increasing numbers. Amidst the trials and dangers which our fighting infantry have to face, they should not be asked to go into battle with their ranks depleted, or to take lesser rest periods than they are entitled to, when there are over forty thousand infantry reinforcements available in Canada, forty percent of whom are practically fully trained. As I see it, this certainly is not keeping faith with our soldiers.

The second reason is that when "Bill 80" became law at least nine out of every ten people in Canada believed - and had a right to believe - that the Government meant to use its powers, should it become necessary in order to maintain the required reinforcements. What else could they think? Your own declarations, the declarations of your colleagues, including my own, could convey no other meaning; and all this applied with equal force when we all urged a "Yes" vote at the time of the plebiscite. In the speeches I made in support of an affirmative vote on the plebiscite my position was clearly taken, but no more clearly than that of many others, including those members of the Government who spoke in its support. That position was that if the Home Defence Army were needed to reinforce our Army Overseas it would be made available for that purpose.

Frankly, I feel that there is an obligation of honour here to keep faith with the people of Canada. You will reply that you do not propose to break faith with the people, and I certainly do not wish to suggest that you do; but there is no denying that the storm of indignation rising across Canada has its origin in a growing belief that the Government is trying to evade what the people believe were honest commitments. I am bound to say that the speech of the Minister of Justice in Quebec City on November 4th certainly did nothing to lessen this belief.

I am sorry I was not at Council when you brought forward the matter of calling the House together. You will agree, I am sure, that the Government should reach if possible a clear understanding of the course to be taken when it meets. But, in any event, I wish to make my own position clear. If the men have not come forward from this trained pool by voluntary enlistment by the end of the present month in the numbers required to meet the need, I would count myself remiss in my duty if I did not make it clear to you that I shall be unable longer to support the present policy.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273366

Ottawa,
November 18, 1944

The Honourable T. A. Crerar, M.P.,
Minister of Mines and Resources,
O t t a w a.

My dear Crerar:

I have received your letter of the 17th instant, which has been delivered by hand.

I am sending this word of acknowledgment by hand, that you may know that it has been duly received, and that I have carefully noted its representations.

It was decided at the meeting of Council on Thursday that a meeting would be held on Monday afternoon to consider the matters which require attention before the House of Commons reconvenes.

Yours sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273367

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

O t t a w a,
November 20th, 1944

Personal and
Confidential

My dear King,

As a Liberal who has always believed in the principles of Liberalism and who still adheres strongly to them, I am deeply concerned, as I know you are, with the effect upon the future of the Liberal Party of the controversy now raging across Canada over the question of making the Home Defence Army available as reinforcements, at any rate within a very short period of time. There is no doubt in my mind as to what the great majority of the people in eight provinces feel about this matter. As I see it, if we take the step now of making the home Defence Army available for overseas service, reinforced as it would be by the fine record of the Government in the war, it would receive overwhelming support in every province outside of Quebec. Here there would doubtless be a stiff resistance but I am convinced that it would not proceed to anything like the lengths you feel it would. At the worst, it might result in a solid bloc of French-Canadian Members after the next election. Even assuming this, moderating counsels would be heard from Quebec itself. On an issue of this kind, the shallow vapourings of the C.C.F. would be thrown into their true perspective and I doubt if the Conservatives would carry thirty seats.

If, on the other hand, for one reason or another, the Government delays making the Home Defence Army available for active service, the effect upon the future of the Liberal Party may well be disastrous. The resentment rising against Quebec today, much of it unjustified, will be deepened and intensified, and these are scars which will remain. Taking the long view, there is no greater danger to the unity of Canada than a "solid" Quebec, whether in the Liberal Party or in any other. If, out of the conditions in which we now find ourselves, the Liberal Party emerges with a solid, or nearly solid, Quebec support, more and more quickly it will come to be regarded throughout the rest of the country as a Party dominated by Quebec. Nothing could be more fatal, or more injurious to the country's future, than that this feeling should persist and increase. If Quebec isolated

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,Ph.D.,M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

Forward, please....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273367

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

Ottawa,
November 20th, 1944

Personal and
Confidential

My dear King,

As a Liberal who has always believed in the principles of Liberalism and who still adheres strongly to them, I am deeply concerned, as I know you are, with the effect upon the future of the Liberal Party of the controversy now raging across Canada over the question of making the Home Defence Army available as reinforcements, at any rate within a very short period of time. There is no doubt in my mind as to what the great majority of the people in eight provinces feel about this matter. As I see it, if we take the step now of making the home Defence Army available for overseas service, reinforced as it would be by the fine record of the Government in the war, it would receive overwhelming support in every province outside of Quebec. Here there would doubtless be a stiff resistance but I am convinced that it would not proceed to anything like the lengths you feel it would. At the worst, it might result in a solid bloc of French-Canadian Members after the next election. Even assuming this, moderating counsels would be heard from Quebec itself. On an issue of this kind, the shallow vapourings of the C.C.F. would be thrown into their true perspective and I doubt if the Conservatives would carry thirty seats.

If, on the other hand, for one reason or another, the Government delays making the Home Defence Army available for active service, the effect upon the future of the Liberal Party may well be disastrous. The resentment rising against Quebec today, much of it unjustified, will be deepened and intensified, and these are scars which will remain. Taking the long view, there is no greater danger to the unity of Canada than a "solid" Quebec, whether in the Liberal Party or in any other. If, out of the conditions in which we now find ourselves, the Liberal Party emerges with a solid, or nearly solid, Quebec support, more and more quickly it will come to be regarded throughout the rest of the country as a Party dominated by Quebec. Nothing could be more fatal, or more injurious to the country's future, than that this feeling should persist and increase. If Quebec isolated

The Rt.Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,Ph.D.,M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa

Forward, please....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

itself politically in the next election, it would be unfortunate; but better that, than that the rest of Canada should nurse deep, continuing resentment against Quebec. And I am convinced that influences to heal the wounds would come into play before long in that Province itself. St.Laurent's most unfortunate speech in Quebec a couple of weeks ago, and the expressions of opinion in the French press since Ralston's resignation, have fed the mounting anger of hundreds of thousands of Canadians. Admittedly, the Conservative Party today is bankrupt in leadership and stpuid and inept in its efforts to win support. But even with this, and with the opportunism of the C.C.F., people will express their resentment against the Liberal Party by voting for one or the other of these alternatives if the Government persists in the course I have mentioned.

In your administration you have done much for Canada and much for the Liberal Party, but you will agree with me I think that the Liberal Party has also done much for you. From what I have learned in the last ten days, I know there are many good Liberal Members in the House who are in deep distress over this matter. They have a strong personal loyalty to yourself; at the same time the pressure upon them is heavy and they have a feeling that if we refuse to act we are not carrying out our honourable obligations. The moral issue involved, of keeping our word, transcends everything else.

One thing more. If, by the end of this month, enlistments of trained men from the Home Defence Army are not sufficient to meet reinforcement requirements and we take the step immediately to make this force available for overseas service, I realize that our French-Canadian colleagues would leave the Government. In that event, there should be no bitterness in our hearts toward them, or towards Quebec. We could say to the rest of Canada that we understood Quebec's position and ask that they try to understand it also, and thus lessen the asperities of political discussion. None could do this so effectively as Liberals, who have sensed and understood the value of unity and have recognized that, for good or ill, our two peoples have to live together in the future. In this way I believe the Liberal Party can be preserved and, in the end, your statesmanship will receive its highest vindication.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.Mackenzie King

P.S. There is no need for any reply to this.
W.L.M.K.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273369

Put in book with Memoirs letter.

CANADA
MINISTER
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

Confidential Ottawa, November 24th, 1944

MEMORANDUM:

Following McNaughton's appearance in the House yesterday, there is some confusion in the minds of the Members, and will be in the country, on the following points:

1. Green endeavoured to make the point - and with some success - that in his strong adherence to the voluntary principle, McNaughton would send volunteers in preference to NRMA men, even though the latter were better trained than the former, providing the former had a minimum of training. This should be cleared up definitely today. If doubt remains in the public mind on it there will be all sorts of exaggerated stories about untrained G.S. men being utilized ahead of NRMA men. This point is very important.

2. The General's statement appeared to conflict on the point of whether or not the 16,000 now made available would be utilized. I think the General should say that he had asked the Government for these to provide a full margin of safety in reinforcement pools. If we leave any doubt upon this point - that they may not be utilized if G.S. men can be scraped from every corner possible - resentment will increase and not subside.

3. The General should make it clear that the Order in Council makes ALL the NRMA available for overseas service; that his recommendation was that 16,000 be made available now and that others will be made available without question if the need arises. This point is equally important. These points could be covered in a brief statement which McNaughton could make this afternoon when he again appears before the House. One thing which must be made clear beyond any doubt is that, if necessary, we shall use every NRMA man available to give our armies overseas the required reinforcements to enable them to get their proper rest and leave periods and that these reinforcements will be the best-trained that we can send.

McNaughton could say he may have failed through inexperience in the House to make himself clear. If this goes over the week end without being cleared Tory Press will magnify it and if cleared Monday Quebec will think we have yielded to further pressure. W.L.M.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273369A

Re Macdonald

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273370

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
FOR NAVAL SERVICES

Ottawa, November 13, 1944.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. King:-

In connection with the matter of reinforcements for the Canadian Army Overseas there are two questions on which I think it is most important that the Government should reach an early and definite decision. These questions are:-

1. What limit of time is to be placed upon the special appeal for recruits which may be said to have been launched by General MacNaughton in his speech at Arnprior on November 5th, and which was supported in your radio address of November 8th?

2. What meaning does the Government now give to the word "necessary" when used to refer to the sending of N.R.M.A. men overseas by compulsion?

You may recall that I raised the first question on Friday last and that I brought up the second question several times during the past few weeks.

As to the first question, it is to be noted that appeals to N.R.M.A. men to volunteer for active service are not new things. They have been made during the past year and more both by officers commanding camps and units where these men are stationed, by officers who have come directly from overseas, such as Major Paul Triquet, V.C., and by senior officers from Military Districts and National Defence Headquarters.

Now a special appeal is proposed in which prominent civilians, both lay and clerical, are to be invited to join. It is obvious that if this appeal is to have an indefinite duration we may never be able to come to a decision on the question whether the appeal has been successful. It is, therefore, most important that we should fix a period of time now, at

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the expiration of which we can determine whether or not the appeal has been successful.

In this connection it is to be remembered that in our discussions prior to Colonel Ralston's departure, various dates were suggested and that none of these dates were later than November 30, 1944. I understand that most of the N.R.M.A. men with whom we are primarily concerned, that is infantry men, are concentrated in four camps in British Columbia. It seems to me that there will be ample time to complete the appeal by November 30 next.

The date at which infantry reinforcements are required overseas is also a most important factor in the selection of a date for the termination of the appeal.

I pass now to the second question. In the House of Commons on June 10, 1942, and again on July 7, 1942, when speaking on Bill 80, you stated that the Government's policy was, "Not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary".

For myself, I believed, for more than two years, that the word "necessary" should be understood, and was understood by the Government, in the sense in which you used it on June 10, 1942, in a speech in the House of Commons on Bill 80, where you said, "it is not the intention of the Government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative such, for example, as the maintenance of necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas".

At Quebec, on September 14 of this year, you referred to the matter at a luncheon meeting of members of the Reform Club of that City. In the course of your remarks there you said, in effect, "We have said that we would apply conscription only if it would be absolutely necessary. It has not been necessary up to the present. Is it likely to become necessary, the war being in the stage which it has now reached? If it should become necessary, then some one else will have to enforce it and I will retire".

The position that you stated at Quebec differed widely, of course, from the position you took in the House of Commons in 1942, as set forth in the extracts from your speeches, which I have quoted above, but I realized that at Quebec you were speaking without notes and at a time when your mind was occupied with many other things in connection with the Conference. I believed that your speeches in the House of Commons in 1942, which, I am sure, were made after full and serious consideration, still provided the true expression of your thoughts on this grave question.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

More recently other and varying interpretations of the word "necessary" have been given. Some have attached to it the modifying word "absolutely". Others have said that "necessary" should be taken to mean "necessary to win the war", "necessary to enable Canada to bear a just share in the war", "necessary for national safety", "necessary to prevent a great catastrophe". In your radio speech of Wednesday last you spoke of N.R.M.A. men as "a potential ultimate reserve ..... whose compulsory employment in any theatre may ..... have to be reconsidered".

I have not enumerated all the meanings which have been given to this word, but I think I have furnished enough examples to show that a wide divergence of view now exists as to its meaning ..... a meaning that has assumed grave importance in recent days.

The point which concerns me is whether the Government as a whole feel that the meaning which I gave to this word in 1942, and which I felt that my colleagues then gave to it, still holds good. On this point I think it is of the utmost importance that we should have a clear understanding.

Yours very truly,

A. L. Mackenzie

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, November 16, 1944

The Honourable A. L. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.,
Minister of National Defence for Naval Services,
O t t a w a.

My dear Macdonald:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of November the 13th, which I have read and considered carefully.

The two questions which you raise relate directly to important Cabinet deliberations over the past few weeks, and which are still in progress. You will appreciate the reasons, therefore, which cause me to refrain, at the moment, from sending more than this line of acknowledgment. In the circumstances, I doubt if any good purpose would be served by my attempting to deal with these questions at length in further correspondence.

There is, however, one statement in your letter to which I feel I must draw your attention. In the paragraph on page two, referring to my remarks at the Reform Club at Quebec on September 14th, you write "In the course of your remarks there you said, in effect, 'We have said that we would apply conscription only if it would be absolutely necessary. It has not been necessary up to the present. Is it likely to become necessary, the war being in the stage which it has now reached? If it should become necessary, then some one else will have to enforce it and I will retire.'"

What I said at Quebec, in reference to the war in Europe, was in effect that conscription would not be resorted to unless it was necessary; that now it was apparent that the war was going to end soon, and that it would be the glory of the men overseas to be able to say they had enlisted voluntarily.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

After speaking of the war in Europe, I then turned to the war in Asia, and spoke of there being no likelihood of conscription being applied in the case of the troops being sent from Canada to fight Japan. It was in this connection - and in this connection only - that I used some words to the effect that, if it were decided to resort to conscription in the war against Japan, in such case, someone else would have to enforce it and that I would retire. You will recall that it had previously been agreed as government policy that there would be no conscription in the war against Japan. That was much in my mind at the time I spoke, and was what occasioned the reference.

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
FOR NAVAL SERVICES

Ottawa, 18th November, 1944.

Dear Mr. King:-

Let me thank you for your letter of the 16th November in reply to mine of the 13th instant.

You say that my questions "relate directly to important Cabinet deliberations ..... which are still in progress". It is precisely because there is a direct relationship, and because that relationship is fundamental, that I wish to see the Government come to a decision on my questions. Without such a decision I do not think that the Cabinet deliberations can be brought to a logical head.

It seems to me particularly imperative that the Government should consider and decide these two questions before the House of Commons meets on Wednesday next.

With regard to your speech at the Reform Club in Quebec, my recollection on this point is clear. I am sorry that it does not coincide with yours. I am quite sure that you made use of the sentence, "If it" (conscription) "should become necessary, then some one else will have to enforce it and I will retire". That sentence stood by itself, complete and unmodified, and it referred to the Canadian war effort generally. With all respect, I must say that I do not think it can be qualified by words used later on to describe the nature or extent of our war effort against Japan.

Yours very truly,

A. L. Macdonald

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa,
November 18, 1944

The Honourable Angus L. Macdonald, M.P.,
Minister of National Defence for Naval Services,
O t t a w a.

My dear Macdonald:

I have just received your letter of today, which has been delivered by hand.

As you are aware, the Cabinet is to meet again on Monday afternoon to consider the matters which require attention before the House of Commons reconvenes.

I am sorry that you question my statement as to what I said and what I meant in speaking at the Reform Club, Quebec, when I referred to circumstances under which I would find it necessary to retire, and which, I must repeat, were wholly in reference to the application of conscription in the war against Japan.

Colonel Ralston, who was not at the luncheon, came in the course of the following day to tell me he had understood I had made a statement such as you attributed to me in your letter of the 13th instant, and asked whether I was changing our policy. I made to him the reply which, in substance, is that which I have made to you in my letter of the 16th instant, namely, that the remarks I made as to possible retirement were solely in reference to the war against Japan. Colonel Ralston's reply to me was that he had not thought of that point.

If, in your mind, there was any doubt of my good faith in a matter so all-important, I fail to understand why no mention of it was made by you to me at that time, or any time since, until your letter to me on the 13th instant.

Yours sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

C 273377

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
FOR NAVAL SERVICES

Ottawa, 20th November, 1944.

Dear Mr. King:-

I thank you for your letter of the 18th instant.

I am hopeful that among the matters to be considered at today's meeting of the Cabinet will be those which I have raised in this correspondence.

As to the Reform Club speech, I did not mention the matter to you at the time for the reason set out in the last paragraph on the second page of my letter of November 13. In the light of recent discussions, the meaning to be given to the word "necessary" has, I think, assumed new and great importance. It seemed to me that lately some of my colleagues were ascribing to the word an interpretation different from that which I had given to it, and which I thought had been generally given to it in 1942 and for some considerable time subsequently. In my letter of November 13 I endeavoured to set out some of the varying senses in which the word had been used. I thought it proper that, along with other statements hinging on this word, I should refer to your own remarks at the Quebec Reform Club. I cannot see that the essential question of what you did say is in any way affected by the point that you raise, namely, that I did not bring the matter up at the time the statement was made.

Yours very truly,

Ralston

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re: Power

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273378

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA
23rd November 1944

Rt. Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Mr. King,

Lest there be any question in Caucus as to my stand on the new developments and the changed orientation of Government policy, I wish to repeat what I have already said to you, namely, that I am not in sympathy with the policy now proposed and I cannot accept any responsibility for it.

Yours very sincerely,

Charles G. Power

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C73379

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA
23rd November 1944

Rt. Honorable W. L. MacKenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Prime Minister,

It is with the deepest regfet that I ask you to accept my resignation as a member of your Cabinet.

I am unable to accept the policy which the Government has now adopted with respect to the National Resources Mobilization Act. I do not believe such a policy to be necessary at this time, nor will it save one single Canadian casualty.

I parted company with Colonel Ralston after the most mature consideration largely on the grounds that the number of troops which he reported as being required was comparatively so small, the means to remedy the situation without placing undue strain on the men at the Front so readily available, and the end of the war so imminent that weighing everything in the balance wewere not justified in provoking a national scission.

I cannot accept now from a new Minister General McNaughton a recommendation which I reluctantly felt obliged to reject when made by an old comrade and tried associate Layton Ralston.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273380

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA

May I add that the task which you confided to me in May 1940 of organizing the British Commonwealth Joint Air Training Plan has now been completed and the Plan is being wound up. The Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas has reached the peak of its expansion.

I shall always treasure the years of association with you and my colleagues and I thank you and them for all the kindness and consideration they have shown.

Yours very sincerely,

Charles J. Power

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

CANADA

C 273381

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA
23rd November 1944

Rt. Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minisrer of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Prime Minister,

It is with the deepest regret that I ask you to accept my resignation as a member of your Cabinet.

I am unable to accept the policy which the Government has now adopted with respect to the National Resources Mobilization Act. I do not believe such a policy to be necessary at this time, nor will it save one single Canadian casualty.

I parted company with Colonel Ralston after the most mature consideration largely on the grounds that the number of troops which he reported as being required was comparatively so small, the means to remedy the situation without placing undue strain on the men at the Front so readily available, and the end of the war so imminent that weighing everything in the balance we were not justified in provoking a national scission.

I cannot accept now from a new Minister General McNaughton a recommendation which I reluctantly felt obliged to reject when made by an old comrade and tried associate Layton Ralston.

May I add that the task which you confided to me in May 1940 of organizing the British Commonwealth Joint Air Training Plan has now been completed and the Plan is being wound up. The Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas has reached the peak of its expansion.

I shall always trasure the years of association with you and my colleagues and I thank you and them for all the kindness and consideration they have shown.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd) Charles G. Power.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273382

COPY

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA
23rd November 1944

Rt. Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minisrer of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Prime Minister,

It is with the deepest regret that I ask you to accept my resignation as a member of your Cabinet.

I am unable to accept the policy which the Government has now adopted with respect to the National Resources Mobilization Act. I do not believe such a policy to be necessary at this time, nor will it save one single Canadian casualty.

I parted company with Colonel Ralston after the most mature consideration largely on the grounds that the number of troops which he reported as being required was comparatively so small, the means to remedy the situation without placing undue strain on the men at the Front so readily available, and the end of the war so imminent that weighing everything in the balance we were not justified in provoking a national scission.

I cannot accept now from a new Minister General McNaughton a recommendation which I reluctantly felt obliged to reject when made by an old comrade and tried associate Layton Ralston.

May I add that the task which you confided to me in May 1940 of organizing the British Commonwealth Joint Air Training Plan has now been completed and the Plan is being wound up. The Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas has reached the peak of its expansion.

I shall always treasure the years of association with you and my colleagues and I thank you and them for all the kindness and consideration they have shown.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd) Charles G. Power.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273383

Draft letter Rec'd 29

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa,
November 26, 1944

The Honourable C.G. Power, K.G., M.P.,
157 Daly Avenue,
Ottawa.

My dear Power:

I duly received, on the 23rd instant, your letter of that day tendering your resignation as a member of the government.

Since its receipt, I have, as you know, hoped you might find it possible to reconsider your decision. I have felt that the importance of the service which, as a member of the government, you might continue to render Canada's war effort would outweigh the other considerations on which you have felt it necessary to resign. As, however, you have felt that you must adhere to your original decision, I have most reluctantly been obliged to advise His Excellency that it should be accepted, to ~~which~~ this advice His Excellency has given his consent.

I need not mention how great is my regret at the severance of official relations with so ~~old~~ trusted a colleague and so close a friend. The regret, I feel, will be shared by all members of the government.

On my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues in the government ~~theirs~~, I ~~would~~ desire ~~like~~ warmly to reciprocate the feelings you have expressed as to what the years of our association have meant to all of us ~~personally~~; also to express my deep appreciation of what your services in the Ministry at a time of war have meant to our country and the cause of freedom ~~for which~~ our people are fighting.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy of letter sent

Ottawa,
November 27th, 1944.

The Honourable C. G. Power, K.C., M.P.,
157 Daly Avenue,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Power:

I duly received, on the 23rd instant, your letter of that day tendering your resignation as a member of the government.

Since its receipt, I have, as you know, hoped that you might find it possible to reconsider your decision. I have felt that the importance of the service which, as a member of the government, you might have continued to render Canada's war effort would have outweighed the other considerations on which you felt it necessary to resign. As, however, you have come to the conclusion that you must adhere to your original decision, I have most reluctantly been obliged to advise the Governor General that your resignation should be accepted; to this advice His Excellency has given his consent.

I need not say how great is my regret that so trusted a colleague and so close a friend should leave the Ministry at this time. This regret will, I know, be shared by all members of the government.

On my own behalf and on theirs, I would like warmly to reciprocate the feelings you have expressed as to what the years of our association have meant to all of us personally; also to express appreciation of what your services in the Ministry at a time of war have meant to our country and to the cause of freedom.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa,
November 27th, 1944.

The Honourable C. G. Power, K.C., M.P.,
157 Daly Avenue,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Power:

I duly received, on the 23rd instant, your letter of that day tendering your resignation as a member of the government.

Since its receipt, I have, as you know, hoped that you might find it possible to reconsider your decision. I have felt that the importance of the service which, as a member of the government, you might have continued to render Canada's war effort would have outweighed the other considerations on which you felt it necessary to resign. As, however, you have come to the conclusion that you must adhere to your original decision, I have most reluctantly been obliged to advise the Governor General that your resignation should be accepted; to this advice His Excellency has given his consent.

I need not say how great is my regret that so trusted a colleague and so close a friend should leave the Ministry at this time. This regret will, I know, be shared by all members of the government.

On my own behalf and on theirs, I would like warmly to reciprocate the feelings you have expressed as to what the years of our association have meant to all of us personally; also to express appreciation of what your services in the Ministry at a time of war have meant to our country and to the cause of freedom.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273385A

Re: Fournier

& Gardiner

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

C 273386

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS
CABINET DU MINISTRE DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS

Ottawa November 24, 1944

Personal and
Confidential

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C. 8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur Fournier

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C 273387

CANADA

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

Personal and
Confidential

OTTAWA, November 24, 1944

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C.8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Alphonse Fournier

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

CANADA C 273388

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

Personal and
Confidential

OTTAWA, November 24, 1944

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C.8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Alphonse Fournier

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

CANADA C 273389

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

Personal and
Confidential

OTTAWA, November 24, 1944

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C.8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Alphonse Fournier

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 273390

CANADA

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

Personal and
Confidential

OTTAWA, November 24, 1944

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C.8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Alphonse Fournier

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 273391

CANADA

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

Personal and
Confidential

OTTAWA, November 24, 1944

My dear Prime Minister,

This morning at Laurier House, I mentioned to you that I was absent from Council when P.C.8891 was passed, and that I had not attended the sitting of the House on the 23rd instant. I find it also impossible to be at meetings of Council and the House today.

Following this conversation, I attended the Liberal caucus of the Province of Quebec. I begged each and every Member to be patient and not talk. I told them that on Monday you would address the House on your motion of confidence and on the Order in Council providing for conscription of sixteen thousand of the mobilized forces. Most members undertook to wait until after your speech, but said that their minds were made up and that they would vote against the Government.

After the caucus, I called a good many Members in my office and they were far more violent in private than they had been at the caucus. It would seem that some sixty per cent of these Members wish to cross the floor of the House and disassociate themselves from the Liberal Party. The other forty per cent would remain on the Government side, but would vote against the Government. I pleaded with them that though they would vote against the Government they would be wise in staying at their actual places. They decided that though they would vote against the Government they would form a bloc and call themselves the real Liberals. A good many mentioned that they would be compelled to make speeches in the House.

I am more convinced than this morning that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party that I should resign and try to keep this group united on all the policies and past records of the Government. Otherwise, it is impossible to keep them in the liberal fold. I will await your speech on Monday before making a final decision but I am afraid right now that, unless some unforeseen event happens, I will have to tender to you my resignation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Alphonse Fournier

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273392

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE
CANADA

W.

O T T A W A,
Nov. 23rd, 1944.

Confidential

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,P.C.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O T T A W A.

Dear Mr. King;

Just a line to state that I feel I went a long way last evening to try to secure a compromise. I am sorry in view of past discussions that I did not know what apparently others had been informed of before we entered council last night and therefore my actions might have been misunderstood by my colleagues.

I trust it will not be said we are all in agreement until such time as there has been an opportunity to get a more definite decision on the future of voluntary enlistment.

Yours sincerely,

James G. Gardiner.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re Parliamentary
Assistants

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273393

file

Ottawa,
November 20th, 1944.

W. C. Macdonald, Esq., K.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Macdonald:

I have to acknowledge your letter of November 15th and to inform you that a Minute of Council (P.C. 8820 of November 20th) has now been passed and approved by His Excellency the Governor General, accepting your resignation from the position of Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Defence, effective the 15th day of November.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) W. L. Mackenzie King.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273394

House of Commons
Canada

Halifax, Nova Scotia,
15th November, 1944.

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
East Block,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have given most careful consideration to my position as Parliamentary Assistant and have decided that for the reasons set out in my letter to you of November sixth I should resign my office. I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly arrange to have the necessary action taken to give effect to my wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

Wm Macdonald

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273395

P-65-1
1944

House of Commons
Canada

November 6, 1944.

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
East Block,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have received and wish to thank you for your letter of November 4th.

The relations that exist between a Minister of the Crown and his Parliamentary Assistant are so confidential, intimate and personal that on the resignation of Colonel Ralston, I felt that, regardless of the circumstances leading up to it, I should at once express to you my desire to resign my office. However, the matter is so important that I should like to give some further thought to it, and I want to express my appreciation to you for the opportunity you have given me to do so.

Yours very sincerely,

W. A. Macdonald

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273396
C X R
his letter 2B added

Ottawa,
November 4, 1944

W. C. Macdonald, Esq., K.C., M.P.,
117 O'Connor Street,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Macdonald:

I duly received your letter of the second instant, in which you say that in view of the resignation of the Honourable J. L. Ralston as Minister of Defence you wish to resign your office as Parliamentary Assistant.

Until your letter was received, like you, I had not given thought to the question that might arise as to the relationship between a Minister and his Parliamentary Assistant, in the event of the resignation of the Minister. As it is by no means certain as to whether there will be another session of Parliament, it is perhaps unnecessary at present to go into that question. Whatever your wishes may be I shall, of course, be pleased to have them met.

Yours sincerely,

MK/EH/Z

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

CANADA

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER
OTTAWA

November 2, 1944.

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
East Block,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In view of the resignation of Honourable Mr. Ralston as Minister of National Defence, I wish to resign at once my office of Parliamentary Assistant. It may be that because of his resignation my tenure of office has already terminated and that it is unnecessary for me to formally resign the same.

In either case, I want to say in leaving how grateful I am to you and to thank you for having given me the opportunity of serving in wartime for a considerable period in so important and interesting a position.

Wishing you a continuance of good health and happiness, I am

Yours very sincerely,

W. E. Macdonald

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C273398

Secret

For the Prime Minister:

re. Resignation of Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Defence

I have consulted Mr. Heeney about the procedure to be followed respecting Mr. W. C. Macdonald's resignation. (Letter attached)

* Mr. Heeney's view is that, as Mr. Macdonald was appointed by Order-in-Council, his resignation should be accepted by Council.

I assume, therefore, you will wish to have a recommendation prepared accepting the resignation and a letter drafted to Mr. Macdonald, informing him that his resignation was accepted on (date) and expressing appreciation of his services.

J.W.P.

November 17, 1944.

* Is there any authority that can be quoted in this matter which might answer (Check terms of the Act)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, December 1, 1944.

Joseph Jean, Esq., M.P.,
Parliamentary Assistant to
The Minister of Justice,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Jean:

I have just received your letter of today.

I can understand your desire to be perfectly free to take or to refrain from taking, without fear or favour and without the appearance of either, any particular course of action you may deem advisable in the present crisis.

While I do not believe that to maintain such a position it is necessary for you to be released from the duties you have assumed as Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Justice, I shall nevertheless be pleased to discuss the matter with my colleague, and if Mr. St. Laurent agrees that to ensure against the possibility of any misinterpretation or misrepresentation of your position, it is advisable to release you from your duties as his Parliamentary Assistant, I shall act accordingly.

I need not say that, except for the reasons expressed in your letter, I would not consider, as I know the Minister of Justice would not consider, taking any action which would deprive the government of your valuable services, which, I need not assure you, have been deeply appreciated by the Minister and myself.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

JWP/MP

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273400

Rt.Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, P.C.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I deeply regret to have to tender my resignation as Parliamentary Assistant to the Honourable the Minister of Justice.

You will understand, I feel confident, that during the present crisis I may think it preferable to release myself from any administrative connection with the Government, in order to take my responsibilities as a Member of Parliament with full liberty of conscience.

I wish to thank you very sincerely for having entrusted me with this position of Parliamentary Assistant. It was indeed a privilege to have the opportunity of serving in my humble way under your administration.

Yours very truly,

Ottawa, Dec 1st 1944

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273400A

Governor General

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273401

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

November 7th 1944.

My dear Prime Minister,

I return herewith the letter from Ralston and your reply to him which I thank you for allowing me to see.

There is actually nothing in the letter which could not be published with the exception of expression to certain meetings in Cabinet. I read in the Press however that you will make a statement on the whole subject and I hope this will satisfy the General public.

Yours very sincerely,

Athlone.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273402

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

November 13th 1944.

My dear Prime Minister,

I enclose herewith the carbon copies of the letters of the 1st and 3rd of November, Ralston's original letter of the 6th November and the carbon copies of your two letters of the 10th to Ralston and I thank you for allowing me to see them.

Now I see Ralston's statement has been published, but I hope this controversy will not be continued.

Yours very sincerely,

Athlone.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273403

Top Secret and Personal

November 16th, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Cabinet secrecy; resignation of Minister

I have examined the authorities regarding procedure upon the resignation of a Minister in relation to the disclosure of discussions in the Cabinet.

In my opinion, the constitutional position is as follows:

1. The rule of Cabinet secrecy depends not only upon the Privy Councillor's oath, but also upon the ground that a Cabinet decision is advice to the King, whose consent is necessary to its publication.

The practical foundation of the rule is, of course, the necessity of securing free discussion in the Cabinet without risk of publicity.

2. A Minister who resigns is given the opportunity of full explanation in Parliament of his reasons for so doing. Since such explanation by a former Minister requires disclosure of matters discussed in the Cabinet and consequent departure from the secrecy rule, the Prime Minister may secure the consent of the King for the purpose. It seems doubtful whether, in recent British practice, this procedure has been consistently followed.

3. With regard to the tabling of the correspondence in question, you have been requested to secure the consent of the Governor General.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273404

It is solely within your discretion, as Prime Minister, whether you advise the Governor General -

(a) to permit tabling of the complete correspondence, or
(b) to permit tabling of portions of the correspondence, or
(c) to refuse permission.

The permission of the Sovereign is required in this case because of the references in the correspondence to Cabinet discussions governed by the rule of secrecy, from the operation of which the Sovereign may release upon the advice of his constitutional advisers.

It seems to me that, in the present case, the following points are worthy of consideration:

1. In view of the latitude permitted, under the precedents, to a Minister who resigns, it seems doubtful that anything contained in the correspondence will fail to become public during the course of the Minister's explanation to the House and the discussion which follows.

If this be so, there is no practicable means by which full disclosure can be prevented and/you would be put in a false position if the complete exchange of letters were not tabled in the House.

/ it seems to me that

2. Had it not been that the Minister has issued a lengthy statement to the press, there might have been reasons of military security, which would have made it necessary to advise the Governor General against permitting the disclosure of certain portions of the correspondence which relate to the reinforcement position. In the circumstances, however, these reasons no longer obtain.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. If, nevertheless, you decide that in the public interest you cannot advise tabling of the whole correspondence, your advice as to the portions to be omitted should not be based upon the Privy Councillor's oath, from which the Sovereign may grant release, but solely upon the public interest.

A.D.P.H.

A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy Original

C 273406

Ottawa
November 17th, 1944

His Excellency
The Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone,
K.G., P.C., G.C.B., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Governor General:

I have already shown to Your Excellency the correspondence exchanged between the former Minister of National Defence and myself, concerning his resignation, also the letters exchanged between us concerning the publication of this correspondence.

In a further letter, dated November the 14th, of which I am enclosing a copy, Colonel Ralston suggests that I advise Your Excellency to assent to the release of his letter of resignation and the further correspondence.

The House of Commons reassembles on Wednesday next, November the 22nd, and I shall be expected, at the opening of its proceedings, to make a statement upon the resignation of the former Minister of National Defence and to table such of the relevant correspondence as, in the circumstances, may be appropriate.

It now becomes necessary for me to advise Your Excellency as to the course to be pursued, inasmuch as the correspondence in question refers to discussions and deliberations in the Cabinet.

I have considered this question very carefully and have come to the conclusion that it is in the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa
November 17th, 1944

His Excellency
The Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone,
K.G., P.C., G.C.B., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Governor General:

I have already shown to Your Excellency the correspondence exchanged between the former Minister of National Defence and myself, concerning his resignation, also the letters exchanged between us concerning the publication of this correspondence.

In a further letter, dated November the 14th, of which I am enclosing a copy, Colonel Ralston suggests that I advise Your Excellency to assent to the release of his letter of resignation and the further correspondence.

The House of Commons reassembles on Wednesday next, November the 22nd, and I shall be expected, at the opening of its proceedings, to make a statement upon the resignation of the former Minister of National Defence and to table such of the relevant correspondence as, in the circumstances, may be appropriate.

It now becomes necessary for me to advise Your Excellency as to the course to be pursued, inasmuch as the correspondence in question refers to discussions and deliberations in the Cabinet.

I have considered this question very carefully and have come to the conclusion that it is in the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

public interest that all of the correspondence in question, including that concerning its publication, should be made available to the House of Commons and I so advise Your Excellency.

Had it not been that, notwithstanding the references made in my letter to him of the 10th instant, Colonel Ralston saw fit, on November the 12th, to issue an extensive public statement on the subject there might have been reasons of military security, in addition to those of Cabinet secrecy, which would have made it necessary for me to advise Your Excellency against permitting disclosure of certain portions of the correspondence which relate to the reinforcement position of the Army. In the circumstances, however, these reasons no longer obtain since the references in the correspondence, to which exception might have been taken on this ground, have already been made public in Colonel Ralston's statement which has been widely reproduced in the press.

I am, Your Excellency,

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273408

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Ottawa, November 17th, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Attached is a revised draft of your letter to the Governor General concerning tabling of the correspondence with Mr. Ralston, on the subject of his resignation and the release of the letters exchanged.

This follows the line suggested in our conversation with Mr. St. Laurent last evening, namely, that advice be tendered that permission be granted to release all the correspondence.

When you have gone over the draft and made such revisions as you wish, you might return it to me and I shall then take up up with Redfern, as you requested.

Attached also is your first draft to the Governor General and the copy of it which you sent me.

Incidentally, I have checked the correspondence against Mr. Ralston's statement and I am satisfied that the last paragraph in the draft letter to the Governor General (re military security) is justified.

A.D.P.H.

A. D. P. H.

P.S. I am also returning, herewith, the copies of correspondence sent me with your letter of November 15th, namely:

1. One copy of Mr. Ralston's letter of Nov. 1, with your markings thereon;
2. One copy of your letter of Nov. 3, with your markings thereon;
3. One copy of Mr. Ralston's letter of Nov. 6, with your markings on first page;
4. Two copies of Mr. Ralston's letter of Nov. 14, with your markings on first page of top copy;
5. Two copies of Mr. Ralston's second letter of Nov. 14 with your markings on first page of top copy; and,
6. The original memorandum which you had from the Minister of Justice on Cabinet secrecy.

(I am retaining, for the moment, one complete set of the correspondence)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, November 17th, 1944.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone,
K.G., P.C.,,G.C.B., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Governor General:

I have already shown to Your Excellency the correspondence exchanged between the former Minister of National Defence and myself, concerning his resignation, also the letters exchanged between us concerning the publication of this correspondence.

In a further letter, dated November the 14th, of which I am enclosing a copy, Mr. Ralston suggests that I advise Your Excellency to assent to the release of his letter of resignation and the further correspondence.

The House of Commons reassembles on Wednesday next, November the 22nd, and I shall be expected, at the opening of its proceedings, to make a statement upon the resignation of the former Minister of National Defence and to table such of the relevant correspondence as, in the circumstances, may be appropriate.

It now becomes necessary for me to advise Your Excellency as to the course to be pursued, inasmuch as the correspondence in question refers to discussions and deliberations in the Cabinet.

I have considered this question very carefully and have come to the conclusion that it is in the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

public interest that all of the correspondence in question, including that concerning its publication, should be made available to the House of Commons and I so advise Your Excellency.

Had it not been that Mr. Ralston, on November the 8th, saw fit to issue an extensive public statement on the subject there might have been reasons of military security which would have made it necessary for me to advise Your Excellency against permitting disclosure of certain portions of the correspondence which relate to the reinforcement position of the Army. In the circumstances, however, these reasons no longer obtain since the references in the correspondence, to which exception might have been taken on this ground, have already been made public in Mr. Ralston's statement which has been widely reproduced in the press.

I am, Your Excellency,

Yours very sincerely,

(S'G'D.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

C 273411

18th November, 1944.

My dear Prime Minister,

In accordance with the advice on the subject set forth in your letter to me of November 17th, I hereby give permission for the tabling in the House of Commons of the correspondence exchanged between Colonel the Honourable J.L. Ralston and yourself concerning the resignation of Colonel Ralston as Minister of National Defence; also of the letters exchanged between you on the subject of the publication of this correspondence.

Permission in this respect has been asked and granted inasmuch as the correspondence in question contains references to discussions and deliberations in the Cabinet.

Yours very sincerely,
Athlone.

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273411 A

Statement to be used
in routine correspondence

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DRAFT

(2)

C 273412

~~I desire to lay on the table of the House, copies in English and in French, of~~ I am laying on the table of the House the correspondence exchanged between the Honourable J. L. Ralston and myself, concerning the resignation of Colonel Ralston as Minister of National Defence, and including letters exchanged between us on the subject of the publication of this correspondence.

Inasmuch as this correspondence contains references to discussions and deliberations in the Cabinet and is consequently subject to the rule of Cabinet secrecy, it has been necessary to seek the consent of the Sovereign to its publication. I have to inform the House that in accordance with the proper constitutional practice I duly advised His Excellency the Governor General that it was in the public interest that all of this correspondence should be made available to the House of Commons. His Excellency has, accordingly, been pleased to give his permission to this being done.

~~(Had it not been that the former Minister of National Defence,~~ On November 12th, ~~saw fit to~~ my former colleague issued an extensive public statement on the subject, but for this statement there might have been reasons of military security which would have made it necessary for me to advise

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

His Excellency against permitting disclosure of certain portions of the correspondence relating to the reinforcement position of the Army. In the circumstances, however, these reasons no longer obtain since the references in the correspondence, to which exception might have been taken on this ground, have already been made public in the former Minister's statement which has been widely reproduced in the press.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273414

DEFENCE
1946

CONTENTS

Vol I

A. - Joint Defence - Canada-U.S.A., (1946)

B. - U.K. - Central Organization for Defence (White Paper) Cmd 6923)

Vol II

C. - Canadian Service Representatives in London. (Liaison Officers)

D. - Standardization of Military Equipment.

E. - Recruitment of Former R.C.A.F. Personnel for Service with R.A.F.

F. - Defence (Publicity)

G. - Montgomery Visit to Canada - U.S.S.R. Reactions.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273415

A

"A"

Joint Defence - Canada-U.S.A. (1946)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US/NAD

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

C 273416

SECRET

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am sending you, herewith, copy No.1 of the Journal of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, covering the meeting of the Board held in New York on Thursday and Friday, September 19th and 20th.

Copies are being sent as usual to the Minister of National Defence, the Minister of National Defence for Air and to the Minister of Reconstruction and Supply.

This Journal will be submitted at an early meeting of the Cabinet.

A.D.P.H.

September 23rd, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273417

SECRET

PERMANENT JOINT BOARD ON DEFENCE

JOURNAL OF

DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS

at the

MEETING OF THE BOARD, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 19-20,1946.

1. The Permanent Joint Board on Defence met in New York on Thursday, 19 September 1946, at 10:00 a.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The following members participated:

Canadian Section	United States Section
Gen. the Hon. A.G.L. McNaughton	Mr. F. H. LaGuardia
Commodore H.G. DeWolf	Major General Guy V. Henry
Major General Churchill Mann	Rear Admiral J. Cary Jones
Colonel J.E.C. Pangman	Rear Admiral Marshall R.Greer
Air Vice Marshal W.A. Curtis	Colonel Charles H. Deerwester
Group Captain W.W. Bean	Mr. J. Graham Parsons
Mr. R.M. Macdonnell	

The Board welcomed the following new members: Major General Churchill Mann, replacing Major General D.C. Spry; Colonel J.E.C. Pangman, replacing Colonel J.H. Jenkins; and Rear Admiral J. Cary Jones, replacing Rear Admiral R.E. Schuirmann as Senior Naval Member of the United States Section.

2. On the initiative of the United States Section, members of the Board have been considering the desirability of recommending certain principles which should govern the carrying out of joint defence projects in the future. The Secretary of the United States Section suggested that the adoption of such principles would provide guidance to Commanding Officers connected with such projects; would facilitate the negotiations of the procedure to govern future projects; and would provide safeguards of value to both Governments. Reduced to their essence, the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

principles suggested by the United States Section would provide that:

(a) Defence projects should be under the supervision of the country in whose territory they are carried out;

(b) Such projects would confer no permanent rights or status to the other country, and only such temporary rights and status as were agreed upon for the project in question; and

(c) While public information on such projects should be the primary responsibility of the country whose territory was being utilized, all public statements should be made by mutual agreement.

The Chairman of the United States Section suggested that inasmuch as these principles would be related to the Recommendation made by the Board on April 29, 1946, to provide for a close co-operation between the Canadian and United States Armed Forces, it would seem desirable to incorporate the principles in that Recommendation by an amendment thereto. The Secretaries of the Board presented a draft text embodying such principles as an amendment to the 35th Recommendation. After discussion a text was agreed upon which was thought to be satisfactory and it was decided to consider the matter and discuss it with appropriate officials in Ottawa and Washington preliminary to adopting the amended Recommendation when the Board next meets.

3. General Henry read to the Board a discussion of the current Canadian-United States military situation, and copies were distributed to members of both Sections.

4. General Henry submitted to the Board copies of a proposed meteorological coverage for the military security of the North American continent, which had been approved by the Sub-committee on Aviation Meteorology of the Air Coordinating Committee of the United States. This report represented the coordinated views of the Weather Services of the United States Army, Navy and Weather Bureau.

5. General Henry presented a memorandum reporting that

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

the United States Board which has studied the military development of Alaska had stated that until additional petroleum facilities could be constructed within Alaska proper, the Canol products pipelines and attendant tankage should be retained for use by the United States. The Alaska Board further considered that it would be desirable to retain the Canol products system even after additional construction in Alaska proper because of the connection of that system with the Inland Passage and its utility as a reserve facility.

6. It was reported by General Henry that the United States Army Air Forces are activating a Great Circle Route from the West Coast to Tokyo and that the route passes along the West Coast of Canada. Weather planes are to fly over the North Pacific and the Bering Sea for the purpose of broadcasting weather information.

7. General Henry read to the Board a memorandum stating that the POLARIS flights would commence October 10 and that Canadian observers should report to Ladd Field, Alaska, prior to that date.

8. Air Vice Marshal Curtis inquired as to the United States views regarding the probable duration of the LF Loran Program now under way in Canada, and stated that information on this point would be most useful to facilitate budgetary planning. General Henry replied that he could make no specific statement at this time. He would, however, present the matter to the proper authorities in the War Department in order that the necessary request for an extension may be made to the Canadian authorities.

9. The Secretary of the United States Section reported that under existing United States law, it was not possible for the United States War and Navy Departments to agree to the Canadian proposal for the financing of pay and travelling expenses of officers of the armed services of one country temporarily attached or loaned to the armed services of the other country. General McNaughton stated that he felt sure other arrangements could be made which, while perhaps more cumbersome, would serve the purpose. General Henry indicated that should the proposed Military Cooperation Bill be passed by Congress at its next session, to a limited extent it might be possible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

to take care of the personnel referred to in this paragraph in the manner proposed by the Canadian authorities.

10. Air Vice Marshal Curtis stated that he would endeavour to secure a reply to General Henry's communication in regard to the United States use of circuits on the Alaskan Landline System.

11. Air Vice Marshal Curtis reported that the United States had commenced to withdraw its detachments along the Northwest Staging Route, but more recently had sought to increase those detachments. He stated that for normal traffic the RCAF preferred to service the route without the assistance of these detachments. There was no objection to placing a U.S. detachment at Edmonton, but at the other fields it was felt that the RCAF should provide the service, except in the event of unusually heavy U.S. military traffic.

General Henry presented a memorandum setting forth the desire of the United States Army Air Forces to have not more than 100 officers and men in all stationed at Edmonton, Fort Nelson and Whitehorse, together with such facilities as might be necessary at Edmonton to house transient personnel. In addition to that, General Henry stated that it was desired to have a United States Air Search and Rescue detachment stationed at Edmonton to share with the RCAF the burden of searching for any United States planes. Air Vice Marshal Curtis suggested that the Commanding General of the Continental Section of the Air Transport Command might visit Ottawa to work out a proposal which would then be submitted to the appropriate Canadian authorities.

12. At the meeting of the Board on March 21-22, 1946 Air Vice Marshal Curtis had extended an invitation for the United States Army or Naval Air Forces to participate in cold weather tests at Edmonton. He reported today that although facilities at Namao (Edmonton) would be more crowded than had been expected, arrangements had been worked out so that participants could be accommodated. The Canadian Officer Commanding the winter experimental establishment at Edmonton and the officer commanding a similar winter test

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273421

program at Ladd Field, Alaska, expect to cooperate closely, and Air Vice Marshal Curtis suggested that the United States commander visit Ottawa and Edmonton en route to Ladd Field this month.

13. General Mann informed the Board that the Canadian Government had approved yesterday the winter testing and experimentation project at Churchill. This matter had originally been raised by General Henry at the meeting of the Board on March 21-22, 1946. General Mann stated that there would be accommodation for approximately 100, more or less, United States Army personnel, and that they could proceed to Churchill by December 15. It will, however, be necessary to work out the legal status of similar U.S. detachments in future years owing to the expiration of the Visiting Forces Act. It was suggested that the appropriate legal officers should, at the appropriate time, refer their recommendation on this question to this Board. In this connection, it was pointed out that plans for a long-term project at Churchill were under consideration and that this winter's activity would cover merely the initial program.

14. Air Vice Marshal Curtis and General Henry reported on the progress made by the joint Canadian-United States planning groups. The Board recognized that as this work proceeded there was increasing need to consider principles which might govern the apportionment of responsibility under any plans which might later be approved. The two Chairmen and the two Secretaries of the Board undertook to give consideration to this future problem and it was agreed that there would be further general discussion on this subject at the next meeting of the Board.

15. Progress Reports were presented by the service members and discussed by the Board. It was agreed that these reports provided a useful record and were of sufficient value to warrant their continuance.

16. After agreeing to meet in Montreal on November 19, the Board adjourned at 1.10 p.m., Friday, September 20.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US/NAD

C73422

TOP SECRET

KC defence WR

THIRTY-FIFTH RECOMMENDATION

Discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, established on August 17th,1940, have reaffirmed the importance of continuing to maintain in peacetime a close relationship between the armed forces of Canada and the United States. It is submitted that the obligations of the Governments of Canada and the United States under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security would be fulfilled more effectively through such a relationship. The Board, accordingly, makes the following Recommendation:

In order to make more effective provision for the security of the northern part of the western hemisphere Canada and the United States should provide for close co-operation between their armed forces in all matters relating thereto, and in particular, through the following measures:

(a) Interchange of personnel between the armed forces of both countries in such numbers and upon such terms as may be agreed upon from time to time by the respective military, naval and air authorities.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(b) Adoption, as far as practicable, of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments to be encouraged, due recognition being given by each country to the special circumstances prevailing therein.

(c) Cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest to the armed services to be encouraged.

(d) Reciprocal provision of its military, naval and air facilities by each country to the armed forces of the other country; each country continuing to provide reciprocally for transit through its territory and territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

(e) Allocation of responsibility to each country for mapping and surveying its own territory and providing maps to the other country in accordance with agreed needs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US/NAD

TOP SECRET C 273424

Ottawa, October 16th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Attached, for your information and file, is a copy of an important memorandum submitted at the last meeting of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence by General Henry, the principal U.S. military member. The memorandum is referred to in the Journal of the last meeting, of which a copy was sent to you in the ordinary way.

This memorandum was brought to the attention of the Cabinet Defence Committee yesterday. It sets out pretty fully the U.S. military view of North American defence requirements affecting Canada.

Paragraph 9 makes reference to the U.S. Army's desire to have substantially increased Air Forces stationed at Goose Bay. This is likely to be the subject of a government to government approach in the near future. It was brought informally to the attention of the Canadian Section of the Board through the attached memorandum, and subsequently discussed with Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Abbott who feel that a proposal of such importance should be put forward in a government to government communication. U.S. authorities were therefore informed accordingly. A formal communication from the State Department may therefore be anticipated in the near future.

It is not unlikely, I think, that the U.S. will take this occasion to express generally their views as to the importance and urgency of joint defence undertakings. Indeed it is not improbable that the President may wish to speak to you personally on this whole subject and might take the opportunity of doing so if and when you meet in the United States when you are there for the opening of the United Nations Assembly.

A. D. P. H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273425

SECRET

UNITED STATES

PERMANENT JOINT BOARD ON DEFENCE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

9 September 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE MEMBERS, PERMANENT JOINT BOARD

SUBJECT: Discussion of Canadian-United States Military Situation

1. Since the last meeting of the Board, our Cooperation Committee has drawn up an Appreciation of the Requirements for Canadian-United States Security, and in addition a Basic Security Plan. At present it is at work on the Air Annex thereof.

2. This joint Appreciation has been approved by both the Canadian and United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. Therefore, we must consider that these high ranking military officials consider the Appreciation sound, and one on which the Security Plan should be drawn.

3. The outstanding feature of this Appreciation is that in a period of approximately five years hence, a potential enemy will be able to inflict serious damage on the vital areas of Canada and/or the United States by aerial bombardment from long-range aircraft or by various other types of aerial guided missiles, or other new weapon attack employing atomic bomb warheads. This is a new and revolutionary idea in warfare and the main duty of our Joint Cooperation Committee is to produce a sensible plan that will give maximum protection against these new and devastating means of attack. This period of five years is being questioned. The United States belief is that, for planning purposes, this period should be taken, and is considered a conservative, proper estimate. The time may be a little too short, but certainly not overly short if a potential enemy puts his energies and capabilities on this type of attack.

4. Military principles have in the past laid down that the best defense is the offense. The United States considers this principle holds true under this new conception of aerial warfare; but the subject of the strategic offense is beyond the scope of the Joint Canadian-U.S. Security Plan and that Plan must, of necessity, be primarily a defensive one.

5. The Joint Appreciation also shows that an aerial attack against the North American continent will almost certainly come over the Polar regions, which, due to Canada's geographical position, means over Canadian territory. This places Canada in a peculiar position. First, her vital areas are within range of devastating aerial attacks, and second, the Canadian territory will be the path for aerial attack on the United States no matter what may be the Canadian belligerent situation at the time in question. Further, Canadian security will be largely dependent on United States installations in Alaska, Newfoundland, Greenland, Iceland, and elsewhere; and conversely, United States security will be largely dependent upon installations in Canadian territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Such a situation has never before been true for either country, nor ever before has the security of the North American continent been in jeopardy. From now on, however, within the foreseeable future, the security of the homeland of both Canada and the United States is unalterably bound up one with the other and will require the utmost of coordination between the armed forces and the military

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

policies of the two countries. It is felt that both countries must look upon this new military problem in that light.

6. I am positive that in carrying out this view, the High Command of the United States in no way wishes to infringe on Canadian sovereignty or Canadian rights, nor in any way interfere with Canadian ties or obligations to the British Commonwealth. That High Command looks upon it purely as a military problem, the efficient solution of which will require a more intimate and complicated joint cooperation than has heretofore been achieved between the forces of the two sovereign nations.

7. An effective air defence will require a comprehensive air warning, meteorological and communications system with air bases for interceptor aircraft, all placed at the maximum practical distance from vital strategic areas. For the local defense of the North American continent this means United States installations in Alaska, Greenland and Iceland, and either similar Canadian or joint United States-Canadian installations in Canada, Labrador and Newfoundland.

The United States expects to deploy extensive forces in Alaska and hopes to do the same in Greenland, and it is hoped that the Canadian public will realize that these U.S. deployments are essential to the security of Canada.

The air routes to these outposts lie across Eastern Canada and the Northwest Staging Route, and it is felt that the military traffic over these routes will be so extensive that small United States servicing detachments at certain Canadian airfields along the same will be mutually advantageous to both countries.

8. Strategically, the United States Air Forces wish to push out on the perimeter as far as practicable. Harmon Field, Newfoundland, a United States leased base, is too close in to be strategically well situated and is too contracted to hold the garrison already approved for this general area. U.S. Air Forces would therefore like to station tactical groups at Goose Bay Air Base, Labrador. The tactical groups presently contemplated would consist of one (1) very heavy bombardment group and one (1) fighter group, together with the necessary supporting troops, leaving at Harmon Field one (1) very heavy bombardment group, one (1) fighter group and one (1) all weather fighter squadron, plus one (1) very long-range reconnaissance squadron, together with the necessary supporting troops.

9. The Canadian Government has asked the United States Government to clarify the position of the United States troops at Goose Bay, and it is believed that at an appropriate time the State Department will enter into discussions with the Canadian and Newfoundland Governments regarding this matter.

However, the above are the desires of the U.S. Army Air Forces and these would appear in line with the recommendations of the Board at its 29 April 1946 meeting, of which the following is a quotation:

> "Goose Bay is considered vital to the defense of the United States and Canada and should be maintained as a military base on such a scale as to provide for the stationing of operational squadrons as required."

This is also in accord with the statement by the Joint Canadian-U.S. Staff Planners dated 19 June 1946 which reads:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273427

"The Planner Section deems it appropriate to point out to the Members of the Joint Canadian - U.S. Cooperation Committee the outstanding significance of this base (Goose Bay) in future defense plans.

"While the detailed plan has not yet progressed to a degree whereby a definite statement of future requirements at Goose Bay can be presented, the vital necessity for the utilization of this base in any defense system for the northern portion of the Western Hemisphere has already become obvious. It is believed that the necessity for the military utilization of Goose Bay is of such importance as to warrant the forwarding at this time of this information to the Canadian Chiefs of Staff Committee. It would certainly be desirable if final arrangements would permit of the presence of United States units at this base."

10. As the members of the Board know, the United States Weather Bureau requested, through diplomatic channels, authority to install certain weather stations in the Canadian Arctic. This request was purely civilian. It does, however, fit into the military picture and is one step in the meteorological coverage for the military security of North America as contained in a Committee report submitted to the Board by memorandum dated 4 September, 1946. The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, in approving the Basic Security Plan, ordered the U.S. Joint Intelligence Committee to prepare a tentative outline for Canadian-United States intelligence collaboration for consideration of our Joint Cooperation Committee. The Army Director of Intelligence has also made a recommendation that a long-range comprehensive intelligence plan for joint Canadian-American development of information intelligence concerning the geographic and environmental features of the Polar regions and its natural resources be undertaken, this plan to include an extensive mapping and photographic project and the establishment of a network of observation stations for recording weather, magnetic and other basic information, together with a series of expeditions throughout most of Arctic Canada and Alaska.

11. The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, in commenting upon United States defense matters in general, state in substance that they assume that most matters of this kind relating to Canada and the United States will be worked out through the medium of the Joint Military Cooperation Committee and the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, Canada-United States.

12. I think all the Board members realize that there are difficulties on both sides of the border in solving this very complex problem of the security of the North American continent under present foreseeable military conditions, but if our Appreciation of the ability of a potential enemy is reasonably accurate, the problem must be worked out, and I believe can so be done to the mutual benefit of both countries.

(Sgd.) Guy V. Henry,
Major General, U.S. Army
Senior Army Member.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

COPY

US/N.A.D

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
23.10.46

C273428

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ST.LAURENT

The United States Ambassador called to see me this morning on his return from Washington. While there, he had a talk with President Truman, who brought up, as he did with me the last time I saw him, the question of Canadian-United States cooperation in northern defence. The President obviously has this matter very much in his mind. Mr. Atherton mentioned to the President that any discussions between the two Governments on this subject should now be on a high political level, and the President agreed. For that purpose he would be very pleased indeed to have the Prime Minister, if possible accompanied by you, visit Washington. However, if such a visit is to take place in the near future, it would have to be early next week, as the President is leaving on Wednesday for Missouri. What this means is that, if the Prime Minister and yourself went to Washington next Monday for the purpose of looking at Embassy properties, the President would be available for a talk on this other question; would, in fact, welcome such a talk. They would be glad to put the Prime Minister up at Blair House. Mr. Atherton added that the President's programme on Monday and Tuesday is rapidly filling up, and that it would be almost essential to know today if the Prime Minister were coming in order to arrange an appointment with President Truman on Monday or Tuesday. That is why I ventured to phone you about this matter today at, I am afraid, some inconvenience to yourself.

Mr. Atherton also added some observations of his own as to the importance of this subject and the desirability of high level political discussions concerning it. I think he has returned from Washington with instructions to do what he can to ensure that satisfactory arrangements are reached between the twp Governments, at an early date, for joint defence cooperation in the Arctic. The emphasis and tone of his remarks led me to believe that, in this matter, he had received a new mandate.

"L. B. PEARSON"

Original filed
in Washington Visit 1946

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US/NAD

HHW/GM

TOP SECRET.

Washington, D.C.,
October 26th, 1946.

C 273429

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I attach a hurriedly prepared memorandum on questions of North American defence which are likely to be raised in general terms with you by the President. This has been done partly from memory and may therefore contain some minor inaccuracies. Mr. Pearson passed on to me on my arrival in Washington yesterday your suggestion that a memorandum on these lines would be useful. We have learned from the State Department that defence questions are the only matter on which they have sent material to the President in preparation for his discussion with you.

RW

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

HHW/GM

TOP SECRET.

Washington, D.C.,
October 26th, 1946. C273430

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The intense interest displayed by the United States authorities in making effective provision for North American defence has led to the presentation, since the end of the war, of a series of proposals and requests to the Canadian Government. These may be placed in three categories, as follows:

1. General Principles of Co-operation in Defence.

Last April, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence addressed a recommendation to the two Governments on the general principles governing co-operation between Canada and the United States. This recommendation was approved by the U.S. Chiefs of Staff and the President, but after discussion in the Cabinet, Canadian approval was deferred. The intention at the time was that the recommendation should be made public, if approved by the Government. Since then, Soviet propaganda has been directed towards military activities in the Arctic, and new considerations affecting publicity have arisen. It cannot be doubted that the acceptance and publication of a recommendation along these lines would be generally regarded as the conclusion of a binding defensive alliance between Canada and the United States.

At its last meeting in September, the P.J.B.D. reconsidered the recommendation and recommended certain additions designed especially to fortify the sovereign rights of Canada in connection with any joint activities undertaken in Canadian territory. These additions go a long way to meet the objections raised in Cabinet to the original draft. The revised text has not yet received formal consideration by either Government. It is not very likely that the President will mention the recommendation to you. If so, I think that the line to take is that the question of the wording, timeliness, and possible publication is now under consideration in Ottawa.

2. New Joint Defence Plan.

The P.J.B.D. was requested not long after the end/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

end of the war to prepare a new joint defence plan to replace ABC-22 and a committee of Staff planners was appointed to prepare a draft. A draft general plan was produced early this year, together with a joint appreciation of the dangers of attack on North America. While no potential enemy was named, the U.S.S.R. was the only enemy to which consideration was given. The conclusions in the appreciation were that there was danger of long-range air bombardment in about five years and that the possibility of a general war after ten years or so had to be seriously taken into account. The purpose of the plan was to allot between the two countries responsibility for defence and to provide means for developing detailed plans of defence on a regional basis.

After discussion in Cabinet Defence Committee, the joint planners were authorized to proceed with detailed planning, special attention being paid to the installation of long-range air raid warning equipment so as to protect from surprise attack the main industrial regions of the continent. Nearly all such installations would have to be situated in Canadian territory somewhere between the national trans-continental railway and the Arctic Ocean. The planners are now proceeding with detailed planning and a series of their recommendations is likely to come up for consideration fairly soon.

3. Specific Requests.

We have in addition received a large number of specific requests, usually passed through Service channels, for co-operative defence activities on Canadian territory. Of these, the latest and most important (and the one which is likely to be mentioned to you by the President) is their desire to maintain substantial permanent air forces at Goose Bay. This request has so far only been informally discussed through P.J.B.D. channels, and the first that we heard of it was at the meeting of the P.J.B.D. in New York in September. We have, of course, permitted the U.S. to maintain forces at Goose and ancillary services at outlying points in Canada in connection with their Army of Occupation in Germany, but up to the present these arrangements have been on a temporary basis. Now they are asking whether we would agree to the stationing of a very heavy bombardment group and a fighter group at Goose, a force which might/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273432

might amount to 10,000 men. They have told us that their own air base in Newfoundland, at Harmon Field, will not contain all the air forces that they consider necessary for defence, and we also understand that they propose to maintain forces of over 250,000 men in Alaska. Given the organization of continental defence on this scale, it seems obvious that they feel the necessity for large permanent forces not only in Goose, but elsewhere in Canadian territory. It will be necessary, before any agreement can be reached, for both Canada and Newfoundland to agree to give the U.S. continuing rights in Goose.

I think it likely that the President may mention Goose to you in a general way. Our feeling has been that further general discussions could take place best between the Ministers concerned or through diplomatic channels, rather than through Service channels.

Apart from the proposals respecting Goose, we have had a series of requests, this year relating to such matters as the opening of new weather stations in the Arctic islands, the continued operation by the U.S. of existing weather stations in Northeastern Canada, the maintenance in a serviceable condition of far nothern air fields, the operation of the Northwest Stageing Route, and the provision of facilities for various exercises and training programmes in Canadian territory. We have permitted the U.S. to continue to operate (and in some cases to re-open) weather stations and some air fields established during the war. We have deferred consideration of their request for the establishment by them, or jointly, of new far northern weather stations. We have made provision for a small U.S. force of approximately 100 to be stationed for training at Churchill next winter, and we are maintaining, of course, the Northwest Stageing Route. We have also agreed not to dismantle a number of air fields and air strips pending some general agreement on what is needed.

There is somewhat greater realization in the United States of the difficulties, both political and military, which attend full Canadian agreement in plans of the scale and variety put forward. There is a greater appreciation of the need for respecting the rights of Canada in her own territory - rights which were not infrequently/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273433

infrequently neglected by U.S. Service authorities during the war. There is still, however, a lot to be learned in Washington about our position and our problems.

The development of elaborate air defences and air-raid warning system across Canadian territory would raise in an acute form and on a long-term basis the issues which caused so much concern during the war. The scale of installations would be so great that it would strain our capacity to provide and man them from Canadian resources. Furthermore, if we undertook ourselves to equip and maintain these installations, it would probably mean that our military activities were concentrated almost wholly on the protection of North America from the possibility of sporadic bombardment from the air. It is most unlikely that, if there is another war, it will be fought on North American territory. It is much more likely to be fought in Europe, North Africa, and perhaps the Far East. The United States may be able to maintain in peacetime great forces for continental defence and also forces capable of despatch overseas. Canada can hardly do this in view of the area to be covered at home. Some eminent military authorities, including, I believe, Field Marshal Montgomery, take the line that the empty Arctic is a better defence than an Arctic equipped with air fields, which might be seized as advance bases by an enemy and would be difficult to defend.

In any event, the current proposals necessitate the re-examination of our policy of paying for and maintaining permanent military installations in Canadian territory. We may find some half-way house through the provision of equipment by the U.S. and its operation by Canada, or through joint operation of certain installations under Canadian control. From the points of view of the budget, military manpower, and political effects, problems of the greatest importance are raised for Canada by these proposals.

It has been felt, therefore, that the general problems and possibilities should be discussed at this stage on a high level and that acceptance by us of particular proposals of any substance should be deferred until some over-all understanding has been reached. The future of Newfoundland and the responsibilities there of both countries are an integral part of the problem and

one/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273434

one in which we must, of course, tread warily. The piecemeal approach hitherto made by the United States, sometimes from Service to Service and usually through the P.J.B.D., has created embarrassment on our side because we have not been able to assess or consider U.S. defence planning as a whole. We have heard, for instance, that they are establishing a new air base far up the western coast of Greenland, but that is about all that we know about it.

In the State Department they understand fairly well our position in the British Commonwealth. In the Services, this is not well understood. It is likely that if we are again involved in war, we shall have both the United Kingdom and the United States as partners, and this has led us to give cordial support to the standardization of weapons and equipment between the three countries. Field Marshal Montgomery is an ardent advocate of standardization, and General Foulkes has this week been in London attending a conference at which both Montgomery and Eisenhower are present to further this aim. I need not mention the impact of other aspects of Commonwealth relations on our defence relations with the United States, and it is doubtful whether the President would bring up these matters in discussion with you.

The deterioration of the hopes which attended the founding of the United Nations is illustrated by the fact that I have not felt it necessary to mention hitherto our obligations under the Charter. Whatever we may do in conjunction with the United States in the development of regional defences can be brought within the scope of the Charter in one way or another. One Article of the Charter needs to be borne in mind in considering the nature of such agreements as we may reach, and that is the obligation to register all international agreements with the Secretary-General. Some of the proposals put forward are clearly not for public consumption. Recommendations by the P.J.B.D., however, when accepted by both Governments, do not constitute an international agreement in the strict sense, and we can therefore use the Board as a medium for recording joint decisions without infringing the obligation to register all formal agreements.

To sum up, I think that the general line which might be taken with the President is somewhat as follows:

1. If he mentions the 35th Recommendation, you might/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

might say that we are in hearty agreement with its general purpose of ensuring close and effective co-operation in defence matters while safeguarding the sovereign rights of the two countries. I think it safe to promise early consideration of the revised text in the very near future and to add that our hestitations have only been matters of form rather than of substance.

2. With respect to the joint defence plan, it might be said that whenever the joint planners have completed the draft annexes to the plan (these will be bulky documents) we shall be in a position to determine the respective shares of the two countries and the priorities which should be given to the various installations required for continental defence. It would be well, I think, to bring up the political and other difficulties inherent in a very heavy early commitment by Canada.

3. With respect to Goose? I am not sure that the President will mention this specifically. If so, I think the most that can be done at this time is to agree to the importance of effective air defences on the Northeast and to point out the problems arising from the situation of Goose on Newfoundland territory. It might be well also to put forward the idea that it would be well to emphasize the training uses of northern air fields rather than their utility as defence bases.

4. With respect to standardization of weapons between the U.K., U.S., and Canada, you might heartily endorse the idea of making progress as quickly as possible and express appreciation of the action of the U.S. and U.K. Governments in recognizing the need for Canadian partnership in planning measures of standardization.

5. You might finally express the hope that we shall be taken fully into the confidence of the U.S. authorities not only on their plans for continental defence, but also on their appreciation of the dangers of war and their estimates of the international and strategic situation. They have been more forthcoming in the last year or so, and this might be recognized. They still, however, have some way to go before we can ourselves assess the bases on which they are doing their own planning and seeking our active co-operation with them.

ITW.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US/NAD

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
30.10.46

C 273436

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

When Mr. Atherton called on me this morning, he left the attached "oral message" which, I understand, the President read to you on Monday, and which concerns Canada-United States cooperation in defence matters. A copy of this "oral message" was also handed by the State Department to our Ambassador in Washington. In doing so, Mr. Hickerson said that the "message" had been prepared in the State Department with a view to its possible presentation to you. However, following his discussion with you, the President had spoken to the Acting Secretary of State, and told him that he had read the document to you, but had not given you a copy. He then told Mr. Acheson that, on reflection, he thought it would be a good thing if the paper were given to you. It was then sent to Mr. Atherton for that purpose.

No document has read - has mentioned nor has I seen a written of any [illegible] 31-10-46

From the above, it seems clear that both the President and the State Department attach considerable importance to the statements of policy and the proposals included in the document in question. It is, indeed, an important statement; especially that part of it beginning on page 4, which suggests the desirability of decisions by the Canadian Government on the following problems:

1. Further Canadian Government endorsement of joint planning now in progress;

2. Approval of the 35th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence;

3. Stationing of United States Army Air Forces at Goose Bay.

I understand a copy of this "oral message" has been sent by Mr. Wrong to Mr. St. Laurent. Should a copy not go to Mr. Abbott also?

Would it be your wish to have consideration given to the questions raised in the "oral message" in the Defence Committee of the Cabinet prior to their consideration in full Cabinet?

L. B. Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

TOP SECRET

C273437

ORAL MESSAGE

The Government of the United States is grateful to the Government of Canada for the favorable consideration which the latter has given to proposals relating to joint defense. In no case has any military project which this Government considered urgent been delayed by any lack of cooperation on the part of Canada.

Because of the extreme importance in an unsettled world of continuing and reinforcing measures of joint defense it is believed that the consideration of these matters, hitherto primarily in military hands, should also now be taken up directly by the governments. In suggesting this course, the Government of the United States is determined that the actions taken shall in no way be inconsistent with commitments under the Charter of the United Nations, full support of which is the cardinal point of United States policy. The decisions which the governments take and the further advancement of North American security through the recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense must always accord with the framework of the United Nations.

Early in 1946, pursuant to views expressed by the Joint Board, the two Governments decided to collaborate as partners in drawing up a basic security plan for the United States and Canada. A Joint Appreciation of the situation was prepared and planning has progressed satisfactorily. It may, however, not be practicable to proceed much further without assurances of support from the highest authorities of both Governments. Such assurances could take the form of concurrence in the Appreciation. Meanwhile, events at Paris and in the international field generally have not lessened

the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273438

the anxiety of those charged with assuring the security of the United States. Moreover, in the opinion of this Government, those events have demonstrated that decisions in the field of home defense should be taken now and implemented as rapidly as practicable. Only by being secure at home can Canada and the United States strengthen the United Nations and discharge their responsibility for contributing to world order and security.

Under these circumstances, it appears to the Government of the United States that close collaboration in defense matters with the Government of Canada must be carried forward actively. It believes this for the following reasons:

Two world wars have demonstrated that an aggressor must destroy the power of North America or be defeated.

Due to post-1945 technological advances, North America is no longer adequately protected by geography.

Canadian and United States military advisors agree that in five years North America must be prepared to meet major enemy capabilities.

While the peaceful foreign policies and intentions of Canada and the United States are clearly defined, there can be no guarantee

that the governing officials of the U.S.S.R. will make decisions on the basis of a correct appraisal of the world beyond Soviet borders, or

that the long term policy of the U.S.S.R. is not one of unlimited aggrandizement.

For the foregoing reasons North American nations henceforth must be prepared at home, just as less fortunately placed nations have had to be in the past. Furthermore, under

conditions

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273439

conditions of modern technology, defenses must be as far out from Canadian and American industrial centers as possible.

If within only five years another major power will be capable of jeopardizing North American security, action should be based on realization:

That Canada and the United States lag in cold weather knowledge and experience,

That, because of this lag and because of the expense involved, defense plans will take years to implement.

That, to be efficient in an emergency affecting North American territory, the Canadian and American forces should have the experience of working together, experience of the north, and increasing uniformity of equipment and methods.

The United States Government realizes that close collaboration with Canada in basic defense matters presents both governments with new problems of great complexity and difficulty. The responsible United States officials are aware of the special problems that face Canada, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They have been instructed that the sole purpose of close military collaboration is defense, that every precaution must be taken to protect the traditional relations of the two countries and the position which each, respectively, enjoys.

The United States Government is also aware that the question of the financial cost of defensive measures is most serious for both Governments. It must not, however, be permitted to delay the planning of security at home and should not delay the attainment thereof. While no final commitments

can

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273440

can yet be made by either Government, it seems clear that the Joint Defense Board should recommend and the two Governments should negotiate some equitable means of sharing the financial burden of any defenses agreed to be necessary around the northern perimeter of the continent. Possibly the United States might agree to assume an equitable proportion of the cost of any facilities jointly found to be necessary on Canadian soil, if the Canadian Government were to take into account that United States expenditures in Alaska and Greenland, for instance, contribute to Canadian as well as United States security.

Although many problems remain for future determination, the United States Government believes for the reasons set forth in this memorandum that decisions by the Canadian Government on the following existing problems would be timely and would enhance the security of the Canadian and American people:

1. Further Canadian Government endorsement of joint planning now in progress would assure the United States authorities of continuing Canadian cooperation and an adequate measure of joint action between Alaska on the west and Greenland on the east.

2. Approval of the 35th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense would help to define the relations between the armed forces of Canada and the United States and would provide authoritative guidance as to the nature and limits of the collaboration desired by both Governments.

3. It is hoped that the Canadian Government,

with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273441

with Newfoundland concurrence, will permit the stationing of certain United States Army Air Force units at the Canadian 99-year leased base at Goose Bay, Labrador. Reciprocally, (as soon as the present congestion can be relieved), the United States authorities will be agreeable to a similar arrangement at United States bases in Newfoundland proper. While remaining an important feature of the defenses of the northeastern approaches to the continent, these latter bases are, however, too close to Canada and the United States to provide adequate protection against ultra-modern high speed aerial attack. Moreover, they do not afford as would Goose Bay, a highly favorable situation for the acquisition by United States and Canadian Air Force units of the experience of training together under cold weather conditions, of testing northern equipment and of coordinating their respective methods and tactics. Finally, arrangements of this kind at Goose Bay and the other bases would be consistent with the joint responsibilities which the two Governments have discharged in the past for the defense of Newfoundland.

In conclusion, the United States Government reiterates that it has been gratified by the cooperative attitude of the Canadian Government and by the informality, frankness and mutual trust which have prevailed during discussions of the delicate and momentous problems of joint defense. It believes that final decisions, not only on the three points just mentioned, but also on others in this field can be reached without necessity

of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

of any more formal documentation than has been customary since establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense in 1940. There is no doubt that public opinion firmly supports effective collaboration with Canada and, in the view of the United States Government, this is a strong and satisfactory basis for joint action.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273443

LBP/SR
1.11.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am attaching herewith a draft letter to Mr. Atherton for your consideration, and which I hope is along the lines that you suggested this morning.

C B Pearson

PM read
"very good"
JKs
2/1/46.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273444

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

Ottawa, November 1st, 1948.

TOP SECRET

Dear Mr. Atherton,

As requested, I have given to the Prime Minister the "oral message" from Mr. Truman, on which the President based certain of his remarks to Mr. King last Monday, which concerned North American defence questions. This message was not read to Mr. King by the President, but the Prime Minister agrees that, though his talk with the President was in general terms, most of the subjects in the "message" were touched on. He is agreeable that this message should be used as a basis for discussions between the two Governments.

In this connection, agreement was reached at the White House last Monday that these discussions should be on the political and diplomatic level. It is hoped that they may result in some form of written agreement covering the principles on which defence cooperation between our two countries should be based. Mr. King feels sure that such an agreement can be reached between the two Governments which will preserve their rights and safeguard their legitimate interests, without conflicting in any way with the letter or the spirit of their obligations under the United Nations Charter. The previous record of our two Governments in discussions of this kind is an earnest to Mr. King that such an understanding is possible.

Yours sincerely,

L.B. Pearson

His Excellency
the Hon. Ray Atherton,
Ambassador of the
United States of America,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Top Secret
November 5, 1946

EXTRACT FROM CABINET CONCLUSIONS

Armed Forces; peacetime establishments

C273445

29. The Minister of Finance said that Treasury Baord had encountered difficulties in consideration of the permanent establishment proposed by the Air Force.

The precise point was the number of the officers of various higher ranks who were to be included in the postwar force. While the over-all manpoer ceiling had been settled by the Cabinet, estimates for expenditure were affected materially within that total by the rates of pay; these in turn depended upon the proportions of senior officers.

30. The Prime Minister suggested that the Cabinet should review their earlier decisions upon the postwar Services.

The Department had been authorized to plan on the basis of certain specific maximum numbers for Navy, Army, and Air Force. However, there had been important developments since these planning figures had been set. A careful review of the position should now be made by the Cabinet in the light of the present situation, with the object of providing for an overall balanced programme for the three Services. Detailed questions of establishments should not be determined finally until the Cabinet could make such a review of the general position.

31. The Cabinet, after discussion, agreed that a general review of peacetime programmes for the three Services should be undertaken at an early date.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Top Secret

November 6, 1946

C 273446

EXTRACT FROM CABINET CONCLUSIONS

Defence problems; postwar policies

15. The Prime Minister, referring to the discussion at the previous meeting (November 5th), said that he proposed to have two or more special meetings of the Cabinet held toward the end of the following week for consideration of important policy questions relating to defence.

Questions such as those of joint planning with the United States, Commonwealth defence relationships, Arctic defence and the programmes of the three Services for the next fiscal year required the most careful and detailed examination by the Cabinet. The financial aspect of all of these questions should have particular consideration.

The Minister of National Defence and the Secretary of State for External Affairs were expected to be in Ottawa to participate in these discussions which would require considerable preparation and the assistance of the government's Service advisers.

16. The Cabinet, after discussion, noted with approval the Prime Minister's intentions in this respect.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C 273447

Points to decide:

Strategic concepts

How prepared & carry out

Forces required & cost millions

Army

Navy

Air

Research.

U.S. contributions

U.K. contributions

Policy on defence { Canada's defence: Commonwealth defence: Commonwealth defence in time of war

U.K. Empire Policy - Imperial defence

vs.

Coordinated defence forces

(a) with U.K.

(b) " U.S.

(c) " U.K. & U.S.

Military liaison as mission

(Navy, regional

to U.K.

to U.S.

Functions)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273448

TOP SECRET

Ottawa, November 15th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Defence questions for Cabinet decision

1. Diplomatic discussions with United States;

   (a) where and through whom; suggested Ottawa - Atherton with advisers - Ministers and officials concerned;

   (b) questions for consideration:

      (1) appreciation of political and military factors;

      (2) relationship of United Kingdom to North American defence measures;

      (3) responsibility for joint measures including finance;

      (4) specific proposals - Goose Bay, weather stations.

2. President's immediate requests;

   (a) endorse joint planning procedure by acceptance of draft appreciation.

   (This should probably be deferred until conclusion of diplomatic discussions);

   (b) approve Joint Board's Thirty-Fifth Recommendation.

   (This has already been approved in principle).

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(c) increase U.S. garrison at Goose Bay.

(This should also be deferred until conclusion of diplomatic discussions).

3. Progress of joint planning with United States.

(It is suggested that detailed planning by the U.S. and Canadian Staffs under the joint draft plan might be suspended, pending the conclusion of diplomatic discussions).

4. Canadian Service programmes;

(a) The Chiefs of Staff might be directed to submit a joint (i.e. inter-Service) programme for the coming year, due weight being given to

(1) the present stage of planning with U.S. and other Canadian defence considerations; and

(2) other relevant considerations (e.g. purely Canadian, Commonwealth, United Nations);

(b) financial and manpower aspects.

(At this or perhaps at a later stage the Defence Department might be given interim maximum figures in terms of money and manpower within which their programme for the immediate future should be prepared.)

A. D. P. H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273450

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Ottawa, November 8th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I have tried to bring together in the attached memorandum the principal problems of defence policy which require Cabinet consideration. Included are a number of papers and charts which Gill, the Secretary of the Canadian Defence Committee, has prepared at my request.

To my mind the primary problem is that of organization within the Defence Department itself. It becomes more and more evident that under the present system there is continued conflict of interest and conduct between the three Services, so that the Ministers and the government do not receive the joint advice to which they are entitled, and the country has three organizations where there should be one.

The recent U.K. re-organization is of interest. It is essentially based upon the Minister of Defence who has the overall responsibility. There the Service Ministers have only to do with administration within the policy laid down by the Defence Committee, of which the Prime Minister is the nominal and the Minister of Defence the actual working head.

A. D. P. H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273451

TOP SECRET

PROBLEMS OF CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY

1. Canada-United States; collaboration in North American defence

Present position

As a result of a recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence approved by the Cabinet last December, Canadian and United States joint planners are presently engaged in revising the wartime plan for the defence of the continent. A draft joint appreciation of strategic requirements and a draft joint plan have been reported to the governments and the results of detailed planning thereunder will be submitted before long. A fuller statement of the present position, in this respect, is attached.

Immediate U.S. proposals

In the President's "oral message" communicated to the Prime Minister through the U.S. Ambassador, following Mr.King's discussion with Mr.Truman in Washington on October 28th, the Canadian government are requested specifically:

(1) to endorse the joint planning now in progress with particular reference to joint measures in the Arctic;

(2) to approve the Joint Defence Board's 35th Recommendation which contains a statement of proposed principles of cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries;(copy attached); and,

(3) to permit the stationing of substantially increased U.S. forces at Goose Bay in Labrador.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273452

The implications of the first request are clear enough. They involve a further blessing upon the joint planning now going forward under the authority of the two governments (para.(1) above). It is suggested that this endorsement might take the form of approval by the government of the draft joint appreciation. (Summary attached)

The second involves approval of a general statement of principles to govern cooperation between Canadian and U.S. forces. A copy of the draft recommendation (it is only a draft) is attached. If approved it would go back to the Board to be passed on as a recommendation for formal action by the two governments.

The third request involves important political considerations in which both Newfoundland and the United Kingdom have an interest.

2. United Kingdom-Canada-United States; defence cooperation

"Standardization" discussions

With the government's authorization, Canadian representatives are to participate in Washington next week in tripartite discussions with United Kingdom and United States officers with a view to standardization of equipment between the forces of the three countries. It is evident from the draft agenda for these discussions that they will cover a much wider field of cooperation and involve political and military considerations of the highest importance.

Military representation in London and Washington

Canadian Service representation in the United Kingdom and the United States respectively is maintained

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273453

through Navy, Army and Air Force "liaison" officers attached to the High Commissioner's office in London, and through a staff mission in Washington. They represent the Chiefs of Staff and constitute a means of normal communication with the U.K. and U.S. Services. The precise establishments for these missions have not been finally authorized.

3. Procedure for further discussions

The Prime Minister and the President have agreed that discussion of the questions raised in Mr.Truman's "oral message" should be conducted on the political and diplomatic level. Decision is required as to the precise methods to be employed and as to whether discussions should take place in Ottawa or in Washington.

After talking the matter over informally with the State Department, Mr.Wrong is inclined to think that progress might best be made in Ottawa where Mr.Atherton (presumably with U.S. Service advisers) could meet Ministers and senior officials concerned, without attracting special notice. The opinion has also been expressed that the "written agreement" which the Prime Minister has indicated should result, might take the form of a recommendation of the Board on the general principles of defence collaboration (the 35th Recommendation). The questions of publication and possible registration with the United Nations also requires consideration.

Probably the matter of Canadian military representation in London and in Washington should also be reviewed in the light of recent developments, particularly in relation to the tripartite staff talks referred to above.

4. Canadian Service programmes

Present position

The government have authorized certain manpower "ceilings" for Navy, Army and Air Force, but .

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

detailed establishments and financial estimates have not yet been approved. The Services have not yet recruited up to their authorized "ceilings". A brief statement of the present position in this respect is attached.

--

Review of present Service programmes

The Cabinet have decided to review completely and in detail next week the programmes of the three Services. Such a review should, presumably, result in an agreed joint programme for all three Services based upon the following principal considerations:

(1) available manpower;

(2) available financial resources;

(3) obligations under joint defence plans with the United States; (these cannot be assessed precisely until joint plans have been agreed)

(4) relationship with the United Kingdom; (this is difficult of any precise assessment)

(5) obligations under United Nations. (these are as yet unknown)

Possible courses of action

Pending clarification of (3) and (5) above and of the general political and strategic situation, alternative decisions open to the government respecting the present programmes of Navy, Army and Air Force include:

(a) confirmation of the present manpower ceilings and authorizing the necessary financial provision based thereon; and,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(b) a direction to the Services, as an interim measure, not to exceed their presently recruited personnel and to budget accordingly.

In either event the Cabinet might direct the Services to produce an agreed joint interim programme within these manpower and financial limitations, having regard to the present stage of defence planning with the United States and to the relative importance of Navy, Army and Air participation in these plans.

A more permanent, longer-term programme can hardly be authorized until joint planning progresses further and until the international situation is better known.

5. Organization for defence

The Prime Minister has stated publicly that at an appropriate time the Department of National Defence will be brought under a single Minister. When this takes place questions of organization within the Department and in the relationship of the Department to the Cabinet will require attention. For example, the possibility of a single Chief of Staff or, alternatively, a reorganization of the Chiefs of Staff Committee with a joint responsibility to tender joint advice, the position of Parliamentary Assistants and Deputy Ministers, possibly also of an Associate Minister (for which statutory provision exists). Doubtless decision upon these important questions would await the nomination of the single Minister.

In this connection a chart of the present Canadian organization and a chart showing the new organization in the United Kingdom are attached.

Privy Council Office,
November 8th, 1946.

A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADA

273456

C

S-E C R E T

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

CABINET SECRETARIAT

OTTAWA, November 8th, 1946.

Joint Canada-United States defence planning

This memorandum describes the present position with regard to joint Canada-United States defence planning.

In November last year, the United States proposed, through the Joint Defence Board, that discussions be initiated leading to the revision of the joint Canada-United States defence plan (ABC 22). Their purpose in making this request was to provide, in the light of present world conditions, a continuing basis for joint military action.

The Cabinet, in December, 1945, considered this proposal, and approved continued collaboration with the United States with respect to defence planning, on the understanding that any new plans would be submitted to the government for approval. Cabinet also decided that arrangements for joint planning would be made through the Joint Board, and that the Chiefs of Staff, with appropriate civilian officials, should be responsible for coordinating Canadian participation in the preparation of plans.

In accordance with these decisions, Canadian and United States planning teams (designated as the Military Cooperation Committee) met last May, and a strategic Appreciation and Basic Security Plan were drafted, which were subsequently concurred in by the Chiefs of Staff of both countries. On the Canadian side, the Appreciation and Plan were described orally to Cabinet Defence Committee at a meeting attended by the Prime Minister. Apart from this oral exposition, the documents have not yet been considered by the Defence Committee or the Cabinet, but the former, at

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

a meeting in July, authorized continued defence planning with the United States and, accordingly, detailed programmes are now being prepared on various aspects of the overall plan. The most important of these deals with the establishment of an air warning system in northern Canada, which would be integrated with similar systems being organized by the United States in Alaska and Greenland.

These detailed programmes, when they emerge from the Military Cooperation Committee, will be submitted through the United States and Canadian Chiefs of Staff to their respective governments and, if approved, they will form annexes to the Basic Security Plan. It is intended that they will be subject to review annually and the extent of implementation agreed in the light of conditions at the time.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary, Cabinet Defence Committee.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

a meeting in July, authorized continued defence planning with the United States and, accordingly, detailed programmes are now being prepared on various aspects of the overall plan. The most important of these deals with the establishment of an air warning system in northern Canada, which would be integrated with similar systems being organized by the United States in Alaska and Greenland.

These detailed programmes, when they emerge from the Military Cooperation Committee, will be submitted through the United States and Canadian Chiefs of Staff to their respective governments and, if approved, they will form annexes to the Basic Security Plan. It is intended that they will be subject to review annually and the extent of implementation agreed in the light of conditions at the time.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary, Cabinet Defence Committee.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273458

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

CABINET DOCUMENT
No. 316
Copy No. 26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CABINET:

Permanent Joint Board on Defence
35th Recommendation (Revised)

1. Submitted herewith is the 35th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in the form of a revised draft.

2. The original Recommendation, which set forth certain principles of cooperation between the Armed Forces of the United States and Canada, was placed before the Cabinet at their meeting of May 9th. At that time, it was agreed that, in view of the important considerations of policy involved, action be suspended pending its further examination in relation to current defence discussions with the Commonwealth countries.

3. On the initiative of the United States Section, the subject was reopened at the September 19th meeting of the Joint Board. Certain amendments to the original Recommendation were then proposed, which are designed to safeguard the sovereignty and protect the interests of the country in whose territory joint exercises are undertaken. In essence, the added clauses provide that:

(a) defence projects should be under the supervision of the country in whose territory they are carried out;

(b) such projects would confer no permanent rights or status to the other country, and only such temporary rights and status as were agreed upon for the project in question; and

(c) while public information on such projects should be the primary responsibility of the country whose territory was being utilized, all public statements should be made by mutual agreement.

4. The Canadian Section of the Board undertook to bring the draft Recommendation, in its amended form, to the attention of the Canadian authorities. It has been considered by the Chiefs of Staff, who favour its acceptance, and by the Cabinet Defence Committee, who agreed that, because of its importance, it should be considered by the full Cabinet.

5. It was previously intended that this Recommendation, upon being approved by both countries, be made public as a regional arrangement within the framework of the United Nations Organization. If, therefore, the revised draft is accepted, the Cabinet may wish to consider whether or not it should be published.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary,
Cabinet Defence Committee.

Privy Council Office,
October 21st, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273459

THIRTY-FIFTH RECOMMENDATION

Discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, established on August 17th, 1940, have reaffirmed the importance of continuing to maintain in peacetime a close relationship between the Armed Forces of Canada and the United States. It is submitted that the obligations of the governments of Canada and the United States under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security would be fulfilled more effectively through such a relationship. The Board, accordingly, makes the following Recommendation:

In order to make more effective provision for the security of the northern part of the western hemisphere, Canada and the United States should provide for close cooperation between their Armed Forces in all matters relating thereto, and in particular, through the following measures:

(a) interchange of personnel between the Armed Forces of both countries in such numbers and upon such terms as may be agreed upon from time to time by the respective military, naval and air authorities;

(b) adoption, as far as practicable, of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments to be encouraged, due recognition being given by each country to the special circumstances prevailing therein;

(c) cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest to the Armed Services to be encouraged;

* (d) reciprocal provision, by mutual arrangement, of its military, naval and air facilities by each country to the Armed Forces of the other country; each country continuing to provide reciprocally for transit through its territory and territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country;

* (e) subject to any special arrangement which may be entered into, each country will be primarily responsible for the mapping of its own territory and for the provision of maps in accordance with agreed needs;

(f) in time of peace certain principles should govern the joint construction or maintenance of military projects, the carrying out of joint tests or exercises and the use by one country of military facilities in the other country, when such activities have been approved by the appropriate authorities of both governments, and these principles should be applied on a reciprocal basis as follows:

* These paragraphs are worded in accordance with views of Cabinet Defence Committee when this Recommendation was previously considered.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(i) military projects or joint tests or exercises undertaken within the territory of one country, or the territory leased by one country, should be under the supervision of that country;

(ii) military projects, tests or exercises, agreed to by both countries, whether jointly conducted or not, are without prejudice to the sovereignty of either country, confer no permanent rights or status upon either country, and give only such temporary rights or status as are agreed upon by the appropriate authorities of the two countries in authorizing the projects, tests or exercises; and

(iii) public information in regard to military projects, tests or exercises, jointly conducted or conducted by one country in the other country, or in the territory leased by it, should be the primary responsibility of the country whose territory is utilized. All public statements shall be made after mutual agreement between the appropriate authorities of the two countries.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(i) military projects or joint tests or exercises undertaken within the territory of one country, or the territory leased by one country, should be under the supervision of that country;

(ii) military projects, tests or exercises, agreed to by both countries, whether jointly conducted or not, are without prejudice to the sovereignty of either country, confer no permanent rights or status upon either country, and give only such temporary rights or status as are agreed upon by the appropriate authorities of the two countries in authorizing the projects, tests or exercises; and

(iii) public information in regard to military projects, tests or exercises, jointly conducted or conducted by one country in the other country, or in the territory leased by it, should be the primary responsibility of the country whose territory is utilized. All public statements shall be made after mutual agreement between the appropriate authorities of the two countries.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273461

TOP SECRET

November 8, 1946

SUMMARY OF

"AN APPRECIATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR CANADA - U.S. SECURITY"

Some of the salient features of an appreciation of the requirements for Canadian - U.S. Security, prepared and agreed by the Joint Canadian - U.S. Military Cooperation Committee as a basis for Canada - U.S. Defence Planning and the revision of ABC 22, are summarized below:-

Due to technical advances which have resulted in greatly increased range and destructive power of modern weapons, the concept of defence has changed and the North American continent is becoming increasingly vulnerable to attack.

It seems unlikely that we shall face any serious threat of war within the next three to five years, say until 1950. Should, however, a major war occur either before or after 1950 an aggressor over-running Europe would probably not overlook the fact that the war potential of the United States has been the deciding factor in two world wars. The North American continent might therefore become a target for early attack.

During the next three to five years it is felt that sabotage, biological warfare and aircraft attacks of limited strength would be the major capabilities of any potential enemy.

From about 1950 on, when it is estimated that an enemy may possess atomic weapons, long range air bombardment of vulnerable areas becomes possible, as well as the seizure of bases in sub-Arctic areas for the launching of further attacks.

There is no land route for invasion from Europe or Asia, nor is there much likelihood of major attack from the sea so long as the U.S. and U.K. possess their present preponderance of sea power. Air attack and invasion are therefore considered the most serious and probable methods of attack. The most likely avenues of air approach are from the north, northwest and northeast, the northeastern approach being considered the most probable.

As 1950 is considered the time by which a potential enemy will be capable of a major attack, defence measures should be completed by then. The most urgent projects are considered to be the establishment of the essential elements of a common Air Defence System, completion of Photographic and Mapping Programs, and increased knowledge and familiarization of personnel with Arctic conditions.

(W.W. Bean),
Group Captain, R.C.A.F.,
Secretary,
Chiefs of Staff Committee.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C273462

Restricted
CABINET DOCUMENT
No.....
Copy No.....

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CABINET DEFENCE COMMITTEE:

Armed Forces: peacetime establishments

1. The present position is that (subject to approval of financial estimates) the Cabinet, during the past year, have authorized the Services to proceed with plans for the active elements of the Navy, Army and Air Force on the basis indicated below and, during the past session, Parliament have been so informed.

(a) Navy

A fleet comprising two light fleet carriers, two cruisers and twelve fleet destroyers, involving total personnel not in excess of 10,000.

(b) Army

An Active Force consisting of a brigade group and coast defence units, headquarters staffs and administrative units, involving total personnel of 25,000 (exclusive of those employed on special duties).

(c) Air Force

A Regular Force consisting of two bomber reconnaissance squadrons, one fighter reconnaissance and one fighter bomber squadron, one photographic squadron, two transport squadrons, one air observation squadron, and necessary headquarters, training and administrative units, totalling 16,100 personnel (exclusive of those employed on certain special duties).

2. In connection with financial estimates, Treasury Board have had under consideration detailed submissions from the Services for approval of permanent establishments within the above manpower figures.

3. On November 5th, the Cabinet agreed that a general review of the peacetime establishments of the Armed Forces should be undertaken at an early date. Accordingly, the question is submitted to the Cabinet Defence Committee for preliminary consideration.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary.

Privy Council Office,
November 6th, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION ON DEFENCE QUESTIONS

C 273463

CABINET

CABINET DEFENCE COMMITTEE

Minister of National Defence
Secretary of State for External Affairs
Minister of Finance
Minister of National Defence for Air
Minister of Agriculture
Minister of National Health and Welfare

Secretary to the Cabinet
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chiefs of Staff
Director General of Defence Research

DEFENCE COUNCIL

Ministers of
National Defence
Deputy Ministers
Chiefs of Staff

CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE

Three Chiefs of Staff
Director General of Defence Research

The Secretary to the Cabinet and Under Secretary of State for External Affairs attend meetings when matters of a political nature are being discussed

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH FOR DEFENCE

Minister of Reconstruction and Supply
President, National Research Council
Vice President, Northern Electric Company
Chiefs of Staff
Director General of Defence Research
Service scientific officers

DEPUTY MINISTERS COMMITTEE

PERSONNEL MEMBERS COMMITTEE

Personnel Heads of the three Armed Services

LIAISON STAFFS

- Joint Staff Mission Washington
- Joint Liaison (Staff) London

SUB-COMMITTEES

- Planning Committee
- Intelligence Committee
- Communications Committee

Privy Council Office,
November 8th, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 273464

NOTES ON ATTACHED CHART:

1. The Prime Minister, who has final responsibility for defence, is Chairman of the Defence Committee. Normally, however, the committee will meet under the Deputy Chairman, the Minister of Defence.

2. Provision is made for the Minister of Defence to meet with the Chiefs of Staff whenever he or they so desire. Chiefs of Staff reports will be presented directly to the Defence Committee, but when they deal with important questions of policy, they will usually be submitted after consultation with the Minister of Defence.

3. The Ministerial Production Committee only reports to Defence Committee on questions related to the war potential. On other aspects of production, they report direct to the Cabinet.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary, Cabinet Defence Committee.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION
for dealing with defence questions in United Kingdom
(Reference U.K. White Paper of October, 1946)

C 273465

CABINET

DEFENCE COMMITTEE

Prime Minister
Minister of Defence
Lord President of the Council
Foreign Secretary
Chancellor of Exchequer
Service Ministers
Minister of Labour
Minister of Supply

Chiefs of Staff

To be responsible to the Cabinet both for review of current strategy and for coordinating departmental action in preparation of war

CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE

To advise on strategic requirements from year to year

COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE RESEARCH POLICY

To secure continued and complete integration of military and scientific thought and to plan defence research efficiently and economically

Joint Staffs

STANDING COMMITTEE

Minister of Defence
Three Service Ministers

To handle administrative questions of common interest to the three Services

MINISTERIAL PRODUCTION COMMITTEE

Minister of Defence(C)
Three Service Ministers
Minister of Supply
Minister of Labour

To study all, and especially the wider, aspects of U.K. war potential

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEES

Principal Personnel Officers

Principal Supply Officers

Joint War Production Staff

Privy Council Office,
November 4th, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

Copy of memorandum of Ex. Affairs from Mr Atherton - for handing to the U.S. Ambassador, in which conversation with Mr Ilsley was based. Read document & return

ORAL MESSAGE

The Government of the United States is grateful to the Government of Canada for the favorable consideration which the latter has given to proposals relating to joint defense. In no case has any military project which this Government considered urgent been delayed by any lack of cooperation on the part of Canada.

Because of the extreme importance in an unsettled world of continuing and reinforcing measures of joint defense it is believed that the consideration of these matters, hitherto primarily in military hands, should also now be taken up directly by the governments. In suggesting this course, the Government of the United States is determined that the actions taken shall in no way be inconsistent with commitments under the Charter of the United Nations, full support of which is the cardinal point of United States policy. The decisions which the governments take and the further advancement of North American security through the recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense must always accord with the framework of the United Nations.

Early in 1946, pursuant to views expressed by the Joint Board, the two Governments decided to collaborate as partners in drawing up a basic security plan for the United States and Canada. A Joint Appreciation of the situation was prepared and planning has progressed satisfactorily. It may, however, not be practicable to proceed much further without assurances of support from the highest authorities of both Governments. Such assurances could take the form of concurrence in the Appreciation. Meanwhile, events at Paris and in the international field generally have not lessened

the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273467

the anxiety of those charged with assuring the security of the United States. Moreover, in the opinion of this Government, those events have demonstrated that decisions in the field of home defense should be taken now and implemented as rapidly as practicable. Only by being secure at home can Canada and the United States strengthen the United Nations and discharge their responsibility for contributing to world order and security.

Under these circumstances, it appears to the Government of the United States that close collaboration in defense matters with the Government of Canada must be carried forward actively. It believes this for the following reasons:

Two world wars have demonstrated that an aggressor must destroy the power of North America or be defeated.

Due to post-1945 tenhnological advances, North America is no longer adequately protected by geography.

Canadian and United States military advisors agree that in five years North America must be prepared to meet major enemy capabilities.

While the peaceful foreign policies and intentions of Canada and the United States are clearly defined, there can be no guarantee

that the governing officials of the U.S.S.R. will make decisions on the basis of a correct appraisal of the world beyond Soviet borders, or

that the long term policy of the U.S.S.R. is not one of unlimited aggrandizement.

For the foregoing reasons North American nations henceforth must be prepared at home just as less fortunately placed nations have had to be in the past. Furthermore, under

conditions

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

conditions of modern technology, defenses must be as far out from Canadian and American industrial centers as possible.

If within only five years another major power will be capable of jeopardizing North American security, action should be based on realization:

That Canada and the United States lag in cold weather knowledge and experience,

That, because of this lag and because of the expense involved, defense plans will take years to implement.

That, to be efficient in an emergency affecting North American territory, the Canadian and American forces should have the experience of working together, experience of the north, and increasing uniformity of equipment and methods.

The United States Government realizes that close collaboration with Canada in basic defense matters presents both governments with new problems of great complexity and difficulty. The responsible United States officials are aware of the special problems that face Canada, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They have been instructed that the sole purpose of close military collaboration is defense, that every precaution must be taken to protect the traditional relations of the two countries and the position which each, respectively, enjoys.

The United States Government is also aware that the question of the financial cost of defensive measures is most serious for both Governments. It must not, however, be permitted to delay the planning of security at home and should not delay the attainment thereof. While no final commitments

can

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

can yet be made by either Government, it seems clear that the Joint Defense Board should recommend and the two Governments should negotiate some equitable means of sharing the financial burden of any defenses agreed to be necessary around the northern perimeter of the continent. Possibly the United States might agree to assume an equitable proportion of the cost of any facilities jointly found to be necessary on Canadian soil if the Canadian Government were to take into account that United States expenditures in Alaska and Greenland, for instance, contribute to Canadian as well as United States security.

Although many problems remain for future determination, the United States Government believes for the reasons set forth in this memorandum that decisions by the Canadian Government on the following existing problems would be timely and would enhance the security of the Canadian and American people:

1. Further Canadian Government endorsement of joint planning now in progress would assure the United States authorities of continuing Canadian cooperation and an adequate measure of joint action between Alaska on the west and Greenland on the east.

2. Approval of the 35th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense would help to define the relations between the armed forces of Canada and the United States and would provide authoritative guidance as to the nature and limits of the collaboration desired by both Governments.

3. It is hoped that the Canadian Government,

with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273470

with Newfoundland concurrence, will permit the stationing of certain United States Army Air Force units at the Canadian 99-year leased base at Goose Bay, Labrador. Reciprocally, (as soon as the present congestion can be relieved), the United States authorities will be agreeable to a similar arrangement at United States bases in Newfoundland proper. While remaining an important feature of the defenses of the northeastern approaches to the continent, these latter bases are, however, too close to Canada and the United States to provide adequate protection against ultra-modern high speed aerial attack. Moreover, they do not afford as would Goose Bay, a highly favorable situation for the acquisition by United States and Canadian Air Force units of the experience of training together under cold weather conditions, of testing northern equipment and of coordinating their respective methods and tactics. Finally, arrangements of this kind at Goose Bay and the other bases would be consistent with the joint responsibilities which the two Governments have discharged in the past for the defense of Newfoundland.

In conclusion, the United States Government reiterates that it has been gratified by the cooperative attitude of the Canadian Government and by the informality, frankness and mutual trust which have prevailed during discussions of the delicate and momentous problems of joint defense. It believes that final decisions, not only on the three points just mentioned, but also on others in this field can be reached without necessity

of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of any more formal documentation than has been customary since establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense in 1940. There is no doubt that public opinion firmly supports effective collaboration with Canada and, in the view of the United States Government, this is a strong and satisfactory basis for joint action.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of any more formal documentation than has been customary since establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense in 1940. There is no doubt that public opinion firmly supports effective collaboration with Canada and, in the view of the United States Government, this is a strong and satisfactory basis for joint action.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Aide Memoire brought to me by hand from B. even Tuesday by Mr H Laurent and read to Council. From B. Wrongs St. with documents found there.

Recd NOV. 13 - 42

C 273472

TOP SECRET

UNITED STATES BASES IN CANADA.

We appreciate the importance to Canada of close political and military co-operation with the U.S.A., especially in matters of defence.. This is of almost equal importance to the United Kingdom. On the other hand, we should be very careful to avoid Soviet reactions such as would tend to retard the setting up of a genuine international security system under U.N.O.

2. We should also try not to embarrass the Dominions in the Pacific by allowing a situation to develop which might make them feel that their own position was prejudiced, without any compensating guarantee of defence from the U.S.A.

3. We recognise that even if Canada should wish to remain neutral her geographical position, and the disparity between her population ~~with~~ and that of the U.S.A., would make it difficult for her to do so if the U.S. were to be attacked from over Canadian territory. This consideration applies whatever defensive arrangements may be set up. Since Canada is likely to be drawn into any war in which the United States was attacked from over Canadian territory, and since in these circumstances Canada would look to the United Kingdom for help, the United Kingdom is deeply concerned about the U.S. proposals for bases in Canada.

4. We suggest that the matter is one that should not be hurried. Although four or five years is little enough time in which to set up a defensive system in the Arctic regions and in which to train personnel, it does leave sufficient time for the matter tobe given the close study which it deserves/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

deserves. In particular the following points should be considered:-

(a) The importance that both Canada and ourselves should co-operate with the United States in matters of defence and that we should not appear to rebuff their present advances.

(b) The grave danger of provoking Soviet reactions which would tend to divide the world into two armed camps, especially at a time when we are endeavouring to set up a world system for ensuring security.

(c) The danger of embarrassing other members of the British Commonwealth, particularly in the Pacific, who might feel that their own position was prejudiced without any compensating guarantee of United States co-operation.

(d) Whether the proposals can be held to come within the spirit and intention of the Atlantic Charter regarding regional arrangements for defence.

(e) The need that we should beware of military measures which, because of their unfavourable reaction on political sentiment, make themselves the more essential. This is a vicious circle which leads inevitably to war. Consequently, military measures, however great their technical advantages, should be subordinate to political considerations.

(f) The question of scvereignty over any bases which might be set up.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273474

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

MEMORANDUM C 273475

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, November 12, 1946.

For the Prime Minister:

You may wish to have the latest figures on the strength of the armed forces.

J.W.P.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

File No.: CSC 9-6-1

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum for: Minister of National Defence
Minister of National Defence for Air
Mr. Heeney
Mr. Pickersgill

9 November, 1946

Weekly Statistical Summary: Armed Forces

The following statistical data, on the progress of Service demobilization programmes, is submitted for your information:

(a) Repatriation -

Army - week ended 2 Nov 46 16

cumulative total from 8 May 45 278,666

RCAF - week ended 2 Nov 46 29

cumulative total from 8 May 45 65,340

Consolidated total from 8 May 45 343,[illegible]

(b) Discharges -

Navy - week ended 2 Nov 46 33

cumulative total from 8 May 45 66,365

Army - Week ended 2 Nov 46 918

cumulative total from 8 May 45 474,925

RCAF - week ended 2 Nov 46 161

cumulative total from 8 May 45 # 158,777

Consolidated total from 8 May 45 700,067

(c) Strengths-

	In Western Hemisphere	Ex Western Hemisphere	Total Strengths
Navy -	7,625	434	8,059
Army -	22,500	3,000	25,500
RCAF -	13,600	300	13,900

cc: C.A.S.
C.G.S.
C.N.S.

W.W. Bean c/c
(W.W. BEAN)
Group Captain, R.C.A.F.
Secretary,
CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE

Adjusted to reflect Discharges and Retirements effected Overseas, not previously reported.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

November 9, 1946

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
TELETYPE

Copy of message received by Mr. C. P. Wright, Manager, CBO Studios, from Central Newsroom, Toronto:

"Great Britain's Commando Chief, Major-General R. E. Laycock, is in the United States on a secret mission.

Speculation has it, however, that he is going to discuss the standardization of British military equipment with that of the United States.

It's considered likely that he will also give Washington the British view on the United States acquiring bases in Canada. Preliminary discussions on this are believed to have been held with Canadian and American military leaders during Field Marshal Montgomery's recent visit to this continent.

Observers in London think the Americans want Canada to strengthen her Northern frontier defences by building a chain of air bases. And they say the British view is that the Dominion can't do this without considerable financial help from the United States."

(Source of item was Canadian Press, Reuters Dispatch)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Nov.12/46

C273478

Mr. Heeney: Mr. Pearson would be grateful if you would hand the attached to the Prime Minister.

Pearson was most anxious that you should see this before the defence discussions beginning tomorrow morning

Dr.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
12.11.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Defence Discussions

Defence questions cannot, of course, be effectively considered outside the framework of general international developments. The nature and extent of Canada's defence forces are, or should be, determined by the general world political situation, and Canada's relation to it. The crux of this situation is whether the United Nations can be made into an effective agency to guarantee security or, if it cannot, whether the national policies of the Great Powers, now developing outside the United Nations, are likely to result in conflict between them.

As to the first, the United Nations is not now, and is not likely to be for many years, in a position to preserve the peace and punish the big aggressor. We should have, I think, no illusions about this. Most of us thought, after the last war, that the League of Nations meant peace and co-operation, and that we could relax our national defence efforts. We know this time that little confidence can be placed in the ability of the United Nations to guarantee security, until it can reflect friendly relations between the Great Powers themselves. We should, of course, continue to work for a strong United Nations, with every member nation making its contribution to the preservation of peace by international action. But we know that this ideal is not going to be achieved for many years.

The main reason for this lies in the relations between the Great Powers, and especially between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and equally the U.S.S.R.

If the relations between those two powers deteriorate to the point of conflict, we in Canada cannot escape from becoming involved at once. If we think that such a result is probable, or even possible, we would be negligent if we did not plan our defence policies with that end in view. The U.S.A. is certainly not going to provoke such a conflict and will not consciously shape its policies in such a way that they might be interpreted as aggressive and provocative, though it

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273480

will make many mistakes and may even on occasion adopt bellicose and unreasonable attitudes. But what about Russia? Is it possible for the western democratic world to work out, if not a friendly, at least a tolerable relationship with a state, organized on a police basis, governed by ruthless despots, inhabited by millions of fighting men to whom life is hard and cheap, and with a dynamic communist ideology.

The best short statement of the position of Russia that I have recently read is the leading article in the "Economist" for November 3rd, "Reason and Russia", which I attach herewith. A longer statement of the Russian problem is contained in a brilliant lecture by a London Foreign Office official, which I am also attaching. He gave it, off the record of course, to a conference of military intelligence people in London. It is certainly worth reading.

My own view, for what it may be worth, is that without some fundamental change in the Soviet state system and in the policies and views of its leaders, the U.S.S.R. is ultimately bound to come into open conflict with western democracy. This, of course, does not mean that war is inevitable, because changes and collapse do take place. But without them - and there are few convincing signs of them in Russia - the end must be conflict. The Russian leaders themselves insist on this. We should not make the mistake we made with Hitler, of refusing to take seriously the words those leaders utter for home consumption.

Any such conflict will be as sudden as Pearl Harbour and a hundred times more devastating. The next war will certainly be "short, nasty and brutish"; no country will be given warning by the next aggressor; no country will be given time, in this day of atom bombs, bacteria and guided missiles, slowly to gather together its strength. This has, it seems to me, a bearing on our own defence policies. It would be folly to expect any warning of war, but a greater folly to prepare for a type of war which may be as out of date as the Macedonian phalanx.

All this does not mean war today or tomorrow. I cannot believe that Russia - even crediting her with the most evil intentions - would be ready to strike within five years or ten years. But the way the world is now going, there can

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273481

only be one ultimate result - war.

The fact that, before we have even made peace after the last war, we can derive a measure of comfort from talk about a ten years' interval before the next, is an almost shattering revelation of the difference between our thinking now and in 1919. Who then would have dared to say that by 1929 we would be slaughtering each other again?

Nevertheless, the present world situation and particularly the position of Russia, makes it both wise and realistic to limit our thoughts of peace to a short period of time.

The U.S.A. and the U.K. have to bear the main defence burden resulting from a development of this kind. Canada, however, cannot escape the consequences of its own position in the strategy of any future war and its own importance in defence of the freedom loving world, which is our own defence as well. With the centre and pivot of that world the U.S.A., there is no isolation for us, or for the U.K., which must act as the advance base of western civilization. We will probably be asked by others to do more than we can, or ought, in defence of the things for which we have already fought twice in thirty years. Careful thought and planning on our part now will have, as one of its most useful results, the forestalling of unreasonable requests from Washington and London later. But the inescapable facts of the world situation dictate close co-operation with both those countries in working out combined plans based on sound principles. This may, for us, result in obligations which, economically, will be difficult to carry.

If I have diagnosed the situation accurately, it seems to me to suggest the following:

(1) we should organize our national strength in the most effective possible way to meet difficulties and dangers ahead;

(2) This requires combination and co-operation with others, primarily, I think, with the United States of America;

(3) We should examine, with the greatest possible care, our defence plans, to make sure that they fit into our proper place in this combined effort and are not

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

dictated by merely traditional and possibly outworn concepts.

L B Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

REASON AND RUSSIA

C 273483

The London Economist -- November 2, 1946.

The world has had a surfeit of statesmen's speeches in recent days. Truman and Byrnes, Attlee and Bevin, Stalin and Molotov have all had their say. It can hardly be said that the feast of oratory has changed the aspect of the world's consuming problem. Indeed, the issue has been sharpened, for on both sides the last attempt to hide the fact that the Great Powers are at odds has broken down, and the stage of mutual abuse in public has been reached. There is no reason to doubt that large majorities both of the American and of the British publics stand behind their official spokesmen. But in both countries there is a deeply indignant minority--and perhaps a larger number of citizens who are very troubled in their minds at the drift of events. As always when there is a hot controversy afoot, the issue tends to be presented as an inescapable choice between extremes both of which are unacceptable. The ranks are indeed forming up. On the one side are those who would accord to Russian motives and actions an indulgence they would never dream of according to their own country. On the other side are those who see in every Russian move a deliberate preparation for aggression.

In this growing tumult the voice of cool reason is getting dimmer and dimmer. The reasonable man, as usual, can see a great deal in both sides of the argument. It is unlikely, for example, that any citizen of the Western democracies who can distinguish evidence from propaganda has any illusions left about the nature of the Soviet state. Internally, it is a brutal and consciousless tyranny, whose exploitation of the individual is in no way excused by the fact that it is done under the banner of Marxian Socialism. Externally, it appears to have neither scruples nor ideals. The Soviet leaders ran away from Hitler for as long as they could and joined in the anti-Fascist crusade only when they had to. The fable that their boorish aggressiveness now that they are on top can be explained and excused by the deep suspicions of the West that they have inherited from revolutionary days--a fable that many people in the West have tried hard to believe, against their better judgment--can be believed no longer. The picture of the men in the Kremlin as so hag-ridden by nameless fears that they cannot think straight is ludicrous; the evidence is that they are very cool calculators, well in control of their own emotions. Russian policy, on the showing it has made to date, is power politics, out to get what it can for the price it is willing to pay, and determined to exploit to the full the advantages that a dictatorship always has over democracies in the war of nerves.

It has become difficult over recent months for any open-minded and reasonable man in the Western countries to resist the evidence that establishes these contentions. But they do not add up to the inevitability of war, certainly not in the foreseeable future. They do not even add up to the impossibility of a fruitful collaboration with Soviet Russia. It is true that the perfect harmony that inspired the dream of the United Nations is impossible; but it ought to be possible to establish relations on such a basis that the practical business of international affairs can be transacted. It may be that a world, like a nation, cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free; but it can so endure a long time,

...2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273484

during which the Russian people may be liberated. It is possible that the Russian expansionism of the last few years will be unable to stop, like Hitler's ambition before it. But if it follows the pattern of Russian history, the tide will ebb and Russia's attention will turn back inwards upon itself. And perhaps the chief reason for refusing to take the melodramatic view, at least for a decade or two, is that Russia is by no means as strong as the current imagination of the world supposes. The war that the Soviets were called upon to fight in 1941 was the sort of war at which the Russians excel, a defensive land war in their own country. They would not be nearly so strong in a war that had to be fought at a distance, and on three elements. The chief buttress of peace at the moment is the much abused balance of power, which is strongly against Russia, and will remain so, unless Western carelessness allows the atomic bomb to get on to the wrong side. The reasonable attitude for the liberal-minded Westerner to adopt towards Russia is one of dislike and even of distrust, but neither of fear nor of hostility.

If this is so, the problem of relations with Russia becomes simply that of estimating what attitude on the part of the Western nations will most quickly manoeuvre them and Russia into a posture of agreement--not of perfect fraternity but of willingness to do business. If the policy is to have a chance of success, it must be thought out coolly and rationally on the basis of the evidence, without the irruption of any emotion, as dispassionately as a psychiatrist approaches a difficult case. The only valid test of a policy is whether it would work.

What, on the evidence, would be the probable effect of a Wallace policy of seeking out concessions that could be made to the Russians? Is it really possible to believe that they would soften their attitude and advance to meet the West? Is that in character? The answer surely must be No. There are examples of the Soviets yielding to pressure; but it is difficult to remember an example, large or small, of them yielding to kindness. It is far more likely that concessions would be regarded as evidence of weakness, as advantages to be exploited. And what would be the effect on the Western countries (especially on America) of a concession policy that failed? Would it not be an angry reaction into real hostility? It is, of course, impossible to be sure that the opposite policy of firmness will yield results. But a Note on a later page draws from Mr. Stalin's latest interview the tentative inference that it may perhaps already be paying dividends. On the evidence, the policy of firmness wins on points.

The trouble about this conclusion is that it gives such pleasure to the reactionaries, the neo-Fascists and the ex-Nazis, the clericals and the conservatives, that moderate liberal opinion rebounds in horror from the company that logic and reason bid it keep. This is the explanation of the persistent suggestions that Britain, seeking its usual middle course, should offer to mediate between American and Russian policy. But apart from the usual disadvantages of the dilute compromise, there is one unanswerable objection to any British offer of mediation: neither of the other parties would have it. Britain is the oldest and still the largest object of Russian diatribes. And any British attempt to mediate would call forth charges of betrayal from America, which might be enough to set off another of the sudden shifts in American policy--perhaps back to the policy of making peace with Russia at British expense with which Mr. Byrnes was toying before last Christmas.

The way in which the liberal-minded man can keep his hands clean in the "firmness" camp is by holding steadily

...3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

before him a clear vision of what the object of the firmness is. It is not to win a diplomatic battle, or to undermine the Soviet system or to establish the ascendancy of one ideology over another, but to produce a willing agreement. It is right, after all that has happened, to await some concrete evidence of Russian goodwill before any further advance is m made from the West. It is right to insist on deeds and refuse to be taken in by even the most honeyed interviews with journalists. But it will also be right to meet every real Russian step with at least two Western steps towards the common meeting place; that is the magnanimity that the stronger side owes to the weaker. It is right to be unyielding when Russian policy presses upon a real British interest, legitimately held. But it is wrong to make political demonstrations, condemned to ineffectiveness, in areas where Russia's legitimate interests are greater than our own. If this present contest with Russia is thought of as a diplomatic war to end with the enemy defeated or driven off, then some day it will be a real war. If it is thought of as the psychological problem of curing the present schizophrenia of the world, then even a drastic treatment--perhaps only a drastic treatment--has a chance of success.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET.

APPENDIX "B"

RUSSIA FROM THE POLITICAL ANGLE

273486
C

I have been asked to speak to you for forty-five minutes on Russia from the political angle. I shall begin with a survey of the background: the backwardness of Russia, its poverty, its economic weakness, its vulnerability, its obsession with the problem of security, its ideology, its propaganda and its political organisation. Having reviewed the background, I shall try to show its relationship to the internal and external policies followed by the Soviet Government today. I shall conclude with a brief review of the general outlook.

THE BACKGROUND

Backwardness

First, the background.

The backwardness of Russia.

Throughout her history, Russia has been a backward, poor and ill-developed country as compared with the more advanced of her neighbours. She has repeatedly paid for this backwardness in the sufferings she has endured at the hands of foreign invaders. I should like you to listen to some excerpts from a speech on this subject which Stalin made ten years before the Germans attacked the Soviet Union. It will give you a deeper insight into the background of his thought than anything else I may say in the course of this lecture. He was speaking of the forced pace of industrial development in the first Five Year Plan. He said: "At times people ask whether we couldn't slacken the pace and slow down. No, we can't. To slacken the pace means to lag behind. And those who lag behind get defeated. The history of the Russia of olden days consisted in the fact that she was always getting defeated for her backwardness. The khans of Mongolia defeated her. The beys of Turkey defeated her. The feudal lords of Sweden defeated her. The squires of Poland and Lithuania defeated her. The capitalists of France and England defeated her. The barons of Japan defeated her. Everybody defeated her for her backwardness. For her military backwardness, for her cultural backwardness, for the backwardness of her state administration, for her industrial backwardness, for her agricultural backwardness. They defeated her because it gave them plunder and because they could get away with it unpunished. Such is the law of the exploiters - to beat those who are backward and weak. The jungle law of capitalism. If you are backward, if you are weak, that means you are wrong, that means you can be defeated and enslaved. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be defeated and to lose its independence? If you don't you must liquidate its backwardness in the shortest possible space of time. There is no other way out. We have either to catch up with the capitalist countries or die. We are 50 or 100 years behind the leading countries. We must catch up inside 10 years. Either we do it, or we shall be destroyed."

Poverty and Economic Weakness

So much for Russia's backwardness. The quotation I have just read to you says everything that need be said about its political significance. Secondly comes the question of poverty and economic weakness. Before 1914, Russia was on the whole a poor country, with industrial areas which were developing rapidly, but which had not yet brought the country to the economic level of western Europe. By 1921, when Russia had been weakened by the war against Germany, by Allied intervention and by a civil war in which nine-tenths of European Russia were

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273487

fought over, the economic plight of the country was desperate. Its poverty has persisted to the present day. If you want to understand the policy of the Soviet Government, you must bear in mind the fact that its struggle to put itself on a footing of economic equality with the western world has been desperate in the fullest sense of the word. And in this desperate struggle the driving force has been the fear of defeat in war.

Vulnerability and Insecurity

Hence the importance of the third question of security. In the past, Russia has suffered severely from the lack of natural defensive frontiers to protect her from the incursions of hostile peoples beyond her borders. Her frontiers have tended in consequence to change with the ebb and flow of Russian success in war. And since defence in depth has been Russia's easiest method of wearing out foreign invaders, she has had a tendency to push out her frontiers as far as possible wherever she has been in a position to do so. To this problem of geographical security, which has been a constant factor throughout Russian history, a new and quite different problem has been added in the shape of the Communist Party's preoccupation with the stability of its own position. In 1917, the Communist Party was a minority group of revolutionaries. They were not elected to power. They seized power by armed insurrection and civil war. To retain power they resorted to means as ruthless as those by which they acquired it. And they carry with them the sense of insecurity which always haunts those who have usurped power and who retain it by force. They still form a minority group numbering not more than one-thirtieth of the population, and they have never seen fit to organise a general election which we should regard as free. As keen students of history, they have been on the watch for counter-revolution and have felt compelled to take rigid security precautions to prevent the growth of any substantial counter-revolutionary movement. They have used terrorist methods, and their leaders know that, if ever they were to lose power, they could expect no mercy from the relatives and friends of those who have suffered at their hands. Their lives depend on their retaining office. They have imposed great privations on the ordinary people of the Soviet Union and they know that discontent with the hardships of life is widespread. To protect themselves against this discontent, they have established a massive police system. But so long as the discontent exists the Party cannot relax its precautions nor can it feel completely secure. As the last of the internal factors contributing to the Party's sense of insecurity, I would mention that, in both the civil war and the second world war, some of the anti-communist inhabitants of the Soviet Union showed a disposition to side with the enemy. The Government could not rely on the loyalty of the whole of its people.

But the chief causes of the Party's obsession with security have been connected with fear of war. In the first place, there was the fear that Russia would inevitably be defeated if she were involved in a major war before she had recovered her strength. As a result of her backwardness, her poverty and her economic weakness, she had no margin of safety. She was vulnerable and the Party knew it. In the second place, there was the fear that if the outside world knew too much about Russia's weakness and the desperate efforts being made by the Party to overcome it, the outside world might attack in order to crush the Soviet system before it was too late. This made it of vital importance, once the threat of foreign war became really serious, to draw a veil of secrecy over the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R. As from the middle thirties, contacts between Soviet citizens and foreigners, which had never been easy, became increasingly difficult. As from 1938, the publication of useful statistical material was suppressed. Thirdly, there was the conviction that

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273488

the capitalist world was implacably hostile to the U.S.S.R. In part this conviction was based on bitter experience. The Party leaders remembered the German wars of 1914 and 1941, the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the Allied Intervention, the Polish attempts to seize the Ukraine, the Japanese attempts to probe the Far Eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union, the passages in "Mein Kampf" about the transformation of vast areas of Russia into a German colony, the Anti-Comintern pact, and finally, but most important, they remembered Munich, which they interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Western Democracies to turn the German drive eastwards against the U.S.S.R. But these lessons derived from their own experience were reinforced in the minds of the communists by the teachings of their political theory, which taught that the Soviet Union and the capitalist world will tend to drift to war. You cannot fully understand the Soviet Government's preoccupation with security unless you have some knowledge of what its political theory has to say on the subject of conflict with the capitalist world. I now pass, therefore, to the question of ideology, the fourth subject which I wish to discuss as part of the general background.

Ideology

The political doctrine of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches that socialism can and must be established in the U.S.S.R. irrespective of whether or not it is established simultaneously in other countries. It teaches that, while this process of establishing the Soviet variety of socialism in one country is going on, the capitalist environment must be expected to be hostile, and this hostility must be expected to lead to conflict. The lessons drawn by the ideology from this prediction of hostility and probable conflict are that Russia must be prepared for war and must take steps to increase her armed forces and her war potential; that until she is ready for war, she should maintain peaceful relations with the outside world and avoid being drawn into any major conflict; and that, pending the outbreak of hostilities, the U.S.S.R. should lose no opportunity of strengthening and consolidating its position. The ideology speaks in this connection of peaceful relations, not of genuine friendliness. In fact, its fundamental doctrine of the class struggle excludes the possibility of such friendships between communist and capitalist states. The strengthening of the position of the U.S.S.R. is to take place by extending the Soviet variety of socialism to a number of foreign countries. This policy of extending the Soviet variety of socialism is connected with a fundamental precept repeated time and again in Stalin's book "Questions of Leninism" to the effect that, although Soviet socialism can and must be established in the U.S.S.R. alone, its security cannot be guaranteed, in view of the hostility of the capitalist environment, unless socialism is also established in a number of other countries. I would particularly draw your attention to the phrase "a number of other countries". It implies less than world revolution as preached in the early days of the Soviet regime, but it does imply that Soviet security demands a certain amount of expansion. In the political doctrine of the communist leaders, security and a certain amount of expansion are indissolubly connected.

The ideology further teaches that the capitalist world must be expected to resist this expansion of Soviet socialism with force of arms, for, according to Stalin's interpretation of history, no form of social organisation has ever been known to give way voluntarily to another. A clash and the use of force must be expected. And the conflict may not be short and sharp. In one place, Stalin follows Marx in saying that a period of up to fifty years of civil wars and international struggle is to be expected. In this struggle, the natural allies of the Soviet Union will be the workers of the world and the inhabitants of colonial and dependent countries, and it must be one of the aims of Soviet policy to win these classes to the Soviet cause.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273489

But however long the period of conflict may be, the ideology teaches that in the long run the Soviet variety of socialism will emerge victorious. It supports this thesis with a philosophy of history which asserts that in the flux of events there are definite trends, with outlived forms of social organisation going downhill and new ones rising to the top. It concludes from this that the Soviet Union must ally itself with the rising forces, the forces of the future, however weak they may be at the present time, and that it must oppose and work for the disintegration of the seemingly strong and well established powers of the present day which, in spite of their apparent strength and stability, are in process of disappearing from the historical scene. This doctrine gives to believers in Communism a confidence that any reverses they may experience are no more than temporary setbacks, and that ultimately they will emerge victorious. Their immediate aim is to establish socialism in a number of countries outside the U.S.S.R. But their long term aim is to work for the disintegration of capitalism everywhere and to hasten its disappearance from the face of the earth.

The philosophy of history to which I have just referred is based on a dialectical analysis which emphasises the importance of conflicts and contradictions in human affairs. The ideology, in accordance with this principle, teaches that the ultimate overthrow of capitalism can best be hastened by playing on the contradictions which exist in the capitalist system. The ideology therefore strongly opposes any attempts to gloss over these contradictions which exist in the capitalist system, or to overcome them by means of reforms. Hence the disintegrating effect of Communist propaganda. Hence also the importance attached by Communists to the struggle against Social Democracy, which they consider to be a conciliatory doctrine impeding the overthrow of capitalism. On this subject, Stalin has said quite bluntly that the Communists will not be able to finish off capitalism until they have finished off social democracy in the working class. I mention this in order that you may understand the hostility of Soviet propaganda to the present Government of this country, which, in their view, is giving a new lease of live to the capitalist system. We are an ideological embarrassment to the Soviet Government, and they are trying to lessen the embarrassment by slanderous misrepresentations of British policy.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the ideology are that the Soviet Government must be expected to work for the establishment of the Soviet variety of socialism in a number of countries, and that the process must be expected to give rise to trouble over a long period of time. If you consider the number of countries along the borders of the U.S.S.R. in which the Soviet variety of socialism has been established since 1939, you will see that the ideology does not consist of empty words. Like "Mein Kampf", it deserves to be taken at its face value.

Propaganda and Agitation

To familiarise the population of the U.S.S.R. with this ideology and to bring it to the attention of the actual and potential supporters of Soviet policy in other countries, the Communist party of the Soviet Union makes extensive use of propaganda. Its propaganda is strictly subordinated to the party line and has been known to make some shameless overnight changes. It is totally indifferent to considerations of consistency or intellectual honesty wherever there is material advantage to be gained by a change of line, and it is at all times ready to subordinate the truth to the interests of party policy. One aspect of its contempt for the truth is its propensity to twist the meanings of words to suit Party ends, a habit which is particularly noticeable at the present day in its handling of the words "democracy", "fascists",

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273490

"reactionary" and "progressive". The aim of this perversion of the meaning of words is to turn the general aversion from war and from National Socialism to the advantage of the Soviet Union and the detriment of those who oppose Soviet policy. Another aspect of the distortion of the truth by the Party propaganda machine is the importance assumed in the Soviet Union by the censorship. Practically everything has to be censored - what is written in the Soviet Union for internal consumption, what is written for export, and what comes into the country from abroad. The function of this censorship is to make the picture of the world received by the ordinary Soviet citizen, and the picture of the Soviet Union received by the outside world, fit in with the current propaganda directives. When the facts obstinately refuse to be tailored to the right shape, the propagandists supplement the efforts of the censorship by fabrications and above all by insinuations. Few people, I think, outside those who have had occasion to study Soviet propaganda, realise to what extent it distorts the truth by suppression, fabrication and innuendo.

I ought in all fairness to say that inside the Soviet Union, the agitation conducted amongst the common people often serves a constructive and useful purpose by explaining to them what they have to do and why. But Soviet propaganda to the outside world is usually designed either to mislead people or to foment discontent. It is one of the principal tools used by the Soviet Government to undermine the capitalist system.

Political Organisation

I now come to the political organisation of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. is administered by the bodies listed in the Soviet Constitution - a Supreme Soviet which meets only once or twice a year, a Presidium of the Supreme Soviet which carries on between sessions, its chief function being to make appointments to the principal posts in the state apparatus and to distribute decorations, a Council of Ministers, which acts not like the British Cabinet but like a committee of administrative experts, various ministeries and committees and a system of provincial and local Soviets. I must emphasise that this constitutional machinery of Government is administrative and not political in character. It has a hierarchy of its own, which is distinct from and subordinated to the parallel hierarchy of the Communist Party. At every level the organisations of the Soviet hierarchy have in their midst groups of communists who, in accordance with Article 126 of the Constitution, act as the leaders in everything. The real power lies in the hands of the Communist Party, and no Government body takes a single important decision without a lead from the Party. In Stalin's words, the Party is the centre of power.

The Party maintains its control of the Soviet administrative machine by means of rigged elections, in which the electorate is only allowed to vote for candidates approved by the Party. In the general elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., there is only one candidate per constituency and each elector is faced with the choice of voting for the approved candidate or spoiling his vote. Inside the Party hierarchy, elections are rigged in a similar manner. It is not for nothing that the Central Committee of the Party runs a large personnel department under one of its ablest members. Its function is to see that no politically unreliable person worms his way into a position where he might do harm.

Inside the Party, the centre of power is the Politbureau, which decides all fundamental questions. The decisions of the Politbureau have to be carried out with implicit obedience by all Party members. The most rigorous discipline is enforced. Unorthodox views and opposition groups are prohibited.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273491

Nor are members allowed to take the initiative in dealing with new questions on which no policy decision has been taken. They may be as energetic as they wish in carrying out existing directives, but all new issues have to be decided at the top.

Of the Party, but above the Party, comes Stalin, whose personal dictatorship affects the whole political structure of the U.S.S.R. By personal dictatorship, I do not mean to imply that Stalin alone takes decisions. On the contrary, he has repeatedly stated that decisions taken by one man tend to be unbalanced and erroneous and that he has great faith in collective decisions, which are less likely to be based on a one-sided view of the problems under consideration. I mean simply that he is the political boss and that everybody is expected to show loyalty to him personally. He attained his present position not by his brilliance, but by being an indefatigable worker and a great consolidator. It was by taking every trick and steadily consolidating his gains that he finally defeated all his enemies. He has now surrounded himself with men who show complete subservience to him. There is no indication that he favours independence of mind. He appears, however, to have no objection to the employment of men who at one time or another have been anti-Bolshevik. It gives him an extra hold on them. In this, as in other matters, he has always tempered his ideology with realism, always taking advantage of every opening offered to him, always consolidating his position, and losing no opportunity of discrediting, weakening and destroying those whom he regards as his enemies. He has shown himself tough, persistent and resolute. He looks upon the Party which he leads as essentially a fighting organisation; he is organised not for peace and a quiet life, but for effort, struggle and conflict.

As the instrument of his dictatorship and as a protection against conspiracy and malpractices, he operates a vast system of bureaucratic control agencies and an all-pervading network of agents and informers of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The result of the ubiquity of these agents of the Secret Police is that life in the Soviet Union is characterised by an atmosphere of mistrust, a sense of personal insecurity and an abiding fear of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This fear is well founded. The Ministry administers prison camps so numerous and so large that the economic development of whole areas of the country is entrusted to convict labour.

Apart from this massive combination of bureaucratic and police control, the most striking feature of Stalin's dictatorship is the logic with which it carries through the principle of interest of state. Everything is judged from the standpoint of whether it furthers the immediate material interests of the regime. For example, workers are paid not according to the precepts of Marx and Engels, but according to the value of their work to the Soviet Government - a practice which is slowly leading to the growth of privilege. The same doctrine of interest of state governs changes in the Party line. Although the fundamental political strategy of the Soviet Government is stable, its tactics, which are based on the principle that every fleeting advantage must be seized and consolidated, are supple in the extreme. Neither principle nor regard for truth nor intellectual honesty nor even the desirability of preserving the consistency of the Party line are allowed to stand in the way of changes dictated by expediency. The achievement of material gains takes precedence over ethics, ideology and logic. The war

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273492

provided many examples of this tactical flexibility. Concessions were made to religion, to the wishes of the officers of the Red Army, to national feeling and the striving for greater ideological freedom in Soviet art. The concessions made to the Church and the officer corps have not been withdrawn, from which I can only conclude that the State must still be deriving advantage from them. But the concessions to national feeling and to the freedom of art have both been revoked in the present drive for a return to ideological orthodoxy.

The picture I have given you of the political set-up in the Soviet Union is not pleasant. But I should be misleading you if I were not to add that it demands high qualities from those who seek positions of responsibility in it. It demands discipline, industriousness, devotion to duty, energy, loyalty, courage and willingness to put up with any hardships in carrying out instructions. To those who are willing to accept the crucial contentions that belief in the Party ideology and unquestioning loyalty to Stalin are essential to the cause of the Revolution, the system gives ample opportunity for showing what sort of stuff they are made of.

SOVIET POLICY

That completes the survey of the background. I shall now try to show the relationship between this background and current Soviet policy.

In its struggle against backwardness, the Soviet Government has always devoted and is still devoting much attention to the problem of education, both general and technical. It has been an uphill struggle against appalling difficulties, and the standard of education in the U.S.S.R. is still below that of this country. None the less substantial progress has been achieved and the rate of progress has tended to improve with the passage of time. There is, however, a curious relic of past backwardness in the sensitivity of Soviet officials to any suggestion that the Soviet Union is uncivilised or indeed is in any sense inferior to the west. Coupled with this sensitivity on their part is a tendency for them to take the counter-offensive with attacks on western customs and institutions.

In its struggle against poverty and economic weakness, the Soviet Government has still a long way to go. As regards the poverty of the ordinary people, there has been some improvement since the Soviet Government came to power, but things are still difficult. Housing is bad. Overcrowding is terrible. Before the war, the normal ration of living space was nine square metres per person; in a good many towns, it is now down to six. Food, clothing, footwear are all in short supply. Municipal services are lamentable. Standards of maintenance are low, and the whole country looks dilapidated. Wages are low; pension rates and sickness payments lower still. The queues are interminable and the ordinary Soviet citizen lives in conditions of misery and hardship which, though better than the poverty of Asia, are of rare occurrence in Western Europe.

But if the country is poor, it is no longer economically defenceless. By imposing severe privations on the population, the Soviet Government has succeeded in building up a transport system and a heavy industry which, together with Allied help, proved sufficient during the recent war to withstand the German attack. The economy of the country cannot yet be called strong or efficient, and it is certainly far from balanced. But it already represents a serious war potential, which it is the Government's policy steadily to increase; and already the planners of the Soviet Union are looking forward to a day, still far distant, but none the less confidently awaited, when they will outstrip the production levels of the United States.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273493

To achieve this aim, the Soviet Union will have to continue to devote a high proportion of its resources to capital investment. To this end it will have to give low priority to the improvement of the standard of living of the common people, who will have to put up with their hardships for a long time to come. But there are indications that the Soviet Union is casting round for additional sources of capital for its investment programme. It has seized large quantities of equipment in the territories liberated by the Red Army. It is demanding heavy reparations payments. It is making large numbers of industrial enterprises in the ex-enemy countries work at low prices for the Soviet economy. The influence of western capital in those countries is being eliminated lest it should interfere with the Soviet policy of integrating the economics of those countries with the economy of the U.S.S.R. This integration is being gradually achieved by means of bilateral trade pacts favourable to the Soviet Union and by the establishment of mixed companies in which the controlling interest is Soviet. It is being furthered by reparations deliveries, which are compelling the industries of eastern Europe to work for the Soviet Market. In these various ways, the Soviet Union is slowly acquiring control of industrial resources outside its own borders and is using them to hasten the process of its own capital accumulation. To supplement this process the Soviet Government is trying to obtain large foreign credits to finance its foreign trade. These credits will allow the Soviet Union to increase its import programme without increasing the labour force of its export industries. The labour thus economised can then be used for the internal development of the U.S.S.R.

Thanks to its internal policy of capital accumulation and to these devices for obtaining supplementary resources from abroad, the probability is that Soviet industry will develop at a steadily increasing rate. The conditions necessary for a snowball effect have been created and barring unforeseen developments, we must expect the Soviet Government's struggle against economic weakness to be attended by growing success. We shall be very foolish if we allow the continuing shortage of consumer goods to blind us to the growth of the basic economic strength of the U.S.S.R.

In the Soviet Government's struggle for security we must distinguish between internal and external policy.

Internally the Soviet Government has declared its intention of building up the economic and military might of the U.S.S.R. The new Five Year Plan gives priority to the restoration and development of railway transport and heavy industry. It furthers the progress of the U.S.S.R. towards economic self-sufficiency. It provides for the equipment of the armed forces with up-to-date weapons. A special ministry has been created to centralise the work of building factories connected with the armaments industry.

The building up of the armed might of the U.S.S.R. and the development of its war potential is supplemented by a policy of strict security measures. The population of the Soviet Union lives in a closed community isolated from the outside world and from the few foreigners living in the U.S.S.R. It is presented with a distorted picture of events beyond the Soviet borders. It is taught that the outside world is hostile. It is taught the importance of treating virtually all matters as state secrets to be hidden from foreign countries. It is constantly warned to be on the look out for traitors and enemy agents. Its cultural contacts with the outside world are limited to those which are of propaganda value to the U.S.S.R. It is constantly being told that so long as the capitalist environment exists, there will be a danger of war.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ideological unity, from which there were certain departures during the war, is being firmly reimposed. The whole machinery of state is being overhauled to fit it for the tasks that lie ahead. For the overhauling of the Party machine, the Organisational bureau of the Party has been expanded. For the overhauling of the Soviet administrative hierarchy four leading Party men have been appointed without portfolio as Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In the Ukraine, where conditions are reported to be bad, there have been wholesale dismissals. There have been reports of a political check up among the officers of the Red Army.

The multiple controls, the hypertrophied bureaucracy, the universal regimentation, the secret police, the prison camps and the denial to the individual of any rights against the State will probably remain as the basic features of the Soviet regime. The totalitarian principle showed its strength during the war and it is not likely to be abandoned. The State continues to suppress opposition. It continues to forbid the expression of discontent. And although it has recently reduced the number of hours devoted to military training in schools, it continues to bring its young people up as potential soldiers.

So much for internal security measures. Externally the Soviet Government intends to rely for its security on its own strength. In accordance with this principle, it is opposed to any attempt to limit national sovereignty. It fears that any concessions it might make on this point would be used by the capitalist world to weaken the Soviet regime. Hence the Soviet objections to the Baruch plan for the control of atomic energy.

To increase its strength the Soviet Government is busy improving its strategic position. During the war it followed the historic policy of past Russian Governments by pushing out its frontiers while circumstances were favourable. In this way, it has succeeded, if I may repeat the words I used earlier in this lecture, in establishing the Soviet variety of socialism in a number of other countries. Thus it has taken the Petsamo and Viborg areas from Finland. It has annexed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Koenigsberg district, Eastern Poland, Carpatho-Ukraine, Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, Tannu-Tuva, Port Arthur, Karafuto and the Kurile Islands. It is trying to establish beyond these annexed territories a sphere of exclusive Soviet influence. This sphere of influence includes Poland, the Soviet zone of Germany, the Soviet zone of Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Persian Aserbaijan, the Mongol People's Republic, Northern Korea, Dairen and the trunk railways of Manchuria. In Czechoslovakia, Soviet influence is strong but not as yet exclusive. In Finland, the Soviet Union has sought economic rather than political influence.

Inside this area of exclusive Soviet influence a policy of Gleichschaltung is being actively pursued. The countries concerned are having their economics subordinated to that of the U.S.S.R. Some of them are now obtaining their armaments from the U.S.S.R. and are apparently adjusting themselves to the Soviet military system. Politically, the aim is to place men in office who can be relied upon to execute the wishes of the U.S.S.R. Their past record does not seem to matter so long as they are subservient. Repressive measures are being taken against the parties which tend to look to the west for support. The political and economic influence of the western powers is being eliminated. Social

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273495

changes following the pattern of those which took place in the territories annexed by the U.S.S.R. are being imposed by the Soviet authorities, for they mistrust anyone whose social position makes his interests at one with those of the capitalist world. Every effort is being made to strengthen the position of the local communist parties.

Furthermore, in this Soviet sphere of influence, the Soviet Union is conducting an incessant propaganda campaign designed to poison the minds of the people against the west and to make them identify their interests with those of the U.S.S.R. A political, military and economic bloc of countries is being built up in which the people are being taught to hate the British and the Americans. So far, admittedly, this propaganda has not had much success; but its influence will tend to grow with the passage of time. In short, Hitler's policy of building up a New Order in Europe is being repeated, this time to the exclusive benefit of the U.S.S.R.

It is not to be expected that frontiers of this Soviet sphere of influence will remain stable. On the contrary, the policy of constantly improving the strategic position of the Soviet Union requires that they should be expanded. The main pressure in this process of expansion may be expected in the south, where there is as yet no belt of satellite states, and where the Caucasus, the Achilles Heel of the Soviet Union, is still relatively exposed. We must therefore expect much further pressure in Persia, Turkey, and the Middle East. Persian Azerbaijan is already controlled by the local Democrat Party, and the Soviet influenced Tudeh party is being used to weaken the position of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in South Persia.

As regards Turkey, the aim of Soviet policy seems to be to undermine the Anglo-Turkish Alliance, and to bring Turkey into the Russian orbit by whittling away Turkish independence to a mere semblance of its present reality. Kara and Ardahan have been claimed for Soviet Armenia, and Soviet policy is striving to eliminate western influence from the control of the Straits.

We must also expect further pressure in Greece, which the Russians regard as an undesirable bridgehead in the otherwise exclusively Soviet-controlled Balkan peninsula. Soviet policy is actively trying to undermine the position of the present Greek Government by demanding the withdrawal of British troops, by provoking frontier incidents, by fomenting unrest and by conducting intensive anti-Government propaganda.

Germany and Japan constitute a special problem. In these two countries, the aim of Soviet policy seems to be to prevent economic and military resurrection except under Soviet influence. In accordance with this principle, the Soviet representatives in Germany and Japan tend to oppose any measures which would set the countries on their feet under Western influence, or any measures unfavourable to the extension of Soviet influence. There has been a steady refusal to permit the extension of Western influence to the Soviet zone of Germany, while every attempt has been made to influence opinion in the western zones of Germany in favour of Soviet policy. It is to be expected that no effort will be spared to recruit members for the Communist-controlled Socialist Unity Party throughout the whole of Germany. In Japan, the Soviet Union seems to be content for the moment to foster communism and attack American policy. It is biding its time and building up its position against the day when the Americans leave.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273496

Going now beyond the borders of the Soviet sphere of influence, we note that the Soviet Union had made various attempts to secure advanced strategic bases. Thus it has already acquired Port Arthur and Dairen. It seems intent on getting a base in the Straits. It has shown a rather less determined interest in Spitzbergen, Bear Island, the entrances to the Baltic, the Dodecanese, Tripolitania and Tangier. There are signs of a nascent Soviet interest in Iceland.

Outside the Soviet sphere of influence, Soviet political strategy aims at splitting the Capitalist world into as many sections as possible, and at creating class conflict inside countries. For the ideological reasons I have already explained, it is concerned to divide the capitalist world lest it unite against them. It operates both by political propaganda and by the activities of Communist parties and their sympathisers everywhere. In Scandinavia, Soviet policy is opposed to the formation of a Northern bloc. In Western Europe, it is opposed to the formation of a Western bloc. It is opposed to Anglo-American solidarity. It is opposed to Pan-American solidarity. It is opposed to solidarity between the Americans and Chiang Kai Shek. It is opposed to friendly relations between colonies and their metropolitan countries. It is opposed to the exercise of American influence in the Far East. In pursuit of this policy of dividing the capitalist world against itself the Soviet Government puts out a ceaseless flow of propaganda to poison people's minds against imperialist powers in general and against the British and American democracies in particular. As a corollary of this policy of attacking imperialism, the Soviet Government claims to be the champion of all oppressed peoples and loses no opportunity of conducting propaganda on their behalf. Likewise, as a corollary of its policy of fomenting the class struggle in foreign countries, it claims to be the defender of the poorer classes and of all racial minority groups. U.N.O. has proved to be a particularly handy platform for Soviet delegates who wished to make propaganda speeches on these two themes. But it is not merely a question of propaganda. The long term aim of Soviet policy is the disintegration and overthrow of the capitalist system throughout the world, and in this process priority seems to have been given during the last nine months to the undermining of British influence in areas outside the Empire.

The Soviet Government naturally hopes that the results of this process of disintegration will accrue to its benefit. It is well organised to achieve this result. Its policy of infiltration on the one hand and disintegration on the other is designed to ensure that whenever a crisis occurs, the local communist party will be the most unified and best disciplined organisation on the spot. The Russians no doubt calculate for example that, if France is overthrown, the Spanish communists will benefit. Likewise they no doubt hope that the eventual departure of the Americans will play into the hands of the communist organisations that they are building up in Japan and Southern Korea. Throughout the world, they are busily engaged in strengthening the communist movement in order that it may profit from whatever the future may have in store.

This raises the fundamental question whether the Soviet Government, which after all did play an important part in the establishment of U.N.O., and which at one time seemed to support the principle of Big Three collaboration, really believes in the possibility and desir-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273497

ability of international collaboration. This is a difficult question to answer. We know so little about the motives of the Soviet Government. But I am inclined to reply in the negative. We made many concessions during the war in the name of big three unity, and it was natural that the Soviet Union should continue to favour the principle so long as there was any prospect of its continuing to pay dividends. The principle of Great Power Unity has also had its advantages for the Russians in international conferences attended by large numbers of strongly anti-Soviet small states. But I should be more willing to believe that the Russians are attached to Great Power Unity if they had themselves been willing to make concessions in its name. They haven't. As for U.N.O., one may wonder whether the ideology of the Communist party, being essentially one of conflict, is not fundamentally incompatible with genuine support of an organisation pledged to maintain international peace and stability. It is noteworthy that the Soviet Government has only joined a minority of the international organisations set up during or since the close of the recent war. It has joined only those which offered one or more of the following advantages:

(a) A means of blocking political decisions prejudicial to the policies of the Soviet Government.

(b) The possibility of displaying the status of the Soviet Union as a great power entitled to have a say in the solution of every international problem.

(c) The prospect of immediate material advantage to the U.S.S.R.

(d) A platform for political speeches of propaganda value.

Thus it has joined U.N.O., U.N.R.R.A. and the European Central Inland Transport Organisation, but it has refused to join the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the European Coal Organisation, and it has not yet agreed to join the International Monetary Fund, the new International Bank or the International Trading Organisation. As these examples show, Russia's willingness to co-operate in international affairs seems to be limited to the pursuit through a few international organisations of her own purely selfish interest.

CONCLUSION

What then is the general outlook? The Soviet Union of today is a vast land empire with nearly all the raw materials necessary for a war economy, and with an industry capable of supporting in the field armies substantially larger than those of any other country in Europe or Asia. Its population is young and expanding rapidly. It is bringing up its young people in a spirit of patriotism, physical fitness and preparedness for war. It believes in the hostility of the outside world. It is committed to a policy of increasing its war potential. Its ideology advocates encroachment on the outside world. That encroachment will become easier as the population of the Soviet Union increases and its war potential is built up. The Soviet Government, thanks to the totalitarian nature of its regime, is able to maintain a strictness of internal discipline and a consistency of political strategy unthinkable in democratic countries. It believes that its star is rising and that the star of the capitalist world is setting. It believes in the ultimate victory of its principles. At the moment, it is true, it is still crippled by the legacy of the past. It still rules a backward, poor and ill developed country. The common people have not

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273498

yet outlived their habits of laziness and inefficiency. Soviet science is not yet on a level with that of the western world. But these shortcomings are being slowly remedied, and barring unforeseen developments (which may of course occur, for the internal strains are severe), the prospect is that we shall eventually be faced with a problem of entirely new proportions in our history. Moreover, in future Russia and Britain will have no common enemy, such as Germany or France, to keep their differences within bounds and to bring them together in times of real crisis. The position has obvious dangers. The difficulty of preventing it from deteriorating is increased by the fact that the Soviet Government, convinced as it is of the hostility of the outside world, receives even friendly advances with mistrust and suspicion; that all our acts are distorted and misinterpreted by Soviet propaganda; that any concessions we may make will be regarded as gains to be taken without gratitude and to be immediately consolidated and exploited, while manifestations of resistance to or dissatisfaction with Soviet policy will be interpreted as further proof of our active malevolence. The possibility of preventing deterioration is seen to be almost excluded when we consider that the apparent intention of the Soviet Union is actively to undermine imperialism and capitalism throughout the world in order that the Soviet system may profit thereby; and particularly when we see from the recent trends of Soviet propaganda that every effort is being made to isolate the United Kingdom politically and to attack and harry the British Empire as being the weaker partner in what Soviet publicists describe as the Anglo-Saxon bloc. We must expect an increase of pressure with the advance of the series of five year plans, and particularly if ever the Russians should achieve their declared aim of outstripping American levels of production. Given the ideological background, it would seem quite unjustifiable to hope for a change of heart. The fact that the Soviet foreign policy of today is already provoking an angry reaction in Great Britain and the United States in itself shows how difficult it will be in such circumstances to prevent a dangerous hardening of hostility. In fact, there is no lack of indications that relations with the U.S.S.R. will tend to become worse instead of better as time goes on. It does not seem likely that we are confronted with the threat of a major war in the near future. Russia, so far as we can judge, is neither prepared for nor in the mood for war, and Stalin is a sober realist. But the general outlook is one of friction, disputes, recrimination and unrest.

16th September 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273499

TOP SECRET

CABINET DEFENCE COMMITTEE

AGENDA

1. North American defence; Canada-U.S. collaboration:

   (a) joint planning;

   (b) 35th Recommendation of Joint Board; and,

   (c) U.S. forces at Goose Bay, Labrador.

2. United Kingdom, United States and Canada; standardization of military equipment.

3. Armed Forces; peacetime establishments. (Cabinet Document D-89)

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary.

Privy Council Office,
November 13th, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

THE CABINET

AGENDA

1. North American defence; Canada-U.S. collaboration:

   (1) Joint draft appreciation and basic security plan (exposition by Military advisers).

   (2) Immediate questions:

      (a) endorsement of joint planning procedure;

      (b) 35th Recommendation of Joint Board; and,

      (c) U.S. forces at Goose Bay, Labrador.

2. United Kingdom-United States-Canada defence cooperation; standardization of military equipment.

3. Canadian Armed Forces; present programmes. (Cabinet Document D-89)

A.D.P. Heeney,
Secretary to the Cabinet.

Privy Council Office,
November 14th, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273501

TOP SECRET

Ottawa, November 16th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Defence policies; Cabinet discussions

Attached are draft Minutes covering yesterday's important discussions in the Cabinet. In view of their special importance, I would appreciate any corrections or revisions which you think appropriate.

You will observe that these Minutes are a good deal fuller than the normal Cabinet Conclusions. I thought the importance of the subject warranted such an extension.

Minutes for the meetings of the previous day and for the Cabinet Defence Committee meeting on November 13th are not yet ready, and will be sent you in due course.

Will you please indicate, as soon as convenient, your approval or revisions of the enclosed.

A. D. P. H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

Ottawa, November 15th, 1946.

CABINET CONCLUSIONS

A meeting of the Cabinet was held in the Privy Council Chamber on Friday, November 15th, 1946 at 11.00 a.m. The meeting adjourned at 1.00 p.m. and resumed at 3.00 p.m.

Present:

The Prime Minister (Mr.King), in the Chair,
The Minister of Veterans Affairs (Mr.Mackenzie),
The Minister of Reconstruction and Supply (Mr.Howe),
The Minister of Agriculture (Mr.Gardiner) (present during latter part of the afternoon meeting),
The Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr.Gibson),
The Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. St.Laurent),
The Minister of Public Works (Mr.Fournier),
The Postmaster General (Mr.Bertrand),
The Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr.Claxton),
The Solicitor General (Mr.Jean),
The Minister of Transport (Mr.Chevrier),
The Secretary of State (Mr.Martin),
The Minister of National Defence and Minister of National Defence for Naval Services (Mr.Abbott),
The Minister of National Revenue and Minister of National War Services (Dr.McCann),
The Minister of Fisheries(Mr.Bridges).

The Secretary to the Cabinet (Mr. Heeney).

Redistribution

1. The Minister of Veterans Affairs reported on behalf of the Cabinet Committee established at the meeting of November 12th.

Discussions in respect of the different Provinces were being carried on and maps were being prepared. A detailed report for Cabinet consideration would be available before long.

2. The Cabinet noted the Minister's report.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273503

National War Memorial

3. The Prime Minister, referring to the discussion at the meeting of November 12th, reported that a communication had now been received from the Dominion Command of the Legion in support of the proposal to have reference to the recent war included by a suitable inscription on the National War Memorial.

4. The Cabinet, after discussion, agreed that the Department of Public Works should have an architect examine the situation and report as to what might be appropriately done.

Defence policies; Canadian Service representation in the United Kingdom

5. The Prime Minister observed that the government had as yet reached no final decision as to the form of military representation in London.

At the "Prime Ministers'" meetings in London the ~~previous~~ spring, this question had been discussed and it had been recognized, as a result, that anything in the nature of a centralized organization for "Imperial" defence was unacceptable and inappropriate to the relationship which existed between the nations of the Commonwealth. This was quite evident from the record of discussions at the time. Furthermore, the establishment of any executive machinery in London would be contrary to long settled Canadian policy and, indeed, to the principles of the Statute of Westminster and the recorded conclusions on the subject of recent Imperial Conferences.

In opposing the establishment of a military mission in London on the part of South Africa, on grounds similar to the above, Field Marshal Smuts had, on the other hand, supported the appointment of "liaison officers" to the staffs of the High Commissioners. This proposal was deemed appropriate and desirable as a means of facilitating the traditional cooperation and coordination in defence matters between the nations of the Commonwealth. The functions of these officers would be confined to liaison with the U.K. Services and would not include participation in planning of any kind. The Prime Minister had expressed agreement with such an arrangement and its implications, from the Canadian point of view, had been under consideration by the Services here and recently by the Cabinet Defence Committee.

The Cabinet would observe that recent proposals relating to the organization of Commonwealth

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

defence to which publicity had been given in Britain and in this country were quite contrary to that for the appointment of liaison officers to which reference had been made.

6. The Cabinet, after considerable discussion, agreed to Canadian Service representation in the United Kingdom by the attachment to the High Commissioner's office in London of appropriate liaison officers; the personnel involved to be settled subsequently on the basis of the approved requirements of the three Services.

Defence policies; joint planning with the United States; Commonwealth cooperation

7. The Secretary of State for External Affairs observed that approval of the 35th recommendation of the Joint Defence Board which set forth the principles of defence cooperation with the United States involved the question of its relationship to comparable arrangements within the Commonwealth.

The Board's recommendation would constitute, in effect, an agreement between Canada and the United States for regional defence which might evoke comparison with the relatively undefined defence relationships between Canada and other parts of the Commonwealth. It would be recalled that the Commonwealth itself was commonly cited as a typical and desirable regional arrangement such as was contemplated under the Charter of the United Nations.

8. The Prime Minister observed that Commonwealth defence cooperation rested upon a basis of understanding and tradition independent of any regional arrangements and requiring no precise agreements. This was the unanimous conclusion of the Imperial Conference of 1937. Further, the proposed arrangements with the United States for North American defence were, in a sense, a substantial contribution to the Commonwealth, since a first tenet of United Kingdom foreign policy was the maintenance of the closest friendship with the United States.

Appropriate reference to the Commonwealth defence relationship might well be made when the 35th recommendation of the Board was made public.

9. Mr. King drew attention to the reference in the so-called "oral message" of President Truman to the desirability of early approval of the Board's 35th recommendation.

The President had appreciated our desire to keep the U.K. government informed of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

progress of our joint defence arrangements with the United States and the Secretary of State for External Affairs had discussed the matter with the U.K. Foreign Secretary in New York. Mr. Bevin had subsequently given Mr.St.Laurent an aide memoire containing certain observations from the United Kingdom point of view. This aide memoire (which Mr.King read) emphasized the importance of calculating Soviet reactions to joint defence measures in the Arctic, also to the effects of special Canada-U.S. arrangements upon other Commonwealth defence relationships.

(United Kingdom aide memoire, undated)

10. The Cabinet, after further discussion:

(a) confirmed the decision taken at the previous meeting respecting approval of the Board's 35th recommendation;

(b) agreed that the text of the Board's 35th recommendation be communicated to the United Kingdom; and,

(c) agreed that, at such time as publicity were given to defence arrangements with the United States under the Board's 35th recommendation, appropriate public reference should also be made to similar cooperative defence arrangements with the United Kingdom under long standing Canadian policy.

Defence policies; North American defence; joint planning with the United States

11. The Prime Minister again read the text of the "oral message" from President Truman, drawing attention to the fact that it contained three specific proposals:

(i) endorsement of joint planning now in progress with particular reference to joint measures in the Arctic (such endorsement, it was suggested, might take the form of approval of the draft appreciation prepared by Canadian and U.S. staffs);

(ii) approval of the Board's 35th recommendation; and,

(iii) consent to the stationing of substantially increased U.S. forces at Goose Bay, Labrador.

The second proposal had already been dealt with. The first and third remained for consideration.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(President's "oral message" to the Prime Minister - undated - handed to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs by U.S. Ambassador, Oct. 28, 1946).

The meeting adjourned at 1.00 p.m. and resumed at 3.00 p.m.

Navy; size of postwar force

12. The Prime Minister made reference to a report of a recent speech by the Chief of the Naval Staff, in which Admiral Reid was stated to have expressed the view that the Canadian Navy should be a good deal larger than at present planned. It was quite improper for a Chief of Staff to express himself publicly on matters of government policy.

13. The Minister of National Defence said that the impropriety of his conduct had already been drawn to the attention of Admiral Reid.

14. The Cabinet noted with approval the remarks of the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defence.

Defence policies; North American defence; joint planning with the United States

15. The Prime Minister referred again to President Truman's "oral message" and the two specific decisions therein suggested which remained for disposition, viz., endorsement of joint planning and consent to increased U.S. forces at Goose Bay.

It was suggested that endorsement of joint planning now in progress (which had particular reference to measures of joint action in the North) might take the form of concurrence in the draft joint appreciation which had been explained in detail to the Cabinet the previous day by Intelligence Officers of the three Services. While assurances might be given in general terms of Canadian support for the continuance of joint planning along agreed lines, concurrence in the conclusions of the draft joint appreciation involved policy considerations of the highest importance and could not properly be given by the government, at least at this stage. In due course an agreed appreciation would have to be formulated as a basis for joint measures. Such an overall appreciation, however, would have to be prepared with the greatest care and only after full discussion between the two governments on the diplomatic level.

With respect to Goose Bay, this was also

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

a matter for discussion on the diplomatic level. It involved directly the U.K. government and Newfoundland, and no decision on the subject could be taken immediately.

It was proposed that discussions between the two governments would be initiated at an early date on the basis of the President's "oral message"; the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs had been authorized to communicate with the U.S. Ambassador to this effect.

It had been suggested that the discussions could best be conducted in Ottawa between the U.S. Embassy and the Department of External Affairs, with the participation of appropriate Service officers and advisers on both sides. They would cover an appreciation of the political and military factors involved, the position of the United Kingdom in relation to North American defence, responsibility for agreed joint measures as between Canada and the United States (specifically the difficult matter of finance), specific U.S. proposals such as the suggested increase of forces at Goose Bay and the U.S. programme for Arctic weather stations, as well as all other major aspects of the whole problem.

(Letter, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the U.S. Ambassador, Nov. 1, 1946).

16. The Minister of National Defence drew attention to the fact that the Chiefs of Staff had concurred in the draft joint appreciation. They had not, however, examined detailed joint plans which were still in course of preparation within the framework of the draft basic security plan which had been explained by the Chiefs of Staff the previous day.

It would be premature for the government to accept the draft basic security plan until the Chiefs of Staff had submitted their comments thereon. Meantime the Chiefs of Staff might be instructed to prepare jointly a purely Canadian appreciation and plan for early consideration by the Cabinet in relation to the government's immediate programme.

17. The Secretary of State for External Affairs agreed that the government should not, in any event at this stage, concur in the draft joint appreciation. As the Prime Minister had pointed out, its conclusions were based on complex political as well as strategic considerations. It was necessary to distinguish between what was possible technically in a military way

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and what was probable from other points of view. The time factor was also difficult to estimate and upon this there was some difference of opinion.

As to specific projects, for example Goose Bay, the U.K. Foreign Secretary had offered the opinion that, from the political point of view, it would be well to proceed as far as possible on a civilian basis. The development of airfields for civil and commercial purposes could be carried a considerable distance and at the same time serve the military purpose.

As to cost, consideration might be given to recent discussions at the United Nations and the principles which were being examined there. In this connection the criterion of comparative per capita cost was being studied and was not irrelevant to the present problem.

18. The Cabinet, after further considerable discussion, agreed:

(1) that, while general endorsement could be given to the principle of joint defence planning with the United States, the government could not concur in the draft joint appreciation submitted through the Canadian and U.S. Chiefs of Staff, pending the outcome of forthcoming discussions between the two governments on the diplomatic level; as a result of these discussions it was hoped that a general appreciation, taking account of all relevant factors, would be agreed between the two governments;

(2) that no decision could be taken respecting the U.S. government's proposal to station additional forces at Goose Bay, Labrador, pending the forthcoming discussions with the United States, and pending discussion of this subject with the U.K. government and Newfoundland;

(3) that joint defence planning with the United States should not proceed beyond the present stage, pending the forthcoming discussions and pending agreement between the two governments as to the lines upon which further planning should proceed and joint measures be undertaken;

(4) that the Chiefs of Staff be directed to prepare forthwith a joint defence programme for the immediate future - including a joint appreciation and joint plan, due weight being given therein to:

(a) the course of joint planning with the United States; and,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) other relevant factors from the Canadian point of view (e.g. local defence, Commonwealth relationships, possible United Nations obligations).

Defence policies; Service programmes

19. The Prime Minister pointed out that the Cabinet, during the past year, had authorized the Services to proceed with plans for the active elements of Navy, Army and Air Force, on the basis of certain manpower "ceilings" and, during the past Session, Parliament had been so informed. Financial estimates for approval of permanent establishments within these manpower figures were at present under consideration.

At the meeting of November 5th the Cabinet had agreed, however, that a general review of peacetime establishments should be undertaken in the light of developments since the earlier decisions had been taken. It was necessary, therefore, to scrutinize carefully the authorized figures for the three Services in order to determine whether a correct proportion existed between the three, particularly in relation to the course of joint planning with the United States in the matter of Arctic defence.

In this connection it appeared that the defence responsibilities of Canada would involve a very high proportion of air strength. Possibly the numbers of men allotted to the Air Force was out of line for this reason.

20. The Minister of National Defence observed that the Army programme involved a trained fighting force of only some 7,000 men. The remaining 18,000 were required for Headquarters and administrative purposes and personnel assigned to train the Reserve Army. These figures would be re-examined and consideration given to their readjustment to meet present circumstances.

It should be borne in mind that the Reserve Army (the former Non-Permanent Active Militia) formed the essential framework of the traditional Canadian defence scheme. It was based upon the assumption of a citizen Army whose fighting would be done abroad to keep the war away from Canada. Possibly some means might be found to effect adjustments in this programme in the light of the new North American requirements.

As to the Navy, it was intended to re-examine the necessity of having the second carrier included in the present programme.

21. Mr. King emphasized the importance of having National Defence estimates submitted at the earliest possible date. These should be

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

examined in the light of the joint programme which the Chiefs of Staff were to prepare.

Expenditures for defence would have to be considered carefully in relation to the whole national budget and in particular to the governments social security programme. Large expenditures upon defence would inevitably entail reductions in the amounts available for social purposes.

22. The Cabinet, after discussion, noted that the Army and Navy programme would be re-examinedas indicated by the Minister and agreed that, at an early date, the Cabinet would consider National Defence estimates with the joint programme to be submitted by the Chiefs of Staff.

Defence policies; organization; Ministry; Defence Committee

23. The Prime Minister referred to the announcement made some months ago of the intention, at an appropriate time, to organize the Department of National Defence under one Minister. There was no doubt that by this means a greater measure of co-ordination could be achieved between the three Services and substantial administrative economies effected.

It would have been observed that in the United Kingdom, a Minister of Defence had recently been appointed and the Cabinet Defence Committee re-organized with a view to maintaining an effective coordination in strategy and in administration. The question of the place of the Cabinet Defence Committee in Canada was one which should also be re-examined.

Other related questions of great importance were - the desirability of appointing a single Chief of Staff, the position of Parliamentary Assistants, and that of the Deputy Ministers.

24. The Ministers of National Defence both expressed agreement with the Prime Minister's view that a single Minister of National Defence was desirable.

25. The Cabinet, after discussion, agreed that one Minister of National Defence should be appointed and that other questions of defence organization, including that of the Defence Committee, the Chiefs of Staff, Parliamentary Assistants and Deputy Ministers should receive early consideration.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Esthonian Republic; recognition of incorporation in U.S.S.R.

26. The Secretary of State for External Affairs reported that it was necessary in connection with certain judicial proceedings arising out of the sale of an Esthonian vessel by a Canadian Admiralty Court to reach a decision with respect to the status of the Esthonian Republic. The Republic now formed part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The U.K. government had accepted the Esthonian Republic as the de facto government of Esthonia but had as yet refused de jure recognition. The U.S. government had given no recognition and the U.S. Secretary of State commonly issued certificates to that effect to Courts and to litigants.

As yet the Canadian government had given no recognition to the acquisition of Esthonia by the Soviet Union. This question should now be decided as should that of the procedure to be followed respecting certificates of national status.

(External Affairs memorandum, Nov. 14, 1946).

27. The Cabinet, after discussion, agreed that Canada should not extend de jure recognition to the Esthonian Republic but should recognize it as the de facto government of Esthonia; also that a reply to that effect should be given on the formulation of an enquiry by a court of law.

United Nations Assembly; use of the veto; South West Africa

28. The Secretary of State for External Affairs reported on the progress of events at the current meetings of the Assembly.

An immediate question arose as to the attitude to be adopted by the Canadian delegation on the proposals being put forward respecting the use of the veto by the Great Powers. On the one hand, it was felt that the Great Powers, in particular the Soviet Union, had undoubtedly abused the veto provided by the Charter for the protection of their vital interests. To this extent, the delegation agreed with current proposals to limit its employment. On the other hand, it was felt that it was not helpful to raise this issue now. It was hoped that a compromise solution would be accepted which would not have the harmful effects of the more drastic resolution supported by Australia and many of the smaller powers. To this end the delegation had had discussions with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries and it was proposed to express in the Assembly the Canadian view along these lines.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Another difficult question was that of South Africa's expressed intention to annex South West Africa. While the Canadian government were prepared to accept as correct the information presented by Field Marshal Smuts as the wishes of the local population, nevertheless exception was taken to the method which South Africa was employing. For this reason, the delegation proposed to abstain from voting when the South African proposal came up for decision in the Assembly.

29. Mr. St. Laurent spoke generally of developments in New York and in particular of the attitude of the Soviet Union in the Assembly and Security Council.

30. The Cabinet, after discussion, noted with approval the Minister's report.

"Citizenship week"

31. The Secretary of State, at the Prime Minister's request, described the ceremonies planned for the first week in January in connection with the granting of certificates to new citizens under the new legislation.

The purpose of these ceremonies was to impress upon the new Canadians the importance of the privileges and obligations which they were undertaking as citizens. A central ceremony had been planned for Ottawa in which it was hoped the Prime Minister would participate.

32. The Cabinet, after discussion, noted with approval the Minister's report.

Enactment of a "Bill of Rights"

33. The Minister of Veterans Affairs referred to an undertaking which he had given in the House of Commons at the last Session to have the government give consideration to the enactment of a "Bill of Rights" to guarantee the fundamental rights of all Canadians. This was a question which would have to be decided before the House met again.

34. The Cabinet, after discussion, deferred decision on this question.

A. D. P. Heeney
Secretary to the Cabinet.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Defence Papers (2)

CANADA

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

TOP SECRET

C 273513

CABINET SECRETARIAT

Ottawa, November 21, 1946

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Mr. King:

I send you herewith a copy of the conclusions of the November 13th meeting of the Cabinet Defence Committee.

Since the majority of the subjects covered were discussed at subsequent meetings of the Cabinet, there are no decisions which I wish particularly to draw to your attention.

May I ask that these be returned to this office for disposition in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary,
Cabinet Defence Committee.

× agreed with
Mr Gill to be
retained at LM/JG
3/XII/46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

CABINET DEFENCE COMMITTEE

The twenty-fourth meeting of the Cabinet Defence Committee was held in the Privy Council Chamber on Wednesday, November 13th, 1946, at 3 p.m.

Present:

The Prime Minister (Mr. King)
in the Chair
The Minister of National Defence for Air
(Mr. Gibson)
The Secretary of State for External Affairs
(Mr. St.Laurent)
The Minister of National Health and Welfare
(Mr. Claxton)
The Minister of National Defence
(Mr. Abbott)
The Minister of National Revenue and
National War Services (Dr. McCann)

The Chief of the Air Staff
(Air Marshal Leckie)
The Chief of the General Staff
(Lieutenant General Foulkes)
The Chief of the Naval Staff
(Vice Admiral Reid)
The Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff
(Commodore DeWolf)
The Director General of Defence Research
(Dr. Solandt)
The Secretary, Chiefs of Staff Committee
(Group Captain Bean)

The Secretary to the Cabinet
(Mr. Heeney)
The Under Secretary of State for External
Affairs (Mr. Pearson)
The Special Assistant to the Prime Minister
(Mr. Pickersgill)

The Secretary, Cabinet Defence Committee
(Mr. Gill)

Office of the Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada; continuation of functions

1. Mr. Heeney submitted proposals for the continued operation of the office of the Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada after the end of the current year.

As he had indicated at the previous meeting, arrangements were being made for the temporary appointment of a successor to Mr. Phinney, who was retiring on November 15th, and for the office to remain

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

in operation until the year end under the auspices of the Privy Council Office. If it were to continue after that date, it should be transferred to some other government department, - the Department of National Defence had been suggested. It would then be necessary for the administering department to seek new authority for the office upon the termination of the Emergency Transitional Powers Act.

An explanatory memorandum had been circulated.

(Memo to Cabinet Defence Committee of October 15th, 1946 - Cabinet document D-86).

2. The Chief of the General Staff, with the Minister of National Defence in agreement, saw a continuing need for the office, but expressed the opinion that, in view of the responsibility which Mines and Resources would eventually assume in connection with the Alaska Highway, it would seem more appropriate for them to assume control of the office when it was transferred from the Privy Council Office.

3. The Committee, after further discussion, agreed that Mines and Resources be approached to ascertain whether they were prepared to assume responsibility for the administration of the office of the Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada from January 1st, 1947.

Defence policy; general considerations; joint planning with the United States

4. The Prime Minister, referring to recent discussions in the Cabinet, said that the purpose of the meeting was to review in a preliminary way current questions of defence policy, including the estimates of the defence departments. The Cabinet would devote the next two days to these important problems.

Following his conversation with President Truman in Washington on October 28th, 1946, during which certain defence matters of mutual interest to the two countries had been discussed, an "oral message" had been received through the U.S. Ambassador in which certain specific proposals had been made. It had been agreed that these should be discussed initially between the two governments on the diplomatic level.

It would be helpful, as a background to ministerial consideration of these questions, to have the advice of the Chiefs of Staff on the general strategic situation, and their report on the progress of current joint planning with the United States.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

5. The Chief of the Air Staff pointed out that the risk of attack upon this country had been assessed in the joint draft appreciation which had been prepared as a preliminary to joint planning by the Canada-United States Military Cooperation Committee. This document had been submitted to the Defence Committee on July 9th, 1946, and explained by Intelligence officers. It would be recalled that this document had concluded that the North American continent could no longer be regarded as immune from attack and that, after a few years, the capabilities of a potential aggressor would be increased considerably through possession of the atomic bomb and other modern weapons. The resulting draft "Basic Security Plan" had also been explained to the Defence Committee on that occasion and, subsequently, detailed planning on the various aspects of continental defence had proceeded through appropriate joint sub-committees. The most important, and immediate, of these detailed plans was the air defence scheme. This had not yet been presented to the Chiefs of Staff, but he had had an opportunity of examining it in a preliminary way. He was very much concerned at the extent of the undertakings which it envisaged, particularly their financial implications; nor was he altogether satisfied with the strategic concept upon which it was based.

The Intelligence upon which the draft appreciation was founded had been drawn largely from United States sources. The military view in Washington was that, in any future war, an aggressor would attempt to neutralize the war potential of this continent before embarking on a programme of expansion elsewhere. He did not altogether share this view, and felt that any attacks which might develop would be of a diversionary nature which would not warrant theestablishment of an elaborate defence scheme employing our resources in a static role. With this in mind, and, in view of the immense financial outlays involved, it might be more appropriate to adopt measures of more modest proportions.

6. The Chief of the General Staff agreed that plans intended to provide complete protection against sporadic raids would not be justified. It was, however, important in future planning to bear in mind that the continent was no longer free from attack. Moreover, realistic planning should provide the means of offensive action as well as for more static defence.

While the appreciation was based primarily on U.S. intelligence, the U.K. Staff's assessment of risk did not differ materially from that contained in the joint Canada-United States document.

7. The Chief of the Naval Staff said that, in present planning, the role of the Navy was of somewhat lesser importance than that of the other Services. The Canadian Navy was being organized so as to provde defence of coastal waters and for escort duties in both the Atlantic and Pacific approaches. It would also be capable of providing a force to cooperate, as the occasion required, with the British and United States Navies. In any future war, anti-submarine measures would constitute the most important and difficult Naval task, and it was as yet not clear as to what means would prove effective in this department.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

8. Mr. King observed that the reports and views of the Chiefs of Staff concerning the present stage of joint planning with the United States emphasized the need of early discussions between the two governments of the very important questions involved. Meantime, the Cabinet should be given the fullest information on all phases of the problem and should consider most carefully the immense national issues at stake.

9. The Committee, after considerable discussion, noted the reports of the Chiefs of Staff, agreeing that these questions would be submitted fully to the Cabinet the following day.

United Kingdom - Canada - United States; standardization of equipment; defence cooperation

10. The Chief of the General Staff reported upon the progress of discussions concerning the standardization of military equipment between the three countries.

Following recent preliminary meetings in the United Kingdom, tripartite talks at the Service level were now under way in Washington. It was now intended that these discussions would be broadened to include basic strategic and tactical factors and the adoption of joint measures in peacetime. Canadian officers were participating in the current talks on a basis of equality with the U.K. and the U.S. Service representatives.

11. The Committee, after discussion, noted the report of the Chief of the General Staff on this subject.

Commonwealth defence cooperation; Service representation in London

12. The Prime Minister said that, among the subjects discussed at the "Prime Ministers" Conference in London earlier in the year, was that of future arrangements for military representation within the Commonwealth. On that occasion, it had been made quite clear that, while the appointment of Service liaison officers attached to the High Commissioner's establishments would be acceptable, no centralized defence organization could be countenanced. This had been the expressed view of Field Marshal Smuts, with which he had categorically agreed. It should be quite clearly understood that Service officers stationed in London should form part of the High Commisioner's staff, that their functions were limited strictly to "liaison", and that they would not constitute a "mission" in any sense. The numbers involved should be only those required for these limited purposes.

13. The Chiefs of Staff and the Director General of Defence Research reported the approximate numbers of the respective personnel required in London for liaison purposes. These involved, respectively, Air Force, one Air Vice Marshal and some five officers, Army, one Brigadier and five officers, Navy, one Commodore and five officers, a small group for Defence Research, and necessary subordinate personnel.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The liaison duties to be performed were described; these related largely to having advance notice of U.K. Service developments on equipment and training.

14. The Committee, after further discussion, noted the reports made, and agreed that the question be considered by the Cabinet at an early meeting.

Service programmes;
Air Force and Army

15. The Prime Minister observed that, in the discussion of joint planning with the United States, the principal emphasis appeared to be on air defence. This raised the question of the relative strength of the Canadian Air Force in the current programme in comparison with those of the other Services, particularly that of the Army.

16. The Chief of the General Staff explained that the Army was organized within the authorized manpower ceiling of 25,000, to provide operational troops of some 7,000. The remainder were to provide headquarters staffs, administrative units, and training establishments for Active and Reserve components. The principal function of the Active Force was to ensure the immediate security of Canada and a brigade group was considered to be the smallest formation capable of performing this task.

17. The Committee, after discussion, noted the Prime Minister's observations and the statement of the Chief of the General Staff, agreeing that this matter would be considered by the Cabinet in reviewing the current programmes of the three Services.

North American defence; 35th Recommendation
of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence

18. The Prime Minister, referring to President Truman's "oral message" on joint defence policy, asked the Committee to consider the 35th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board, which outlined certain principles of cooperation between the Armed Forces of the United States and Canada.

Since previous discussion of this Recommendation by the Cabinet, it had been amended on the initiative of the United States Section of the Board, with the object of safeguarding the sovereignty and protecting the interests of that country in whose territory joint projects of a defence nature were undertaken. It was now submitted in draft form to determine its acceptability to the Canadian authorities.

If its terms were generally acceptable, there was the secondary question of its disposition. In this connection, it had been suggested that it be made public and be registered with the United Nations Organization as a regional arrangement.

(Memo from Secretary, Cabinet Defence Committee, to Cabinet, October 21st, 1946 - Cabinet document 316)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

19. The Secretary of State for External Affairs suggested that decision on this supplementary question of disposition be deferred pending the outcome of discussions now in progress in the United Nations Organization, with a view to drafting rules for the registration of regional agreements.

20. The Committee, after further discussion, agreed to recommend to the Cabinet:

(a) acceptance of the Board's 35th Recommendation, subject to certain minor amendments of the text; and

(b) that the question of publicity and possible registration of the document with the United Nations Organization be deferred.

E.W.T. Gill,
Secretary.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273520

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
4.12.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Preliminary defence discussions between
United States and Canadian officials.

Mr. Atherton has asked whether these discussions - which are to be preliminary and exploratory only - could be postponed until Monday, December 16th. From our point of view, I should think this is an advantage, as it gives us a little more time to prepare.

The discussions, as you know, are primarily for the purpose of receiving information from United States officials on the international situation as they see it, now and in the future, and on their plans for over-all defence, based on that appreciation. It is hoped that this information will be of value to the Government in its consideration of defence policy which, of course, is affected by American plans and policies. The conversations are, of course, entirely non-committal, and a report on them will be sent to you immediately after their conclusion.

You discussed with me, last evening, the considerations which should govern the choice of Canadian personnel for such talks as these. Would the following be satisfactory?

Mr. Heeney, Mr. Bryce (Department of Finance, for discussion of those items on the agenda which concern Finance) and myself. There could also be appropriate military representatives when military questions are being discussed, while one or two officials from External Affairs, who have been following these matters, could be called in when necessary.

I have emphasized to Mr. Atherton again today that these talks are to be entirely non-committal in character, and merely for exchange of information which will be helpful to both Governments if and when discussions are later elevated to the political level.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

C273521

(Excerpt from Cabinet Conclusions, December 3, 1946.)

Defence policy; joint planning with the United States; Canada-U.S. diplomatic discussions

9. The Prime Minister made reference to the diplomatic discussions of defence questions which were to take place following the Cabinet's consideration of defence policies at the meetings of November 14th and 15th.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs had reported that a preliminary meeting had been held with the U.S. Ambassador and representatives of the State Department. As a result, the following agenda had been agreed upon:

(i) Review of Joint Appreciation -
  (a) political considerations,
  (b) military considerations;

(ii) Publicity with regard to joint defence projects;

(iii) Recommendation (P.J.B.D.) of November 20th
  (a) procedure,
  (b) publication and registration;

(iv) Finance.

The U.S. government's proposals respecting Goose Bay were to be discussed separately.

These discussions would, of course, be entirely non-commital and exploratory and would be the subject of report to the Cabinet immediately upon thdir conclusion. One of the principal objects would be to elicit the fullest information from the U.S. government.

10. The Cabinet noted with approval the Prime Minister's report.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C A 273522

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
2.12.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Defence discussions with U.S. government

After a useful preliminary meeting last week with the U.S. Ambassador and representatives of the State Department, it has been agreed that the diplomatic discussions between the two governments on defence questions would begin in Ottawa next Thursday morning, December 5th.

The U.S. government will be represented by Mr. Atherton and Mr. Lewis Clark of the U.S. Embassy, Mr. Parsons of the State Department and two or three military experts whom the Americans wish to have with them.

The Agenda will cover the following items:

(i) Review of Joint Appreciation
  (a) political considerations;
  (b) military considerations;

(ii) Publicity with regard to joint defence projects;

(iii) Recommendation of November 20th
  (a) procedure,
  (b) publication and registration;

(iv) Finance.

The Goose Bay proposals are to be discussed separately.

These discussions will, of course, be non-committal and exploratory only and will be the subject of report to the Cabinet immediately upon their conclusion. One of the principal objects will be to elicit the fullest information from the U.S. government.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Canadian representatives will be Mr. Heeney and myself, with departmental officers. Appropriate military advisers will be brought in when military considerations are being discussed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273524

LBP/SR
23.12.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am sending you, herewith, a copy of the newspaper "P.M.", dated December 22nd, with a somewhat sensational article on Canada-United States defence problems by Leslie Roberts. I am bothering you about this article because of the fact that Roberts refers to you in it.

I do not think that it will case any great attention or do any great harm, though it is irritating to see this kind of thing in print. Our Embassy in Washington has not heard of any repercussions on it, and it was not referred to in the State Department press conference this afternoon. Wrong's telegram concerning it is attached.

The appearance of such articles confirms me in my feeling that we should, before long, issue a reasoned and carefully prepared statement on our defence relationships with the United States, which would help to put an end to exaggerated and distorted reports such as this one is.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

C273525

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - TK

WA-4470

WASHINGTON, December 23rd, 1946.

WA-4470. Following for Pearson from Wrong, Begins:

I telephoned your office on Saturday morning concerning the article by Leslie Roberts in the edition of PM of December 22nd on North American defence. I assume that Hicks was able to secure copies in Ottawa, as I suggested, and that you are familiar with its contents. I have not heard yet of any repercussions here to this exaggerated and distorted account of discussions on North American defence, and Parsons tells me this morning that, so far as he knows, it has not yet given rise to enquiries at the State Department. It is obviously unfortunate that such articles should appear in the United States press especially under and Ottawa dateline. It will be interesting to see whether the new bend in Soviet policy will lead them to ignore this article, since they have played up earlier stories of a less sensational character. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 1:55 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

A

C 273526

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, Ontario,
January 2, 1947.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Cabinet Defence Committee

1. The Cabinet Defence Committee was established by the Cabinet on August 3, 1945 with terms of reference:

> "To consider defence questions and to report to the Cabinet upon major matters of policy relating to the maintenance and employment of the three services,"

2. It would seem to be desirable to reconstitute the Committee to consider questions of defence policy and report on these to the Cabinet.

3. If this was decided, the Committee might be composed of the following members:

> Prime Minister - Chairman
> Minister of National Defence - Vice-Chairman
> Secretary of State for External Affairs
> Minister of Finance

and such other members as you might consider desirable. Mr. Bridges is the only Minister having service experience in this war. Other Ministers would be called in when their Departments were affected. It is desirable that any such Committee should be small. Perhaps you might wish to list the Ministers above mentioned and add "and such other Minister or Minister's as the Prime Minister may designate".

4. The Parliamentary Assistant or Assistants of National Defence will attend as and when required. The Chiefs of Staff, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Secretary to the Cabinet would also attend. The Privy Council office would provide a secretary.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Approved if legible

5. If the matters to be discussed were not of sufficient importance to warrant your attendance, the Vice-Chairman would preside.

6. As a large number of matters have accumulated on which I would like to have the advantage of discussion with my colleagues, it would be of great assistance if this Committee could be named at once if that is your wish.

Yours sincerely,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

def Binder

CANADA

C 273528

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, Ontario,
January 8, 1947.

TOP SECRET

Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

My dear Prime Minister,

In connection with the meeting of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, to be held on Thursday at 11 o'clock, I thought you might like to have some material in advance.

Accordingly, I enclose a memorandum on Defence Policy.

You will appreciate, I am sure, the urgency of obtaining as soon as possible, a number of decisions on policy as these materially affect the estimates which, following your instructions, should be settled at the earliest possible moment.

Yours sincerely,

Ian Mackenzie

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, Ontario,
January 7, 1947.

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Defence Policy

1. Whether one agrees with the joint appreciation made by our chiefs of staff or not, Canadian defence policy today has become a matter of major external and internal policy for Canada.

2. While war is most improbable in the next five or even ten years, political and technical developments face North America with the necessity of taking active measures to defend itself.

3. United States and Canadian interests in North American defence are similar and have led to the two countries working together, particularly with regard to defence measures in the North.

4. In this, self interest and our good relations with the United States should lead Canada to play an adequate part.

5. Canada's part in joint defence should be especially related to the defence of Canada and to doing the things that we can and should do in preference to the United States, particularly in the North.

6. As far as possible, defence measures should fit in with the civilian life of the country and be carried out through civilian agencies.

7. While the greatest emphasis should be placed on the defence of Canada in Canada, sight must not be lost of the fact that in two world wars the enemy has fortunately been beaten outside Canada thanks in part to the assistance rendered by Canada. Our concept of defence should not be static, involving a Maginot Line attitude. We do not want

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

a large standing army ready to fight outside Canada; but we should have the training facilities to develop forces that can fight outside Canada should that ever be necessary.

8. Applying this, our navy's primary purpose is to train personnel rather than to have ready a task force and the training should be definitely designed to equip men to fight in northern waters.

9. Generally, the size, character, training and utilization of Canada's defence forces must have regard to Canada's interest as seen by the great majority of Canadians. It is believed that they appreciate and will support policies along the lines set out here.

10. On a per capita basis the present manpower ceilings are far below what is being planned in any other country. They are about one fifth the per capita expenditure of the United States. The forces at present planned are more likely to be criticised inside and outside Canada as too small rather than too large. They will certainly be well under any limits set in consequence of any disarmament agreement or United Nations security plan.

11. The Cabinet has already agreed in principle to Recommendation No. 35 of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, providing for close co-operation with the United States as regards planning, training and equipment. At the same time the Cabinet noted that similar arrangements already existed with regard to the U.K. and other Commonwealth countries. Obviously, our interest in combined defence demands co-operation and co-ordination based on an exchange of information. Today this information is of a highly technical nature, involving specialists not only in different subjects but in different branches of the same subject, for example, Radar and Asdic, as well as wireless communication. To achieve this co-operation requires liaison at both London and Washington. Officers chosen should be men of the highest possible ability, with the smallest possible number of subordinates necessary to do the work. In this way we can keep abreast of developments in countries which are likely to be our principal allies.

12. Everything possible must be done to ensure that we obtain the utmost value for the defence dollar.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PJBD
C 273531

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, January 10, 1947.

Top Secret

My dear Prime Minister:

Attached is a note on Joint Defence Plans which you may wish to have.

Yours sincerely,

Brooke Claxton

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, January 8, 1947.

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Implementation of Joint Defence Plans

1. Another memorandum dealt with Defence Policies. The present memorandum outlines plans that might be adopted to put those policies into effect insofar as they relate to Joint Defence with the United States.

2. In recent talks, officials representing the United States Government raised the possibility of Canada taking measures with regard to -

(a) Mapping. We have in effect an extensive programme for this year. While this may be modified, it is not likely to cost more than estimated.

(b) Weather Station Programme. This programme, which includes Canadian and Joint Canadian-United States requirements, is now awaiting consideration by the Cabinet.

(c) Loran. A programme for the year ending March 31, 1947, has been approved, but extensions to this have been proposed by the P.J.B.D. Details will be submitted by the Air Force.

(d) Joint Tests at Churchill. A plan for the operation and control of a joint testing establishment and providing for United States participation has been approved by the Defence Committee.

3. It will be observed that the matters here referred to are in hand now and it is understood that a large part, if not all of the work which might be done in 1947-48, is covered by the Estimates for that year.

4. In addition, it was suggested in the talks that our part in the joint plan might particularly deal with -

(e) research on air warning equipment;

(f)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(f) survey of sites for airfields;

(g) maintenance on a caretaker basis of airfields which might otherwise be abandoned;

(h) initiation of training of personnel for air defence duties.

5. Of the above, (e) is included in the plans of the Joint United States-Canadian Planning Group.

(f) could be undertaken by Transport in co-operation with Mines and Resources and National Defence. The information would be useful to Canada and is essential to any plan for joint defence. The expense of this should not be great.

(g) might be undertaken by the Department of Transport. Provision is not made for this in the Estimates.

(h) is a matter for the Air Force and is covered in the current Estimates.

6. Detailed estimates of the costs of the foregoing are being worked out and will be submitted to the Chiefs of Staff and if they concur to the Cabinet Defence Committee.

7. It will be observed that no reference is made to the maintenance of the Northwest Staging Route, presumably because this is now being carried on by us and they would expect us to continue this.

8. It will also be observed that the suggestions raised by the United States officials do not go nearly as far as those anticipated in the reports previously made to the Cabinet. These suggestions would add little to defence expenditures. Further, they would fit in with any plans ultimately adopted and would assist in the development of the north for civilian as well as for military purposes.

9. Unless the Defence Committee wishes to raise an objection at this stage, there is no action which the Cabinet Committee need take now except to direct, if that is its wish, that in the preparation of the Estimates provision shall be made for the implementation of a programme along the lines indicated here.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273534

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
23.1.47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am attaching herewith a copy of a draft statement on joint Canada-United States defence for consideration, following the decision reached by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet that such a statement should be prepared. Unless otherwise instructed, I will send copies of the statement only to Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Claxton and yourself. If and when it has received Governmental approval, it should be sent to the State Department for United States examination.

When the joint statement is issued, there should be, on the Canadian side at least, some additional explanatory material. Quite possibly the United States would like to take the same course, and the two Governments should, I think, clear this additional material with each other in advance.

On the Canadian side the following supplementary points could be made:

(1) These principles parallel and do not interfere with our British Commonwealth connections.

(2) Denial that the United States has asked for bases in the Canadian North.

(3) Further emphasis that there has been no attempt by the United States to infringe our sovereignty as sometimes claimed in the press and elsewhere. Relations between the two countries are such that questions of this sort do not arise.

(4) Civil development of the North goes hand in hand with defence measures. The armed forces can contribute to our knowledge of northern conditions (weather, topography, etc) which will assist civil development.

24-1-47

L. M. Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273534

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
23.1.47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am attaching herewith a copy of a draft statement on joint Canada-United States defence for consideration, following the decision reached by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet that such a statement should be prepared. Unless otherwise instructed, I will send copies of the statement only to Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Claxton and yourself. If and when it has received Governmental approval, it should be sent to the State Department for United States examination.

When the joint statement is issued, there should be, on the Canadian side at least, some additional explanatory material. Quite possibly the United States would like to take the same course, and the two Governments should, I think, clear this additional material with each other in advance.

On the Canadian side the following supplementary points could be made:

(1) These principles parallel and do not interfere with our British Commonwealth connections.

(2) Denial that the United States has asked for bases in the Canadian North.

(3) Further emphasis that there has been no attempt by the United States to infringe our sovereignty as sometimes claimed in the press and elsewhere. Relations between the two countries are such that questions of this sort do not arise.

(4) Civil development of the North goes hand in hand with defence measures. The armed forces can contribute to our knowledge of northern conditions (weather, topography, etc) which will assist civil development.

24-1-47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

L.P.Pearson/R.M. Macdonnell-MF

TOP SECRET

C 273535

JOINT STATEMENT ON CANADA-UNITED STATES DEFENCE COOPERATION

1. Cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence has become increasingly effective in recent years. Among the first public statements to be made by the head of either Government was the speech of the late President Roosevelt at Ivy Lea, Ontario, in 1938 when he said, "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Two days later at Woodbridge, Ontario, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, replied, "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

2. Two years later in August 1940, a joint declaration was made at Ogdensburg, New York, by the President and the Prime Minister which announced the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. This Board was to commence immediately studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material, and was to consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the western hemisphere. The Board has met regularly to discuss common problems and to make recommendations to the Governments which created it. Both Governments regard the Board as having

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273536

made, through its studies and recommendations, a valuable contribution to the solution of joint defence problems.

3. A pattern of close defence cooperation between Canada and the United States was thus built up before and during the war. With the ending of active hostilities it was necessary for the two Governments to consider what form this cooperation should take in the postwar period. Both Governments regard their obligations to the United Nations as of overriding importance and view the success of the United Nations as the most vital and significant end to be achieved in international relations today. They hope that in time there will emerge--apart altogether from reduction and limitation of arms and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction--a system of international security which will be adequate to preserve the peace of the world. Both Canada and the United States will make their proper contributions to this system. The ultimate objective is not joint or regional defence, but collective international defence as the guarantee of national security.

4. It must be recognized, however, that much progress has still to be made before a system of international security becomes effective. Each nation must therefore consider what steps it should take in the meantime to defend itself against aggression while bearing constantly in mind that these steps should contribute to the development of general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is also to be noted that the United Nations Charter specifically provides for regional defence arrangements which will contribute to and be part of the general security system.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273537

5. The Governments of Canada and the United States believe that under present conditions their obligations under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security would be fulfilled more effectively through closer cooperation between their armed forces than existed before the war. Such close cooperation will provide a more effective and more economical protection for the North American continent against aggression than unrelated measures carried out by each country independently. Duplication and waste will be avoided and defensive responsibilities can be undertaken after consultation between the two Governments in accordance with the most equitable and efficient use of the available resources of both countries.

6. Arising out of the experiences of the war which have been reviewed by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, certain principles have emerged which the Government believe can be continued with advantage in order to maintain the desired cooperation. These principles are as follows:

(1) A limited number of personnel should be interchanged between the armed forces of both countries, since it is desirable that the forces of Canada and the United States should be familiar with each other's organization and methods of training. This might be extended ? The assignment of selected officers from each of the services to spend a period of time in the corresponding service of the other country and to attend courses of instruction there ~~will facilitate this.~~ ? .

Assignment to particular

(2) Common designs and standards should be adopted as far as may be practicable in

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

such things as arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. Due recognition must of course be given by each country to the special circumstances prevailing therein. Thus United Kingdom designs and standards have been in use for many years in Canada and no radical or immediate change is contemplated. The adoption of common designs and standards is a long-term objective to be achieved gradually. The achievment of this objective will make for increased efficiency in the event of United States and Canadian forces operating together.

(3) Cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest should be encouraged. This, like interchange of personnel, is desirable to extend knowledge of what is being done in the forces of the other country, and also to prevent duplication and to make the best use of experiments and new developments.

(4) Each Government should undertake--~~by~~ through mutual arrangement and on a reciprocal basis--to make available military, naval and air facilities to the armed forces of the other country. Similarly, the practice should be continued of providing reciprocally for the transit through one nation's territory and territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other nation. This is a recognition of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the fact that it is a normal and routine matter for visits of troops, vessels, and aircraft to take place in both directions in time of peace. It is intended that formalities governing such visits should be reduced to a minimum. Each Government would, of course, retain complete freedom to decide how its facilities should be used in any given circumstances and neither Government contemplates making any long-range commitments.

(5) A fundamental principle which underlies all the four principles set forth above is that, in any arrangements which may be made for cooperation between the armed forces of Canada and the United States, there should be no relinquishment by either country of sovereignty or of control over activities in its territory. Thus, it is recognized that military projects or joint tests or exercises undertaken within the territory of one country should be under the supervision of that country. Similarly, military projects, tests or exercises are without prejudice to the sovereignty to either country, confer no permanent rights or status upon either country, and give only such temporary rights or status as may be agreed upon at the time by the authorities of the two countries.

7. These principles represent a practical, economical and unprovocative approach to the problem of the joint security of the United States and Canada. They also

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273540

give a further example of the good, neighbourly relations between Canada and the United States.

8. It is the belief of both Governments that the principles enunciated above will contribute not only to the defence of North America but to the maintenance of international peace and security within the United Nations. It is to be hoped that ultimately the acceptance of a system of collective security, based on international law with international force and will behind it, will make unilateral and joint defence arrangements unnecessary. Until that time arrives, the two governments give a solemn assurance that any arrangements into which they may enter will be solely defensive in character and within the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. A copy of this statement is being sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations for circulation to all its Members.

Appendix: Declaration of August 17, 1940, establishing the Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

TOP SECRET
LBP/SR
26.12.46

C 273541

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am sending you, herewith, a memorandum on the talks which were held some days ago between officials of the United States and Canadian Governments on joint defence questions. Also a record of the conclusions reached in those talks. The meeting was, of course, informal and non-committal, and on the purely official level, but I think it served a useful purpose in giving those concerned on that level an opportunity to exchange views. I am sending a copy of these documents to Mr. St. Laurent and to Mr. Claxton, as representatives of his Department attended the talks.

You will note that reference is made in my memorandum to certain working papers which were prepared for the use of the Canadian officials. I am also sending you a copy of these papers. These working papers were sent to the Canadian officials concerned.

W. L. Mackenzie King

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

R.M. Macdonnell/LBP/MF

December 23, 1946

TOP SECRET

C273542

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Defence Discussions with the United States.

1. In accordance with instructions from the Cabinet, discussions were held with a delegation from the United States on December 16 and 17 in Ottawa on the subject of Joint Defence planning. I attach a record of these talks which was prepared by the Canadian delegation; it has been discussed with the United States Embassy who agree that it represents an accurate account of the topics covered in the talks. By way of supplementary comment you may find the following notes to be of some value.

2. The United States delegation made a very good impression. They were well informed, reasonable and moderate in their approach to the problems discussed. There was no effort on their part to over-emphasize dangers or underline necessities. They gave a well-balanced and carefully worked out statement of the facts as they appeared to them, and allowed us to draw our own conclusions.

3. The most frank and cordial atmosphere prevailed throughout. There was no attempt on the part of the United States representatives to present demands or to insist on certain things being done--an attitude that has sometimes been ascribed to them in speeches and articles. Happily, it is some years since there has been any table-pounding in defence discussions between the two countries. It would be fair to say that while the United States representatives were naturally anxious to see the principles of a joint defence programme agreed, and the programme itself initiated, they were fully aware of the political and practical difficulties for Canada in embarking on any such programme. They recognized that because we are a much smaller country than the United States and because most of whatever is done will take place on our own territory, it is harder for Canada to reach decisions in these matters than for the United States. The

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

examination given to each problem was frank and thorough and few differences in viewpoint appeared as to the steps which should be recommended. General Lincoln who had not previously taken part in any Canada-United States meetings privately told the United States Ambassador afterwards that these talks had been a revelation to him of profitable and constructive discussion.

4. It was made quite clear to the United States representatives from the beginning that these talks were purely exploratory on the official level and that no commitment implied or expressed would result from anything that was said. Our sole object was to have an exchange of views which might put each delegation in a better position to advise their Government of what action, if any, was required in respect of the matters under discussion.

5. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

The meeting was fortunate in having present Mr. George Kennan of the State Department, one of their leading experts on the U.S.S.R., whose knowledge is extensive and whose judgments give the impression of being carefully considered, sensible and to the point. He holds in high regard the views of the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Wilgress, and it is clear that these two observers are agreed on most important points with regard to Soviet policy. There was general agreement with Mr. Kennan's view that if the western democracies demonstrate a reasonable degree of firmness and military strength, there is no need to be too pessimistic about the future. Without such firmness and strength one could only anticipate continued Soviet expansion which might well lead eventually to a world war. The Soviet Union, however, can be "contained" by non-provocative defence measures and by diplomacy based on firmness and fairness. This would strengthen the hands of those elements in the Politburo which want an understanding with the West. Weakness on our part would merely weaken the hands of this group since it would only encourage the messianic zeal of the more doctrinaire communists and the more aggressive nationalists. The only arguments which

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the moderates can use successfully are that the West is strong and that its policies are supported by that strength. If they are given these arguments there is some chance that these moderates can discredit their more ardently expansionist comrades and bring about a long period of peace. It is important, of course, that western strength should be clearly non-provocative and non-aggressive and that whatever steps are taken to maintain it should be treated unsensationally, as normal and matter-of-fact developments.

6. UNITED STATES STRATEGIC CONCEPTS.

It is worth noting that in these defence discussions the representatives of the United States emphasized that their main objective in any future war would be to develop the maximum fire power at the greatest effective distance away from North America. They do not wish to be regarded as unduly "continental-defence-minded". They believe that the strategic offensive remains the best defence. But since such a strategic offensive cannot be undertaken unless the home base and its productive capacities are secured, it is of vital importance that this should be done. Twice in our lifetime the aggressor would have succeeded if that "home base" had not remained inviolable.

It was also brought out in these talks, however, that the United States does not favour the enormous diversion of resources that would be needed to provide one hundred percent protection for North America. They feel that we will have to accept calculated risks and that in the event of war this continent will suffer damage. What is required, therefore, is a defence which will convince public opinion that there is a reasonable degree of home protection, without tying up so much in the way of resources that the enemy cannot be defeated abroad.

General Henry, in an attempt to strike a balance between defensive and offensive requirements, gave his views in the following terms. He appreciated the importance to the Canadian Government and people of deciding whether Canada

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

could plan effectively for continental defence and still have forces available to fight overseas. It was his opinion that in any war which might develop in five or six years, the threat to the physical security of North America would be so slight as to necessitate the tying down of relatively few of Canada's forces. It should therefore be possible to use almost all of these in any way desired by the people and Government of Canada. After five or six years, because of technological developments, we could expect a greater threat to North American security, to insure against which would call for a higher proportion of total Canadian resources, primarily air forces.

There was a certain hesitation on the part of the United States Service representatives on the first day of the talks over any mention of the details of their strategic planning. We, however, made quite clear that we were not asking for such details. We were only interested in the principles on which their planning was based. On the Tuesday, however, they volunteered some very important information. We had been talking on the previous day about "stop lines" beyond which the United States could not allow the U.S.S.R. to advance. On the next day, General Lincoln made it clear that the stand taken by the United States delegation at diplomatic conferences in the last six months gave a very clear indication of where that "stop line" was; that it moved through the centre of Germany to Trieste, and from there through Greece to the Dardanelles. The United States, however, made a very sensible distinction between a geographic and an ethical stop line; in other words, it was not merely a question of an advance of the U.S.S.R. beyond a certain line so much as whether this advance was made with the genuine consent of the people concerned or aggressively and against their wishes. A concrete example would be Trieste. If the people of that city of their own free will decided to attach themselves to the Yugoslav Federation there could not be any objection on anybody's part. It would be quite another matter, however, if that change took place by aggressive action against the will of the people.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273546

C

In discussing this matter, we made it quite clear to the American representatives that in expressing our interest in this matter we were not influenced merely by idle curiosity. As our relationship to the United States was so close and becoming closer through force of circumstances; and as it would be difficult, if not impossible, for Canada to avoid becoming involved in any major conflict in which the United States participated, naturally we wish to be made aware of the circumstances which would involve that country in war.

7. NATURE OF DEFENCE PLANNING.

There was general agreement as to the nature of defence planning. Rigidity must be avoided and flexibility preserved. No plan, however excellent, could be approved by governments in the sense that commitments for any distant future could be made. All defence plans must be regarded as somewhat utopian and as goals to be attained in the event of emergency. Their degree of implementation has to be decided step by step and the rate of implementation must be under constant review so that it can be accelerated or slowed down in the light of international developments. A firm distinction must therefore be drawn between governmental acceptance of a plan as a goal towards which to work and the governmental decisions that will have to be taken as to whether certain aspects of the plan should be put into effect at any given time. The governments thus retain complete freedom to say at what rate the plan should be translated into action.

8. PUBLICITY

There was probably a greater initial difference of opinion on the question of publicity between Canadian and United States representatives than on any other topic. The State Department was obviously inclined to the view that any public reference to the Recommendation of November 20 was unnecessary and undesirable. Indeed, the opinion was expressed that the only document which required publication was the Ogdensburg Declaration of 1940 which set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273547

The Canadian representatives succeeded in convincing the United States representatives that because of the interest that had been displayed by the public in northern defence problems, it would be impossible to avoid some sort of statement at the forthcoming Session of Parliament. This being so, it seemed desirable to make public the substance of the Recommendation since, if this were not done, there would be no satisfactory answer to the inevitable question--"What arrangements have been entered into with the United States?". There was a fairly protracted discussion of the arguments pro and con publication but in the end, as the record of conclusions shows, it was agreed that we should recommend to our governments that parallel announcements should be made in Ottawa and Washington which would give the substance but not the text of the Recommendation of November 20. It was also the view of all present that these statements should avoid sensationalism or anything savouring of the provocative, and should be as matter-of-fact as possible.

9. I feel that these talks were most satisfactory and that the officials on both sides have now a better appreciation of the questions discussed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Canadian representatives succeeded in convincing the United States representatives that because of the interest that had been displayed by the public in northern defence problems, it would be impossible to avoid some sort of statement at the forthcoming Session of Parliament. This being so, it seemed desirable to make public the substance of the Recommendation since, if this were not done, there would be no satisfactory answer to the inevitable question--"What arrangements have been entered into with the United States?". There was a fairly protracted discussion of the arguments pro and con publication but in the end, as the record of conclusions shows, it was agreed that we should recommend to our governments that parallel announcements should be made in Ottawa and Washington which would give the substance but not the text of the Recommendation of November 20. It was also the view of all present that these statements should avoid sensationalism or anything savouring of the provocative, and should be as matter-of-fact as possible.

9. I feel that these talks were most satisfactory and that the officials on both sides have now a better appreciation of the questions discussed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

COPY NO. 1

An informal meeting between representatives of the United States and Canada was held in Ottawa December 16th-17th, 1946, for the purpose of discussing political questions arising out of joint Canadian-United States defence planning.

Present:

UNITED STATES

The Honourable Ray Atherton, Ambassador of the United States of America (U.S. Chairman)
Mr. Kennan, State Dept., Washington
Mr. Parsons, State Dept., Washington
Major General Guy V. Henry, War Dept., Washington
Rear Admiral Jones, Navy Dept., Washington
Brigadier General Lincoln, War Dept., Washington
Captain Anderson, Navy Dept., Washington
Colonel Van Devanter, War Dept., Washington
Mr. Dow, U.S. Embassy, Ottawa (U.S. Secretary)

CANADA

Mr. L.B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (Canadian Chairman)
Mr. A.D.P. Heeney, Secretary to the Cabinet
Mr. R.M. Macdonnell, Dept. of External Affairs
Commodore H.G. De Wolf, Dept. of National Defence for Naval Services,
Major General C.C. Mann, Dept. of National Defence
Air Vice Marshal W.A. Curtis, Dept. of National Defence for Air
Mr. E.W.T. Gill, Privy Council Office (Canadian Secretary)

---

1. Mr. Pearson welcomed the United States representatives and explained briefly the purposes which these talks were designed to serve.

The Joint Appreciation and Basic Security Plan which had been agreed by the Chiefs of Staff of both countries had been submitted to the two governments. While the Canadian government had not taken any decision in connection with these documents, they had been impressed with the extreme importance of the political considerations involved and felt it desirable that discussions should be held with the United States on the official and later possibly on the political level before further consideration was given joint defence plans. These official discussions were, of course, non-committal and exploratory.

Specifically, the Canadian authorities were interested:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273549
TOP SECRET

(a) in considering the political aspects of potential threats to North American security and the political implications of measures that might be taken to meet such threats;

(b) in securing the views of the United States as to the relationship between continental defence and global strategy; and,

(c) in discussing whether any decision of the two governments to co-operate in defence matters should form the subject of an inter-governmental Agreement; if so, what form and substance it should take, and what publicity, if any, might be given to it.

A number of unofficial working papers had been prepared and made available to assist discussion.

2. Mr. Atherton said that the United States representatives would attempt to give as accurate a picture as possible of the United States point of view in these matters. The problems which faced the two governments in co-operating for the security of North America were serious ones. In his view, "possible" as well as "probable" action on the part of a potential aggressor should be taken into account and the timing of any defensive measures was of great importance. He recalled that the chief reason for inaction by the United Kingdom and United States in the years preceding the last war was the fear of unfavourable international reaction to firm measures and he hoped that this same fear would not exert undue influence now.

Political appreciation of the objectives of Soviet foreign policy

3. The Canadian Chairman said that some preliminary views on this subject had been set forth in a memorandum prepared by Canadian officials. This estimated that, subject to certain qualifications, there was only slight risk of aggression on the part of any potential enemy, such as the Soviet Union, in the near future. It was to be expected, however, that the U.S.S.R. would spare no efforts to strengthen its economy and build up its war potential. As an expanding power its policies were aimed at dividing the western democracies and one could not disregard the danger that these policies might lead, through a miscalculation in the near future or through a deliberate move in the long term, to war. Prudence demanded, therefore, that the democratic countries make preparations for their security since, if war threatened, the United Nations as presently organized would be ineffective in maintaining peace.

4. Mr. Kennan expressed himself as being in general agreement with the conclusions of the Canadian memorandum.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273549A

It was important to realize the basic aggressiveness of the Soviet programme though one need not be too pessimistic about the ability of the democratic countries to exert some influence on this programme. We should, therefore, strive to limit their expansive programme to "non-provocative" advances, and to prevent them attaining by aggressive policies those things it was essential to deny them.

It should be remembered also that in the U.S.S.R., decisions were made by the Communist Party and not by the government. Some influences in the party were known to favour a more moderate foreign policy than others. The problem of the democracies was to be sufficiently firm to provide encouragement for the moderate element (who would be encouraged by strength, not weakness) and at the same time give the more anti-western group no unnecessary opportunity to charge that the foreign policies of the democracies were aggressive and provocative.

Defensive measures in the Arctic were a logical security development and the U.S.S.R. would expect precautions of this nature to be taken. These should, however, be carried out in such a way as to minimize the possibilities of their being exploited as a threat to peace. They should be treated as co-operative arrangements of a continuing nature and not as indicating a new policy.

5. Mr. Heeney remarked that the Canadian government were not satisfied that there was not bound to be some element of provocation in the overt planning of joint defence measures in the Arctic. Any political disadvantage on this score had to be balanced against the deterrent element in the policy of firmness which had been referred to and, of course, the accepted requirements from the military point of view. In any event the government felt that it was desirable to have preliminary defensive measures carried on under civilian auspices so far as practicable.

6. Conclusion. It was the general feeling that there was no substantial difference between the viewpoint of the U.S. and Canadian representatives as to the objectives of the Soviet Union and as to the effect upon the Soviet foreign policy of undertaking joint Canadian-U.S. defence measures.

Relationship of North American defence to global strategy

7. The Canadian Chairman sought the views of the United States side on the relationship of North American defence to their general strategic planning.

It was of great importance to Canada to have some knowledge of the essential features of the wider picture in making her own plans for co-operation in continental defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

8. General Lincoln stressed the uncertainties of peacetime military planning as compared with wartime planning. In the "fog of peace" political and economic factors exerted much greater influences than in the "fog of war". Peacetime planning had a dual purpose - to prevent war by acting as a deterrent to aggression and to make victory attainable if war should come.

In attempting to estimate probable dangers it seemed reasonably clear that the Soviet intentions were to expand either territorily or ideologically. These intentions must be countered by maintaining the war-making capacity of North America and thereby permitting, in the event of war, offensive action which would have a reasonable chance of breaking down the Soviet position.

Present planning was directed towards the first of these general objectives; i.e., maintaining the war-making capacity of North America - this might be described as "military posture". If the "military posture" of North America was strong, it would act as a deterrent to war and would add strength to the United Kingdom and the democracies of western Europe in their adherence to firm foreign policies.

While it was not possible to say where a war would break out or at what stage in the struggle the United States would become involved, one of the first strategic principles was to ensure the security of the vital home base, and defensive measures in North America were directed to this end.

For psychological and strategic reasons there could be little or no North American participation in fighting overseas or in a large scale offensive outside the continent unless security, which of course would not be 100%, was provided.

In planning it was not feasible to consider offense separately from defence - a more appropriate distinction would be "inside North America" and "outside North America". In the event of war a strategic air offensive might be undertaken in the early stages and, in such an event, we would have to accept calculated risks in defence and to expect losses in the offensive.

9. General Henry commented on the difficulty in attempting to estimate how Canadian and United States military effort should be divided between North American defence and military action outside North America. It seemed reasonable, however, to say that if war came within the next five or six years a relatively small percentage would be tied down to North America but this proportion would tend to increase thereafter, particularly as regards the air forces.

10. Representatives of the U.S. State Department, in discussing the relationship of United States foreign

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

policy to the problem under discussion, gave assurance that geographical limits or "stop lines" to Russian expansionist policy had in fact been set with the full realization of the implications involved. Two examples of a "crystalization" of U.S. policy along these lines would be found in recent events abroad.

"Stop lines" should, however, not be considered merely geographically but also in an ethical sense.

11. The Canadian Chairman expressed appreciation for the frankness with which the U.S. side had discussed these questions and hoped that Canada would in future be kept informed on those aspects of U.S. planning in the wider field of global strategy which particularly affected North American defence plans.

12. Conclusion. The views of the U.S. representatives on these questions were noted.

Joint Canadian-United States defence planning

13. Representatives of the U.S. War Department, referring to the discussion on strategic questions, pointed out that the following factors had been kept in mind when drafting the joint Basic Security Plan:

(a) defensive measures, if kept ahead of enemy capabilities, would act as a deterrent to aggressiveness;

(b) considerable time was required for the establishment of some of the static defence facilities;

(c) the importance of offensive action was fully realized and the plan was drawn up to give maximum use of facilities for offensive purposes; and,

(d) the Appreciation and Plan were subject to periodic review.

The Military Co-operation Committee at their recent meeting had recommended that the U.S. and Canadian authorities in considering these planning reports should make a sharp distinction between the Basic Security Plan (and annexes) and implementation programmes. The former, it was thought, should be considered as a purely military plan which did not commit either government to any specific action. Implementation programmes, on the other hand, were intended to serve as a basis for definite action and each progressive stage would be a matter for government decision in the light of the world situation at the time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

14. Mr. Heeney observed that in his view the Canadian government were unlikely to regard the Appreciation as a document for actual acceptance (or rejection) by the Cabinet. Rather, the government's decisions on joint defence questions would likely be taken as and when implementation programmes were put before them from time to time.

15. Conclusion. The meeting took note of these remarks.

Civilian operations in support of defence projects

16. The Canadian Chairman asked the meeting to consider to what extent preliminary defence measures in Northern Canada could be carried out under civilian auspices.

In the Canadian view there was a good deal to be said for following such a policy in the early stages and among the activities which suggested themselves as being susceptible of this treatment the following were cited - mapping and photography; weather station programme; Loran programme; operation and extension or construction of airfields.

17. United States representatives regarded the problem as a purely Canadian one and, while it might tend to complicate U.S. participation in joint undertakings, they thought that certain measures, particularly those to which priority was attached, might be undertaken on a civilian basis, and the U.S. authorities would do what they could to meet Canadian wishes in this matter.

With reference to current planning there were some immediate measures on which proposals had been made or would shortly be put forward. These included:

(a) projects related specifically to the Air Defence Plan such as - (1) research on air warning equipment; (2) a survey of certain sites for airfields; (3) maintenance on a caretaker basis of certain airfields which might otherwise be abandoned; (4) training of personnel for air defence duties;

(b) projects related to general planning such as - (1) mapping programme; (2) weather coverage; (3) Loran programme; (4) joint tests at Churchill.

Of these various immediate measures, certain ones, such as research and training, would not be undertaken in the North and presumably did not fall into the category of those which might be civilian in character. Others, such as survey and maintenance of airfields and weather stations, might be treated as primarily civilian.

18. Conclusion. It was generally agreed that there might be advantages to carrying out certain of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

earlier parts of the projected programme under civilian auspices, and wherever this was practicable the United States would co-operate to that end.

Joint defence planning; financial arrangements

19. The Canadian Chairman asked the meeting to consider the possibility of working out an agreed set of principles for determining the proportion of the cost of joint defence projects which should be borne by each country.

While the Canadian side had no specific proposals to put forward on this important aspect of defence planning, they had, however, in their memorandum on the subject, suggested how the problem might be approached.

It might, for instance, be desirable to follow a policy whereby the Canadian government would provide, at their expense, land and buildings required in Canadian territory for joint defence purposes with the U.S. providing the equipment.

20. Conclusion. The meeting concluded:

(a) that it would be premature at this stage to draw up principles which could be recommended for general application in the allocation of cost of joint defence projects undertaken in Canada;

(b) that, as an alternative, annual programmes submitted in implementation of any agreed joint plans should be examined jointly by the appropriate financial authorities of each country who should make joint recommendations on the allocation of cost to both governments; and,

(c) that for this purpose the two governments should consider the establishment of a standing committee.

P.J.B.D. Recommendation of November 20th; publication and registration with United Nations Organization

21. The Canadian side raised the question of publishing the P.J.B.D. Recommendation of November 20th.

In the Canadian view, a statement of some sort was to be desired as it was inevitable that in the forthcoming session of Parliament the government would be called upon to say something on defence arrangements with the United States. Apart from this, there had been considerable publicity in connection with Arctic defence, some of which was sensational and inaccurate, and a statement would do much to correct any wrong impressions that might have been created.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Several alternatives were open to the governments if they should decide to make an announcement. The Recommendation itself could be published, or some statement describing in general terms the principles of co-operation included in the Recommendation but not adhering to the text. In any event care should be exercised to avoid giving the impression that the arrangements indicated the adoption of a new policy, and it was also important to relate the arrangements to the United Nations. Also, it might be deemed desirable in Canada to add something on Canada's future co-operation with other British Commonwealth countries.

A related question was whether or not acceptance of the Board's Recommendation by the two governments constituted an International Agreement within the meaning of Article 102 of the U.N. Charter. In this connection, the question of its registration with the United Nations should be considered.

There was the further question of whether acceptance of the Board's Recommendation by the two countries should be followed by an exchange of notes or acknowledged by some more formal means than had been the case for previous recommendations of the Board.

22. The U.S. side felt that the reasons advanced by the Canadians for publication of the Recommendation or for announcements in agreed terms were sound, although the view had been held in the State Department that any public statement was unnecessary.

They favoured a statement of a general nature related to the Ogdensburg Declaration and United Nations obligations and emphasizing the fact that present arrangements were a natural continuation of wartime co-operation. Such a statement might be communicated for information to the United Nations although it should be made clear that there was no legal obligation to do so under the Charter.

23. Conclusion. The meeting were in general agreement:

(a) that publicity of some kind would have to be given to the arrangements embodied in the Recommendation of November 20th;

(b) that this might appropriately take the form of an agreed statement which would contain the substance of (but not quote) the P.J.B.D. Recommendation and which would make suitable reference to the relationship of these arrangements to the Ogdensburg Declaration and obligations under the United Nations;

(c) that such statement should not be registered with the United Nations but might be communicated to the Secretary General for information; and,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(d) that the governments' acceptance of the Board's Recommendation of November 20th should be in the manner normally followed by the two governments in approving Recommendations of the Joint Board.

Position of United Kingdom in relation to Canada-United States defence

24. Mr. Pearson drew attention to the desirability of keeping the U.K. authorities informed of relevant aspects of joint Canadian-United States planning. Indeed, it was necessary to consult them on questions arising from the planning which affected Newfoundland territory.

Following the Prime Minister's recent conversation with President Truman, the subject had been discussed by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The U.S. representatives had seen no objections to informing the United Kingdom in general terms of what was being done, but they had felt that details of the joint planning should be communicated to U.K. authorities only after final decisions had been reached or in respect of those matters in which co-operation with the United Kingdom was essential.

25. Conclusion. The meeting took the view that any formal agreement on a matter of this kind was undesirable and concluded that the policy outlined in the journal of the November 19th-20th meeting of the Joint Board provided a suitable basis for further action.

Goose Bay; U.S. proposal to secure military rights of airbase

26. Colonel Van Devanter read a United States memorandum on the strategic importance of Goose Bay and proposing that the United States be granted military rights for the peacetime utilization of the airbase.

Current U.S. planning had indicated the need for outlying bases some distance from the vital areas and in the probable route of approach of any air attacks that might be mounted against this continent. Goose Bay, because of logistical and other considerations, was probably the most strategically important base on the continent and its development for Very Heavy Bombardment operations was an important element in the plans to provide for the security of North America. The United States hoped that an early decision could be reached on this question.

27. Canadian representatives pointed out that Canadian rights at this base had been secured by long term lease from the Newfoundland government, and the rights which the United States now sought would require the concurrence of the Newfoundland and (by virtue of its present political status) the U.K. governments.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Owing to the uncertainty regarding the constitutional position of Newfoundland, the present was regarded as an unfavourable time to open the question, but it might be useful to have a preliminary conversation with the United Kingdom High Commissioner on the subject.

If the concurrence of the U.K. and Newfoundland governments was forthcoming, it might be desirable for Canada to be conceded certain reciprocal rights at United States bases in Newfoundland so that the arrangements could be regarded as an exchange of rights. If the training side of the undertaking could be emphasized, this might also be helpful in concluding the arrangements sought by the U.S.

28. Conclusion. It was agreed that the U.S. proposals to secure military rights at Goose Bay should be discussed informally with the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Canada and that U.S. and Canadian representatives would meet with him later in the day for this purpose.

E. W. T. Gill,
Canadian Secretary.

Privy Council Office,
December 21st, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

December 6, 1946.

No. 1

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSES

It might be helpful to the United States authorities to have a brief summary of the background leading up to the discussions which are planned and a statement of the Canadian Government's views as to the purposes of those discussions.

The Joint Appreciation prepared by the Military Cooperation Committee was considered some time ago by the Cabinet Defence Committee. Without making any decision for the time being on the soundness of this Appreciation, the Cabinet Defence Committee authorized its use as a planning document to serve as the basis for continued joint defence planning with the United States. This planning took the form of the preparation by joint sub-committees of appendices to a draft basic security plan and has been progressing satisfactorily. Recently, following discussions between the Prime Minister and the President, the Government undertook to review the situation and for the first time gave collective consideration to the Joint Appreciation. Impressed with the extreme importance of the political considerations which are involved, they felt it desirable that discussions should be held with the United States on the official - and later possibly on the political-level before any formal decision was taken with respect to the Appreciation. It should be noted that there has been no rejection of the Appreciation, which is largely a military document, but rather a desire to secure more information on the political and over-all strategic aspects of the situation than has so far been made available.

The purposes of the forthcoming discussions, insofar as the Canadian Government are concerned, can be stated briefly as follows:

(1) To consider, on the official level, and without commitment on either side, the political aspects of potential threats to North American security and on the political implications of various steps that might be taken to meet those potential threats.

(2) To obtain the views of the United States as to what military and naval steps, on a global basis, they regard as essential or desirable for the maintenance of security.

(3) To consider whether any inter-Governmental agreement, or other document, is required in which the two Governments might record their decision to co-operate in the defence of North America, and, if so, what should be the form and substance of such agreement.

(4) To enable the officials concerned to make reports to their respective Governments which might be useful in connection with any discussions on a higher political level which might later take place.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273558

TOP SECRET

November 30, 1946.

MEMORANDUM

No. 1

POLITICAL APPRECIATION OF THE OBJECTIVES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Immediate or short-term prospects of Soviet aggression

On such information as is available to the Canadian Government, it appears most unlikely that the Soviet Union would be in a position to wage another major war in the near future, and for this reason it is highly improbable that the Soviet Government would run the risk of deliberately provoking such a war. As a result of the last war, the Soviet Union has suffered so heavily in terms of a general disorganization of its economy, material destruction and loss of manpower that a breathing space seems clearly indicated as a main objective of Soviet policy. It is not possible to do more than guess at the period of time which will elapse before the Soviet Government consider that they are in a position to wage another major war should they desire to do so. It may be that the completion of each of the three five-year plans now contemplated will be considered necessary before the Soviet Government feel strong enough for such a struggle. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Soviet Government will spare no efforts to strengthen its economy and build up its war potential (already very powerful) at the earliest possible date.

To this estimate of the short run danger of Soviet aggression, three qualifications should be made.

(a) The possibility of the development and production in large quantities by the U.S.S.R. of atomic bombs or of some new weapon of mass destruction.

(b) The situation that might arise in the event of Stalin's death. It seems unlikely that the transfer of power from Stalin to his successor would affect the power of the Communist party in the U.S.S.R. or change the form of Soviet foreign policy. On the other hand, there is always the possibility that the transfer of such immense political power as Stalin wields may not take place smoothly. Personal ambitions may operate to prevent the orderly transfer of power and to produce a crisis in the Soviet Union. However, in our ignorance of the present relationships, motives and ambitions of the members of the ruling group in the Soviet Union, it would be idle to pursue such a speculation. The preservation of the present regime and the advancement of Soviet interests abroad are likely to govern the policies of the Soviet Government, whoever succeeds Stalin.

(c) There remains the possibility that either some agent of Soviet policy (e.g. a Soviet general commanding troops in an area of friction) or more probably the Government of one of the states forming part of the Soviet bloc (e.g. Yugoslavia) may precipitate a war. It might be that the Soviet Government would be unwilling

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273559

for reasons of prestige to withdraw from the position to which it had been committed and thus be drawn into warfare at first local in scale but afterwards becoming a world wide struggle. While this is a possible eventuality, it may be regarded as unlikely. The Soviet Government have not in the past hesitated to disavow either policies or individuals embarrassing to them, nor have they hesitated to retreat into inglorious security when they felt it wise to do so. It seems, therefore, improbable that the U.S.S.R. will become involved in a major war started by any one of the agents of Soviet policy against the will of the Kremlin.

The Long-term Threat of Soviet Agression

While, therefore, we do not consider there to be imminent danger of Soviet agression, it must be recognized that there are powerful forces at work which may in the end precipitate the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western World.

One of these is the idea which is a basic part of Marxist philosophy that an ultimate struggle between communism and capitalism is inevitable and that communism will emerge victorious. It is difficult to say how much the present rulers of Russia are affected by this concept but it is certainly not without influence on Soviet policy. It may be assumed, however, that Soviet foreign policy will be dictated less by ideological considerations than by a realistic estimate of Soviet interests as they are understood in the Kremlin.

At the same time the Soviet Union is a police state in which individual liberties and democratic methods of government, as these are understood in the West, can hardly be said to exist. Between such a state and the Western democracies a fundamental cleavage inevitably exists. This conflict of principle runs deep in all the relations of the Soviet Union with the Western World. Moreover, the insecurity which makes it necessary for the Soviet Government to rule by such methods, also makes it essential that the people of the Soviet Union should not be exposed to the unsettling effects of contact with the Western democracies or their nationals. The Soviet Government, therefore, not only keep their people in ignorance of our conditions of life, but employ unceasing propaganda to instill into the population fear and suspicion of the intentions of the Western democracies. In addition, there will always be a tendency, when things are going badly in the Soviet Union, for the Soviet Government to distract popular attention from their own shortcomings by starting a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation directed against one or other of the Anglo-Saxon democracies. Such methods are obviously dangerous to international peace.

Apart from the desire to further world revolution, the Soviet Government may be led in the direction of war by two other motives. One is the desire for expansion--perhaps for eventual world domination--and the other is fear of a threat to Soviet security by the Western powers.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273560

It is perfectly obvious that the Soviet Union is an expanding power. The Soviet Union has annexed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Koenigsberg district, Eastern Poland, Carpatho-Ukraine, Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, Tannu-Tuva, Port Arthur, Karaputo and the Kurile Islands. It has taken the Petsamo and Viborg areas from Finland. It is attempting, with considerable success, to establish a zone of exclusive Soviet influence beyond these territories, in Poland, the Soviet zone of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Persia, Azerbaijan, the Mongul People's republic, Northern Korea, Dairen, and the trunk railways of Manchuria. In Czechoslovakia, Soviet influence is strong but not as yet exclusive.

These represent formidable acquisitions of power and influence; and there are no signs that the Soviet Government is willing to set bounds to its appetite for further expansion. There is, perhaps, however, a valid distinction between admitting Russia's expansionist tendencies and attributing to her schemes for world domination, although the distinction may be rather one of method than of eventual objective. It seems unlikely that the Soviet Government is contemplating grandiose schemes for world domination of the kind which fascinated the restless dictators of the thirties. The Soviet rulers have always despised what they term "bourgeois adventurism". The gambling spirit that is willing to take great risks in the hope of immense returns seems to have little appeal for the Soviet Government. On the record of their past policies, it is rather difficult to imagine the rulers of the Soviet Union unleashing at a stroke a world struggle. It seems more probable that the Soviet Government will pursue a course of deliberate and cautious consolidation of positions already acquired together with a process of probing for the weak spots in the adversarys' positions. Such a policy might operate on the political, economic or military planes. We have already had ample experience of these methods in negotiation between the Soviet Government and the Western powers. The tactics are familiar--the spun-out negotiation, the bargaining price, the war of nerves, the manipulation of facts for propaganda purposes, the abrupt change of front and the retreats pour mieux sauter. These have become the commonplaces of Soviet diplomatic methods.

Behind these tactics, the strategy of the Soviet Government seems to be emerging with increasing clarity. It is to undermine the position of the Western powers, and to weaken and divide them at every opportunity. In pursuit of these aims, the Soviet Government are anxious to prevent the formation of any Western bloc of powers. They strive to separate the United States from the United Kingdom and to isolate the latter in difficulties over some issue in which they hope that the support of the United States may not be forthcoming. Moreover, the Soviet Government, in its role as defender of the oppressed is carrying on propaganda against "imperialist" powers in general and against the British and American democracies in particular. In this capacity, the Soviet Government claims to be the champion of the poorer classes in all countries and of all racial minority groups.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273561

In our estimation it is no longer possible to doubt that the Soviet Government aim at dividing the Western world against itself and increasing discord and instability. Such policies are plainly incompatible with friendship or cooperation as we understand these terms. On the other hand, they could be pursued for a prolonged period by the U.S.S.R. without implying that the Soviet Government intended to precipitate a world war. They may very possibly be carried to the length of fomenting civil war in certain countries in which the U.S.S.R. would give under-cover support to its adherents (e.g. in China and Greece).

The Soviet Government will inevitably, whatever their own ultimate objectives, be influenced in their policies by the reaction which they encounter from the Western powers. They have a healthy respect for the immense industrial resources of the United States and for its war potential. They are aware of the attraction which western democratic ideas exercise over the minds of peoples all over the world. They are alarmed at the possibility that the socialist experiment may succeed in Britain and that the example of this alternative to Communist revolution might undermine their influence among the industrial working classes of Western Europe. So long as they think the western democracies and in particular the United States and the United Kingdom are strong and united and so long as firm but fair-minded policies are pursued by those powers in dealing with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government may be disposed to proceed with caution.

If, however, they see signs of weaknesses in the internal economies of the western democracies (or instability in the conduct of their foreign affairs) they may be tempted to follow more aggressive policies. They will certainly seize upon any evidence of appeasement as an encouraging sign of weakness. On the other hand, should they become convinced (perhaps as the result of inaccurate reports from their representatives abroad) that the Western powers have aggressive intentions against the Soviet Union, they might feel impelled to provide in haste for their security by further annexations of territory or infiltration into countries in strategic positions.

In assessing the possibility of war with the Soviet Union, it can be assumed that the United Nations, in its present form, will not provide the effective means of preventing such a struggle. While the United Nations may be competent to prevent minor wars between smaller nations, it cannot under its present Charter effectively curtail the complete freedom of action of a Great Power. It cannot be assumed that the world disarmament plans now under consideration in New York will eventually become realities or that the effective control of atomic energy on a world scale may be instituted. The Canadian Government for its part will certainly do its utmost to work for these objectives through the United Nations. But the existing international machinery cannot be relied upon as a deterrent to aggression by the Soviet Union.

Thus while the threat of immediate aggression seems slight, there is little prospect of sincere cooperation with the Soviet Union. A period of deteriorating relations between the Soviet Union and the Western world is to be anticipated.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273562

It is all too probable that this situation may end in war. The best likelihood of averting such a catastrophe would be for the Soviet Government to be convinced of the strength and unity of the western democracies and at the same time persuaded that they have nothing to fear from them. It is possible that they might then postpone indefinitely the accomplishment of their ultimate aims and the world might settle into a period of uneasy peace.

If this analysis is correct, we cannot afford to risk being unprepared in the event of war. The danger that Soviet policies may end in aggression cannot safely be ignored and it becomes essential in self-protection to consider the defensive measures entailed by the possibility of Soviet aggression.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273563 December 6, 194..

TOP SECRET

No. 1

CIVILIAN OPERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF DEFENCE PROJECTS.

1. It can be accepted that if plans for northern defence are approved by the Governments of Canada and the United States and those plans call for any defence activities in northern Canada, the spotlight of public attention will be focussed on the North. Irrespective of the details of those plans, it is certain that they will call for the expenditure of money and the carrying out of activities in the North. It would clearly be impossible to maintain complete secrecy about such a programme even if secrecy were desirable. Activities undertaken in the North will therefore, to some extent at least, require public explanation and justification by Governments. Not only must public opinion in Canada and the United States be considered; the reaction, favourable or unfavourable, in other parts of the world must also be taken into account.

2. The simplest and most direct course of action would be to state unequivocally but unsensationally that certain defence activities were regarded as necessary in order to insure the security of the continent against the possibility of future air attack over the Pole from Europe or Asia. However, it must be recognized that such a statement would attract criticism both in North America and abroad. From the Soviet world would come vigorous and insistent charges of aggressive imperialism hurled with characteristic disregard for the facts, although similar objections would undoubtedly be raised at whatever Canada and the United States might do even if it were only the accumulation of harmless weather data. On the North American continent there might well be uneasiness among sections of the public either because of a feeling that menacing gestures were being made at the Soviet Union (which might be regarded as immoral or merely inexpedient), or because a lack of faith in the United Nations was being shown, or perhaps because of unwillingness to face the expensive facts of the unsettled world in which we live.

3. If a straightforward programme of defence preparations is likely to encounter public opposition to any considerable extent, it appears important to examine the degree to which our objectives can be reached through a programme of civil operations. It might well be possible to place the minimum of emphasis on preparations for defence and to stress the civil benefits that can be anticipated from improving our knowledge of northern conditions and making the resources of those regions more available for general use.

4. There are certain defence activities for which little or no civil justification could be found. To take a particularly obvious example, it would be difficult to offer a convincing argument that a radar interceptor installation was designed to open up the North for development. On the other hand, there are a number of activities for which civilian justification can more plausibly be found and they happen to be those which, under any probable order of priorities, would be carried out within the next few years and before it would become necessary to develop exclusively military installations. Examples are:

   (a) Mapping and photography of large areas in the North.

   (b) Establishment of weather stations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(c) Establishment of Loran stations and other aids to civil air navigation.

(d) Operation, extension and construction of airfields.

5. There is also an intermediate category of projects which, while undertaken by the armed forces primarily for their own benefit, do provide valuable by-products in the way of knowledge that is useful for civilian purposes. In this category could be listed such things as tests by the armed forces of fuels and lubricants, transport, clothing and other materials.

6. There are certain difficulties in the way of conducting activities on a civilian basis. One of the first to be encountered is that the armed forces frequently have men and equipment available while the civil departments do not. Take, for example, the matter of air transport. Practically every project that might be undertaken in the North (e.g. air photography, weather stations and Loran stations) requires a considerable amount of this. The armed forces are in a position to supply it and because of the lack of any air transport organization operated by a civil department, the only alternative would seem to be the chartering of planes from a civil air operator. Again, in the matter of air photography and mapping, only the armed forces are properly equipped to do it, although in Canada this is the normal peacetime responsibility of the R.C.A.F. Thus there is an initial inclination to assign responsibilities to the armed forces which is not lessened by the reluctance of civil departments to include in their estimates funds which are to be spent for purposes connected with defence. Moreover, the sharing of costs might be made more difficult. Steps in this direction could be taken only as the result of decisions reached by governments on high policy grounds. As far as the United States is concerned, there may be even greater difficulties than in Canada because of the greater measure of autonomy possessed by government departments. It would be interesting to obtain United States views on what would happen if the Canadian Government were prepared to approve a project sponsored by the War or Navy Department (say, the Loran programme) on condition that it were done on a civilian basis. It seems probable that the United States armed forces might find it difficult to turn the job over to a civil agency such as the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

7. In presenting any programme to the public it would clearly be impossible to explain and justify measures for joint (or, for that matter, individual) defence in the North on the ground that the whole programme was primarily an aid to civil development. Such a claim, far from allaying criticism, would invite it. Therefore, it seems desirable to state at a fairly early date that as a routine matter Canada and the United States, like all other nations, are examining their capabilities for defence. They have found gaps in their knowledge of the North which, while unimportant hitherto, are now of more concern because of recent technological advances. They have accordingly decided to fill those gaps and, in addition, to conduct certain tests and experiments.

8. Having said this, it would be possible to go on and point to the fact that Canada needs this information in any event if we are to assist in developing the North. Therefore a programme is being undertaken which is only partly military and the results of which will be of general benefit. As this is a mixed programme involving both the armed forces and civil departments, each is being called upon to contribute accordingly to the most

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273564A

economical use of money and equipment. Thus, the preparatory stages might be assigned as follows on the Canadian side:

(a) Air photography and mapping.

R.C.A.F. and Mines and Resources (as now contemplated).

(b) Weather stations.

Department of Transport (as now contemplated).

(c) Loran programme.

Department of Transport (instead of the R.C.A.F. as has been suggested).

(d) Operation, extension or construction of airfields.

Department of Transport (their normal function).

It could be explained that, in general, the R.C.A.F. would assist with air transport where this was required. Mention could also be made of the intermediate category (tests of clothing, equipment, etc) where the armed forces would undertake experiments which were necessary to improve their knowledge of northern conditions, but where the benefits would be of general civilian value.

9. As suggested earlier in this paper, it will probably be found in discussions with the United States that they would have difficulty in transferring activities from the War and Navy Departments to civil departments. The weather station programme is the only one discussed so far that brings in a civil department. It would be well, however, to examine with United States representatives the advantages of the approach outlined in this paper and in particular the possibility of putting the Loran programme under civilian auspices.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

December 7, 1946.

No. 1

PUBLICATION AND REGISTRATION OF THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE PERMANENT JOINT DEFENCE BOARD OF NOVEMBER 20, 1946

Publication

It will soon become necessary to decide whether it is intended to make a public statement regarding Canadian-United States plans for defence in Northern Canada or not and if so, whether the actual text of the Recommendation of November 20th should be made public.

The following are some of the considerations relative to this question:

The main argument in favour of a public statement (whether or not the Recommendation itself is made public) is that concealment of joint defence activities in Northern Canada will in any event prove impossible. Already the press and public in Canada and the United States are taking an active interest in this question. Once the contemplated defence plans are under way, further questions are bound to be raised both in the House of Commons and elsewhere and it will prove increasingly difficult and embarrassing to return evasive answers to widespread public demand for fuller information. Moreover, this whole question will presumably come up for debate in the House of Commons when the Defence estimates are introduced, if not sooner. Nor will it prove possible to explain and justify the measures for joint defence in the North onthe grounds that the whole programme is an aid to civil development. If a decision is made in favour of a public statement, the following are some of the alternatives which should be considered:

Publication of the Recommendation of November 20th. There would be certain advantages in publishing and perhaps also in registering with the United Nations (this point is discussed below) the text of the Recommendation itself.

(a) Publication of the actual text would forestall the demand for further information as to the character of the agreement governing defence plans which might well arise if there were a public statement without a published text.

(b) The text is innocuous in form as it consists of half a dozen principles of co-operation. If the text is not published, there may be speculation as to the existence of a more far-reaching agreement.

(c) Moreover, the publication of the text may help to set to rest the anxieties of those in this country who may fear that Canadian sovereignty is in any way threatened by an agreement entered into with the United States.

(d) The Government would be justified at a later date in taking the attitude that joint defence activities in the North were merely a practical implementation of the co-operative principles already made public.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273566

The main disadvantages of publishing the text of the Recommendation appear to be

(a) It might be interpreted both at home and abroad as a defensive alliance between United States and Canada directed against the possibility of attack by Russia. Such an interpretation would certainly be placed upon it in the U.S.S.R. This argument probably applies in some measure not only to the publication of the text of the Recommendation but to any joint public statement regarding defensive activities in the North.

(b) If the Recommendation is published, the question of registration with the United Nations may arise.

(c) The publication of such an important Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Defence Board would have the effect of turning the search-light of publicity upon the activities of that body. There might be embarrassing demands to know whether there were other recommendations of the Permanent Joint Defence Board which had not been made public.

If it should be decided to publish the Recommendation of November 20th, the further question arises as to the form which publication should take. The following are some of the alternatives:

(a) There might be publication of the Recommendation without any accompanying public statement. This alternative can be dismissed, however, as it would be essential that some statement should be issued which would give a fuller and less formal explanation of the purposes than is incorporated in the Recommendation itself.

(b) Publication might take place under cover of a joint statement by the President and the Prime Minister. In addition, there will be certain points not suitable for incorporation in the joint statement which ought to be made in this country especially with respect to the bearings of the agreement on our own co-operation with other members of the Commonwealth. The Canadian statement might take the form of a speech by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons in which it could be emphasized that Canadian-American joint defence plans represented no new development but had been going on since the Ogdensburg Agreement with general approval in both countries. Defence planning could be related to our obligations as a member of the United Nations.

If it should be decided <u>not</u> to publish the Recommendation of November 20th, there would be at least two alternative courses open to the two governments.

1. It might be possible to elaborate a joint statement of the principles of Canadian-United States co-operation in defence which could take the form of a joint public statement. This statement would doubtless be very similar to the text of the Recommendation. It would avoid the difficulties with regard to possible demand for the publication of all recommendations of the Permanent Joint Defence Board and it would not raise the question of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273567

registration with the United Nations. It might also be argued, though with very little force, that such a statement was less likely to be interpreted as an alliance with the U.S.S.R. than the text of an actual agreement. But this course would be open to the objection that it might not satisfy public opinion. There might still be a demand to know whether an actual written agreement had been entered into between the two countries and if so, for the publication of the text.

If a joint statement of this kind were made public instead of the Recommendation, it would still be necessary for the Canadian Government to make a supplementary statement making certain points which it would be necessary to emphasize in this country. Presumably, the Government of the United States would also wish to make a supplementary statement to its own people. No doubt the two governments could agree to exchange the texts of such statements in advance so as to avoid causing embarrassment to each other by anything included in them.

It might be decided that it would be wiser to make no public statement at all on the subject on the ground that this would be misinterpreted in the U.S.S.R. and would lead to further deterioration in relations with the Soviet Union. But as it will prove impossible to conceal the fact of joint defence activities in the Canadian North, it may be that the lack of any public explanation of these activities would give rise to more suspicion in the Soviet Union than the actual publication of the Recommendation.

Registration

The obligation to register international treaties and agreements with the United Nations is contained in Article 102 of the United Nations Charter which reads as follows:

1. "Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall, as soon as possible, be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. "No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations."

It is arguable whether or not recommendations of the Permanent Joint Defence Board when accepted by both governments should be considered to constitute international agreements "within the meaning of Article 102." These arrangements do not constitute a formal agreement between Canada and the United States but they are in many ways as important and as binding as if they had this formal character. In view of the doubts which may arise over the question of registration, it might be preferable for Canada and the United States to register the Recommendation of November 20th in the event that it is to be published at all.

On the other hand, if publication were decided against it could be argued that recommendations of the Permanent Joint Defence Board need not be considered to constitute international

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

agreements in the strict sense. The Board could thus be used as a medium for registering joint decisions without infringing the obligation to register all formal agreements.

A third alternative would be, in the event of publication, to notify the Secretary-General of the terms of the Recommendation but at the same time to state specifically in the communication to the Secretary-General that this did not constitute an international agreement as envisaged in Article 102 of the Charter. This course would not commit us to a precedent which might prove embarrassing in the future.

Even in the event of registration of the Recommendation it is clear that there is no obligation to register any detailed security or defence plans with the United Nations Secretariat as these would merely be the practical implementation of an agreement already registered and would not themselves require registration.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter states that "measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security". Presumably, the "measures" referred to would be military or other measures taken in self-defence when an emergency had arisen and would not refer to an agreement of this kind. There would not, therefore, be an obligation to report our joint defence measures to the Security Council. The possibility is not to be excluded, however, that the Soviet Government might demand that such joint measures should be fully reported to the Security Council. They might take such action if the Recommendation were registered and published or in the event of any kind of official statement being made which included reference to the military character of joint plans in the Canadian North.

Summary

There appear to be on balance substantial arguments in favour of publishing the Recommendation of November 20th and registering it with the United Nations. It also appears that if the Recommendation is published, it should be accompanied by a joint statement by the two governments which would, in addition, make individual statements to their own peoples.

But this question would have to be considered by the two governments in the light of the broader question of relations between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union at the present time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

December 6, 1946.

SHARING OF DEFENCE COSTS. TOP SECRET

NO. 1

1. No estimates of the total cost of any Joint Defence plan are available or are likely to be available for some time. It can be taken as certain, however, that if the two Governments agree that a threat to North American security exists and further agree to take steps which would offer some substantial degree of protection against that threat, the costs will be very high. At the present time the sub-committees which are working on the Air Annex are thinking in terms of a plan which, when completed, would run into hundreds of millions of dollars. This, of course, would be spread over a period of years.

2. It is obvious that Canada could not assume the total cost. We should therefore endeavour to work out with the United States a formula which will give adequate recognition to such factors as the following:

(a) The relative capacity to pay of the Canadian and the United States people.

(b) The relative benefits to each country which will be afforded by the defence measures undertaken.

(c) The desirability of retaining Canadian control over activities on Canadian territory.

(d) The relation between northern defence costs and total defence costs.

3. If it is obvious that Canada cannot foot the whole bill, it seems equally obvious that the Canadian people would be unwilling to adopt an entirely passive role and leave it up to the United States to establish whatever installations they thought desirable in Canada. Some point between these two extremes must therefore be found. During the last war it eventually (1943-44) became the policy of the Canadian Government to assume financial responsibility for everything deemed to be of permanent value such as airfields, flight strips, buildings and radio stations. It was thought desirable to avoid having any fixed installations in Canada belonging to a foreign government and this extended to the leasing of land. Thus, if the United States desired to lease land for defence projects, the Canadian Government undertook to acquire the land at its own expense and make it available to the United States.

4. If we are to avoid the disadvantages of having foreign bases in Canadian territory, (disadvantages which would be felt by both Canada and the United States) it appears important to continue the policy of providing whatever land and buildings are jointly agreed upon at Canadian expense. To this should be added the cost of providing for Canadian administration and control. This was not done, of course, during the war but a different set of considerations now applies, and the Recommendation of November 20 provides that military projects should be under the supervision of the country in which they are carried out. These two items of expense will of course be a relatively small fraction of the total bill since the major expenses will be incurred in providing equipment and supplies (particularly electronic devices and aircraft) and services such as air transport.

5. Various formulae for dealing with these expensive items suggest themselves. We could use a yardstick of 17 or 18

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to one representing the ratio of the two national incomes. We could divide costs twelve to one on a population basis. We could, perhaps, using one or other of the ratios just mentioned, assign to Canada a certain proportion of the total costs of northern defence, including measures taken in Greenland and Alaska. The difficulty about any numerical ratio is that it may be hard to adapt to individual projects. On some projects it may well be that a fair Canadian share is fifty percent or seventy-five percent or even a hundred percent. The Alaska Highway and the Northwest Staging Route are instances where Canada at the present time is bearing the total cost of what are primarily defence installations. On the Northwest Landline System it is expected that Canada will bear more than half the cost. On the other hand, there will undoubtedly be projects where a fair division would give the United States the main responsibility. There are difficulties also in the way of lumping together what is being done in Alaska, Canada and Greenland and allotting Canada a certain percentage of the total. This might work if there were any prospect of our dealing with a comprehensive plan which would be improved and implemented as a unit. What is much more likely, however, is that individual projects (such as the Loran stations) will come before the Governments for approval from time to time. Decisions may therefore have to be reached as to how the costs for those individual projects can most fairly be divided.

6. The most practicable way might be to agree that each country would provide the supplies, equipment and personnel and services which originated in its own territory. As applied to a Loran station or a radar establishment, it would work out something like this:

(a) Canada would supply the site and buildings.

(b) Canada would provide the administration and housekeeping facilities.

(c) Canada might supply some or all of the operating personnel.

(d) The United States would supply the technical equipment.

(e) Air transport might be shared but as the United States possesses a great deal more than Canada it would be reasonable for them to contribute a preponderant share.

7. Such a plan would avoid payments from one country to another for services and material used in their joint defence, and would make the sharing of costs follow as closely as possible the sharing of the physical burden .. If this were done it would have to be decided from time to time whether Canada would be prepared physically to supply certain services or to manufacture certain equipment.

8. In considering any plan for apportioning costs, the reactions of both the United States Congress and people and of the Canadian Parliament and people must be taken into account. If joint defence plans are to command general approval in the United States, they must contain a respectable Canadian contribution while if they are to command support in Canada, they must be within our means and bear a reasonable proportion to the resources of the United States and their very direct interest in effective North American defence. A programme under which Canada provided fixed installations, general administration, and such equipment and services as are available in Canada (e.g. air photography, preparation of maps, weather stations, personnel and such air transport as is available) might meet these tests as well as anything else that can be devised. It seems clear that whatever formula is adopted, the expensive technical equipment will have to come from the United States.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

9. Great care should be shown in accepting any principle or criterion for sharing defence costs without knowing exactly what the application of the principle or criterion will mean in practice.

10. Finally, in any comparison of defence burdens and defence expenditures, it should not be forgotten that the United States is a world power and, as such, must accept the financial implications of the international position it has assumed. Canada, on the other hand, is a small power; is not a principal in policy or performance, and should not be expected to bear a proportion of any collective defence expenditures merely because that proportion would be reasonable if the influence of the two countries on international developments were in equal proportion. In the sharing of defence costs between the United States and Canada, it is for the former a case of "puissance oblige".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273572

6

December 6, 1946.

TOP SECRET

No. 1

Position of United Kingdom in relation to Canada-U.S. defence planning

1. There is, of course, no general agreement of any kind between the government of Canada and the government of the United Kingdom which involves military commitments. We have nothing of this nature more formidable than the conclusions of Imperial Conferences respecting consultation and primary responsibility for local defence. On the other hand, each country regards the other as a potential ally in the event of a general war and our day to day conduct reflects this fact.

2. The historical relationship between Canada and the United Kingdom, in war and peace, provides the general basis for close military co-operation between the two countries in many spheres of real practical importance. These include the organization of armed forces on common lines, a large range of common arms and equipment, and the exchange of Service personnel and military information on an extensive scale. From many points of view the result approaches an unwritten military alliance of a peculiarly intimate kind.

3. In a few instances Canada has specific obligations to the U.K. government in relation to defence. These include:

(a) reciprocal use of defence facilities such as ports and bases;

(b) co-ordinating arrangements for the defence of Newfoundland; and,

(c) co-operation in the field of defence science.

4. The closest kind of military co-operation with the United States is a salient characteristic of present U.K. government policy. Since the war U.S. representatives have participated in discussions of defence questions with the United Kingdom and Canada. The Canadian government have accepted as essential from our viewpoint the closest possible collaboration between the United Kingdom and the United States. Recent examples of defence talks in which all three nations have participated are the Commonwealth conference on defence science held in Britain during the summer and the very important "standardization" meetings which took place a short time ago in Washington.

5. While the close relationship between Canada and the United Kingdom in military matters is based, for the most part, on general considerations which it is difficult and even undesirable to define, there is at least one specific sphere of common interest to both, namely, the defence of Newfoundland and Labrador and the protection of the Atlantic approaches to North America. (This is also, of course, a defence interest in common with the United States). For us this is at the least a feature of local defence; for the United Kingdom it represents maintenance of essential lines of supply.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273573

6. In the recent conversations between the Prime Minister and President Truman, it was agreed that it was to the interest of both the United States and Canada that the U.K. government be kept informed of Canadian-U.S. planning for joint defence of the Continent.

7. The recent conversation of Mr. St. Laurent with Mr. Bevin in New York followed the Prime Minister's talk with Mr. Truman. Mr. St. Laurent invited the U.K. Foreign Secretary's observations and it is evident from the response that the U.K. government have a general interest in relation to defence problems elsewhere, as well as a particular interest in Newfoundland and Labrador.

8. This question was raised at a recent meeting of the Canada-U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defence. U.S. representatives, apparently, saw no objection to informing the United Kingdom in general terms of what was being done but it was felt that details of the joint plans should be passed on only in those matters in which co-operation with the United Kingdom was essential.

9. It is clearly in the Canadian interest that U.K. authorities be kept currently informed on all aspects of our defence planning with the United States and that, in particular, they should be consulted closely on everything affecting the defence of North-eastern North America. Specifically, Goose Bay and arrangements for Newfoundland and Labrador will require U.K. concurrence. It is only reasonable that they should be brought into this phase at an early stage.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

December 6, 1946.

TOP SECRET

No. 1

GOOSE BAY

1. By an agreement concluded with the government of Newfoundland in October, 1944, certain lands at Goose Bay, Labrador, were leased to the Canadian government for the development of a strategic airbase. During the period of the lease - 99 years - Canada has the right to construct and operate an airbase and facilities incidental thereto.

2. One of the clauses in this agreement provides that the base will be available to United Kingdom and United States military aircraft "for the duration of the war and for such time thereafter as the governments (Canada and Newfoundland) agree to be necessary or advisable in the interests of common defence."

3. A further provision of the agreement is that "the right of the United Kingdom to use the airbase for military aircraft should be the subject of consultation and agreement between the governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and Newfoundland after the war and in the meantime the rights of the United Kingdom (to military use of the airbase) shall continue unimpaired."

4. The "consultation and agreement" above referred to took place at a conference between the United Kingdom, Newfoundland and Canada, held in February of this year to consider the disposition of defence facilities constructed in Newfoundland during the war. The agreement which emerged from these discussions provides inter alia that "Canadian and United Kingdom military aircraft may fly over Newfoundland and use airports therein under Newfoundland or Canadian control as required." Thus, the United Kingdom is assured the continued use of Goose Bay airbase for military purposes though in practice the United Kingdom would not normally station aircraft there without arranging this in advance with the Canadian authorities.

5. By further agreement between Canada and Newfoundland covering the civilian side, Goose Bay has been designated as an alternate airport for the commercial services of all nations operating under the Air Transit Agreement; i.e., the Two Freedom Agreement. Traffic rights have not been granted at Goose Bay to any countries other than Canada and Newfoundland and the granting of such rights must be joint consent. Canada enjoys full traffic rights and may use the airport as a regular airport for civil purposes.

6. It will be apparent from the above that the United States request for continued military use of Goose Bay is subject to approval of the Newfoundland and United Kingdom governments as well as the Canadian government.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Defence
Binder 12)

27-1-47

C 273575

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am attaching herewith an interesting letter from Mr. Wrong concerning a call on the Soviet Ambassador in which references were made to Joint Canada-U.S. Defence questions.

O.

27/1/53

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C273576

CONFIDENTIAL

CANADIAN EMBASSY

Washington, D.C.,
January 21st, 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

I was only able to arrange an appointment today to pay the usual formal call on the Soviet Ambassador. We had half an hour's friendly discussion, in the course of which one or two points emerged of sufficient interest to pass on to you.

Mr. Novikov asked me whether I had seen the article by Leslie Roberts which appeared in PM of December 22nd with the scare caption, "Canada Fears U.S. Militarism More than Soviet Expensionism". I told him that I had and that the article was a tissue of falsehoods and exaggerations which should not be taken seriously. This gave me an opportunity to tell him a little about the general nature of our defence relationships with the United States. I mentioned that the U.S. pressure of last year, of which Roberts had made a serious incident, amounted to no more than the question whether a new weather station should be at once established, which might be manned by about thirty men, although more would be needed initially for construction. I said that we had not rejected the U.S. request, but had deferred decision until we had got further with our own program of opening more weather stations in the Far North, pointing out that we had lagged some distance behind the Soviet Union in covering our northern territories for meteorological observation. I also told him that we had undertaken no new construction whatsoever in our northern territories for defence purposes since the end of the war and that none was immediately in prospect. I referred to the gross public exaggerations which had surrounded "Operation Musk-Ox", saying that it had simply been an exercise to test equipment and that the total force involved in the trek had been fewer than forty men. We had, and would continue to have, close relationship with the United States in considering questions of North American defence because that was a geographical necessity. Such military facilities as had been constructed in the Far North had been built for the waging of war against Germany and had, of course, been of great service to the U.S.S.R., especially the Northwest Staging Route for ferrying planes to Russia. He readily recognized this, but the information I gave him about weather stations and about the Musk-Ox expedition appeared to be new to him and he was much interested in it.

What significance this has is that it shows the keen interest taken in stories like that by Leslie Roberts. I remarked to him that we would probably have more stories

/of this

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273577

kind and that, if he was concerned about them, I should be glad to give him such information as I could on what was behind them. I had in mind the probable issue of a public statement on defence co-operation between the U.S. and ourselves, which will certainly lead to a rash of exaggeration and distortion in some sections of the press.

At one stage in our talk Novikov rather surprised me by asking whether relations in Ottawa with the Soviet Embassy had been restored to normal, commenting that our investigation had led to very great exaggerations. I told him that with the many changes in personnel in the Soviet Embassy and in the absence of an Ambassador, the contacts in Ottawa with the Embassy had not been as numerous as they used to be, and I put ina word for the Charge d'Affaires as seeking to do a good job. He declared that he saw no reason why things should not go on as they used to do. He could give me no information on the possible appointment of a new Ambassador.

At one point our conversation strayed to the future of Germany. He expressed the relentless determination of his country to see to it that the Germans never again become a danger and their strong desire that there should be a very long period of peace. We then closed on the neutral ground of discussing the trend of U.S. policy and the continued suppression of the old isolationist forces, which he appeared to welcome.

If you can think of any seed that you would like me to try to sow in this quarter, I should be glad if you would let me know, as he will doubtless be paying a return visit to me in a week or so.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) H.H. Wrong

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBsA C 273578

CANADIAN EMBASSY

Moscow, February 4th, 1947.

No. 61

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 17 of the 19th January and to enclose, herewith Joint Press Reading Service summaries of the articles referred to:

1. The Paper "Star" on the Military Measures of the United States and Canada in the North (Pravda and Izvestiya, January 18th, 1947.).

2. Demand for Expulsion of Members of Anders' Army from Canada (Pravda and Izvestiya, January 18th, 1947.).

3. On the Question of the Military Co-Operation of Great Britain, the USA and Canada, by A. Strepetov (Red Star, January 18th, 1947.)

2. I am also enclosing a summary of the article in Pravda and Izvestiya of the 19th January, to which I referred in my telegram No. 21 of the 21st January, "The United States News' On Anglo-American Military Agreement".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) R.A.D. Ford
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
OTTAWA,
Canada.

26/2/32

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

JOINT PRESS READING SERVICE - SUMMARY

The Paper "Star" on the Military Measures of the United States and Canada in the North

OTTAWA 16th January TASS. On the 15th January the Toronto paper "Star" wrote that Canada is observing the utmost secrecy with regard to the Arctic training operations in the Churchill area where hundreds of Canadians and Americans are carrying out tests of army and air equipment designed for operations in northern territories.

This month it was decided to allow Canadian and foreign correspondents to the Churchill area so that they might see the largest base of manoeuvres, but when they arrived they were informed that they would be shown nothing and would be given no information. This decision was made for some reasons for diplomatic and not for military reasons. As the paper writes, such decisions are for some reason always made under pressure from the United States State Department. The paper also observes that a great amount of the equipment which is undergoing tests belongs to the United States and therefore the Canadians are only guests at these trials. Soon there will be tests of the equipment of rocket shells in conditions of artic temperature.

.....Pravda and Izvestiya
January 18th, 1937.

DEMAND FOR EXPULSION OF MEMBERS OF ANDERS' ARMY FROM CANADA

OTTAWA 17th January TASS. Canadian Press reports that the Canadian Confederation of Labour of the Province of Alberta has adopted a resolution demanding that the Canadian Government should expel the recently arrived members of Anders' Army "as being fascists who are afraid to return to their own country and face a court for the crimes they have committed". The Confederation states that these Poles are the enemies of democracy and asks farmers not to employ them.

.....Pravda and Izvestiya
January 18th, 1947.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

MILITARY CO-OPERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN, U. S. A. AND CANADA.

During recent months in the foreign press there has been lively discussion of the question of the possibility of military collaboration between Great Britain, the U.S.A. Canada and other dominions of the British Empire.

In particular there have been several communiques in the press on the activity of the Anglo-American Joint Council of Chiefs-of-Staff.

Recently at a press conference President Truman stated that this council would continue to exist for not less than six months.

The American journal "Army and Navy Bulletin" wrote that this Joint Council "is a form of Anglo-American military union of the most clear and binding type". Another American journal, "World Report", attempting to justify the existence of the Council, was nevertheless obliged to admit that the Joint Council does not concern itself only with purely military questions. The journal states that it also discusses the actions of the Tito Government in Yugoslavia and the problem of the Dardanelles.

The Anglo-Saxon press notes instances increasing in frequency of the exchange of officers which has the aim of acquainting them with methods of military training. For example, the British Colonel Osmund is at the present time a member of the staff of an American military academy. The U.S. Colonel Downing has been attached to the British academy at Camberley. In the May number of the paper of the military academy "Military Review" Downing has an article with a description of the British academy.

After reports of Anglo-American negotiations with regard to the standardisation of equipment, protests began to appear ever more frequently in British and Canadian papers against the establishment of a U.S. protectorate over armaments.

Some members of the British House of Commons asked for an explanation from Prime Minister Attlee. In reply to a question from one of the leaders of the Labour "rebels", Attlee said on 18th November; "Of course, the people understand that we, together with America, have occupation duties in various parts of Europe. Is it surprising that we continue to co-operate with the U.S. General Staff?".

The majority of well-known British political commentators have expressed disapproval of Attlee's declaration, linking the slowing-up of the tempo of demobilisation in Great Britain and the maintenance of a definite permanent contingent of the British army with negotiations on the standardisation of armaments.

The article by Frank Pitcairn published in the British "Daily Worker" on 2nd December has provoked lively comments in the world press. In this article Pitcairn declared that representatives of the British and U.S. General Staffs had concluded a secret agreement which closely binds Great Britain and the U.S.A. together as regards military affairs. In this connection he referred to a declaration by a representative of the British War Office who said that the pact would come into force immediately after Alexander took up his duties as Minister of Defence.

- - - - - - -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Pitcairn states that negotiations for the conclusion of a military pact began in April, 1946 at the suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

According to Pitcairn, General William Morgan is to be sent to America as head of a military mission for the practical execution of this plan.

The attempts of representatives of the War office and of the Foreign Office in a confused manner to refute this report have provoked further declarations and disclosures.

The diplomatic commentator of the paper "News Chronicle", calling the War Office's declaration "curious", writes: "The War Office has convinced certain people that the report which it wished to refute turns out in practice to be correct".

A number of protests, various suppositions and disclosures in the world press have led to an official announcement from representatives of the U.S. and British Governments.

On 9th December a representative of the U.S. State Department spoke at a press conference of the unofficial exchange of views between the General Staffs of the U.S.A., Great Britain and Canada with regard to the standardisation of arms.

However, the representative of the State Department refused to reply to further questions from correspondents relating to details of the negotiations and referred correspondents to the War Department.

The British Prime Minister Attlee, replying to a question in the Commons, also refused to give details of the agreement. However, such details are beginning to appear in the press.

A correspondent of the journal "New Statesman and Nation", remarking that besides standardisation of arms agreement has been reached on the introduction of a unified system of military training and on a big exchange of officers, writes: "It is thought that all this operation including the adoption by the British Army of the metric system may take ten years. In accordance with this plan not only Great Britain but also Australian and New Zealand which use British equipment will be attached to the American military machine".

The British M.P. Pritt on 4th December appraised this agreement in the following manner:

"It is still more horrifying in its consequences than in its direct results. It does not correspond with our obligations under U.N.O. In the light of the existing unbridled hostility of America towards the Soviet Union, this may destroy the basis of our alliance with the U.S.S.R. At the same time it may place our country in an even more dependent position in relation to America in the sphere of foreign policy".

In the U.S.A. there have also been a number of public utterances expressing disapproval of the negotiations.

- - - - -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

For example, Senator Taylor (Democrat, State of Idaho) declared that the American people desire international collaboration and reject "the old policy of force, based on secret agreements".

Senator Wilson (Republica, State of Iowa) considers that the United States "ought to remain on one side".

The British press notes the apprehensions of British progressive circles that the conclusion of such agreements may lead to the subordination of all the foreign policy of these countries to American capital. The British weekly "New Statesman and Nation" writes in this regard: "Such policy must assist the division of the world into two blocs instead of its unification. How can we have an independent British Foreign policy or a foreign policy of friendship between nations if we share our military secrets and our military knowledge with the Americans".

Members of the Spelthorne branch of the Labour Party, demanding a change in the foreign policy of the British Government, write that if Britain chooses the way of close association with the U.S.A. "in the last resort this will lead to economic and political dependence upon the American world state...".

The Canadian press also condemns the policy of establishing an American monopoly.

Thus, the attempts of certain circles in the U.S.A. and Great Britain to establish military collaboration are meeting with a number of obstacles, the basis of which is the desire of the mass of the population of these countries for a lasting and stable peace.

RED STAR 18.1.47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"UNITED STATES NEWS" ON ANGLO-AMERICAN MILITARY CO-OPERATION

NEW YORK 17th January TASS. Despite the attempts of official circles to minimise the degree of Anglo-American co-operation in the sphere of armaments, the journal "United States News" reports that Britain and the U.S.A. are at present concluding a number of agreements intensifying the already close military co-operation between the U.S.A. and Britain. The journal states that although both countries are avoiding an official alliance, unofficial agreements nevertheless provide for close co-operation in military questions. It says that in accordance with the agreements certain equipment will be standardised. Britain, Canada and the U.S.A. will produce equipment such as anti-tanks guns, for instance, which will be mutually replaceable. The United States will begin developing heavy tanks which British industry is unsufficiently equipped to manufacture.

The journal writes: "The exchange of students between British and American military academies and schools will be increased; there will also be exchanges of instructors between the air forces. Secrets concerning the production of the atomic bomb will be exchanged. The united group of British and American Chiefs-of-Staff will continue to function and if it is later dissolved another one will be created in its place".

The journal writes further that joint plans for the training of personnel of the British Air Force and the American Army Air Force have already been drafted and that 35 officers are accordingly being exchanged on either side to study training technique.

The article adds: "This practice will be extended later and may lead to the standardisation of military equipment and the unification of research work in such spheres as flying at speeds greater than sound. Certain senior British officials believe that present plans may lead to the unification of Anglo-American air forces. In any case, the question is now being discussed of making joint use of all aviation research data and of unifying American, British and Canadian aviation programmes in the future. The military missions exchanged between the U.S.A., Britain and Canada have reached a size which is a record for peace-time. About 100 U.S. army officers are located permanently in London to carry out liaison and planning with the British. Besides this in accordance with the plan for exchanging Intelligence officers, representatives of the British and Canadian army are working jointly with American representatives in the War Department in Washington, the War Office and in Ottawa".

The journal says that according to available reports the British are redesigning the Enfield rifle with the object of using American bullets. The journal gives a detailed account of measures for standardising anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery.

It notes that military organisation will also apparently be analagous if Congress approves the proposal for uniting the armed forces under a Minister of Defence.

- - - - - -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273584

British and Canadian officers are studying the structure of U.S. Military staffs in order to standardise military procedure in the framework of an unofficial alliance. Ocean bases are to be used jointly without any formal agreement. "Under certain circumstances the U.S.A. will acquire appropriate advance bases in Norther Canada, New Guinea, Palestine, the United Kingdom and Malta, while the British will have the right in wartime to use the American defence system in the Pacific and on the Panama Canal".

Training technique will be standardised and has already been started with the exchange of a few score officers between both countries. The journal adds that Montgomery's recent visit to the U.S.A. was chiefly linked with this programme. More British and Canadian officers are being trained in U.S. staff colleges than ever before and the reverse is also taking place in British and Canadian colleges.

The U.S.A. and Canada are making plans for close co-operation in the Arctic. There are no joint bases in the Arctic as yet but these are being planned together with joint aerodromes and meteorological stations.

Co-operation is being intensified in the occupation armies in Germany. Although Britain and the U.S.A. have distinct military administrations in their zones, "there is evidence of increased co-operation between senior officers especially in the sphere of Intelligence and the regulation of industrial activity in the two zones".

These measures have been effected mainly by joining work carried out by the united staff group now in Washington. The journal notes that Congress will consider a bill to help the standardisation of the armed forces of Latin-America and indicates that more than 12 American military missions are already in several American countries, that there exists an inter-American Defence Council and that a large number of American officers have been studying Spanish in the army for several months.

The journal concludes by saying that military measures are designed to achieve close connections between Britain, Canada and the U.S.A. and provide for the adherence of Latin-America later on. The training of 2,900,000 men in their armed forces will be united and their defence plans will be co-ordinated to a degree unprecedent in peace-time.

19.1.47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273585

6.2.47.

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Joint Statement
on Canada-United States Defence Cooperation

The State Department has now submitted a redraft of our proposed statement. This is a redraft done by officials only but we are informed that it is likely to secure higher approval. The following teletype messages from Washington explain very clearly the reasons for their changes, most of which I think are very well taken:

WA-387 - giving the text of the redraft;

WA-386 - paragraph 2 gives the State Department's reasons for revising the Canadian draft. Paragraph 3 raises the question of the date on which the announcements could be made;

WA-388 - giving the text of a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

It would be possible to use something along the lines of the State Department redraft, and to give as explanatory comment in the House of Commons the additional material which appeared in the Canadian draft. I attach an outline of the comments that could be made. This outline includes the supplementary points which were to have accompanied the tabling of the earlier memorandum if it had not been amended. These points were:

(1) These principles parallel and do not interfere with our British Commonwealth connections.

(2) Denial that the United States has asked for bases in the Canadian North.

(3) Further emphasis that there has been no attempt by the United States to infringe our sovereignty as sometimes claimed in the press and elsewhere. Relations between the two countries are such that questions of this sort do not arise.

....(4) Civil

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(4) Civil development of the North goes hand in hand with defence measures. The armed forces can contribute to our knowledge of northern conditions (weather, topography, etc.) which will assist civil development.

I would be glad to get your reaction to the new and shorter joint statement as well as the supplementary Canadian statement. My own feeling is that in order to anticipate the questions and discussion in the House, announcement here should be made as soon as possible. It is certainly desirable to have it made before the next meeting of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence which is February 18.

I have informed our Embassy in Washington that we would like to have their redraft confirmed on higher levels as soon as possible and I have also told them I would let them know your views of the present text as soon as I have received them.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

COPY

C273587

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET — WASHINGTON, January 31st, 1947

CYPHER - TK — COPY

WA-387

WA-387. Top Secret. Reference my immediately preceding teletype. The following is the text of the informal re-draft of the proposed statement on Canada-United States Defence, handed to me at the State Department today:

Draft

Announcement was made in Ottawa and Washington today of the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime co-operation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

1. Interchange of selected officers so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

2. Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

3. General cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

4. Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide with a minimum of formality for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

5. As an underlying principle all cooperative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory. Any joint projects, tests or exercises will confer only such temporary rights or status as may be agreed upon at the time for the purpose in view.

The decision of each country in this matter has been taken independently, and no Treaty, Agreement or contractual obligation of any kind has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273589

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Both Governments believe that any step which promotes the security of the North American continent is a contribution to the stability and security of the world at large and thus to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. It will be recalled that the Charter itself specifically provides for regional arrangements contributory to the general security system.

In August 1940, when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence cooperation. The principles announced today assure that this will continue. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the cooperation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

A copy of this statement is being sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd. 5:24 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273590

COPY

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - TK

WASHINGTON, January 31st, 1947

WA-386

WA-386. Your EX-215 of January 25th, draft statement on Canada-United States defence. The State Department has given me today an alternative draft, the text of which is repeated in my immediately following message. In handing it to me, Mr. Parsons explained that this had been prepared by Mr. Hickerson and himself and had not been submitted to others for approval. The alternative draft is much shorter and omits nearly all the historical background included in the first three paragraphs of our draft.

2. Mr. Parsons explained that the chief reason for their revision was that they thought it desirable that the statement should be issued in a form likely to be reproduced in the press without substantial re-writing. The "lead paragraph" in our draft is paragraph 6, whereas they have put this in the front of their version. It seems to me that there is a good deal of soundness in this comment. They also thought that our draft was rather defensive in tone, and have sought by re-writing to remedy this. There is also more chance of a short statement being printed in full.

3. They would be glad to learn what, in your view, would be the best timing for the announcement. The members of the P.J.B.D. are going to Churchill on February 17th, and there might be some advantage in having the statement on record before then. I think, however, that the main determining factor should be the need for making a statement in the House of Commons.

4. The recommendation of the P:J.B.D. of November 20th, to which I alluded in my WA-299 of January 25th, has now been

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273591

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

approved by the Secretaries of State, War and the Navy, and will be presented to the President by Mr. LaGuardia on February 4th. There is no reason to expect that the President will withhold his approval.

5. I should think that a good deal of the material which was included in our original draft could be inserted, if we so desire, in the explanatory Canadian statement which it is proposed to issue in Ottawa simultaneously.

6. Mr. Parsons also gave me a draft letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, under which the statement might be forwarded after its publication. The text of this is given in my second following teletype. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

Received 5:05 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers; Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273592

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - TK

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1947.

WA-388

WA-388. Top Secret. Reference my two immediately preceding messages. The following is the text of the draft letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations referred to therein:

D R A F T

Letter to the Secretary General:

I have the honour to submit herewith the recently published statement outlining the principles in accordance with which the armed forces of Canada and the United States will continue to collaborate on a peacetime basis on problems relating to the joint defence of the two countries.

The arrangements between the armed forces of the two countries involve no obligation for the continuance of collaboration even within the stated limits. The arrangements are intended mainly to ensure that such cooperation as is maintained between the military branches of the two Governments conforms with the general polities of the two Governments and does not transcend or conflict with these policies.

It is the view of each Government that these arrangements involve no Agreement that requires registration with the United Nations. It is, nevertheless, the desire of each to inform the United Nations of these arrangements in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

Sincerely yours,

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd. 5:29 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Clause covered in our telegram of 10-2-47 C

R.M. Macdonnell-MF

February 1, 1947

DRAFT

TOP SECRET

DRAFT COMMENTS TO BE MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOLLOWING THE AGREED STATEMENT ON DEFENCE.

I wish to make a statement which is also being ~~announced~~ made today by the Government of the United States regarding the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. (then would follow the remainder of the text proposed by the State Department as given in WA-387).

There are a number of comments which I should like to make on the foregoing statement:

Cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence has become increasingly effective in recent years. Among the first public statements to be made by the head of either Government was the speech of the late President Roosevelt at Kingston, Ontario, 1938 when he said, "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Two days later at Woodbridge, Ontario, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, replied, "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273594

It was two years later, in August 1940, that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was created and it has met regularly ever since to discuss common problems and to make recommendations to the Government which created it. The statement made today emphasizes the desirability of continuing the cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence which has developed through the years.

As the joint statement points out, the Charter of the United Nations is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of both Governments. Certainly, the Canadian Government holds that its obligations to the United Nations are of overriding importance, (and views the success of the United Nations as the most vital and significant end to be achieved in international relations today.) In time, it is to be hoped that there will emerge--apart altogether from reduction and limitation of arms and elimination of weapons of mass destruction--a system of international security which will be adquate to preserve the peace of the world. The ultimate objective is not joint or regional defence, but collective international defence as the guarantee of national security.

It must be recognized, however, that much progress has still to be made before a system of international security becomes effective. Each nation must therefore consider what steps it should take in the meantime to defend itself against aggression, while bearing constantly in mind that these steps should contribute to the development of general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to make it entirely clear that, so far as the Canadian Government is concerned, defence cooperation between Canada and the United States is intended to support and strengthen the United Nations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

It will be noted that the principles of cooperation announced in the joint statement parallel closely the procedures which have long been applied between the nations of the British Commonwealth. Without formal agreements between Governments we have had working arrangements with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries for the interchange of personnel, the exchange of observers, and so forth. The similar arrangements envisaged between Canada and the United States in no way interfere with or replace our Commonwealth connections in matters of defence training and organization. Rather do they supplement the latter. Given the geographical position of Canada, it is important that measures of cooperation should be undertaken both with the United States and the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on problems of northern defence. The subject has naturally engaged the attention of many people both here and abroad and some quite unfounded suggestions have been put forward. There is a persistent rumour, for example, that the United States Government has asked for bases in the Canadian North, a rumour which I should like to deny emphatically. There has been talk of Maginot Lines, of large-scale defence projects, all of which is unwarranted and much of it fantastic. What we are trying to do is to view the situation soberly, realistically, and undramatically.

It is apparent to anyone who has reflected even casually on the technological advances of recent years that new geographic factors have been brought into play. The Arctic wastes no longer constitute in themselves, as they did until a relatively short time ago, an impenetrable barrier protecting the North American continent. When we think of the defence of Canada we must, in addition to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273596

looking East and West as in the past, take the North into consideration as well. The polar regions assume new importance as the shortest routes between North America and the Principal centers of population of the world. In consequence, we must think and learn more about those regions. Our defence forces must, of course, have experience of conditions in these regions, but, it is clear that most of the things that should be done are required apart altogether from considerations of defence. We must know more about such fundamental facts as topography and weather. We must improve facilities for flying. We must develop better means of communication. The general economic development of the North will be greatly aided by tests and projects carried out by both civilian and defence services. As the Government views it, our primary objective should be to expand our knowledge of the North and of the conditions necessary for life and work there with the object of developing its resources.

Canada's northern programme is thus primarily a civilian one to which contributions are made by the armed forces. This has been the pattern for many years. Thus the Army years ago installed and has continued to maintain communication systems in the Northwest Territories. The R.C.A.F. has been responsible for taking aerial photographs to be used in the production of maps and charts. More recently, a small winter experimental establishment was set up at Churchill where various tests on clothing, equipment, transport, and so on, are being conducted which will be of general benefit to all who live in the North.

Since the United States as well as ourselves recognize the need for greater familiarity with northern conditions, we have arranged for them to participate in the work of this establishment and no doubt other tests and projects will be

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

undertaken on a joint basis. By continuing to extend our knowledge of the North through the combined efforts of the civil departments and the defence services, we will acquire the basic data that is needed for defence purposes while helping to make more accessible the economic resources of this region.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273598

8-2-47

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I attach a revised draft of the joint statement on defence which is the result of further discussions with the State Department. This does not differ substantially from the earlier draft which you have seen. Changes in language are underlined.

The principal change which we propose is the deletion of the following sentence from the 5th principle: "Any joint project, tests or exercises will confer only such temporary rights or status as may be agreed upon at the time for the purpose in view." Mr. Claxton thinks that this might draw unnecessary attention to the question of temporary rights and would be better omitted.

The State Department would like to know as soon as possible whether this draft is, in general, agreeable to us so that they can seek the approval of their highest authorities. I think the present version is satisfactory and if you agree, we shall so inform the State Department.

L B Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DRAFT

C 273599

TOP SECRET

REVISED DRAFT OF JOINT STATEMENT ON CANADIAN-UNITED STATES DEFENCE CO-OPERATION

Announcement was made in Ottawa and Washington today of the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime co-operation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

1. Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

2. General co-operation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

3. Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

4. Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide with a minimum of formality for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273600

5. As an underlying principle all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

While in this, as in many other matters of mutual concern, there is an identity of view and interest between the two countries, the decision of each has been taken independently in continuation of the practice developed since the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in 1940. No treaty, executive agreement or contractual obligation has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively. Both Governments believe that this decision is a contribution to the stability and security of the world at large. Both Governments believe further that it is a contribution to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. With this in mind each Government has sent a copy of this statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In August, 1940, when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems, including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence co-operation. The principles announced today are in continuance of this co-operation. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the co-operation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273602

14.2.47.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I think you will be interested in the attached telegram which has just arrived from our Embassy in Washington and which satisfactorily clears up the point you made on Wednesday regarding the relationship between the joint defence statement and boundary waters arrangements.

14/2/47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273803

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - TK

WA-545

WASHINGTON, February 14th, 1947.

WA-545. Following for Pearson from Stone, Begins:

Reference your EX-407.

On the Ambassador's suggestion before he left, I have arranged the following exchange of letters.

Letter from Stone to Hickerson dated today, Begins:

"With reference to the public statement on joint defence which was released on February 12th by the United States and Canadian Governments, I have been instructed by my Government to write to you in the matter of Principle No. 4 therein, which includes the following sentence:

"Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country".

"In the view of the Canadian Government, this principle in no way infringes on the complete jurisdiction which each country maintains over its territorial and boundary waters. The Canadian Government would be glad to learn whether the United States Government agrees with this interpretation". Ends.

Letter from Hickerson to Stone, probably also dated today, Begins:

"I have received your letter of February 14th, expressing the view of the Canadian Government that Principle No. 4 of the agreed public statement of February 12th, 1947, in no way infringes on the complete jurisdiction which each country maintains over its territorial and boundary

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

waters, and enquiring whether the United States Government agrees with this interpretation.

"I am glad to inform you that the Canadian Government's interpretation of Principle No. 4, as set forth in your letter, accords with the interpretation of this Government. In our view, Principle No. 5 supports this interpretation as it makes clear that "as an underlying principle, all cooperative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory". Obviously, nothing in the joint statement which relates to the result of discussions in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, could supersede treaty provisions relating to boundary waters". Ends. Teletype ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 12:55 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

LBP/SR
11.2.47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I have just heard from Washington that the President and the Secretary of State both agreed on the text of the joint statement, as attached herewith. The Secretary of State would like to release this tomorrow afternoon at ~~three~~ 4:45 o'clock, if that is agreeable to you. He will, at the same time, send a copy of the statement to Senator Austin, for transmission to the Secretary General of the United Nations, for the information of the members of the United Nations. We are telegraphing the statement to New York, so that it can also be delivered to Mr. Lie on behalf of the Canadian Government.

I am attaching also a copy of the supplementary statement to be made by you, which embodies the changes which you suggested yesterday on the telephone. The additional words which you suggested are underlined in the attached draft. From this draft are omitted the following sentences from the earlier draft in your possession:

(1) On page 2, paragraph (3) of the revised draft, the following words are omitted from the second sentence: "and views the success of the United Nations as the most vital and significant end to be achieved in international relations today";

(2) On page 3, paragraph (5) of the revised draft, the sentence "rather do they supplement the latter" is omitted in the second line;

(3) On page 3, paragraph (7), the sentence "the Arctic wastes no longer constitute, in themselves, as they did until a relatively short time ago, an impenetrable barrier to the North American continent" is omitted; and the order of subsequent sentences is altered from the earlier draft;

(4) Paragraph 8. The two last sentences of the earlier draft have been rewritten to show the emphasis on the civilian character of the cooperation which ~~is or~~ may be required.

L.B. Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

STATEMENT TO BE MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
ON DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

I wish to make a statement which is also being made today by the Government of the United States regarding the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

(1) Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

(2) General cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

(3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

(4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

(5) As an underlying principle all cooperative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

While in this, as in many other matters of mutual concern, there is an identity of view and interest between the two countries, the decision of each has been taken independently in continuation of the practice developed since the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in 1940. No treaty, executive agreement or contractual obligation has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively. Both Governments believe that this decision is a contribution to the stability of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the world and to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. With this in mind each Government has sent a copy of this statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

In August, 1940, when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and myself as Prime Minister of Canada, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence cooperation. The principles announced today are in continuance of this cooperation. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the cooperation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

February 11, 1947

TOP SECRET

COMMENTS TO BE MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
FOLLOWING THE AGREED STATEMENT ON DEFENCE

There are a number of comments I should like to make on the foregoing statement:

/ Cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence has become increasingly effective in recent years. Among the first public statements to be made by the head of either Government was the speech of the late President Roosevelt at Kingston, Ontario, 1938 when he said, "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Two days later at Woodbridge, Ontario, as Prime Minister of Canada I replied, "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

2 It was two years later, in August 1940, that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was created and it has met regularly ever since to discuss common problems and to make recommendations to the Government which created it. The statement made today emphasizes the desirability of continuing the cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence which has developed through the years.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. As the joint statement points out, the Charter of the United Nations is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of both Governments. Certainly, the Canadian Government holds that its obligations to the United Nations are of overriding importance. In time, it is to be hoped that there will emerge--apart altogether from reduction and limitation of arms and elimination of weapons of mass destruction--a system of international security which will be adequate to preserve the peace of the world. The ultimate objective is not joint or regional defence, but collective international defence as the guarantee of national security.

4. It must be recognized, however, that much progress has still to be made before a system of international security becomes effective. Each nation must therefore consider what steps it should take in the meantime to defend itself against aggression, while bearing constantly in mind that these steps should contribute to the development of general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to make it entirely clear that, so far as the Canadian Government is concerned, and I am sure the United States Government also, defence cooperation between Canada and the United States is intended to support and strengthen the United Nations.

5. It will be noted that the principles of cooperation announced in the joint statement parallel closely the procedures which have long been applied between the nations of the British Commonwealth. Without formal agreements between Governments, we have had working arrangments with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries for the interchange of personnel, the exchange of observers, and so forth. The similar arrangements envisaged between Canada and the United States in no way interfere with or

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

replace our Commonwealth connections in matters of defence training and organization. Given the geographical position of Canada, it is important that measures of cooperation should be undertaken both with the United States and the United Kingdom.

6 In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on problems of northern defence. The subject has naturally engaged the attention of many people both here and abroad and some quite unfounded suggestions have been put forward. There is a persistent rumour, for example, that the United States Government has asked for bases in the Canadian North. This is a rumour which I should like to deny emphatically. There has been talk of Maginot Lines, of large-scale defence projects, all of which is unwarranted and much of it fantastic. What we are trying to do is to view the situation soberly, realistically, and undramatically.

7. It is apparent to anyone who has reflected even casually on the technological advances of recent years that new geographic factors have been brought into play. The polar regions assume new importance as the shortest routes between North America and the principal centres of population of the world. In consequence, we must think and learn more about those regions. When we think of the defence of Canada, we must, in addition to looking East and West as in the past, take the North into consideration as well. Our defence forces must, of course, have experience of conditions in these regions, but it is clear that most of the things that should be done are required apart altogether from considerations of defence. We must know more about such fundamental facts as topography and weather. We must improve facilities for flying. We must develop better means of communication. The general economic development of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273612

North will be greatly aided by tests and projects carried out by both civilian and defence services. As the Government views it, our primary objective should be to expand our knowledge of the North and of the conditions necessary for life and work there with the object of developing its resources.

8. Canada's northern programme is thus primarily a civilian one to which contributions are made by the armed forces. This has been the pattern for many years. Thus the Army years ago installed and has continued to maintain communication systems in the Northwest Territories. It is now responsible for administering the Alaska Highway, now known as the Northwest Highway System, extending from Dawson Creek to the Alaska boundary. The R.C.A.F. has been responsible for taking aerial photographs to be used in the production of maps and charts. It has also been given the responsibility of administering the airfields of the Northwest Staging Route from Edmonton north which are used for civil aviation. More recently, a small winter experimental establishment was set up at Churchill where various tests on clothing, equipment, transport, and so on, are being conducted which will be of general benefit to all who live in the North. Since the United States, as well as Canada, recognizes the need for greater familiarity with northern conditions, we have arranged for its government to participate in the work of this establishment. It may be that other tests and projects will require to be undertaken on a joint basis, in order to extend with a maximum of economy and effectiveness, our knowledge of the North. Through such extension we will acquire the basic data that are needed to make more accessible the economic resources of this region and which will be valuable for defence pruposes as well.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, February 12, 1947.

STATEMENT ~~TO BE MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE PRIME MINISTER~~ ON DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

I wish to make a statement on defence cooperation with the United States which is also being made today by the Government of the United States ~~regarding~~ as regarding the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

(1) Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

(2) General cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

(3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

(4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

(5) As an underlying principle all cooperative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

While in this, as in many other matters of mutual concern, there is an identity of view and interest between the two countries, the decision of each has been taken independently in continuation of the practice developed since the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in 1940. No treaty, executive agreement or contractual obligation has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively. Both Governments believe that this decision is a contribution to the stability of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273615

the world and to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. With this in mind each Government has sent a copy of this statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

In August, 1940, when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and myself as Prime Minister of Canada, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence cooperation. The principles announced today are in continuance of this cooperation. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the cooperation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

There are a number of comments I should like to make on the foregoing statement:

Cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence has become increasingly effective in recent years. Among the first public statements to be made by the head of either Government was the speech of the late President Roosevelt at Kingston, Ontario, 1938, when he said, "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Two

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273616

days later at Woodbridge, Ontario as Prime Minister of Canada I replied, "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

It was two years later, in August 1940, that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was created and it has met regularly ever since to discuss common problems and to make recommendations to the Governments which created it. The statement made today emphasizes the desirability of continuing the cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence which has developed through the years.

As the joint statement points out, the Charter of the United Nations is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of both Governments. Certainly, the Canadian Government holds that its obligations to the United Nations are of overriding importance. In time, it is to be hoped that there will emerge--apart altogether from reduction and limitation of arms and elimination of weapons of mass destruction--a system of international security which will be adequate to preserve the peace of the world. The ultimate objective is not joint or regional defences, but collective international defence as the guarantee of national security.

It must be recognized, however, that much progress has still to be made before a system of international security becomes effective. Each nation must therefore consider that

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

steps it should take in the meantime to defend itself against aggression, while bearing constantly in mind that these steps should contribute to the development of general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to make it entirely clear that, so far as the Canadian Government is concerned, and I am sure the United States Government also, defence cooperation between Canada and the United States is intended to support and strengthen the United Nations.

It will be noted that the principles of cooperation announced in the joint statement parallel closely the procedures which have long been applied between the nations of the British Commonwealth. Without formal agreements between Governments, we have had working arrangements with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries for the interchange of personnel, the exchange of observers, and so forth. The similar arrangements envisaged between Canada and the United States in no way interfere with or replace our Commonwealth connections in matters of defence training and organization. Given the geographical position of Canada, it is important that measures of cooperation should be undertaken both with the United States and the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on problems of northern defence. The subject has naturally engaged the attention of many people both here and abroad and some quite unfounded suggestions have been put forward. There is a persistent rumour, for example, that the United States Government has asked for bases in the Canadian North. This is a rumour which I should like to deny emphatically. There has been talk of Maginot Lines, of large-scale defence projects, all of which is unwarranted and much of it fantastic. What we are trying to do is to view the situation soberly, realistically, and undramatically.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273618

It is apparent to anyone who has reflected even casually on the technological advances of recent years that new geographic factors have been brought into play. The polar regions assume new importance as the shortest routes between North America and the principal centres of population of the world. In consequence, we must think and learn more about those regions. When we think of the defence of Canada, we must, in addition to looking East and West as in the past, take the North into consideration as well. Our defence forces must, of course, have experience of conditions in these regions, but it is clear that most of the things that should be done are required apart altogether from considerations of defence. We must know more about such fundamental facts astopography and weather. We must improve facilities for flying. We must develop better means of communication. The general economic development of the North will be greatly aided by tests and projects carried out by both civilian a nd defence services. As the Government views it, our primary objective should be to expand our knowledge of the North and of the conditions necessary for life and work there with the object of developing its resources.

Canada's northern programme is thus primarily a civilian one to which contributions are made by the armed forces. This has been the pattern for many years. Thus the Army years ago installed and has continued to maintain communication systems in the Northwest Territories. It is now responsible for administering the Alaska Highway, now known as the Northwest Highway System, extending from Dawson Creek to the Alaska boundary. The R.C.A.F. has been responsible for taking aerial photographs to be used in the production of maps and charts. It has also been given the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273619

responsibility of administering the airfields of the North-west Staging Route from Edmonton north which are used for civil aviation. More recently, a small winter experimental establishment was set up at Churchill where various tests on clothing, equipment, transport, and so on, are being conducted which will be of general benefit to all who live in the North. Since the United States, as well as Canada, recognizes the need for greater familiarity with northern conditions, we have arranged for its government to participate in the work of this establishment. It may be that other tests and projects will require to be undertaken on a joint basis, in order to extend with a maximum of economy and effectiveness, our knowledge of the North. Through such extension we will acquire the basic data that are needed to make more accessible the economic resources of this region and which will be valuable for defence purposes as well.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ottawa, February 12, 1947.

STATEMENT TO BE MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

I wish to make a statement which is also being made today by the Government of the United States regarding the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this postwar period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

(1) Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

(2) General cooperation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

(3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

(4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

(5) As an underlying principle all cooperative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

While in this, as in many other matters of mutual concern, there is an identity of view and interest between the two countries, the decision of each has been taken independently in continuation of the practice developed since the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in 1940. No treaty, executive agreement or contractual obligation has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively. Both Governments believe that this decision is a contribution to the stability of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273622

the world and to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. With this in mind each Government has sent a copy of this statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

In August, 1940, when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and myself as Prime Minister of Canada, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence cooperation. The principles announced today are in continuance of this cooperation. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the cooperation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

There are a number of comments I should like to make on the foregoing statement:

Cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence has become increasingly effective in recent years. Among the first public statements to be made by the head of either Government was the speech of the late President Roosevelt at Kingston, Ontario, 1938, when he said, "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Two

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273623

days later at Woodbridge, Ontario as Prime Minister of Canada I replied, "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

It was two years later, in August 1940, that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was created and it has met regularly ever since to discuss common problems and to make recommendations to the Government which created it. The statement made today emphasizes the desirability of continuing the cooperation between Canada and the United States in matters of defence which has developed through the years.

As the joint statement points out, the Charter of the United Nations is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of both Governments. Certainly, the Canadian Government holds that its obligations to the United Nations are of overriding importance. In time, it is to be hoped that there will emerge--apart altogether from reduction and limitation of arms and elimination of weapons of mass destruction--a system of international security which will be adequate to preserve the peace of the world. The ultimate objective is not joint or regional defences, but collective international defence as the guarantee of national security.

It must be recognized, however, that much progress has still to be made before a system of international security becomes effective. Each nation must therefore consider that

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273624

steps it should take in the meantime to defend itself against aggression, while bearing constantly in mind that these steps should contribute to the development of general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to make it entirely clear that, so far as the Canadian Government is concerned, and I am sure the United States Government also, defence cooperation between Canada and the United States is intended to support and strengthen the United Nations.

It will be noted that the principles of cooperation announced in the joint statement parallel closely the procedures which have long been applied between the nations of the British Commonwealth. Without formal agreements between Governments, we have had working arrangements with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries for the interchange of personnel, the exchange of observers, and so forth. The similar arrangements envisaged between Canada and the United States in no way interfere with or replace our Commonwealth connections in matters of defence training and organization. Given the geographical position of Canada, it is important that measures of cooperation should be undertaken both with the United States and the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on problems of northern defence. The subject has naturally engaged the attention of many people both here and abroad and some quite unfounded suggestions have been put forward. There is a persistent rumour, for example, that the United States Government has asked for bases in the Canadian North. This is a rumour which I should like to deny emphatically.

There has been talk of Maginot Lines, of large-scale defence projects, all of which is unwarranted and much of it fantastic. What we are trying to do is to view the situation soberly, realistically, and undramatically.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273625

It is apparent to anyone who has reflected even casually on the technological advances of recent years that new geographic factors have been brought into play. The polar regions assume new importance as the shortest routes between North America and the principal centres of population of the world. In consequence, we must think and learn more about those regions. When we think of the defence of Canada, we must, in addition to looking East and West as in the past, take the North into consideration as well. Our defence forces must, of course, have experience of conditions in these regions, but it is clear that most of the things that should be done are required apart altogether from considerations of defence. We must know more about such fundamental facts astopography and weather. We must improve facilities for flying. We must develop better means of communication. The general economic development of the North will be greatly aided by tests and projects carried out by both civilian and defence services. As the Government views it, our primary objective should be to expand our knowledge of the North and of the conditions necessary for life and work there with the object of developing its resources.

Canada's northern programme is thus primarily a civilian one to which contributions are made by the armed forces. This has been the pattern for many years. Thus the Army years ago installed and has continued to maintain communication systems in the Northwest Territories. It is now responsible for administering the Alaska Highway, now known as the Northwest Highway System, extending from Dawson Creek to the Alaska boundary. The R.C.A.F. has been responsible for taking aerial photographs to be used in the production of maps and charts. It has also been given the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

responsibility of administering the airfields of the North-west Staging Route from Edmonton north which are used for civil aviation. More recently, a small winter experimental establishment was set up at Churchill where various tests on clothing, equipment, transport, and so on, are being conducted which will be of general benefit to all who live in the North. Since the United States, as well as Canada, recognizes the need for greater familiarity with northern conditions, we have arranged for its government to participate in the work of this establishment. It may be that other tests and projects will require to be undertaken on a joint basis, in order to extend with a maximum of economy and effectiveness, our knowledge of the North. Through such extension we will acquire the basic data that are needed to make more accessible the economic resources of this region and which will be valuable for defence purposes as well.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273627

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE PRIME MINISTER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273628 COPY

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
Earnscliffe,
OTTAWA

1085/37 11th February, 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I have, as you know, telegraphed, for the advance information of my Government, the drafts of the joint statement on Canada-United States Defence and of the comments to be made in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister.

I have now received a telegram from London asking me to express the thanks of the United Kingdom Government for being given an opportunity of seeing these statements in draft.

The telegram mentions that it seems probable that, when the statement has been issued, United Kingdom Ministers may be called upon in Parliament to define their position in the matter. If so, it would be proposed to make it clear that the matter is one between the Canadian and United States Governments following from the special arrangements made by the setting up of the Joint Defence Board in 1940 in relation to the particular problem of the defence of the North American Continent. In that event the United Kingdom authorities would hope to be able to let the Canadian Government see in advance the draft of the statement which they would propose to make.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) J.J.S. Garner

L. B. Pearson, Esq., O.B.E.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

LM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 273629

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail,

Date Feb. 17, 1947

Subject ~~Atomic Energy~~ Defence Binder, s. A

Defense of Hemisphere Envisaged in New Plans

Washington, Feb. 16 (CP). — Plans which would have the effect of building a unified defense force from the Arctic to the southernmost tip of South America are in the hands of military authorities of Canada and the 21 American republics.

The plan, revealed Saturday by the Inter-American Defense Board, follows the lines of the Canadian-United States announcement earlier last week that the defense collaboration established in 1940 would be carried into the postwar era.

In "Proposal" Stage

Based on recommendations made to Congress a year ago by President Truman, the plan, completed last fall by the inter-American board, is more comprehensive than the Canadian-United States agreement calling for an exchange of observers and information, joint use of facilities and standardization of equipment.

In a similar vein, Britain already has made it known that ultimately she intends to standardize her equipment with that of the United States.

The plan is at present in the proposal stage and will have to be adopted by treaty before going into operation.

A bill authorizing the United States to undertake such a program was passed by the House of Representatives but died in a Senate committee before the adjournment of the 79th Congress.

The proposed treaty putting the plan into operation is scheduled to be written at the Pan-American conference of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro, twice postponed because of United States-Argentine differences.

Meeting This Year

However, State Secretary Marshall told a press conference that there is a "reasonably good chance" that the Rio meeting will take place this year.

Under the terms of the plan, guns of any participating power could, for example, fire United States-type shells and the same parts would fit the airplanes of a dozen or more countries and battle manoeuvres would follow similar patterns.

Other recommendations of the inter-American board:

Creation of a permanent military agency comprising staff officers from each of the American countries; "advance bases" for hemisphere defense; familiarization of each country's military personnel with the techniques used by the other countries; studies of strategic raw materials; and a continuance of "scientific research."

The inter-American board was set up at the last Rio conference in 1942, and is made up of military representatives of the 21 members of the Pan-American Union. Canada is not a member of the union.

TGM 17/2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPING C 273629

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail,

Date Feb. 17, 1947

Subject ~~Atomic Energy~~ Defence Binder, s. A

Defense of Hemisphere Envisaged in New Plans

Washington, Feb. 16 (CP). — Plans which would have the effect of building a unified defense force from the Arctic to the southernmost tip of South America are in the hands of military authorities of Canada and the 21 American republics.

The plan, revealed Saturday by the Inter-American Defense Board, follows the lines of the Canadian-United States announcement earlier last week that the defense collaboration established in 1940 would be carried into the postwar era.

In "Proposal" Stage

Based on recommendations made to Congress a year ago by President Truman, the plan, completed last fall by the inter-American board, is more comprehensive than the Canadian-United States agreement calling for an exchange of observers and information, joint use of facilities and standardization of equipment.

In a similar vein, Britain already has made it known that ultimately she intends to standardize her equipment with that of the United States.

The plan is at present in the proposal stage and will have to be adopted by treaty before going into operation.

A bill authorizing the United States to undertake such a program was passed by the House of Representatives but died in a Senate committee before the adjournment of the 79th Congress.

The proposed treaty putting the plan into operation is scheduled to be written at the Pan-American conference of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro, twice postponed because of United States-Argentine differences.

Meeting This Year

However, State Secretary Marshall told a press conference that there is a "reasonably good chance" that the Rio meeting will take place this year.

Under the terms of the plan, guns of any participating power could, for example, fire United States-type shells and the same parts would fit the airplanes of a dozen or more countries and battle manoeuvres would follow similar patterns.

Other recommendations of the inter-American board:

Creation of a permanent military agency comprising staff officers from each of the American countries; "advance bases" for hemisphere defense; familiarization of each country's military personnel with the techniques used by the other countries; studies of strategic raw materials; and a continuance of "scientific research."

The inter-American board was set up at the last Rio conference in 1942, and is made up of military representatives of the 21 members of the Pan-American Union. Canada is not a member of the union.

TGM 17/2

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Defence Files S.A

C 273630

COPY

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

MOSCOW, February 7th, 1947

NO. 46

No. 46. February 7th. Today "Izvestia" carries leading article on "Activities of the United States in the Arctic," in which material from article by Roberts in P.M. last December and Fraser in MacLean's is utilized.

2. Original coolness in Canada to American demand for bases in the Arctic is said to have changed and Canadians are now co-operating fully with America in Arctic military plans. This has caused uneasiness and protest in democratic circles of Canada but nevertheless "general public has no information on how Canadian authorities reacted to them".

3. Ermashev, in lecture at Polytechnic on January 31st on "Polar Strategy" declared interest in the arctic was connected directly with desire for world expansion of monopolies of capitalists in Canada, United States and Britain. Canada was said to play an essential role in the United States - United Kingdom - Canada plans for defence, standardization of equipment, etc. Ultimate aim of United States is to secure military control of Canada, particularly her Arctic regions, which is proving difficult because of conflict of British interests. However to secure their capitalistic aims Canadian monopolists were said to be not unwilling to see Canadian relations with U.S.S.R. deteriorate under American pressure. Symptoms of this is much featured spying of last year, Operation Muskox, attempts to unite United States - Canada military efforts, etc. Visit of Field Marshal Montgomery was said to be specifically to settle differences between Canada and United States over former's Arctic possessions.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

Sent - 7:05 p.m.
Received 3:02 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBS C 273631

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

CODE

NO. 61

MOSCOW, February 18th, 1947.

No. 61. February 18th. Reference to Canada-United States Agreement on Extension of Military Co-operation.

Soviet press first announced the Agreement on February 14th in a Washington despatch referring only to State Department's statement. No reference was made to the statement in Ottawa by the Prime Minister. On the 15th, Pravda reported from New York that the Agreement was said also to include secret clauses, particularly with regard to full exchange of information connected with military intelligence.

Today, "Izvestia" carries a strong attack on the Agreement entitled "The Iron Hand in the Velvet Glove" by R. Moran. Agreement is said to be the culmination of the efforts of American military circles to transform Canada into an "American advanced northern base of imperialistic expansion". The United States has succeded in drawing Canada into the orbit of her policy. Efforts to conceal "clearly aggressive features" as a contribution to the cause of peace, are said to be futile.

The Prime Minister, Moran continued, attempted to "thicken the fog around the ill-starred Agreement" but his explanation in no way helped matters and his efforts were not crowned with success. "At the first, Mr. King categorically denied that the United States are requesting cession of military bases in the north of Canada. In this connection, he prudently omitted to mention the fact that the bases had long ago been ceded to the United States and in practice continued to remain at

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

their disposal in spite of the end of the war". The statement that the prime objective must be civilian, and extension of knowledge of the north, is said to be absurd in view of the clearly warlike activity in the north and the nature of the Agreement.

It only remains for Canada now "by desire - or perhaps as a result of the absence of desire - on the part of her governing circle", to place her territory and armed forces at the service of military plans conceived by the Americans. Tim Buck is quoted as saying these plans are to establish bases in the north from which atom bombs, directed by radar, may be hurled upon any city of Europe, Asia or India.

"Mr. King and his assistants are exerting every effort to conceal the real nature of the Canadian-American Agreement. As the British say, they are presenting to the world "an iron hand in a velvet glove", moreover not their own but an American. The haste and zeal with which advance justifications have rained down give away their authorship completely. Having provided the American reactionary press with the poison weapon of slander against the U.S.S.R. in the form of the "Report on Soviet Espionage in Canada", the same people are now placing something much more vital at the disposal of the United States, namely, their own territory and army for preparation of aggression".

Today, most papers also report two other items concerning the Agreement:

(1) Speech by C.C.F.M.P. Archibald in the House of Commons; and

(2) Speech by Saskatchewan Minister of Agriculture Nollet in Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly criticizing the agreement and expressing fear of American imperialistic expansion.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Sent: 4:52 p.m.
Rec'd: 6:55 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

DB s.A C 273633

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER LONDON, **February 13th, 1947.**

No. 251

No. 251. Top Secret and Personal. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

1. I went to see Machtig this afternoon all ready to apologize for our not preparing his Government for the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament yesterday on Canadian-American defence co-operation. I was relieved, however, to learn that they had had the full text well in advance of delivery, and appreciated the opportunity that had been given them to comment on it.

2. I gather that the United Kingdom decision not to offer any comments on the statement was only taken after a fairly vigorous discussion in Cabinet, in the course of which the Foreign Secretary, with some support from his Prime Minister, expressed the fear that publication of such a statement would make the Foreign Minister's meeting in Moscow more difficult. He was concerned primarily about the Russian repercussions to any statement on the subject at this time, and more particularly about the possible misconstructions they might put in Moscow on the references to standarization, a delicate subject which he had discussed with Zarubin on the latter's first official call (see Dominions Office telegram Circular D. 96 of February 5th). The majority of the Cabinet felt that the Prime Minister's references to standarization would be helpful rather than otherwise, and that the United Kingdom would not be justified in suggesting a postponement in the date of an announcement agreed between the Canadian and United States Governments.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

DB s.A C273633

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER LONDON, **February 13th, 1947.**

No. 251

No. 251. Top Secret and Personal. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

1. I went to see Machtig this afternoon all ready to apologize for our not preparing his Government for the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament yesterday on Canadian-American defence co-operation. I was relieved, however, to learn that they had had the full text well in advance of delivery, and appreciated the opportunity that had been given them to comment on it.

2. I gather that the United Kingdom decision not to offer any comments on the statement was only taken after a fairly vigorous discussion in Cabinet, in the course of which the Foreign Secretary, with some support from his Prime Minister, expressed the fear that publication of such a statement would make the Foreign Minister's meeting in Moscow more difficult. He was concerned primarily about the Russian repercussions to any statement on the subject at this time, and more particularly about the possible misconstructions they might put in Moscow on the references to standarization, a delicate subject which he had discussed with Zarubin on the latter's first official call (see Dominions Office telegram Circular D. 96 of February 5th). The majority of the Cabinet felt that the Prime Minister's references to standarization would be helpful rather than otherwise, and that the United Kingdom would not be justified in suggesting a postponement in the date of an announcement agreed between the Canadian and United States Governments.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C273634

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

3. You will have received from Earnscliffe the text of the draft answer which the United Kingdom Government have prepared in anticipation of a Parliamentary question. The wording of this answer reflects a desire:

(a) To rebut any suggestion from Moscow that the Foreign Secretary has once again called on our Prime Minister to provide a diversion which would embarrass the Soviet Union (Cf. the official Moscow line on opening of the espionage investigation), and

(b) To reassure the Conservative critics of the Government who may seize on the fact that the United Kingdom was not "consulted" as evidence of its lack of zeal and initiative in matters of Imperial defence. Ends.

14-2-'49

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent 8:07 p.m.
Rec'd 4:06 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273635

DBs A

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

TELETYPE

EN CLAIR

WA-528

WASHINGTON, **February 13th, 1947.**

WA-528. Yesterday's announcement of joint defence has received very wide coverage in the press this morning. All papers so far read have carried the story on their front pages under prominent and, in one or two instances, sensational headlines.

The New York Times headline reads: "United States and Canada To Retain Joint Defense For Security - Unifying Of Arms To Go On - Rigidity Of Military Pact Avoided - Plan, Subordinate To United Nations, Is Called Aid To World Stability". The Prime Minister's explanatory statement to the House is summarized in a despatch from Ottawa - about 1/3 of a column. Reston has an unsensational and generally sound background article headed: "Pact With Canada Affirms Agreed Defense Principle - Stations Were Discussed Last Summer, But Appropriation Has Been An Issue". He takes the line that the announcement brings the polar strategy question out of the Sunday supplements and into the realm of world politics and international strategic planning, and states that there is nothing grandiose about the agreement - no United States bases; no anti-Russian campaign, but that it is simply a mutual study by the two countries of "how to fight at the top". New York Times also carries a map showing "the North Pole region which is brought to the fore by the United States-Canadian defense arrangement".

New York Herald Tribune carries story on page 1,

LG
14.2.47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

headed: "United States And Canada Agree To Share Military Plants - Standardization Outlined; No Mention Made Of Atom, Bases In North". Herald Tribune also carries statements of members of both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees which "welcomed the announcement". Associated Press report on the Prime Minister's statement (about 1/3 of a column) is headed" "Ultimate Objective Outlined".

Chicago Tribune carries the story in a full column on page 1, headed: "United States, Canada Extend Joint Military Work - Believed A Step To Thwart Russia". The Tribune emphasizes that no Executive Agreement or contractual obligation had been entered into and that Congressional concurrence was, therefore, not necessary, adding that those familiar with negotiations leading up to the announcement "conceded it was designed as a defense step against possible aggression from Russia."

P.M. carried a half-page U.P. report headed "United States of America, Canada Extend Joint Defense System - Similar 'Mutual Security' Talks Held With British". The report included a note emphasizing the arrangements did not involve joint use of bases. One-half a column reported the A.P. story on the Prime Minister's explanatory statement under the heading: "New Geographic Factors".

Daily Worker carried large headlines on front page: United States, Canada In Polar Arms Pact". The report on page 3 was headed "United States - Canada Reach 'Armed Camp' Accord" which the Daily Worker says turned the hemisphere into a single, permanent armed camp. The arrangement will be widely interpreted as a threat against the Soviet Union. It side-stepped the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273637

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Senate "by avoiding the form of a treaty". The switch-over from British-type arms to American-type "marked the final exit of Canada from British to American influence".

Washington Times-Herald carried banner headlines in its last edition yesterday and the story again in this morning's edition on page 2 under the heading: "United States And Canada Adopt War Co-Operation For Peace Uses - No Treaties Are Made But Nations Pledge Collaboration For Security". The report noted that the two countries believed their continued collaboration would contribute toward fulfilling their United Nations obligations, and observed that it might be a defense step against aggression by Russia.

Washington Post carried the story under the headline: "A-Bomb Not Involved - United States, Canada To Standardize Arms For Mutual Security".

Washington Evening Star carried the story on page 1 of its last edition yesterday evening under the heading: "United States And Canada Reach Accord On Joint Security Collaboration - Agreement On Peacetime Program Based On Standardized Arms And Training".

Baltimore Sun carried as its main front page headline: "United States And Canada To Continue Military Co-Operation - Washington-Ottawa Accord Communicated To All United Nations". The Associated Press story from Ottawa on the Prime Minister's explanatory statement carried the heading: "Plan Reflects New Geographic Factors, Mackenzie King Says".

The Philadelphia Inquirer carries the story on page one under the heading: "United States, Canada Continue Continent Defense Pact".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273638

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

When the announcement was given out at the State Department yesterday, Parsons was present and held an impromptu press conference, of which he showed me the transcript. The questions asked were all easy to answer and none caused him any embarrassment. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 1:14 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273639

Def Bde. S. A.

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE LONDON, February 13th, 1947.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 246

No. 246. Prime Minister's statement yesterday on Canada-United States defence arrangements is front page news in almost all London papers this morning. "Times" publishes extensive summary from its Ottawa correspondent. Other papers select those aspects which they consider of particular interest. References to Arctic defence and denial of United States request for bases are featured but, aside from the "Times", Prime Minister's comments on Commonwealth defence are not reported, the reason being that reports are based on Reuters story from Ottawa which omitted reference to Commonwealth. "Daily Worker" report is of moderate length and not unbalanced, although its headline emphasizes standardization and it notes State Department comment that the agreement was "entirely separate" from exploratory talks between United States and United Kingdom.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 12:42 p.m.
Rec'd: 8:19 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273640 DB - A

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 247

LONDON, February 13th, 1947.

No. 247. Secret. My telegram No. 246 of 13th February, Canada-United States Defence Agreement.

It is unfortunate that Reuters report to this country omitted Prime Minister's references to Commonwealth, but I hope that editors who may comment on the subject will have read "Times" report. You may not be aware that Reuters reports from Canada originate in fact with Canadian Press serviced in New York, an arrangement which I believe both Canadian Press and Reuters are anxious to keep secret in view of Canadian Press' other operational arrangements.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 2:40 p.m.
Rec'd: 11:13 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

DBsAC273641

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S. W. 1.

A.126

15th February, 1947.

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 251 of 13th February, concerning the reporting in the United Kingdom press of the Prime Minister's announcement concerning Canadian-United States Defence arrangements, I have the honour to enclose the texts of two editorials which appeared on February 14th in "The Times" and "The Daily Telegraph". Both of these editorials are, I think, gratifying. They indicate an appreciation of the fact that these agreements between Canada and the United States, far from weakening the Commonwealth actually add to its strength. The expression of this view in "The Daily Telegraph" is perhaps particularly reassuring in that "The Daily Telegraph" is close to being an official organ of the Conservative Party, which might have been expected to have some doubts about action of this kind on the part of a single member of the Commonwealth.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.)

N. A. Robertson

High Commissioner

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

20/2/47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

THE TIMES, 14th February, 1947. C273642

North American Security

The new agreement between Canada and the United States sets out the manner in which the two Powers will collaborate in assuring their joint security. They will exchange information and encourage common designs and standards in equipment and training. Provision is made for the grant of mutual military, naval, and air facilities "as may be agreed upon in specific instances," but it is laid down that the territorial sovereignty of each country shall remain unimpaired. The understanding is thus more explicit in detail but more limited in scope than the instruction to the Joint Defence Board on its establishment in August, 1940, to "consider in a broad sense the defence of the northern half of the western hemisphere." As the Prime Minister of Canada explained in his statement to Parliament, the arrangement has special reference to the new geographical factor introduced by recent developments in the air. The shortest route betweeen North America and centres of population in the Old World now lies across the Arctic--a fact which neither the United States, whose territories include Alaska, nor Canada, whose frontiers extend to the Pole, can overlook. Their collaboration is the formal expression of a geographical necessity and is wholly compatible with the United Nations Charter. Though the arrangement is not a treaty, the SECRETARY of the UNITED NATIONS has been informed of it.

MR. MACKENZIE KING'S first comment upon his statement of the intentions of the two Governments was that the contemplated procedure found a close parallel in the relations between the States of the British Commonwealth. Indeed, so far from creating any interference or anything inconsistant with Imperial defence arrangements, the present agreement can but reinforce them. The security of North America and of the Western Atlantic is of the first importance to the Commonwealth and assuredly cannot be guaranteed with certainty from its own resources. Thus once again Canada proves a link between the United States and the Commonwealth and finds continued collaboration with both the straightforward matter that it proved to be when the Joint Defence Board was established with the Empire Air Training Scheme already in full operation. Canadian policy is also one more demonstration of the truth that the scale of modern war and the range of its weapons make it impossible for security to be organized on a national basis. To be effective it must transcend national frontiers. It must become international, and the first practical steps are necessarily regional. The circumstances of North America find their parallel in the South Pacific-- a region in which two Dominions are included. Uncoordinated and therefore imperfect defence is no contribution to stability, and a system of regional understandings is one essential measure in the establishment of a fully international system of collective security.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C273643

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, 14th February, 1947.

COMMON DEFENCE

Canada and the United States have agreed to continue in time of peace the close military co-operation which proved its value during the war. The two nations, without entering into a military alliance of any kind, will pool their military knowledge, share their military facilities and standardise as far as possible their military equipment. The statement of the Canadian Prime Minister in Ottawa that these arrangements would in no way interfere with, or take the place of, Commonwealth connections in matters of defence, training and organisation may have been necessary to correct erroneous assumptions which might be drawn abroad, but everyone in Britain will welcome so commonsense a scheme. It will add to the general security of the whole British Commonwealth and is, at the same time, fully in accord with the United Nations Charter, which recognises the principle of collective self-defence and encourages the creation of regional arrangements which are consistent with the United Nations' objectives.

The discoveries of modern science mean that the men responsible for the defence of the North American Continent now have a new rampart to watch. As well as looking east and west to the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, they must look north to the polar regions, which have become the cross-roads of the world, the shortest route between America and Europe and Asia. Canada is the outer bulwark of the northern rampart, and its defence and the defence of the United States have become inextricably interwoven. When negotiations for the lease of eight British Atlantic bases by the United States were in progress during the summer of 1940, Mr. Churchill declared, "these two great organisations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together." The United States - Canadian military agreement shows that this principle, like the Mississippi, just keeps rolling along.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBs A

C273644

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

No. A.130. 18th February, 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. A.126 of 15th February concerning the defence agreement between Canada and the United States.

2. I am now enclosing a copy of a further article entitled "The Defence of Canada" which appeared in "The Sunday Times". "Scrutator", who is the author, is usually the disguise of Mr. R.C.K. Ensor, the historian. When "Scrutator" discusses Commonwealth subjects, however, I am inclined to believe that he is metamorphosed into Mr. H.V. Hodson, the Assistant Editor of the "Sunday Times".

3. In this article "The Sunday Times" confirms the tendency apparent in several recent issues to decide that as there is no hope of persuading Canada to participate in the Commonwealth arrangements which "The Sunday Times" considers necessary, Canada might for all practical purposes be read out of the Commonwealth so that the other parts can get down to business. The article is evidence of the extraordinary illusions which persist in certain circles in this country about the attitude towards Commonwealth affairs of Australia, and particularly of South Africa. I see no reason why the point of view set forth by "The Sunday Times" should be given very serious consideration in Canada.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) N.A. Robertson

High Commissioner.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

1/3/17
26/2/40

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273645

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 16th February, 1947.

THE DEFENCE OF CANADA

By SCRUTATOR

The defence agreement which was announced last week between Canada and the United States scarcely does more than place on a permanent footing certain forms of co-operation which were developed between the two countries during the late war. But these amount to a very intimate alliance. True, there is no treaty and no formal defence plan to which each would make stated contributions. Each country expressly retains unimpaired control over all defence activities in its own territory. But along four important lines the two Governments will work together.

The first of them is by the actual interchange of individual officers. Canadians are to hold posts in the American forces, and Americans in the Canadian, for the express purpose of enabling each side to learn more fully how the other's defences are organised. Next, there is to be a systematic exchange of observers in connection with exercises or with tests of material. Thirdly, they are to encourage common designs and standards for arms, equipment, organisation, training and "new developments." Fourthly, they are to make available to one another military, naval and air facilities in each country "as may be agreed upon in specific instances."

These lines of co-operation, as the Canadian Prime Minister said, "closely parallel the procedure which has long been applied between the nations of the British Commonwealth." When the United States came into the war, it was natural that Canada should extend such arrangements to her great neighbour. Geography urged it, and geography urges it still; nor does it interfere in any way with Canada's Commonwealth connection. Some, at least, of the same links already connect the defences of the United States and Great Britain - notably the progressive standardisation of arms and equipment.

Special Ties With U.S.A.

Some of the back-bench opinion in the Labour Party has objected to these standardisations between us and America. It is said that they compel us to fight America's battles. They do, of course, nothing of the kind; but their effect is to make it possible, if either of the countries is attacked, for the other to supplement its weapons and equipment with the least possible delay. The advantage here is greatest for us, because the United States is the largest source of supply in the world. But the Americans gain also, because since the eclipse of Germany Britain is the second largest, and Canada is probably the third. It is in fact a gain all round, genuinely mutual and (since it is essentially defensive) a gain for peace.

But this refers only to one among the four lines of Canadian-American co-operation. The others presuppose a closer link. They imply (1) that the United States and Canada cannot be conceived as ever fighting on opposite sides in a war; (2) that if either were attacked, the other could not remain neutral. The first of these propositions is equally true now of the United States and Great Britain, though its acceptance across the Atlantic is more recent and less universal than on this side. The second is not so true. Hard thinking during two wars has educated many intelligent Americans into realising that their country could not afford to let ours disappear. But they are far from being the whole American public. Even in the late war, the United States remained neutral for 26 months; and her actual entry into the war was determined by her enemies, not herself.

The New Geography

A war against Canada which showed any tendency to reach Canadian territory would be another matter. Conformably with the Monroe Doctrine, and more recently with the principles of the Pan-American Union, the United

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273646

States could hardly tolerate the invasion of any part of its hemisphere by a non-American Power. But regarding two countries she is particularly sensitive, because they adjoin her; that is, regarding Mexico and Canada. Earlier, Mexico most excited this feeling, on account of Napoleon III's actual armed intervention, there during the American Civil War. The discovery that Hohenzollern Germany had designs on Mexico helped to bring the United States into the first world war.

But today Canada inspires the greater interest, and for a definite geographical reason. Formerly the North American continent could only be attacked by sea, and from the east or west. Now it can be attacked by air from the north. From central Siberia it is a straight and not impossible flight across the North Pole to the Great Lakes. Even from Moscow to New York and vice versa, the shortest route lies through the Arctic. Though these Arctic routes are as yet unused, their development may be anticipated in a not distant future. Some of the American post-war long-distance bombers are believed to have a range far exceeding any yet tried in war; and the Russians, who already before the late war made a notable flight across the Polar area, will no doubt persevere to emulate them.

Canada containing the outposts of the continent in this direction, there has been some talk of the United States procuring air bases there. She does not, as Mr. Mackenzie King pointed out, obtain any under the present agreement. Yet its fourth section points to the possibility. "Air facilities . . . as may be agreed upon in specific instances" means that, if it means anything. The broad trend of modern geographical developments is bringing the two countries into a relation of peculiar intimacy, for which it is not possible at present to fix limits. This trend will increasingly differentiate Canada's situation from that of the other nations within the British Commonwealth; though happily the difference is one of degree and not of direction, and need not therefore terminate her Commonwealth ties.

Commonwealth Links

Retaining these, she may continue to play from time to time a useful role of mediation between Washington and London. But she can less and less be regarded as a typical member of the Commonwealth. The other members, not sheltered by America's co-operation, may need Britain's more than she does; and her known disinclination to extend the scope of the Imperial connection ought not to operate as a veto upon their doing so, if any of them wish.

There are two great weaknesses in the Commonwealth as it now functions. One is the provision, tacitly accepted by the Imperial Conference of 1926, whereby the whole cost of defending and assuring its main highways of communication devolves on Great Britain alone. The other is the absence of any adequate machinery for securing effective Commonwealth co-operation in the field of diplomacy. In both the great wars the Dominion played an ungrudging and most valuable part. But between the wars it was otherwise. After the refusal of Dominion support in the Chanak crisis in 1922 successive British Governments rarely felt that they could count on Dominion backing; and the weakness of inter-war British Diplomacy, which helped to make the second war possible, was greatly and perhaps decisively due to that. It is not to say that the Dominions were inactive in the diplomatic field. The interest taken by them in Geneva was marked. But there and elsewhere they were so much concerned in asserting their new-found nationhoods that they did not always remember how much stronger a faggot is than the separate sticks.

These weaknesses need to be surveyed and remedied. Great Britain has neither the wealth nor the man-power to bear alone the burden which she shouldered in 1927. Dominion help is called for, and with it may well go a closer association in the shaping of policy. If Canada does not want to take part in this development, that is no reason why some or all of the other Dominions should not do so.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS DB=A

Office of The Prime Minister

C 273647

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date Monday, February 24, 1947

Subject

SOVIET ARCTIC OPEN BOOK WHY NOT OURS?—M'NAUGHTON

By ROBERT TAYLOR
Star Staff Correspondent

Ottawa, Feb. 24—The Russians have made no secret of their work in the Arctic, Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, chairman of the Canada-U.S. joint defence board, said today, and he expressed the opinion Canada and the U.S. should follow the same course.

"We have had a lot of reports from the Russians about their work in opening up the Arctic," Gen. McNaughton commented. "Their Arctic institute has done a number of great experiments. They have ice-breakers each year that open up the Arctic ocean for merchant shipping."

All northern countries have a great deal of work to do, he pointed out. He said the wider the knowledge of how to live in the Arctic was extended "the better I'll feel about it." He added: "We must develop those areas."

Gen. McNaughton's comments were made upon his return from the Canadian-U.S. joint experimental station at Churchill, Man.

The way military forces have found to get water quickly in the north through eight feet or more of ice was cited by Gen. McNaughton as an example of the civil application of military tests under way at Churchill.

He stressed there are no military secrets at Churchill. "Work is just going ahead in learning how to live, move and work in the north country," he explained.

"It saves a man working for hours with a pick or a drill," he explained. "It is an example of something developed for military purposes that can be put to profitable use in the civilian development of the country."

Gen. McNaughton said some of the wives of the men are there now, and it is important that more go there. As soon as more accommodation can be prepared, more wives will be going north.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS DB-A C 273647

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date Monday, February 24, 1947

Subject

SOVIET ARCTIC OPEN BOOK WHY NOT OURS?—M'NAUGHTON

By ROBERT TAYLOR
Star Staff Correspondent

Ottawa, Feb. 24—The Russians have made no secret of their work in the Arctic, Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, chairman of the Canada-U.S. joint defence board, said today, and he expressed the opinion Canada and the U.S. should follow the same course.

"We have had a lot of reports from the Russians about their work in opening up the Arctic," Gen. McNaughton commented. "Their Arctic institute has done a number of great experiments. They have ice-breakers each year that open up the Arctic ocean for merchant shipping."

All northern countries have a great deal of work to do, he pointed out. He said the wider the knowledge of how to live in the Arctic was extended "the better I'll feel about it." He added: "We must develop those areas."

Gen. McNaughton's comments were made upon his return from the Canadian-U.S. joint experimental station at Churchill, Man.

The way military forces have found to get water quickly in the north through eight feet or more of ice was cited by Gen. McNaughton as an example of the civil application of military tests under way at Churchill.

He stressed there are no military secrets at Churchill. "Work is just going ahead in learning how to live, move and work in the north country," he explained.

"It saves a man working for hours with a pick or a drill," he explained. "It is an example of something developed for military purposes that can be put to profitable use in the civilian development of the country."

Gen. McNaughton said some of the wives of the men are there now, and it is important that more go there. As soon as more accommodation can be prepared, more wives will be going north.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBsAC273648

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 65 MOSCOW, February 25th, 1947.

No. 65. February 25th. My telegram No. 61 of February 18th. Soviet press reaction to prolongation of military co-operation between Canada and United States.

2. V. Fyodorov writing in the "Red Star" of February 23rd says Agreement "Witnesses to the fact that the greatest British Dominion is being the orbit of polar strategy for American militarism". Canada is said, henceforth, to be assigned the role of a base for American expansion in the north, and there can be no question of equality between the two countries. Prime Minister is described as having tried in Parliament "in a very peculiar manner to justify transformation of his country into a Place D'Armes for the armed forces of another country". His statement is said to demonstrate that the numerous declarations to the effect that the Agreement is a contribution to peace are only covers for its real purpose. Ottawa paper Vestnik is quoted as saying this purpose is preparation for war by American and Canadian politicians and creation of bases for attack "under the pretext of defence against an imagined foe".

3. All papers on the same day carry half column Tass story from New York, reviewing the American press on the subject, generally to prove United States aggressive intentions. It is stated that United States and British military and diplomatic circles exerted strong pressure upon corresponding circles in Canada to conclude the Agreement. Plans for standardization of armaments is said to be to a great extent identical with "projected Agreement for standardization of armaments between

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Great Britain and the United States". Agreement is generally considered part of the plan for system of defence for the Western Hemisphere. Article concludes "all these facts and also the character of the Agreement clearly indicate it is part of the general measure of the United States for establishing strategic advance posts which are far from having a defensive significance".

28.V.47

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Sent: 2:53 p.m.
Rec'd: 11:48 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273650
D,B,s A

CANADIAN EMBASSY

Moscow, February 6th, 1947.

No. 68.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 46 of the 7th of February, concerning the article in Izvestiya of the 7th February on United States aggressive intentions in the Canadian Arctic, and a lecture on "Polar Strategy and Polar Expansion" delivered by I.I. Ermanshev at the Polytechnic Museum on the 31st January. I am now enclosing a copy of a full translation of the article and of a summary of the lecture.

2. The attention given since the war to the defence of North America in the Arctic, is, according to the lecturer, merely a screen for expansion to the north, connected directly with the desire for world expansion of monopoly capitalists in the United States, Britain and Canada. The United States is the country mainly concerned and, with the concealed aim of world domination, they have been attempting to extend control to Northern Canada, Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland.

3. The talk about "defence" has been proceeding methodically in the United States and Canada for several years, Ermashev continued, and concrete results of it are the joint U.S. - Canadian - British plans, hemisphere defence, the standardisation of equipment, etc. Canada is said to play an essential role in these plans. "There was a long process of 'softening up' in the Canadian press, with articles stating that in any future war Canada would from the very beginning be a field of operations. The aim behind this campaign of frightening people was that of securing U.S. military control of Canada, particularly her Arctic regions".

4. The lecturer then tried to prove the aggressive intentions of the U.S. in the Arctic regions, including the "crucial acquisition of Canada", which, however, is turning out to be more difficult because here the United States has come into conflict with Britain. "The immense natural wealth of Canada makes her, after India, the 'brightest jewel' of the British Empire and Britain has no wish to lose control of it. On the other hand, there are enormous US capital investments in the Canadian economy. Canada herself is now sitting on two stools: her businessmen want US capital, but they also want the British colonial monopolies. Wall Street is only willing to provide that capital on condition of controlling Canada.

"To secure their aims the Canadian monopolists are not unwilling to see Canadian relations with the USSR deteriorate, under American pressure. Symptomatic of this is the much featured 'spy trial' in Canada last year. Alongside all this has been the Musk Ox operation and attempts to unite the military efforts of the US and Canada, including plans

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to replace by a US organisation the intelligence branch set up by Britain in Canada and known as M.15.

"Britain has latterly taken a hand in the dispute that has arisen between the US and Canada with regard to the latter's Arctic possessions. The visit of Field Marshal Montgomery to Canada and the US last year was specifically to settle these differences. Britain has now taken the training of Canadian forces into her own hands and there has been an exchange of officers between British and Canadian training Academies."

5. Ermashev ended the lecture by saying that the conclusions to be drawn are that the plans for world domination of US capital are very far-reaching and conflict with world security. It is necessary to reveal this and the real reasons and causes behind it. Among the questions asked was: "As US plans in Canada represent a violation of Canadian sovereignty why are Canada and Britain allowing them?" The lecturer replied: "Because of the desire of British financial and commercial interests to work hand in hand with their Anglo-Saxon brothers".

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner in London.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

V 12
9. 3. 47

(Sgd.) R.A. Ford

Charge d'affaires a.i.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273652

Moscow Joint Press Reading Service
TRANSLATION

"POLAR STRATEGY AND POLAR EXPANSION"

Summary of a lecture delivered by I.I. Ermashev in the Lecture Hall of the Polytechnic Museum on 31st January, 1947.

Drawing attention to the aircraft flights, naval expeditions, military manoeuvres and widespread press treatment now proceeding in the USA, the lecturer stated that it was important to find an explanation of all this, particularly for the Soviet Union which is probably the most important Arctic country.

Before the war exploitation of the Arctic Belt was largely stagnant, despite such outstanding achievements as the flight by Soviet airmen across the Pole to the USA. At that time political and strategic attention was elsewhere, in Europe and the Pacific. With the war, however, the Arctic "basin" came into prominence with the need for protecting the North Atlantic communications. The USSR, Canada, the USA, Norway, Denmark and Iceland are the countries directly concerned in this area but hitherto such successes as were recorded in exploring and exploiting the Arctic wastes were confined to radio-telegraphy and meteorological stations, aircraft flights etc.

A new interest in the area arose during the war, owing to the strategic conception of certain powers aiming first at the mastery of the Arctic and going even further in scope. Much attention has been given in both American and British newspapers to the "defence of North America", a mask for expansion to the North and connected directly with the desire for world expansion of monopolists in the USA, Britain and Canada.

The United States is the country mainly concerned in all this. Before the war there was no serious talk in the US of American interests in the Arctic but then came the need for acquiring bases and developing Alaska. During the war itself the US gained control of bases in Newfoundland, Iceland, Ireland etc. for the war against Germany, which have still not been liquidated. Finally since the war's end there has been an increase of US interest in, and expansion into, the area with the acquisition of several new bases.

The US aim in seeking domination in the Arctic is to secure control of the vital air and sea routes. It is also to secure monopoly control of a very rich area, including the recently discovered deposits of uranium, the mineral wealth unexploited in Labrador and Greenland. It is to dominate the whole American continent from Cape Grant to Cape Horn and to turn the Arctic into an American lake. There was in fact a virtual exposition of all these aims in an article in the Hearst magazine "Foreign Affairs" in 1943, with a tendentious map showing the area considered to be essential.

The concealed aim, of course, is that of world domination. That is the explanation of the trial flights, the establishment of "meteorological" and radar stations and the scientific expeditions to study the "weather". It also explains the pressure put upon Denmark and other countries owing Arctic territories, all under the mask of "defence".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273653

This "defence" talk has been proceeding methodically in the US and Canada for several years and concrete results of it are the US-Canadian-British plans, hemisphere defence, standardisation of equipment etc. Generals Arnold and Spaat have both spoken of the possible danger of the US from the Arctic and the need for defence. General Kenney of the US strategic air forces, too, has said that the only possible danger to the US was from the Arctic. This "new geography" is only a revised edition of the "geo-politics of Nazi Germany". The same idea is brought out by Walter Lippman in his "Foreign Policy and US War Aims".

The essential role of Canada in these plans must be noted. There was a long process of "softening up" in the Canadian press, with articles stating that in any future war Canada would from the very beginning be a field of operations. The aim behind this campaign of frightening people was that of securing US military control of Canada, particularly her Arctic regions.

Who is preparing for aggression in the Arctic? Clearly, said the lecturer, the United States. It is the only country that controls the atom bomb, that has B-29's and bigger planes, that is developing the V-1's and V-2's with the aid of German specialists. The US press itself at times assumes American aggression, and the lecturer quoted articles in the "Christian Science Monitor" and by Alsop in the "New York Herald Tribune" speaking specifically of the "huge industrial areas" of the Urals.

Signs that these plans are rapidly being put into effect are everywhere apparent. Old bases are being extended and new ones built. Extensive training is proceeding in parachute dropping and flying under Arctic "operation Iceberg" in the summer of last year. There have been naval operations and manoeuvres in the waters between Newfoundland and Greenland and off the coast of Iceland. There have been US efforts to get a base in Iceland and pressure from London when the Icelandic Government proved difficult. Finally, there has been the leasing from Denmark of bases in Greenland.

The crucial acquisition of Canada is proving rather more difficult, as here the US has come into conflict with Britain. The immense natural wealth of Canada makes her, after India, the "brightest jewel" of the British Empire and Britain has no wish to lose control of it. On the other hand, there are enormous US capital investments in the Canadian economy. Canada herself is now sitting on two stools: her businessmen want US capital, but they also want the British colonial monopolies. Wall Street is only willing to provide that capital on condition of controlling Canada.

To secure their aims the Canadian monopolists are not unwilling to see Canadian relations with the USSR deteriorate, under American pressure. Symptomatic of this is the much-featured "spy trial" in Canada last year. Alongside all this has been the Musk Ox operation and attempts to unite the military efforts of the US and Canada, including plans to replace by a US organisation the intelligence branch set up by Britain in Canada and known as M.15.

Britain has latterly taken a hand in the dispute that has arisen between the US and Canada with regard to the latter's Arctic possessions. The visit of Field Marshal Montgomery to Canada and the US last year was specifically to settle these differences. Britain has now taken the training of Canadian forces into her own hands and there has been an exchange of officers between British and Canadian training Academies.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

All this enables one to see how far-reaching are the plans for world domination of US capital and to realise how they conflict with world security. It is necessary to reveal this and the real reasons and causes behind it.

Question: Is trans-Polar expansion and agression possible under present technical conditions?
Answer: Of course - that is exactly what is happening.

Question: Is a trans - Polar attack on the USSR by the USA possible?
Answer: Quite possible.

Question: As US plans in Canada represent a violation of Canadian sovereignty, why are Canada and Britain allowing them?
Answer: Because of the desire of British financial and commercial interests to work hand in hand with their Anglo-Saxon brothers.

Attendance: 150 Duration of lecture: 2 hours

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

All this enables one to see how far-reaching are the plans for world domination of US capital and to realise how they conflict with world security. It is necessary to reveal this and the real reasons and causes behind it.

Question: Is trans-Polar expansion and agression possible under present technical conditions?
Answer: Of course - that is exactly what is happening.

Question: Is a trans - Polar attack on the USSR by the USA possible?
Answer: Quite possible.

Question: As US plans in Canada represent a violation of Canadian sovereignty, why are Canada and Britain allowing them?
Answer: Because of the desire of British financial and commercial interests to work hand in hand with their Anglo-Saxon brothers.

Attendance: 150 Duration of lecture: 2 hours

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

ACTIVITY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE ARCTIC

by P. Grinin.

Recently there has been a perceptible increase in the interests of the U.S.A. in the northern part of the globe- the Arctic.

It is known that the first post-war manifestations of U.S. War Department activity in the northern latitudes were steps to strengthen American bases in Iceland and Greenland. Immediately after this there followed the Arctic voyage of the aircraft carrier "Midway", the "Musk-Ox" expedition, the Trans-Arctic flight of a super bomber, submarine manoeuvres in the Arctic, etc.

All these steps and others similar to them long ago elicited a disapproving attitude on the part of the press, not only outside the United States but within the country as well. Thus, at the beginning of last year the "Christian Science Monitor", criticising the activity of the U.S. War Department in the Arctic, wrote that Congress and the public of the United States must decide whether the Arctic bases and Arctic measures were not causing a suspicious attitude toward the intentions of the U.S.A. The warnings in this respect on the part of such leaders as Wallace, Pepper, Ickes and others, are well-known.

However, the second half of last year and particularly its last quarter were characterized by heightened activity of representatives of the American War Department in the Far North.

"P.M." wrote in December that "American pressure on Canada" has increased in an effort to secure from the latter "permission for American troops...to occupy the Canadian Arctic". And it must be said, that this pressure was not without result.

Quite recently, at the beginning of last year, they were sceptical and sometimes even negative in Canada toward certain plans of the American military in the Arctic. Canada, for example, at that time rejected the proposal of the United States on the despatch of an American expedition to the Island of Melville, which belongs to Canada. The Canadian authorities at that time were rather cool to plans for sending American troops for "Arctic training" into the region of the Canadian Port Churchill. It is apropos to recall that the opponents of satisfying the American demands based their point of view on references to the fact that the claims of the United States created a threat to Canadian sovereignty.

However, recently there has been a different attitude in Canada toward the American proposals regarding "Arctic defence", particularly toward the question of the Americans using the Port Churchill and its region. Judging from the article published in the Canadian magazine "MacLeans", the region of Port Churchill is being transformed by the Americans into a very great base for combined military operations in Arctic conditions. There are more than 1,500 soldiers and officers there, the overwhelming majority Americans. Their assignment is to conduct broad-scale testing of various types or armaments, and of military equipment under low temperature conditions. In Port Churchill itself, work is going on to build a base for the American Navy. On the whole, meeting the wishes of the U.S.A., the Canadian authorities have given the American War Department an opportunity to make Port Churchill one of the central points of purely military testing work in the far North. In these testings, as the Canadian paper "Star" neatly remarked, "the Canadians are only guests".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Naturally, all this could not but cause uneasiness in democratic circles of Canada. In January, for example, the trade union of workers in the electrical, radio and mechanical industry adopted a resolution which, according to the Ottawa press, contains a protest against giving permission to the Americans to organise expeditions in Arctic regions of Canada. Similar protests have resounded in Canada frequently, but nevertheless the general public has no information on how the Canadian authorities reacted to them. One may judge this reaction only indirectly - from some reports of the American weekly "United States News". In one of the last issues, the magazine reported, inter alia, that first of all, "the United States will acquire advanced bases in the northern part of Canada", and, secondly, the "United States and Canada at present are compiling a plan for the closest co-operation in the Arctic". Apparently the American magazine has grounds for such categorical assertions regarding the position of Canada....

A very important part of American measures in the province of the military and strategic "mastery" of the north is the operations of special American military units in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. The Americans began preparations for the operations last summer. Now they are fully developed and kept in strict secret. Nevertheless, some reports on the activity of the American War Department in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands penetrate to the press.

The Canadian newspapers "World News Letter" and "Standard" report that the operations of the "Willy-boy" and "Frigid" units active in the region of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, are part of a general American plan of military measures in the North. The most perfected types of American armament have been sent to Alaska and the Aleutians for testing. According to an A.P. report, all great air bases in Alaska "are being reconstructed with the idea of making it possible for super 'Flying Fortresses' to operate from them and heavy bombers of other types". Steps are being taken to test the effectiveness of equipment for rocket shells.

In the middle of January (according to the "New York Times") the first part of great American army manoeuvres came to an end in Alaska. Immediately after the manoeuvres, Commander of the "Yukon section" of the air district of Alaska, General Everest, made a statement in which he emphasised the need for developing in Alaska a system of Radar establishments, and of such equipment of air bases as to make it possible for great "strategic air" forces to operate from them.

As before, the American War Department is manifesting particularly great interest toward Iceland and Greenland. Several days ago, the Danish paper "Ekstrabladet" published a document which proves that the American War Department intends this year to carry out additional measures toward the improvement and expansion of American war bases in the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean, including bases on the Island of Greenland and the territory of Iceland belonging to Denmark. This document completely refutes information which was current some time ago that the United States was allegedly sympathetic to Danish demands for the annulment of the Greenland Treaty of 1941, by which the U.S.A. took Greenland under its protectorate. The document published in "Ekstrabladet" shows that reports that the U.S.A. allegedly intended to meet the demands of the Icelandic people on the withdrawal of American troops from Iceland were also unfounded.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The activity of the U.S. War Department in the Arctic has increased markedly in recent time.

The purposes of the steps being taken here are directly connected with a desire of imperialist circles of the U.S.A. to seize a dominating position in the Northern Atlantic, and penetrate as deep as possible into Arctic Canada and entrench themselves there. And if one judges from the activity of American military representatives in the region of the Canadian Port Churchill, and also in Iceland and Greenland, one must recognise that they have achieved noticeable results in the direction indicated.

The goals which American military measures in the northern lattitudes are pursuing are in contridiction with the interests of peace. Understanding this perfectly, reactionary circles in the U.S.A. seek in every to masquerade these goals before the broad masses.

Full translation. IZVESTIYA, 7.2.47.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBs A
C273658

(MR. GIBSON) LAURIER HOUSE

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Joint Press Reading Service
Moscow,
TRANSLATION

ON THE MILITARY ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

by E. Zhukov

For a long time the heightened attention which the USA is devoting to its so-called "Arctic problem" has been known. It is principally American military circles seeking to encompass the entire globe with strategic bases of the USA which are displaying interest in the North.

During recent months Canada also has been drawn into the "Arctic" activity of the American military circles.

Plans for combined military expeditions of the USA and Canada, for manoeuvres, for the equipment of bases in the Far North - and not only in the North - have received broad reactions in the foreign press. Finally, on the 12th February this year it was announced in Washington and in Ottawa that "as a result of discussions" which took place in the American-Canadian Permanent Joint Defence Council, the United States and Canada have decided that their "military systems should continue to cooperate for the achievement of common security in peacetime".

The American official communique was precise in stating that cooperation is proposed along the following lines:

(1) The exchange of persons selected for this purpose so as better to acquaint each other with the defence systems of each country;

(2) General collaboration and exchange of observers in connection with manoeuvres, studies and the development and testing of materials of common interest (by the way, the State Department of the USA specially noted that the agreement does not concern the atomic bomb);

(3) The encouragement of common designs and the standardisation of arms, ordnance, organisation, training methods and new improvements;

(4) Mutual and equal access to military, naval and air affairs in each country.

The communique made it clear in advance that no measures for cooperation should impede the control of either country over all activity on its own territory. This sounded like a magnanimous assurance to the Canadians that the "cooperating" Americans would permit the Canadians to feel like masters in their own home.

The official communique emphasised that no treaty and agreement has been concluded between the USA and Canada and that the parties have assumed no treaty obligations.

Thus, the world has learned of the existence of a new unprecedented type of military agreement which is not an agreement; moreover, it provides for military obligations which are not at all called obligations.

Foreign observers easily found their bearings in regard to this juridical phenonomenom. A formal treaty of military alliance or any other form of military agreement requires affirmation in the usual legislative manner. This involves parliamentary debates and many other formalities.

.....But agreements/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

But agreements directed to the detriment of the interests of peace, do not like publicity. The more so when they contain secret clauses and "supplements". And according to the Washington correspondent of the "A.P." reporting on the 18th February, before the general agreement to continue military collaboration was announced on the 12th February the USA and Canada had concluded a number of specific secret agreements including one providing for exchange of information of a military-intelligence nature.

The iniators of the American-Canadian military alliance clearly did not wish to publicise this. This is why they preferred in the American-Canadian agreement to say merely that the "military systems" of the USA and Canada "should continue to cooperate", which looks quite innocent. This formula is extremely useful for those who wish to conceal or in any event to minimise the importance of the conclusion of an American-Canadian military alliance.

Extremely typical in this respect is a statement by Canadian Prime Minister King who sought in every way to minimise the purely military significance of Canadian-American cooperation.

According to King, "new geographical factors have come into the arena". The polar regions have acquired new significance as the shortest routes between North American and the principal populated centres of the rest of the world. In consequence of this, Canada should further study these regions and think of them more... Most of the things which must be done must be done completely independent of considerations of defence. We must know more of the topography and meteorological conditions, we must improve conditions for the work of aviation and we must develop better means of communication... In the Government's opinion our main purpose must be the extension of our knowledge of the North and of the conditions necessary for life and work there for the purpose of developing its resources."

Thus, according to King, Canada's "northern programme" is inspired merely by an attraction for learning of the topography and meteorology, merely by a sudden love which has flamed up for the geography of the North. If one listens to Mr. King, this programme is not at all connected with considerations of "defence".

However, the reactionary Canadian press in its zeal to defend the doubtful nature of the American-Canadian "cooperation" in the North despite the "scientific justifications" of Mr. King, dotted the "i". The Winnipeg paper "Tribune" frankly advanced a programme of universal military preparation in connection with the American-Canadian agreement. The Ottawa newspaper "Citizen" came out in favour of training for the use of the latest types of military weapons and for the retention of an appropriate army. The "Montreal Star" proposed the establishment of joint Canadian-American military bases, the erection of radar stations in the North and the utilisation of rocket armaments. The Toronto newspaper "Telegram" recommended avoiding haste in solving the question of curtailing armaments "in view of the uncertainty of the international situation". Finally, the "Windsor Star" came forward with a statement that Canada is the jumping-off point in a future war.

.....Clearly/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Clearly, comments of this kind link up very poorly with the assurance of the Canadian Prime Minister of the "peaceful", scientific research nature of the American agreement. For this reason there is no cause for surprise that the report on military agreement between the USA and Canada elicited alarm from the progressive part of Canadian society.

The Minister of the Provincial Government of the Canadian Province of Saskatchewan, Nollet, speaking on the 15th February in the Legislative Assembly, called upon Canada to oppose American imperialistic tendencies in order, thereby, to safeguard the country from the next war.

The Deputy to the Canadian Parliament from the Social Democrat Party, Archibald, stated in the House of Commons that the USA would possibly engage in an imperialistic adventure in the event of mass unemployment in the country. Expressing doubt regarding the military wisdom of the Americans, Archibald noted that "American militarists are relying on wealth and wealth is a poor substitute for ideas."

The leader of the Canadian Social Democratic Party, Caldwell, while approving the Canadian-American agreement in the main, accompanied his speech in the House of Commons, on the 13th February, by a number of reservations which show that he himself understands the equivocal nature of the situation in which Canada finds herself by having tied herself to the expansionist policy of the USA. He frankly admitted that "if formerly all of Canada's defence plans were concerted with Great Britain's foreign policy, now it is a merger of Canadian defence forces with American that is in evidence."

Caldwell called upon Canada, however, "to retain her complete independence of action" and not to weaken the ties between countries in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Caldwell noted in his speech that the Canadians had "needed a great deal of time to free themselves from the control of Downing Street", (that is from the British Government), and "we do not wish to replace Downing Street by Washington", he added.

The conclusion of the American-Canadian military alliance has elicited indignation and anxiety not only in Canada but, as it is not difficult to guess, in some places in London too, particularly in those circles which have long regarded with alarm the weakening of the ties between the Canadian Dominion and the Mother Country.

Scrutator, observer of the British Conservative newspaper "Sunday Times" emphasised only recently that the close relations between Canada and the USA more and more set her apart from the rest of the countries in the British Commonwealth. "Fortunately this is a distinction in degree and not in direction, and therefore does not make it necessary to break the ties of Canada with the British Commonwealth of Nations", Scrutator consoled himself.

However, the Canadian Rightist paper "Action Catholique" describes the American-Canadian military agreement in the following terms: "The land, naval and air bases of Canada are henceforward open to the armed forces of the USA. For the first time in her history Canada is giving in

.....on the/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

on the principle of the armed forces of a foreign power on her national territory in peacetime". The newspaper states that "no matter what the phraseology of the declaration published simultaneously in Washington and Ottawa may be, if we cast aside the formality, it proves the existence of a military alliance between Canada and the USA". It confirms the fact of the combination of the military forces of both countries which "exceeds all measures of cooperation between the armed forces of the Dominion and the British Empire". "All during the period of her national growth Canada refused to allow the establishment on her territory of military bases of the British Empire even for training purpose. According to this latest agreement Canada concedes this right to the USA" says the "Action Catholique".

Thus, the prospects of future Canadian-American and Canadian-British relations in the light of the military agreement between the USA and Canada without a doubt merit attention.

Involved is not only the fact that military "cooperation" with the USA is able to subordinate Canada to American military control and, thus, to create a very definite threat to Canadian sovereignty. The post-war development of Canada is proceeding in the direction of the complete inclusion of that rich country in the political, economic and now the military orbit of the USA.

The question naturally arises as to how Britain regards this? Is the entry of the oldest British Dominion into such close relations of alliance with the United States considered fully normal in London? As is known, London is silent regarding this.

In an editorial on American-Canadian relations, the London "Times" hastens to say that military cooperation beteen Canada and the USA is a "formal expression of a geographic necessity". Thus, in full agreement with the "scientific" argument of Mr. King, the "Times" also considers the justification for Canada's military alliance with the USA to lie in.... geography. However, it is impossible not to express surprise that such an obvious geographic fact as Canada's being a close neighbour to the USA on the American continent, evidently only now, in February 1947, has come to the awareness of statesmen of these countries, and for some reason has roused them to conclude a military alliance...

But the "Times" does not stop with this strange argument. The British newspaper emphasises that Canada is now a "connecting link" between the United States and the British Empire.

Without a doubt, this sort of appraisal does not lack interest. For, if Canada enters into relations of alliance with the United States and assumes definite obligations, as a "connecting link" between the United States and the British Empire, it follows that Britain herself is a participant in this agreement.

It is known that definite mutual obligations have long existed which tie Britain and her Dominion Canada. Now new ones proceeding from the fact that an American-Canadian military alliance has been concluded, combined with these old obligations. Surely there must be a point in Canada's being a "connecting link"...

.....The question/

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The question arises: "Does this not mean that the American-Canadian military agreement is in fact an Anglo-American military agreement? Does not the military alliance of a great power - the United States - with a relatively weak country - Canada - conceal the presence of another alliance - an alliance of two great powers, Britain and the USA, an alliance extremely useful to its participants by virtue of the absence of any formal signs which makes it possible legally to "side-step" parliamentary control? The resemblance of truth in such a proposal is supported by the fact that an Anglo-American agreement was recently concluded for cooperation in the province of aviation, and also reports published in the press regarding an agreement on the standardisation of armaments prepared in extremely "secret" circumstances, and this time without any reference to the geographic factor.

There is no reason for surprise that the American-Canadian military agreement has encountered a negative response from the progressive part of the Canadian public which well understands that this agreement signifying a military alliance between the United States and Canada serves neither the interests nor the cause of strengthening peace and the security of the peoples.

(Full Translation) .....PRAVDA March 5th, 1947.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBsA C273664

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

MOSCOW, March 5th, 1947.

NO. 75

No. 75. March 5th. My telegram No. 65 of February 25th.

2. "Pravda" today published two and one half column article on "Military Alliance between the United States and Canada" by E. Zhukov, obviously prepared before yesterday's statement by Mr. Howe on establishment of Arctic weather stations.

3. After reviewing the terms of the Agreement, Zhukov implies no formal Treaty was signed because it was wished to avoid publicity, as do all "agreements directed to the detriment of peace .... the more so when they contain secret clauses and supplements."

4. Prime Minister is again attacked for his statement in the Commons announcing the Agreement, and ridicule is heaped on argument that"Canada's northern programme is inspired merely by an attraction for learning of topography and meteorology, merely by a sudden love which has flamed up for geography of the north".

5. Reactionary Canadian press is said to have given away real aim of the Agreement, and editorials to prove this are cited from Winnipeg Tribune, Ottawa Citizen, Montreal Star, Telegram, and Windsor Star. On the other hand, the progressive part of Canadian society at once recognized danger to peace and threat of American imperialism. Mr. Coldwell is quoted as calling on Canada to retain her complete independence of action and not to weaken ties between the countries in the British Commonwealth. "The conclusion of American - Canadian Military Alliance has aroused indignation and anxiety not only in Canada but in some places in London too."

6. The prospect future of Canadian - American and Canadian - British relations now merits double attention, according to Zhukov, because United States is now able to subordinate Canada to American

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

military control." The post-war development in Canada is proceeding in direction of complete inclusion of that rich country in political, economic and now the military orbit of the United States."

7. If Canada is still a connecting link between Britain and United States, as "The Times" editorial claims, then it follows, says Zhukov, that Britain herself is a participant to the Military Agreement between Canada and the United States, since definite mutual obligations have long existed between Britain and Canada. He then suggests the Agreement is, in fact, an Anglo-American Military Agreement and military alliance of a great Power with a relatively weak Power, Canada, concealing presence of another alliance, that of two great Powers, United States and Britain.

8. Article concludes by saying it is not surprising that military alliance with United States, which serves neither the interests of peace nor the security of the people, has encountered a negative response from the progressive part of the Canadian public.

23-3-47

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

Sent 4:36 p.m.

Received - 12:02 p.m.,
March 6th, 1947.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273666 DBSA

TELEGRAM

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - PUBLEX

PARIS, May 28th, 1947.

NO. 313

No. 313. President Truman's message to Congress on Military co-operation with the nations of Western Hemisphere has been fairly widely reported in the press here. The Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune, May 27th, states in part:

"President Truman asked Congress today the authority to arm, equip and train the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere nations including Canada".

Herald Tribune goes on to say:

"Meanwhile, informed sources in Ottawa said that President Truman's proposal did not indicate any changes in Canada's peacetime military commitment.

This involved continued defence collaboration with the United States and the United Kingdom but not direct contact with the Latin American countries"

"Le Monde" states that well informed American quarters foresee the convocation of a Conference at Rio de Janeiro to draw up a Treaty of Inter-American defence between the twenty-one American Republics, and Canada would be included if it decided to accept the invitation to the Conference.

So far, there has been no editorial comment in the Paris press.

I should be grateful for any background information on President Truman's message which would be of assistance to me.

Sent: 7:20 p.m.
Rec'd: 3:35 p.m.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273667

TELEGRAM

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

EN CLAIR

NO. 338 PARIS, June 14th, 1947.

No. 338. Today's Paris "Daily Mail" under headlines "No Military Pact with Canada but United States to have Corridor up to the Behring Straits" carries story from Noel Monks, "Daily Mail" special correspondent. Extract follows, Begins:

From this day on Canada and the United States are as close as two foreign countries can be within the limits of sovereignty, and even that may go by the board if the proposed Canadian Bill giving United States troops on Canadian soil immunization from Canadian laws is passed. With the departure of the President this measure will be thrashed out anew in Parliament, but the betting is that it will go through. An American serviceman can then be arrested in Canada by Canadian police in peace time or war even by the "Mounties". Canadian Government leaders feel that it is little enough to pay for a share in the immense defence works the Americans are to carry out in Northwest Canada and in Alaska. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Sent: Night Letter, June 14th.
Rec'd: 6:37 p.m., June 14th.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273668

DB s A

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

CYPHER - TK

WA-2044

WASHINGTON, June 30th, 1947.

WA-2044. Following is text of an article which appeared in the "Times Herald" of Washington this morning:-

United States and Canada plan joint war games in Arctic.

By United Press

The United States and Canada soon will announce plans for joint Arctic manoeuvres next winter to continue preparations against the possibility of trans-polar attack, an informed War Department source said yesterday.

The announcement will be made by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence of the United States and Canada which has been building up close military liaison since the war.

Closer relations pledged

The two nations already have engaged in extensive military and diplomatic co-operation and President Truman pledged even closer relations in his recent speech at Ottawa.

High American military leaders, including General Eisenhower, have voiced repeated warnings that the North American continent may some day be invaded over the polar ice cap.

Army flights cut

On Saturday, Eisenhower pleaded with Congress to restore the $435,000,000 cut from the War Department's fiscal 1948 appropriation. He said bluntly that the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

United States Army already is a poor second to Russia's and that war in the next few years is possible.

Since the joint defense plan was begun, the United States has sold the Canadians vast quantities of combat material at a nominal fee.

End of article.

Foster's attention has been drawn to this article and he has asked General Henry's office to investigate and determine responsibility for the report. We will send you further information as soon as we receive Foster's report.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 12:24 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"B"

U.K. - Central Organization for Defence

(White Paper Cmd. 6923).

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(Nov 13, 1946)

SECRET

Summary of following papers

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Canada-United Kingdom Defence Questions.

1. Recent statements, often ill-informed, on plans for co-ordination of Commonwealth Defence have arisen from the publication of the United Kingdom White Paper, "Central Organisation for Defence", C.M.D. 6923, published October 5, 1946, and its reference to Commonwealth collaboration for defence. The facts relevant to this matter are as follows.

Prime Ministers' Conference, May 1946.

2. It was suggested in a memorandum prepared by the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff, P.M.M. (46) 20, 1st May 1946, for the Prime Ministers' Conference, that while a centralized system of Commonwealth defence could not be set up, there should be some looser system for co-ordination based upon the national defence organizations in the United Kingdom and in each Dominion. The essence of the system was to be that the United Kingdom should maintain a mission in each Dominion, while the Dominions should maintain similar missions in London and in other Dominions as required.

3. The U.K. Chiefs of Staff suggested that the duties of the U.K. Service missions would be -

(a) To act as Service members of a Joint Staff Mission responsible to the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff, whose views they would represent.

(b) To maintain touch with the appropriate Defence Departments of the Dominions as practicable.

(c) To act as Service advisers to the United Kingdom High Commissioners on defence matters.

They hoped the Dominion missions in London would have similar duties. The memorandum went on to say, "Under this system the established defence organizations of the Commonwealth would consider and deal with Commonwealth defence problems bilaterally and multilaterally as necessary. While each member of the Commonwealth would, of course, organize its own defence policy, it would also assume the main responsibility for joint planning within its own regional area". The view was also expressed that such a defence structure would be capable of interlocking with that of the United States.

.....2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

General Smuts' Views.

4. In discussion of this Paper, General Smuts said that he disliked the term "military missions". He felt that it would create the impression that the Commonwealth was 'ganging up' on Russia and that we had little confidence in the United Nations Organization. Within the Commonwealth the creation of formal machinery would lead people to the conclusion that there was a closer linking up between the members of the Commonwealth and that new responsibilities were being taken which had not been taken before.

5. General Smuts said he would be very cautious about setting up any formal machinery and he thought the Canadian Government would take the same view. "The Commonwealth was so complex and had so many facets that it must avoid giving the appearance to the world that it was a closed concern. The United Kingdom had to make special arrangements with other countries outside the Commonwealth. So, too, had Canada, owing to her proximity to the United States. So, perhaps, had other members of the Commonwealth. Others had special problems of nationalism at home. In his view, while he entirely agreed that the Commonwealth Governments should keep in close military touch, he thought that this could be done in a less formal manner".

(Page 2, Minutes of 10th Meeting - Prime Ministers' Conference).

6. To meet General Smuts' objections, it was suggested by the Australian and New Zealand Prime Ministers that the term 'Liaison Officers' be substituted for 'Service Missions' throughout the memorandum. The proposals in P.M.M. (46) 20 were referred to the Commonwealth Governments for study.

Your discussion with Mr. Attlee of Canada-United Kingdom Military Liaison Organization.

7. At a meeting on June 7th, 1946, at No. 10 Downing Street, Mr. Attlee asked you for your views as to whether the existing organization for military liaison between Canada and the United Kingdom, which consisted of the Canadian Joint Staff Mission in London and the military advisers to the U.K.High Commissioner in Ottawa, should continue. You advised Mr. Attlee that you favoured the continuation of this organization, provided that it was clearly understood that the work of the missions was primarily informatory and that there was no question of their entering into commitments. It would be better, you thought, that the arrangements should not be too formal. You said that you would consult your Ministerial colleagues and the Chiefs of Staff in

.....3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273673

E.A. secret file 7-CM-1(s).

Canada before taking a definite decision as to whether the existing organization for Anglo-Canadian military liaison should continue. (Our record of this conversation is contained in a United Kingdom Cabinet Office minute dated June 7, 1946).

United Kingdom White Paper.

8. On September 21st the Dominions Office sent us the texts of paragraphs 36 - 39 of the forthcoming White Paper on Central Organization for Defence, asking for our comments (D.O, Telegrams D.866 and D.867, September 21). (Paragraphs 38 and 39 of the White Paper are attached as Appendix "C"). We took strong exception to paragraph 38, which appeared to us open to misrepresentation concerning both the place and planning of regional defence, and the functions of liaison officers in Commonwealth capitals. In Telegram No. 379, of October 3rd, to the Dominions Office (P.M. to P.M.), we said that paragraph 38 might be read as implying an intention to organize regional defence on a Commonwealth basis without the participation of other countries. For Canada the defence of North America must, for the most part, be planned by the United States and Canada jointly. With regard to the proposed liaison officers, the White Paper seemed to contemplate representative functions on a higher level than was contemplated in P.M.M. (46) 20. In particular, the paragraph appeared to imply that the liaison officers in each capital would regularly sit with the Chiefs of Staff concerned for the purpose of regional planning, so that the Governments of each Commonwealth country would be furnished with joint advice. We considered that our own Service representatives to be appointed in London and perhaps in other Commonwealth capitals should not be empowered to enter into commitments, although we would expect them to have access to the Chiefs of Staff in the capital in which they were stationed when instructed to take up particular matters. Their functions would be to act as a channel of information and liaison.

Tel. 379, Oct. 3 External to D.O. (P.M. to P.M.)

9. Unfortunately this telegram was received too late for the United Kingdom Government to alter the White Paper, which had already gone to press. The announcement was timed for October 5th, in connection with the recent Cabinet changes and the appointment of Mr. Alexander as Minister of Defence. Mr. Attlee explained his difficulties in a telegram of October 4th, and said that he would make clear our point of view in any explanations to the press or to Parliament.

Tel. 164, Oct. 4, D.O. to External (P.M. to P.M.)

10. In our Telegram 381 of October 5th to the Dominions Office (P.M. to P.M.), you accepted Mr. Attlee's explanation, but regretted that the arrangements for publication of the White Paper did not permit a more adequate period for consultation on those passages which related to Commonwealth defence. You

.....4

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273674

reminded Mr. Attlee that it was understood in the London discussions that further consideration and consultation with colleagues and advisers would be needed before a definite decision could be taken on the nature and extent of continuing military liaison. You went on to say, "The criticism made in my telegram No. 379 of October 3rd related to points of substance to which we attach serious importance, particularly in view of our relationship with the United States in matters of regional defence. We feel, therefore, that, apart from any problems which may arise from misunderstandings within the Commonwealth on the functions of Service Liaison Missions, the matter may cause some difficulties in Washington. I shall, of course, make no public reference to the matter here unless public comment makes it necessary".

Telegram 381, Oct.5, from External Affairs to Dominions Office (P.M. to P.M.)

Discussion of the White Paper in U.K. Parliament.

11. Since the publication of the White Paper there has been considerable discussion in the United Kingdom, and in Canada to a lesser extent, of the aspects of Commonwealth defence with which it dealt. The White Paper was debated in the House of Lords on October 10th and in the House of Commons on October 30th and 31st. Mr. Robertson has reported on these debates in his despatches No. A.892 of October 24th and No. A.933 of November 5th, respectively. Conservative critics in both Houses felt that the arrangements for collective defence in the White Paper were not adequate. Mr. Robertson summarizes the replies of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Alexander in the Commons as follows:-

"The Prime Minister denied that the Government was excluding other Commonwealth Governments from the opportunities previously available for the exchange of information and views on defence matters. He defended the refusal to establish rigid and centralized machinery by stating that his view that this would not be acceptable to other Prime Ministers was confirmed during the meetings in the Spring. He made it quite clear that the proposal for the exchange of liaison officers was merely a suggestion which remained to be adopted. He admitted that the exchange of liaison officers was not in itself enough, as there should be also the conclusion of agreements and the concerting of common plans. Decisions in these matters, however, could not be taken for Dominion Governments by their representatives in this country until they had been fully considered by the Dominion Cabinets. He then made a very useful point in pointing out that the Dominion Governments, like the United Kingdom, were members of the United Nations.

.....5

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"and defence arrangements would have to be considered in relation to their respective obligations to the United Nations and within any regional schemes that may be evolved under that organisation.

"Mr. Alexander began by defending the term 'collective defence', which was the heading of Part V of the White Paper. The Conservatives had called this merely a 'coy' term for Imperial Defence because the Government thought 'Imperial' was an unpleasant word. Mr. Alexander said there was no coyness at all. The term was used simply and solely because that section of the White Paper dealt not only with Colonial defence and with talks on defence matters with the Dominions, but it must deal with any measure of collective defence which might be organized under the aegis of the United Nations. Mr. Alexander, like almost all the Labour Party speakers, and like most Conservative speakers, emphasized the fact that dealing with Dominion Governments must be recognised as dealings among equals. Mr. Alexander made a useful suggestion when he said:

> 'Sometimes we are still inclined to talk about the Dominions as our sons and our daughters, and this is very important though it sounds very trivial. I wish we could think of them more as brothers who have grown up and are independent, and are contributing to the whole business in a really magnificent way'.

"He concluded this section of his speech by saying that what was required was not some rigid form of arrangement which would bring the Dominion Governments within the United Kingdom's own defence organisation, as explained in the White Paper, but rather the closest practicable contact not only in the sphere of the Services themselves but also at the highest possible level - that was to say, whenever possible, contact between responsible Ministers".

Despatch No.A.933, Nov. 5, from High Commissioner, London, to External.

Australian View.

12. At the Prime Ministers' Conference in May 1946, the Australian Government made some definite proposals for setting up machinery to direct the control of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan, and which could be extended to take over responsibility for the defence aspects of matters relating to regional security in the Pacific. This proposal envisaged joint military staff arrangements between Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, who would each

.....6

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

provide a national contingent for the Occupation Force, and on a governmental level that each contributing country should provide a representative to deal with broad policy affecting their forces, and who could be co-opted as members of a body such as the Australian Council of Defence. Correspondingly, the Australians would like to see provision for the Australian representative in London to sit on the Government Defence Committee, when questions affecting Commonwealth defence were discussed.

P.M.M.(46)7.

13. Mr. Robertson has reported in Telegram No. 2185 of November 8th that at a meeting of High Commissioners with the Dominions Secretary, Mr. Beasley intimated that his Government was rather embarrassed by the tepid response which the United Kingdom had made to the Australian proposals for closer collaboration in Imperial Defence, and that opinion in Australia regarded the omission of the Dominions Secretary from the new United Kingdom Defence Committee as an indication of lessening United Kingdom interest in the Commonwealth aspect of defence policy.

Proposed Appointment of a Canadian Joint Liaison Staff, London.

14. The terms of reference of a Canadian Joint Liaison Staff, which might replace the present Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, and would be composed of the three Service advisers and the Defence Research adviser of the High Commissioner, have been drawn up by a sub-committee of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. They have been approved by the Chiefs of Staff Committee and by the Cabinet Defence Committee, subject to revision of the numbers of officers from each Service. These terms of reference are attached as Appendix "A".

15. Before this Liaison Staff can be formally constituted, it appears that three things should be done:

(1) Instructions to be issued to the three Services and to D.G.D.R.

(2) The U.K. Government to be informed that we have decided to appoint a Liaison Staff in London, with a careful explanation of their terms of reference.

(3) Consideration to be given to some form of public announcement making our position in this matter clear.

Issuing Order to the Services.

16. This would presumably be done directly by the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Per-

.....7

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273677

haps they should refrain from issuing the order until the matter has been discussed in Cabinet this week and, if Cabinet agree, until the telegram informing the U.K. has been approved.

Informing the United Kingdom Government.

17. Mr. Attlee has now asked, in Telegram 191. of November 9th from the Dominions Office (P.M. to P.M.), whether we would furnish our views on the proposals for the machinery for Inter-Commonwealth collaboration in defence matters, outlined in the U.K. Chiefs of Staff paper presented to the Prime Ministers' Conference (P.M.M. (46) 20). In his speech in the House of Commons on October 30th Mr. Attlee said, about the proposal, that there should be liaison officers: "If the Dominion Governments accept this proposal, and appoint such officers, the United Kingdom will make it their business to see that they are kept in the closest possible touch with the United Kingdom Staff. They will receive all the information which was made available to the Dominion Governments in the past - I hope, even more". The U.K. would also appoint liaison officers to the Dominions.

18. The New Zealand High Commissioner, in a note dated October 31st, has informed us that the New Zealand Government has agreed to the arrangement outlined in the paper P.M.M.(46) 20. The New Zealand Government will appoint Liaison Staffs to Australia and to the United Kingdom.

Public Announcement.

19. There have been several discussions in the press recently of Commonwealth defence relationships which would indicate the desirability of considering whether some statement of Canadian Government policy in this respect should be issued. An Army release concerning the appointment of Brigadier Graham to succeed General Murchie in London, referred somewhat prematurely to the appointment of a Canadian Liaison Staff in London, leaving the press to draw its own conclusions. (See Appendix "B", clipping from "The Toronto Telegram" of October 29th).

20. General Simmonds and Lord Alanbrooke had a public exchange of views at an Empire Society luncheon in London, which was reported in a C.P. despatch in the "Globe and Mail" as follows:-

"Simmonds Rejects Plan Offered by Alanbrooke For Defence of Empire - London Nov. 6 (C.P.). Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke called to-day for a Commonwealth Chiefs of Staff

.....8

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273678

"Committee to co-ordinate all Commonwealth defences, but Lieut.-General Guy Simmonds of Kingston, Ont., from the same platform, rejected the plan as unnecessary".

Mr. Robertson attended this luncheon and reported on this incident in Telegram No. 2180 of November 6th. He said that "(Lord Alanbrooke's) main thesis was that the proposed system of exchanging Joint Liaison Staffs between Commonwealth countries would achieve as close an approximation as would be possible in peace-time to the combined U.K.-U.S. Chiefs of Staff set-up in wartime". Mr. Robertson said that there was no specific or even indirect reference to the position of Canada in the course of his remarks, but there was the inevitable misrepresentation of our position and interest which results whenever people try to make short statements in general terms about things as different in kind as the countries of the Commonwealth and the defence problems confronting them.

21. The "Globe and Mail" commented, on November 12th, on this exchange of views between Lord Alanbrooke and General Simmonds in an editorial headed "For Ottawa to Explain". The editorial suggested that little was known about the plans for co-operation in Commonwealth defence on a regional basis, except for information contained in despatched from London, and called for a statement from the Government.

OTTAWA, November 13, 1946.

L B Pearson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273679

APPENDIX "A".

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE SERVICE ADVISERS TO THE CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

1. The Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, which was constituted by Cabinet War Committee decision of January 8th, 1945, will be superseded by Service Advisers to the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

2. They will be known individually as Navy, Army, Air and Defence Research Adviser to the High Commissioner, as appropriate, and in this capacity each will advise the High Commissioner on Matters affecting his Service. In addition, each will act as:

(a) a liaison officer and will maintain constant touch with all branches of the appropriate Service department inthe United Kingdom; and

(b) senior representative of his Service in the United Kingdom and his duties in this capacity will be as directed by his Chief of Staff.

3. The Service Advisers will function collectively as required, and in their corporate capacity will be known as the Canadian Joint Liaison Staff. One of the Service members will be designated as Senior Officer of the Staff. He will normally hold the rank of Rear Admiral or equivalent, and will be appointed to that position by the Chiefs of Staff Committee. This appointment will be filled by the three Armed Services in rotation on a two year basis.

4. The Staff will perform the following major functions:

(a) through the Senior Officer, it will act as advisory staff to the High Commissioner on all joint Service and Chiefs of Staff Committee matters which affect Canadian government policy; and

(b) through the Senior Officer, it will act as a link between the Canadian and United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff Committees.

5. A service officer will be designated by the Chiefs of Staff Committee as secretary of the Joint Liaison Staff.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

APPENDIX B.

Excerpt from the Evening Telegram, Toronto, Tuesday, October 29, 1946

BRIG. GRAHAM FOR LONDON
3 CANADIANS TO COLLEGES
DEFENSE PLAN TAKES SHAPE

Co-operation With U-K and U.S. Sure, But U-N Commitment Still Uncertain.

Ottawa, Oct. 29 - (CP) - A rough Blue-print of postwar Canadian defense policy, organized both on commonwealth and hemispheric lines, gradually is taking shape in international developments and army appointments emanating from defense headquarters.

While no definite announcement on Canadian policy has been forthcoming from headquarters or government circles, appointments and informed speculation are pointing up a pattern for Canadian defense prospects which would maintain the close co-operation the Dominion developed during wartime with the United Kingdom and the United States.

Latest official indication of this is the announcement by Defense Headquarters that two of Canada's young war heroes have been chosen to enter staff colleges overseas, and that the Canadian Military Headquarters set-up in London is to be replaced by a liaison staff.

Retiring as chief of staff at CMHQ is Lt.Gen. J. C. Murchie, CB, CBE, 51, a native of Edmunston, N.B., who will return to Canada shortly and retire from the army.

ARMY LIAISON CHIEF

He will be replaced, early next month, by Brig. Howard Douglas Graham, 48, DSO, of Trenton, Ont., who becomes head of the army section of the Canadian joint liaison staff. Under the new arrangements announced recently by Prime Minister Attlee, liaison officers will be posted in London and the capitals of each Dominion.

A dispatch from London yesterday said a debate on Commonwealth defense was scheduled to open soon in the British Commons and it was expected the debate would throw new light on the subject of Canada's commitments in Commonwealth defense.

Dovetailing with the liaison plan is the appointment of these three Canadian officers to military colleges overseas:

1. Brig. J.D.B. (Des) Smith, 35, DSO, of Ottawa and London, Ont., commandant of the joint services staff college and the Canadian staff college at Kingston, will enter the Imperial Defense College in England for a course of advanced study.

BRITON TO RMC

2. He will be succeeded in his RMC post by Maj.-Gen. J.F.M. Whiteley, CB, CBE, MC, of the British Army.

....2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273681

3. Col. Dollard Menard, 33, DSO, of Montreal, director of infantry, will take a military staff course at the Ecole de Guerre, French military college at Paris. Later he will attend a "special to arms" course at the Ecole des Armes, along with officers of other United Nations.

4. It was announced recently that Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds, former commander of the 2nd Canadian Corps in Northwest Europe, who has been attending the Imperial Defense College, will remain there as instructor. Appointments of Gen. Simonds and Gen. Whiteley are for a two-year period only.

Col. Menard will be succeeded as director of infantry by Lt.-Col. J. G.G.Charlebois of Ottawa, general staff officer at Quebec command.

RMC FUTURE SECRET

Still on the military secret list is the fate of Royal Military College itself. Last month it was announced that the war staff course there was being transferred to nearby Fort Frontenac as soon as necessary alterations could be made, but the future of RMC was not disclosed.

The year-long course--first postwar staff college in the Commonwealth--was opened there under Brig. Smith last spring. Students from British, Indian, United States armies and the RCAF are attending and it was stated that the course, while primarily of a military nature, was designed to 'develop broadened views and inter-service co-operation'.

One matter still holding up Canadian policy on defense is the extant to which Canada may have to participate in any military force set up by the United Nations. Previously it was announced that the Canadian navy would be trained to fight with either the British or United States fleets and that the RCAF staff college at Toronto would work in co-operation with other services and with the RAF and United States army air force.

In addition, there have been increased reports that British, United States and Canadian services are tending towards standardised and interchangeable equipment.

WASHINGTON TALKS

Observers here have suggested a strong possibility that Prime Minister Mackenzie King is taking a major part in defense talks with United Kingdom and United States officials. It was recalled that Mr. King had frequent opportunity for talks with Commonwealth leaders both at the conference of Empire Prime Ministers in London last spring and at the recent Paris peace conference.

In addition, it was considered likely the Prime Minister discussed joint Canadian-American defense plans in his talks with President Truman in Washington yesterday. Interviewed in the United States capital, he said merely that he and Mr. Truman "discussed a great many things," but problems arising from joint defanse of Canada's vast northern frontiers would likely be among topics of mutual interest to the two leaders.

Canadian interest in Arctic defense, highlighted by Exercise Muskox last spring, is paralleled by keen United States concern for the security of the boundaries of her northern neighbor, and while there has been no official comment, further Arctic studies, possibly of a joint nature,

...3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273681a

are considered almost a certainty.

Canada's key position geographically and also in the development of atomic energy are other major factors in hemispheric defense, which still comes under study of the war-created joint Canada-United States Defense Board, whose co-chairman is Gen. McNaughton, also the Dominion's representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 2736819

are considered almost a certainty.

Canada's key position geographically and also in the development of atomic energy are other major factors in hemispheric defense, which still comes under study of the war-created joint Canada-United States Defense Board, whose co-chairman is Gen. McNaughton, also the Dominion's representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

.....

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

APPENDIX "C".

(Paragraphs 38 and 39 of United Kingdom White Paper)

38. The natural starting-point for future progress in Commonwealth defence has been the idea of regional association. Geography largely decides which problems most directly concern the separate members of the Commonwealth, and it is the aim of the various Governments to recognise and take advantage of this fact by arranging that regional questions shall in the first place be studied in the appropriate regional centre. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have proposed that there should be established in the capital of each of the Dominions United Kingdom liaison officers who could join with the Dominion Chiefs of Staff in studying regional security problems. Similarly they have proposed that Dominion Governments should appoint liaison officers in London. It has been suggested that by this means regional studies can be directed by the Government most immediately concerned with the help of a team of joint advisers. The fruits of these studies can be made available in London, and in the other Dominion capitals, and in this way that measure of co-ordination which is necessary can be secured. The exact method of organising the interchange of liaison officers will depend upon the varying constitutional practice in the different parts of the Commonwealth.

39. These proposals received a favourable hearing at the discussions in London in the spring, and His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions are studying them in detail. There is reason to suppose that in the main they will prove acceptable, and that they will pave the way for machinery which, while giving full play to the independence of the Member States of the Commonwealth, will be effective as a means of consultation and collaboration.

This regional method of organisation will also fit well into any regional schemes evolved under the aegis of the United Nations in which other States will join with members of the Commonwealth in appropriate geographical areas.

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273683

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET

LONDON, September 21st, 1946.

CYPHER

CIRCULAR D. 866

Circular D. 866. Top Secret. Following for the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister, Begins:

It is intended to publish shortly before Parliament reassembles on the 8th October a White Paper on our central organization for defence, which will announce certain changes in the existing organization, including the appointment of a Minister of Defence. A summary of the White Paper will be telegraphed to you for your information in the near future, but in the meantime I should be grateful if you would consider four paragraphs on Commonwealth collaboration which form part of the section of the White Paper called "Organization for Collective Defence". The text of these paragraphs is contained in my immediately following telegram. If you have any comments to make on these paragraphs, I should be glad to have them as soon as possible, and at the latest by the end of the month, since arrangements for printing must be made then. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Sent: 10:52 p.m.
Rec'd: 6:41 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C273684

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON, September 21st, 1946.

IMPORTANT

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

CIRCULAR D. 867

Circular D. 867. Secret. Following for the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister, Begins:

White Paper on Central Organization for Defence. Following is text of paragraphs on Commonwealth collaboration, Begins:

Paragraph 36. Commonwealth collaboration. Methods of collaboration between the various members of the Commonwealth are governed by the principle enunciated in the Statute of Westminster. Even before 1923, the conception that there should be a central authority in London representative of all the self-governing members of the Commonwealth to review defence questions and prepare central plans which would be binding on the whole Commonwealth and Empire was never recognized as practicable, even if it were desirable. Admittedly, the Dominions have a close interest in problems that affect the Commonwealth and Empire as a whole, but each of them has a special and distinct outlook on world affairs dependent on its geographical position and its political and economic environment, and Dominion Governments must retain full liberty of action. Cooperation in Commonwealth defence has, therefore, always taken the practical form of promoting uniformity of organization, training and equipment of military forces, the closest possible touch between Staffs and the interchange of officers to promote a common doctrine and outlook in military affairs. Collaboration between the naval, land and air forces from different parts of the Commonwealth and Empire in war-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273685

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

time has thus been easy and effective.

Paragraph 37. Since 1923, the natural tendency of the different parts of the Commonwealth to view problems from their own individual standpoint has become more marked. During the recent war, no attempt was made to revive the Imperial War Cabinet of 1917-18, but this did not prevent the maintenance of a very close touch between the Governments of the Commonwealth, not only by telegraphic means, but by constant meetings between Ministers, officers and officials on all levels. In this way, it was possible to make common plans for military action for the coordination of munitions production and for the cooperation of scientists and technicians in research and development. This flexible system of handling problems of mutual concern has proved very effective and it was the object of study at the recent discussions in London in the spring of 1946. The attitude of the Assembled representatives of the Governments of the Commonwealth is illustrated by the communique issued at the conclusion of those discussions. Though this was concerned with consultation with the Dominions generally, it is fully applicable to our existing methods of consultation on defence questions. The following is an extract from that communique:

"At the conclusion of the meetings, the assembled representatives of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa place on record their appreciation of the value of this series of consultations which exemplify the system of free discussion and exchange of views that characterizes the relations of the countries of the British Commonwealth.

"The existing methods of consultation have proved their worth.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273686

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

They include a continuous exchange of information and comment between the different members of the Commonwealth. They are flexible and can be used to meet a variety of situations and needs, both those where the responsibility is on one member alone and where the responsibility may have to be shared.

"They are peculiarly appropriate to the character of the British Commonwealth with its independent members who have shown by their sacrifices in the common cause their devotion to kindred ideals and their community of outlook. While all are willing to consider and adopt practicable proposals for developing the existing system, it is agreed that the methods now practised are preferable to any rigid centralized machinery. In their view, such centralized machinery would not facilitate and might even hamper the combination of autonomy and unity which is characteristic of the British Commonwealth and is one of their great achievements."

Paragraph 38. The natural starting-point for future progress in Commonwealth defence has been the idea of regional association. Geography largely decides which problems most directly concern the separate members of the Commonwealth and it is the aim of the various Governments to recognize and take advantage of this fact by arranging that regional questions shall in the first place be studied in the appropriate regional centre. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have proposed that there should be established in the Capital of each of the Dominions United Kingdom liaison officers who could join with the Dominion Chiefs of Staff in studying regional security problems. Similarly, they have proposed that Dominion Governments should appoint liaison

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273687

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

officers in London. It has been suggested that by this means regional studies can be directed by the Government most immediately concerned with the help of a team of joint advisers. The fruits of these studies can be made available in London and in the other Dominion Capitals and in this way that measure of coordination which is necessary can be secured. The exact method of organizing the interchange of Missions will depend upon the varying constitutional practices in the different parts of the Commonwealth.

Paragraph 39. These proposals received a favourable hearing at the discussions in London in the spring and His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions are studying them in detail. There is reason to suppose that in the main they will prove acceptable and that they will pave the way for machinery which, while giving full play to the independence of the member States of the Commonwealth, will be effective as a means of consultation and collaboration.

This regional method of organization will also fit well into any regional schemes envolved under the aegis of the United Nations in which other States will join with members of the Commonwealth in appropriate geographical areas. Ends. Message ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 9:15 p.m.
Rec'd: 9:03 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C273688

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

LONDON, September 24th, 1946.

CIRCULAR D. 870

Circular D. 870: Secret. My telegrams Circular D. 866 and Circular D. 867. Following is summary of White Paper.

Section I. Introduction.

The proposals in the White Paper are for a Central Organization for Defence embodying the improvements suggested by the experience of recent years.

Section II. Historical Review.

This section traces the development of the Central Defence Organization, beginning with the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1904 with the Prime Minister as its Chairman and only permanent member. The work of the Committee of Imperial Defence made possible a smooth transition from peace to war in 1914. Establishment of War Cabinet in 1916 made good its lack of executive control.

Inter-service planning was established in 1924 with the formation of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Joint Staff system. In 1940, Mr. Churchill, as Prime Minister, assumed the title of Minister of Defence and set up the Defence Committee (operations) and the Defence Committee (Supply). No Ministry of Defence was set up. Gradually the Chiefs of Staff in their corporate capacity became the authority which issued unified instructions and strategical guidance to Commanders-in-Chief, and this system was further consolidated by the establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington. The Minister of Defence operated by bringing together those Ministers or officials who would be responsible for the execution of plans when approved. He used as staff the small Military Secretariat of the War Cabinet which had previously served the Committee of Imperial Defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273689

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Section III. Commentary.

Apart from the political and economic considerations which led to our shortage of military equipment in 1939, one defect of organization contributed to the state of unpreparedness, viz., the absence of a guiding hand to formulate a unified defence policy for the three services and examination regularly service programmes as a whole. A unified defence policy was achieved during the war by the assumption of executive control by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. The various possible alternative methods of achieving unified defence policy in peace-time are discussed in this section: the amalgamation of three services; the formation of a Combined General Staff on the model of the German Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, or the appointment of an independent Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. It is explained why these systems are not considered suitable for the United Kingdom.

Section IV. Proposals.

The conclusion is reached that there is no ground for any drastic re-casting of the main structure of the organization as it exists today. There is, however, need of a Minister with the time and authority to formulate a unified defence policy, and for this reason the post of a Minister of Defence is to be created. The form of the new organization is as follows:

(a) The Prime Minister will retain the supreme responsibility for defence.

(b) The Defence Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, will take over the functions of the old Committee of Imperial Defence, and will be responsible both for the review of current strategy and for co-ordinating Departmental action in preparation for war.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273690

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

(c) A new post of Minister of Defence, with a Ministry, will be created. The Minister of Defence will be responsible to Parliament for certain subjects, affecting the three services and their supply. In addition, he will be Deputy Chairman of the Defence Committee; and he will also preside over meetings with the Chiefs of Staff whenever he or they may so desire.

(d) The Chiefs of Staff Committee will remain responsible for preparing strategic appreciations and military plans, and for submitting them to the Defence Committee; and the Joint Staff system will be retained and developed under their direction.

(e) The Service Ministers will continue to be responsible to Parliament for the administration of their services in accordance with the general policy approved by the Cabinet and within the resources allotted to them.

The functions of the Minister of Defence will be defined as follows:

(a) The appointment, in broad outline, of available resources between the three services in accordance with the strategic policy laid down by the Defence Committee. This will include the framing of general policy to govern research and development, and the correlation of production programmes.

(b) The settlement of questions of general administration on which a common policy for the three services is desirable.

(c) The administration of inter-service organizations, such as Combined Operations Headquarters and the Joint Intelligence Bureau.

Section V. Organization for Collective Defence.

The main part of this section deals with Commonwealth collaboration, the text of which is continued in my telegram

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273691

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

- 4 -

LONDON,

Circular D. 867.

A final paragraph deals with Colonial defence. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is responsible for the defence of the Colonial Empire and has two main objects, the security of the Colonies and the development of their full resources in the event of war. Plans and preparations for Colonial defence fall (apart from any arrangements for regional defence which may be made with the Dominions) within the general scope of the defence measures for which the United Kingdom Government is primarily responsible. It is proposed to revive the Oversea Defence Committee as a Sub-Committee of the Defence Committee.

Section VI. Conclusion.

The aim of the proposal is to carry forward into peace the inter-service co-operation which proved effective in war.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 9:42 p.m.
Rec'd:11:20 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273692

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON.

TELEGRAM

No. 1728

CYPHER

SECRET

IMMEDIATE

OTTAWA, September 30, 1946.

Reference Dominions Office telegrams D.866 and 867 of September 21st, White Paper on Central Organization for Defence.

We shall have some comments on Paragraph 38 of the draft paper, but we shall not be able to clear these for despatch before the middle of the week. Will you please so inform the Dominions Office, expressing regret that we cannot offer our observations by the end of the month as requested.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273693

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE LONDON, October 3, 1946.

CYPHER

No. 2005

No. 2005. Your telegram No. 1728 of September 30th, White Paper on Central Organization for Defence.

1. I communicated at once to Dominions Office regret at our inability to make desired comments, and I have received an immediate note from the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, informing me that, as forecast in telegram Circular D. 866 of September 21st, it was found necessary to fix 12:00 noon, October 2nd, as latest time for sending the White Paper to printer in order to ensure that it be published on Friday next before Parliament re-assembles, a matter to which great importance is attached here.

2. Matter was brought to the attention of the Prime Minister, so that he might consider whether in circumstances any alteration of timetable was possible, but he felt compelled to adhere to present arrangements for reason mentioned.

3. I am informed it is, therefore, unfortunately unavoidable that White Paper will appear in its present form, before opportunity is had of considering observations on paragraph 38 which your telegram indicates you desire to make.

4. Dominions Office express regret that time-table difficulties should have been so compelling and request me to explain circumstances.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273694

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON.

TELEGRAM

No. 1746

CYPHER

SECRET

MOST IMMEDIATE

OTTAWA, October 3, 1946.

Following for Robertson from Wrong.

Begins.

Your telegram 2005 of October 3rd, concerning White Paper on Defence, was received just as we were despatching our comments on paragraph 38. I was only able to clear these this morning and I hope that they will still be able to make some changes. While the language of paragraph 39 to some degree qualifies the general statements in paragraph 38, I feel that we may encounter some difficulties in Washington unless our suggestions for revision are adopted, in addition to any problems arising from misunderstandings inside the Commonwealth on the functions of Service Liaison Missions.

Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273695

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

TELEGRAM

No. 379

SECRET

CYPHER

MOST IMMEDIATE

OTTAWA, October 3, 1946.

Following for Prime Minister from Prime Minister. Begins.

Your telegrams D. 866 and D. 867 of September 21st, White Paper on Central Organization for Defence.

We should welcome complete revision of paragraph 38 of this Paper, which appears to us open to misinterpretation concerning both the place and planning of regional defence and the functions of liaison officers in Commonwealth capitals.

2. In the first place the paragraph might read as implying an intention to organize regional defence on a Commonwealth basis without the participation of other countries. In the case of Canada it is obvious that the defence of North America must, for the most part, be planned by the United States and Canada jointly, and your Chiefs of Staff are familiar with the plans now under discussion between ourselves and the United States. We think, therefore, that emphasis on the term "regional defence" is misleading as there will be great variety in the methods adopted by various Commonwealth Governments, involving close co-operation in some cases with foreign governments.

3. With regard to the proposed liaison officers, the description in this paragraph appears to contemplate functions of a representative character which would be on a distinctly higher level than was contemplated in paragraph 7 of Paper P.M.M. (46) 20, from the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff submitted at the meeting of Prime Ministers earlier this year in London. In particular the paragraph appears

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to imply that the liaison officers in each capital would regularly sit with the Chiefs of Staff concerned for the purpose of regional planning, so that the Governments of each Commonwealth country would be furnished with joint advice. We consider that our own Service representatives to be appointed in London and perhaps in other Commonwealth capitals should not be empowered to enter into commitments, although we would expect them to have access to the Chiefs of Staff in the capital in which they were stationed when instructed to take up particular matters. Their functions would be to act as a channel of information and liaison.

4. We are now giving consideration to draft instructions for the Canadian Service representatives in London which would be in line with the views set forth in the preceding paragraph.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273697

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMPORTANT

SECRET LONDON, October 3rd, 1946.

CYPHER

CIRCULAR D. 898

Circular D. 898. Secret. My telegram Circular D. 870.

White Paper will be released in time for publication in morning papers of Saturday, 5th October.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 12:55 p.m.
Rec'd: 9:00 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C273698

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

PERSONAL AND PRIVATE LONDON, October 4th, 1946.

CYPHER

No. 164

No. 164. Personal and Private.

Following for Prime Minister from Prime Minister, Begins:

Your telegram No. 379 of October 3rd. As explained to your Acting High Commissioner on October 2nd, arrangements had already been made for publication on October 5th of the White Paper on Defence Organization. These arrangements for publication had been timed to fit in with the announcement of certain changes which I am making in my Cabinet. The White Paper had been formally laid before Parliament and the final text was being printed. In these circumstances, I am sure you will understand that I could not delay publication while amendments to paragraph 38 were discussed.

2. That paragraph is, in fact, no more than a factual statement of the proposals which the United Kingdom Government put before the meeting of Prime Ministers in the spring for study in detail. It does not purport to state decisions. I doubt, therefore, whether it need give rise to the misinterpretation which you fear. I shall, however, take special care to see that in explanations of the White Paper given here, both to the press on publication and thereafter in debate in Parliament, the position on both points made in your telegram is made quite clear. This should avoid any risk of misunderstanding. We will lay special emphasis on the final sentences of paragraphs 38 and 39, respectively.

3. I should much have preferred to have been able to agree to text with you, but I am sure that you will realize my difficulties. The other Dominions have not suggested amendments. Best wishes. Ends.

Sent: 1:07 p.m.
Rec'd: 8:34 a.m.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273699

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

SECRET LONDON, October 4th, 1946.

CYPHER

NO. 2017

No. 2017. Secret. Following for Wrong from Robertson, Begins:

Your telegram No. 1746 of October 3rd, and your telegram No. 379 of October 3rd to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

1. I spoke to Brook and Machtig this morning. The former had already seen Attlee, who is replying direct to the Prime Minister's message. As you will see from his reply, the United Kingdom Government feel that they cannot at this hour withdraw their White Paper on the Central Organization for Defence. Its publication will herald an important and long-awaited Cabinet reshuffle, the announcement of which Attlee feels he cannot defer. Copies of the White Paper have already been communicated to the leaders of the Opposition, arrangements have been made for a preparatory press conference at four o'clock this afternoon, and everything is set for publication in tomorrow morning's newspapers. From the importance which the United Kingdom Government attach to the timing of this announcement, one might infer that it was not unrelated to the Blackpool Conservative Conference, and to Churchill's speech tomorrow night, with which it will share the Sunday papers.

2. I told Machtig, whom I saw later, that, apart from the two specific points in paragraph 38 to which your telegram took exception, the tone and apparent implications of the whole passage relating to Commonwealth cooperation in defence matters

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273700

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

might be found misleading in Canada and would perhaps compel our Government to make it clear that it had not yet committed itself to any particular methods or machinery for furthering cooperation in defence questions, and that the measures outlined in the United Kingdom paper were simply proposals that commended themselves to the United Kingdom Government and were now being examined by the Canadian Government.

3. Machtig said that none of the other Commonwealth Governments had objected to the terms of the proposed United Kingdom statement, though Chifley had intimated that its publication might make it necessary for him to make a public statement of the Australian position along the lines of his statement in the Prime Ministers' meetings in May last.

4. I told Machtig that I thought that the whole business was an instructive illustration of the dangers that lay in the United Kingdom's propensity to keep issuing public statements about aspects of Commonwealth relationships that really did not need further explanation or embellishment. Their publication at this time of the conception of cooperation in defence matters which they would like to see established might well prejudice progress in practical working arrangements, in which our Government had always shown its readiness to cooperate.

5. Specifically it seemed to me to be a serious political mistake to attempt to inflate the functions and status of the liaison officers whom they wished to see appointed. Their tendency to play them up might compel other countries to play them down, to nobody's advantage. I reminded them that the attachment last spring of service advisers to the United Kingdom High Commissioner

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273701

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

in Canada had been accepted as a perfectly normal office routine analogous to the appointment of Service Attaches to the American, French or Soviet Embassies. For all formal, diplomatic and public purposes the status of the several Military Attaches in relation to the Canadian Defence Departments was identical. Neither the United States Government nor our Government would feel any public purpose was served by publicizing the private fact, that working relations between our Defence Departments and the American Service Attaches, and between American Service Departments and our Joint Staff in Washington, were on a much more intimate and confidential footing than the nominally similar relationship maintained with the service representatives of certain other countries. Public insistence on the closeness and intimacy of these liaisons might be the one sure way of making them difficult if not impossible. More or less similar considerations should be taken into account in considering how liaison in defence matters between Commonwealth countries could be improved.

6. I also mentioned to Machtig our fear that the publication at this time of the United Kingdom Government's ideas about methods of Commonwealth liaison in defence matters might have a bearing on our Government's considerations of the timeliness of publishing the P.J.B.D.'s recommendation regarding the bases of Canadian-American cooperation in Continental defence. This was a major question of Governmental policy and one that I hoped would not be prejudiced by the premature publication of the United Kingdom Government's proposals.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273702

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

7. Machtig said that he very much regretted that the text could not now be revised in the light of our observations and if they had been received a few days earlier he had no doubt that the text would have been amended accordingly. In the circumstances, he would do his best to have the Commonwealth aspect of the White Paper played down in this afternoon's press conference. The emphasis in United Kingdom press treatment would undoubtedly be on the Ministerial reorganization which the statement foreshadows, and he was hopeful that paragraph 38 would not receive as much attention or cause as much embarrassment as I thought it possibly might. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent 9:30 p.m.

Rec'd. 6:32 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273703

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

LONDON, October 5th, 1946.

NO. 2020

No. 2020. My telegram No. 2017, October 4th. White Paper on defence.

This morning's London papers almost entirely ignore sections of the White Paper dealing with Commonwealth defence, both in news columns and editorials. The Imperially minded press is much too interested in yesterday's statements on the Empire at Blackpool, and press in general is far more interested in the Cabinet changes and in the domestic significance of the Minister of Defence.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 12:30 p.m.
Rec'd: 10:00 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273704

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

TELEGRAM

No. 381

SECRET

CYPHER

PERSONAL AND PRIVATE OTTAWA, October 5, 1946.

Following for the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister. Begins.

Your telegram No. 164 of October 4th.

I appreciate the circumstances which made it difficult for you, at this stage, to delay publication of your White Paper. It is unfortunate, nevertheless, that the arrangements made for publication did not permit a more adequate period for consultation on those passages which relate to Commonwealth defence. We have been giving anxious consideration to defence questions and it was not possible to comment constructively immediately after receipt of your telegrams of September 21st. You will recall that at our discussions in London it was understood that further consideration and consultation with colleagues and advisers would be needed before a definite decision could be taken on the nature and extent of continuing military liaison.

2. The criticisms made in my telegram No. 379 of October 3rd relate to points of substance to which we attach serious importance, particularly in view of our relationship with the United States in matters of regional defence. We feel, therefore, that, apart from any problems which may arise from misunderstandings within the Commonwealth on the functions of Service Liaison Missions, the matter may cause some difficulties in Washington. I shall, of course, make no public reference to the matter here unless public comment makes it necessary that I should make our position clear. All good wishes. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

UK/GD

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C 273705

Name of Publication London Times

Date Oct 5/46

DEFENCE MINISTRY CREATED

GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER

ORGANIZATION DEFINED

A Government White Paper on "Central Organization for Defence," issued to-day, announces the creation of a Minister of Defence, "responsible to Parliament for certain subjects affecting the three Services and their supply." The Prime Minister will retain the supreme responsibility for defence.

The White Paper opens with an introductory review of the development of a central organization for defence since the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence (following the first report in 1904 of Lord Esher's War Office (Reconstitution) Committee), and its operation during war-time.

Elaborating the proposals for the new organization, the document states:—

The appointment of a Minister of Defence will relieve the Prime Minister of that part of his general responsibility for national defence which is concerned with the interrelation of the three fighting Services and their supply. There remains, however, the organization for national defence in its broader aspect, including both current questions of high policy in the sphere of defence, and also the preparation of plans over the whole field of Government activity, both civil and military, for mobilizing the entire resources of the nation in a major war. These problems engage the collective responsibility of the Government as a whole. They must, therefore, be handled under the authority of the Cabinet itself.

A DEFENCE COMMITTEE

It is proposed that there should be a Defence Committee to deal with these problems, under the Cabinet. It will be responsible both for the review of current strategy and also for the preparation of plans for the country's transition from peace to war, and will thus discharge the tasks carried out before the war by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The Prime Minister will be Chairman of the Defence Committee. Its composition will be flexible. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Service Ministers, the Minister of Labour, and the Minister of Supply will be regular members of the Committee, and the Chiefs of Staff will be in attendance. Such other Ministers, officers, and officials as may be required will be invited to attend meetings of the Committee, according to the subjects under discussion.

COLLABORATION

The preparation of plans for mobilizing the nation's resources in war will, as stated, involve the collaboration of almost all government agencies, both civil and military. This task will be undertaken by a system of sub-committees working under the general direction and authority of the Defence Committee. These sub-committees will be constituted mainly at the official level, as were the sub-committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence before the war, and will include representatives of the Services, Service Departments, and Civil Departments, and, where necessary, persons outside government service altogether.

The Prime Minister must be Chairman of the Defence Committee, by virtue of his ultimate responsibility for national defence. When international relations are stable, however, it will be neither possible nor necessary for him to attend all the meetings of the Committee; and it is desirable that he should have as deputy chairman a senior Minister who can relieve him of as much as possible of the detailed work of supervising the preparation of our defence plans. The Minister of Defence will undertake this task. In this capacity he will be able to exercise a general supervision over the preparations which are being made for national defence as a whole through the various sub-committees of the Defence Committee.

Apart from his duties as deputy chairman of the Defence Committee, it is proposed that the Minister of Defence should, as such, be responsible for the following functions:—

(*a*) The apportionment, in broad outline, of available resources between the three Services in accordance with the strategic policy laid down by the Defence Committee. This will include the framing of general policy to govern research and development, and the correlation of production programmes.

(*b*) The settlement of questions of general administration on which a common policy for the three Services is desirable.

(*c*) The administration of inter-Service organizations, such as Combined Operations Headquarters and the Joint Intelligence Bureau.

The Minister will bring his proposals under (*a*) before the Defence Committee and the Cabinet. He will present the Cabinet's decisions on these to Parliament, and will decide questions arising between the three Services in their application. He will not be responsible for the subsequent detailed execution of the approved programmes, which will be the task of the Service and Supply Ministers. As a consequence of (*b*), he will answer questions in Parliament on matters common to the three Services or to the three Services and the Ministry of Supply.

STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

The new organization must be such as to ensure that the resources available for defence are laid out to the best advantage in terms of man-power, weapons and equipment, works services, amenities, &c. A beginning was made this year with a new procedure for determining Service Estimates in total, which it is proposed to develop so as to enable provision for Defence to be dealt with as a single problem in the light of the economic position and strategic requirements of the country.

The Chiefs of Staff will advise the Defence Committee on our strategic requirements from year to year. It will then be for the Service departments to translate these requirements into terms of men, money, and supplies, and for the Minister of Defence to coordinate the results, with the help of the Chiefs of Staff and the Committee of Service Ministers described below, and to present to the Defence Committee a coherent scheme of expenditure which will give the country forces and equipment in properly balanced proportions.

On production questions there will be a standing Ministerial Production Committee consisting of the Service Ministers, the Minister of Supply, and the Minister of Labour, over which the Minister of Defence will preside. Working for this committee there will be a Joint War Production Staff, composed of serving officers and representatives of the Service and civil departments concerned, under a permanent Chairman who will be appointed to the staff of the Minister of Defence. With the help of this organization, the Minister of Defence will be able to frame comprehensive defence proposals in the form of a consolidated estimate for presentation to the Defence Committee and the Cabinet.

Peace-time production programmes cannot be determined without regard to questions of war potential. The size of peace-time stocks of equipment must be related to the rate at which production can develop in emergency. It will be the duty of the new Minister's Production Committee, assisted by the Joint War Production Staff, to study all and especially the wider aspects of our war potential, and for this purpose these bodies will be regarded as sub-committees of the Defence Committee. The President of the Board of Trade and such other Ministers as may be concerned from time to time will be co-opted to the ministerial committee to assist in the work.

ADMINISTRATION

Within the resources allotted to them, the Service Ministers will continue to be responsible to Parliament for the maintenance and administration of their own Services. The appointment of the Minister of Defence will afford an opportunity to build up for the handling of administrative questions which are of common interest to the three Services, machinery independent of the Chiefs of Staff organization, which will give full scope for collaboration by the Service Ministers, and the administrative branches of their departments.

The Minister of Defence will establish a Standing Committee of the three Service Ministers meeting under his chairmanship. This will be served by inter-Service consultative committees of Principal Personnel Officers and Principal Supply Officers, which will also be linked up in operational matters to the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Minister will thus discharge these functions in relation to the Services by making full use of the staffs of the Service Ministries on the proved Joint Staff system.

The Minister of Defence will assume control of inter-Service organizations such as Combined Operations Headquarters, the Joint Intelligence Bureau, and the Imperial Defence College, and their staffs will be borne on his Vote. For the present the only inter-Service bodies to be so transferred are organizations concerned with planning, intelligence, and staff training which have developed out of the Joint Staff system and are closely integrated with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Times C273705

Date Oct 5/46

DEFENCE MINISTRY CREATED

GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER

ORGANIZATION DEFINED

A Government White Paper on "Central Organization for Defence," issued to-day, announces the creation of a Minister of Defence, "responsible to Parliament for certain subjects affecting the three Services and their supply." The Prime Minister will retain the supreme responsibility for defence.

The White Paper opens with an introductory review of the development of a central organization for defence since the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence (following the first report in 1904 of Lord Esher's War Office (Reconstitution) Committee), and its operation during war-time.

Elaborating the proposals for the new organization, the document states:—

The appointment of a Minister of Defence will relieve the Prime Minister of that part of his general responsibility for national defence which is concerned with the interrelation of the three fighting Services and their supply. There remains, however, the organization for national defence in its broader aspect, including both current questions of high policy in the sphere of defence, and also the preparation of plans over the whole field of Government activity, both civil and military, for mobilizing the entire resources of the nation in a major war. These problems engage the collective responsibility of the Government as a whole. They must, therefore, be handled under the authority of the Cabinet itself.

A DEFENCE COMMITTEE

It is proposed that there should be a Defence Committee to deal with these problems, under the Cabinet. It will be responsible both for the review of current strategy and also for the preparation of plans for the country's transition from peace to war, and will thus discharge the tasks carried out before the war by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The Prime Minister will be Chairman of the Defence Committee. Its composition will be flexible. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Service Ministers, the Minister of Labour, and the Minister of Supply will be regular members of the Committee, and the Chiefs of Staff will be in attendance. Such other Ministers, officers, and officials as may be required will be invited to attend meetings of the Committee, according to the subjects under discussion.

COLLABORATION

The preparation of plans for mobilizing the nation's resources in war will, as stated, involve the collaboration of almost all government agencies, both civil and military. This task will be undertaken by a system of sub-committees working under the general direction and authority of the Defence Committee. These sub-committees will be constituted mainly at the official level, as were the sub-committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence before the war, and will include representatives of the Services, Service Departments, and Civil Departments, and, where necessary, persons outside government service altogether.

The Prime Minister must be Chairman of the Defence Committee, by virtue of his ultimate responsibility for national defence. When international relations are stable, however, it will be neither possible nor necessary for him to attend all the meetings of the Committee; and it is desirable that he should have as deputy chairman a senior Minister who can relieve him of as much as possible of the detailed work of supervising the preparation of our defence plans. The Minister of Defence will undertake this task. In this capacity he will be able to exercise a general supervision over the preparations which are being made for national defence as a whole through the various sub-committees of the Defence Committee.

Apart from his duties as deputy chairman of the Defence Committee, it is proposed that the Minister of Defence should, as such, be responsible for the following functions:—

(*a*) The apportionment, in broad outline, of available resources between the three Services in accordance with the strategic policy laid down by the Defence Committee. This will include the framing of general policy to govern research and development, and the correlation of production programmes.

(*b*) The settlement of questions of general administration on which a common policy for the three Services is desirable.

(*c*) The administration of inter-Service organizations, such as Combined Operations Headquarters and the Joint Intelligence Bureau.

The Minister will bring his proposals under (*a*) before the Defence Committee and the Cabinet. He will present the Cabinet's decisions on these to Parliament, and will decide questions arising between the three Services in their application. He will not be responsible for the subsequent detailed execution of the approved programmes, which will be the task of the Service and Supply Ministers. As a consequence of (*b*), he will answer questions in Parliament on matters common to the three Services or to the three Services and the Ministry of Supply.

STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

The new organization must be such as to ensure that the resources available for defence are laid out to the best advantage in terms of man-power, weapons and equipment, works services, amenities, &c. A beginning was made this year with a new procedure for determining Service Estimates in total, which it is proposed to develop so as to enable provision for Defence to be dealt with as a single problem in the light of the economic position and strategic requirements of the country.

The Chiefs of Staff will advise the Defence Committee on our strategic requirements from year to year. It will then be for the Service departments to translate these requirements into terms of men, money, and supplies, and for the Minister of Defence to coordinate the results, with the help of the Chiefs of Staff and the Committee of Service Ministers described below, and to present to the Defence Committee a coherent scheme of expenditure which will give the country forces and equipment in properly balanced proportions.

On production questions there will be a standing Ministerial Production Committee consisting of the Service Ministers, the Minister of Supply, and the Minister of Labour, over which the Minister of Defence will preside. Working for this committee there will be a Joint War Production Staff, composed of serving officers and representatives of the Service and civil departments concerned, under a permanent Chairman who will be appointed to the staff of the Minister of Defence. With the help of this organization, the Minister of Defence will be able to frame comprehensive defence proposals in the form of a consolidated estimate for presentation to the Defence Committee and the Cabinet.

Peace-time production programmes cannot be determined without regard to questions of war potential. The size of peace-time stocks of equipment must be related to the rate at which production can develop in emergency. It will be the duty of the new Minister's Production Committee, assisted by the Joint War Production Staff, to study all and especially the wider aspects of our war potential, and for this purpose these bodies will be regarded as sub-committees of the Defence Committee. The President of the Board of Trade and such other Ministers as may be concerned from time to time will be co-opted to the ministerial committee to assist in the work.

ADMINISTRATION

Within the resources allotted to them, the Service Ministers will continue to be responsible to Parliament for the maintenance and administration of their own Services. The appointment of the Minister of Defence will afford an opportunity to build up for the handling of administrative questions which are of common interest to the three Services, machinery independent of the Chiefs of Staff organization, which will give full scope for collaboration by the Service Ministers, and the administrative branches of their departments.

The Minister of Defence will establish a Standing Committee of the three Service Ministers meeting under his chairmanship. This will be served by inter-Service consultative committees of Principal Personnel Officers and Principal Supply Officers, which will also be linked up in operational matters to the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Minister will thus discharge these functions in relation to the Services by making full use of the staffs of the Service Ministries on the proved Joint Staff system.

The Minister of Defence will assume control of inter-Service organizations such as Combined Operations Headquarters, the Joint Intelligence Bureau, and the Imperial Defence College, and their staffs will be borne on his Vote. For the present the only inter-Service bodies to be so transferred are organizations concerned with planning, intelligence, and staff training which have developed out of the Joint Staff system and are closely integrated with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

the work of those staffs. A study is being made, however, of the possible advantages of drawing together certain administrative services which are now provided separately for each of the three fighting Services, *e.g.*, the medical services, and forming a combined organization which would provide those services in common for all branches of the armed forces.

The Chiefs of Staff organization has been highly developed during the war and its value has been fully proved. No change is therefore contemplated in the organization of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, which will continue as at present, together with the Joint Staffs for strategic planning, intelligence, and administrative planning. The Chiefs of Staff Committee will retain their responsibility for preparing strategic military plans and submitting them to the Defence Committee.

RESEARCH POLICY

On all technical questions of strategy and plans it is essential that the Cabinet and Defence Committee should be able to have presented to them directly and personally the advice of the Chiefs of Staff, as the professional military advisers of the Government. Their advice to the Defence Committee or the Cabinet will not, therefore, be presented only through the Minister of Defence. At the same time, the organization on which they rely in their collective capacity will be within the new Ministry, and the Chiefs of Staff will meet under the Chairmanship of the new Minister whenever he or they may so desire.

In organization for formulation of policy for research and development the problem is to secure the continued and complete integration of military and scientific thought at all levels and to see that, in planning Defence Research as a whole, account is taken of the scientific effort of the country in other fields in order that our resources may be efficiently and economically used.

For this purpose there will be a Committee on Defence Research Policy, consisting of those responsible, both from the operational and scientific angle, for research and development in the Service Departments and the Ministry of Supply. This will advise, on operational questions, the Chiefs of Staff and, on wider aspects, the Defence Committee. Its chairman will be a scientist of high standing, appointed for the purpose for a period of years. He will exercise his functions under the authority of the Minister of Defence.

HOME SECURITY

In any future war the problems of home security will assume an importance even greater than that which they had in the late war. It is essential that in military preparations full weight should be given to the probable demands of the home security services, and His Majesty's Government have considered the desirability of extending the functions of the Minister of Defence to cover this field. They have concluded, however, that it would be wrong to do this.

Home security embraces a large number of activities apart from the air raid precautions and fire services, such as the maintenance of food supplies for the civil population, transport, hospitals, and so on, which fall within the province of the civil Ministries, and to give the Minister of Defence charge of all this would be to give him functions far outside his intended scope. It will be the duty of the Defence Committee to link home security problems to broad defence policy, and the Home Defence Committee has already been reconstituted for the purpose.

The functions assigned to the Minister of Defence are such that it will not be possible for him to operate only through a small Secretariat. He will from the outset assume control over certain existing inter-Service organizations and on this account alone will need a Department with a separate Vote. If it were decided to amalgamate, under his control, some of the common services which are now provided separately for each of the three branches of the armed forces, a considerable body of administrative staff would then be appointed to his Department to undertake the detailed control of those common services. For the discharge of the functions described in this paper, however, the Minister will not need a large staff. He will have as his principal advisers a Permanent Secretary, a Chief Staff Officer, the Chairman of the Joint War Production Staff and the Chairman of the Committee on Defence Research Policy. These will be assisted by a relatively small staff, partly civil and partly military.

Through the central machinery, his Majesty's Government will discharge their responsibility for organizing the defence of the United Kingdom. Our defence problems cannot, however, be viewed in isolation. We must be ready to play our part in any measures of collective defence which may be organized under the ægis of the United Nations; and we must maintain and develop our machinery for collaboration in the defence of the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Methods of collaboration between the various members of the Commonwealth are governed by the principle enunciated in the Statute of Westminster. Even before 1923 the conception that there should be a central authority in London, representative of all the self-governing members of the Commonwealth, to review defence questions and prepare central plans which would be binding on the whole Commonwealth and Empire, was never recognized as practicable even if it were desirable. Admittedly the Dominions have a close interest in problems that affect the Commonwealth and Empire as a whole, but each of them has a special and distinct outlook on world affairs, dependent on its geographical position and its political and economic environment, and Dominion Governments must retain full liberty of action.

Cooperation in Commonwealth defence has, therefore, always taken the practical form of promoting uniformity of organization, training, and equipment of military forces, maintaining the closest possible touch between Staffs, and interchanging officers in order to promote a common doctrine and outlook in military affairs. Collaboration in war-time between the naval, land, and air forces from different parts of the Commonwealth has thus been easy and effective.

AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM

Since 1923, the natural tendency of the different parts of the Commonwealth to view problems from their own individual standpoint has become more marked. During the recent war, no attempt was made to revive the Imperial War Cabinet of 1917-18, but this did not prevent the maintenance of a very close touch between the Governments of the Commonwealth, not only by telegraphic means but by constant meetings between Ministers, officers, and officials on all levels. In this way it was possible to make common plans for military action, for the coordination of munitions production, and for the cooperation of scientists and technicians in research and development. This flexible system of handling problems of mutual concern has proved very effective, and it was the object of study at the recent discussions in London in the spring of 1946.

The natural starting-point for future progress in Commonwealth defence has been the idea of regional association. Geography largely decides which problems most directly concern the separate members of the Commonwealth, and it is the aim of the various Governments to recognize and take advantage of this fact by arranging that regional questions shall in the first place be studied in the appropriate regional centre.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has proposed that there should be established in the capital of each of the Dominions United Kingdom liaison officers who could join with the Dominion Chiefs of Staff in studying regional security problems. Similarly they have proposed that Dominion Governments should appoint liaison officers in London. It has been suggested that by this means regional studies can be directed by the Government most immediately concerned with the help of a team of joint advisers. The fruits of these studies can be made available in London, and in the other Dominion capitals, and in this way that measure of coordination which is necessary can be secured. The exact method of organizing the interchange of liaison officers will depend upon the varying constitutional practice in the different parts of the Commonwealth.

These proposals received a favourable hearing at the discussions in London in the spring, and his Majesty's Governments in the Dominions are studying them in detail. There is reason to suppose that in the main they will prove acceptable, and that they will pave the way for machinery which, while giving full play to the independence of the member States of the Commonwealth, will be effective as a means of consultation and collaboration. This regional method of organization will also fit well into any regional schemes evolved under the aegis of the United Nations in which other States will join with members of the Commonwealth in appropriate geographical areas.

THE COLONIES

For the defence of the Colonial Empire his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is directly responsible. The two main objects to be achieved in this field are first the security of the Colonies themselves from external attack, and, secondly, the development of the full resources of the Colonies in the event of war. The security of the Colonies rests mainly upon the maintenance by the Imperial forces of command of the sea and air approaches and of the freedom of the lines of communication between the different parts of the Empire. Plans and preparations for Colonial defence thus fall (apart from any arrangements for regional defence which may be made with the Dominions) within the general scope of the defence measures for which the United Kingdom Government is primarily responsible.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C 273707

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject ..... It is proposed to revive the Oversea Defence

Subject .....

It is proposed to revive the Oversea Defence Committee as a sub-committee of the Defence Committee in London, and this body will be charged, as it was before the war, with surveying the whole field of defence preparations in the Colonies, and their correlation with the general picture of Imperial Defence. It will also be the duty of this Committee to make sure that full account is taken in Imperial plans of the contribution in men, materials, and facilities which each Colony is capable of making to the general pool in time of war.

A SECURE FOUNDATION

Such, in outline, is the higher defence organization which his Majesty's Government has decided to introduce. The changes proposed are based on the experience of the last decade, and are designed to place on a secure foundation, and to carry forward into peace, the machinery for inter-Service cooperation which worked so smoothly and effectively in war. The Government is satisfied that the functions of the various parts have been defined with sufficient precision to enable the duties to be carried out effectively, while at the same time the organization as a whole remains sufficiently flexible to allow the process of evolution to continue, as it has throughout this century, so that the central machinery for defence may be progressively adapted to changing needs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

UK / C 273708

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

BY AIR

NO. A.933.

5th November, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. A.892 of 24th October, in which I reported the debate in the House of Lords on the sections of the United Kingdom White Paper on the Central Organisation for Defence which referred to the Commonwealth.

2. The White Paper has now been debated in the House of Commons on 30th and 31st October. It was on the whole an apathetic debate with a small attendance. The lack of interest was due partly to the fact that the Leader of the Opposition decided at the last moment not to take part, but primarily to the fact that there is very little difference of opinion on the merits of the general principles of the White Paper. Most of the debate was devoted to technical aspects which some members thought could be improved, and to somewhat irrelevant references to the state of the Services and the maintenance of world peace. It was inevitable in the circumstances, therefore, that a considerable proportion of time would be devoted to the section dealing with Commonwealth defence, as it was the one section on which most Conservatives seemed united in considering not entirely satisfactory.

3. The views expressed by Conservative members were, for the most part, a repetition of the criticisms in the House of Lords described in my earlier despatch. The two spokesmen for the Party, Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Eden, were very moderate in their comments, and devoted very much less time to the Imperial aspects of the White Paper than did some of the lesser critics. Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Eden confined themselves generally to saying that they did not think the present section on collective defence was quite good enough. They thought that liaison officers were suitable to exchange information, but not for proper consultation. Both recognized the fact that the United Kingdom Government could not act on its own in this matter, and that no centralized body with executive powers for the Commonwealth was possible. "We are not talking", said Mr. Lyttelton "about a system where responsibility in the Chiefs of Staff Committee will be assured at the top level by the Dominions, because I think that that would be clearly impracticable". Both indicated their belief that the Government was probably seeking practical measures of co-operation beyond what it had been considered desirable to specify in the White Paper.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
O t t a w a.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4. The extremist Imperial view was best expressed by the doughty Vice-Admiral Taylor, who was not prepared to allow the Statute of Westminster to stand in the way of complete co-ordination of defence and foreign policies which he considered inevitable to prevent disaster. He was, however, quite out of step with the line followed by most members of his Party.

5. In many ways the most interesting speech of the whole debate was made by Brigadier Low. Brigadier Low was a spokesman for 31 members who had given notice of an amendment to the Prime Minister's motion. They were prepared to support the Prime Minister's motion of approval, but wished to add that this House "hopes that further consultations with the other Governments of the Empire will quickly lead to proposals for an organisation designed to achieve an imperial defence policy, and in particular to ensure the allocation of manpower within the Empire sufficient for its defence, and to achieve the co-operation of all the Governments and peoples of the Empire in the proper dispersal of its industrial potential". In the end this amendment, although it appeared in the Order paper, was not put forward in the House. Mr. Alexander, who is to be the Minister of Defence, told me that during the earlier stages of the debate he had come upon a discussion in the Lobby among the sponsors of the amendment. He proceeded to tell them that he considered their amendment most unfortunate, and that it was in fact insulting to the other countries of the Commonwealth in view of their contribution during the war. He asked them how they would feel if the other Commonwealth Governments had in a similar way attempted to point out to the United Kingdom Government how it should improve its defence policy. As a result of this discussion the sponsors decided to withdraw their notice of amendment.

6. Brigadier Low nevertheless gave what I think was an able and well-informed definition of his point of view, with which we might disagree, but at which, I think we need not be offended. He displayed a much greater knowledge of Commonwealth relations than many of his colleagues. For example, he alone among the critics recognised that the new defence committee could not be called the Committee of Imperial Defence because it was a sub-Committee of the Cabinet which deals primarily with the defence of the United Kingdom, and has planning and executive responsibilities. He also recognised the relevance to the defence question of the fact that there could not be in detail any really common foreign policy for the very good reason that all members of the British Commonwealth are sovereign in that respect. He said, however, that there seemed to be at international conferences "a highest common factor on which we and the Dominions agree now and will always agree". This factor was based upon the British way of life. He asked if those nations of the world whose whole outlook was based on the British way of life would be likely to take a different line on a problem that was going to provoke a world conflict. The United Nations, he said, would help us and would not hinder us in getting cohesion of those born to the British way of life. He seemed to feel that if the Commonwealth countries were likely to be fighting together they would find it necessary to have a plan for fighting together. If the Dominion experts had not been in at the early formation of that plan they would necessarily have to accept the plan that the United Kingdom had made themselves. What Brigadier Low was pressing for was "the establishment of a series of liaison missions which would form an Imperial defence secretariat - a secretariat of a purely advisory nature because the Governments of countries are responsible for their own problems."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

7. For the Government, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Alexander spoke. Copies of the sections of their speeches dealing with this subject are attached. The Prime Minister denied that the Government was excluding other Commonwealth Governments from the opportunities previously available for the exchange of information and views on defence matters. He defended the refusal to establish rigid and centralized machinery by stating that his view that this would not be acceptable to other Prime Ministers was confirmed during the meetings in the Spring. He made it quite clear that the proposal for the exchange of liaison officers was merely a suggestion which remained to be adopted. He admitted that the exchange of liaison officers was not in itself enough, as there should be also the conclusion of agreements and the concerting of common plans. Decisions in these matters, however, could not be taken for Dominion Governments by their representatives in this country until they had been fully considered by the Dominion Cabinets. He then made a very useful point in pointing out that the Dominion Governments, like the United Kingdom, were members of the United Nations and defence arrangements would have to be considered in relation to their respective obligations to the United Nations and within any regional schemes that may be evolved under that organisation.

8. Mr. Alexander began by defending the term "collective defence", which was the heading of Part V of the White Paper. The Conservatives had called this merely a "coy " term for Imperial Defence because the Government thought "Imperial" was an unpleasant word. Mr. Alexander said there was no coyness at all. The term was used simply and solely because that section of the White Paper dealt not only with Colonial defence and with talks on defence matters with the Dominions, but it must deal with any measure of collective defence which might be organized under the aegis of the United Nations. Mr. Alexander, like almost all the Labour Party speakers, and like most Conservative speakers, emphasized the fact that dealings with Dominion Governments must be recognised as dealings among equals. Mr. Alexander made a useful suggestion when he said:

> "Sometimes we are still inclined to talk about the Dominions as our sons and our daughters, and this is very important though it sounds very trivial. I wish we could think of them more as brothers who have grown up and are independent, and are contributing to the whole business in a really magnificent way".

He concluded this section of his speech by saying that what he required was not some rigid form of arrangement which would bring the Dominion Governments within the United Kingdom's own defence organisation, as explained in the White Paper, but rather the closest practicable contact not only in the sphere of the Services themselves but also at the highest possible level - that was to say, whenever possible contact between responsible Ministers.

9. Among the other Labour speakers there were several who made comments worthy of note. Mr. Richard Adams made a useful point, which is all too frequently forgotten, when he said:

> "If each individual unit within the Commonwealth group pursues a policy of efficiency with the exchange of views and consultations at a high level ... we should find in circumstances such as these that correlation would be easy and in the light of the exact situation of any war development".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Another Labour view on Commonwealth co-operation which is, I think, close in spirit to statements which have been made in Ottawa was that of Mr. James Callaghan:

> "The only basis upon which the Dominions are going to be on the side of this country in the event of another war is that they believe that it is a war that is worth fighting. That is the test - the test of policy - and if our policy marches in step with that of the Dominions, and theirs marches in step with ours, if our common aspirations continue to be the same, then there will be no need to bother over-much about the machinery for this purpose, because it is not the machinery that counts."

10. Possibly the most interesting speech, however, from the Labour benches was made by an Australian, Mr. Ronald Mackay. Having developed the habit of looking at the Commonwealth from the other end of the world, Mr. Mackay was able to see certain realities about the defence of the various parts of the Commonwealth which too infrequently occur even to some of the most liberal-minded in this country. To Mr. Mackay the two most important recent developments in connection with the defence of the Commonwealth were the agreement for a Permanent Joint Defence Board between Canada and the United States, and the agreement for co-operation between Australia and New Zealand. He argued that these Commonwealth countries were prepared to make defence commitments to protect their own territory and their own area.

> "They are not prepared to come in a similar organisation with the United Kingdom and for the Empire and Commonwealth as a whole because they realize, as it is time honourable gentlemen in this House and people in all parts of our Dominions should realize, that the British Commonwealth, if it is to be a world-wide organisation, is too big for its own defence and cannot defend itself".

The whole tendency in the Empire to-day, he said, was along different lines. The present attitude was not to look to Empire defence at all, but to look to the United Nations Organisation. It was necessary to face this problem, he said:

> "If we are to have five or six British nations all standing alone as independent sovereign states in different parts of the world, they have to build their own defences in relation to their individual problems with one another, or with other countries."

Mr. Mackay tended to spoil a useful case by somewhat over-stating it. In particular he made the customary mistake of exaggerating the nature of Canada's commitments to, and dependence upon, the United States, and ignoring her genuine interest, for her own reasons, in the defence of the United Kingdom.

11. This debate has also failed to attract very much attention to the subject in the press. "The Daily Telegraph", which pretty faithfully reflects official Conservative opinion, was very moderate in its criticisms of this aspect of the White Paper, following a line on the whole similar to that of Mr. Eden. "The Sunday Times" is apparently in a defeatist mood. Of course it does not think these plans for Empire defence are adequate, but it has nothing to suggest except the presence of the Dominions Secretary on the Defence Committee, and perhaps some further use being made of the High Commissioners.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"Scrutator" in "The Sunday Times" repeats again the hoary argument that the reason why the Dominions do not wish to partake in close Commonwealth defence is that they have a naive faith in the security provided by the United Nations.

12. The strongest criticism somewhat surprisingly appears in "The Times", which is not usually excessively concerned over the unity of the Empire. Its leader of November 1st on this subject may be attributed to Cyril Falls, the Military Correspondent, who has already expressed some anxiety on this subject. "The Times" feels that although the liaison officers provide a step in the right direction, they do not go far enough, for strategy demands decisions, which is something much more than consultation.

> "The Dominions, however, have their own foreign policy, and therefore necessarily their separate defence policies as well. That each should undertake the defence of its own territory, or its own region, is not in itself a sufficient principle of common action, for it leaves undetermined the most fundamental question of all - how the lines of communications between them are to be defended".

13. Lord Hankey, whose views on this subject I reported in my earlier despatch, has written a letter to "The Times", of which I am enclosing a copy. It is interesting chiefly because of his view that the new Defence Committee will in fact be no more an executive body than the Committee of Imperial Defence was in fact.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Dublin, Canberra, Pretoria and Wellington.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) N. A. Robertson

High Commissioner.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Extract from "Hansard", dated 30th October, 1946.

THE PRIME MINISTER:

I should like to say a word or two about Commonwealth co-operation, because I think there has been some criticism in another place of this section. There has also been some criticism by Lord Hankey, who has had, of course, very great experience in the past of these matters. The fact is that this subject must be approached on the basis of present-day political and constitutional realities, and these are very different from what obtained in 1904. We have had the experience since then of two world wars in which major contributions were made by the great Dominions. I think Lord Hankey's regret at the passing of the old term, "Committee of Imperial Defence", is understandable, but sometimes new conditions need new phraseology. It is a matter of fact that that is a phraseology which is not very popular in all the Dominions. But the suggestion seems to have been made that there was an intent on the part of the Government to deny the Dominion Governments the opportunities which were previously available for the exchange of information and views on defence matters. I should like to assure the House that nothing could be further from the truth. Our present proposals are designed to increase those opportunities.

This subject was studied in the spring of 1946, when the general problem of co-operation between the different members of the British Commonwealth was considered at the meeting of Prime Ministers. I recollect that, prior to that meeting, there were Members in this House who were rather inclined to suggest that we needed some rather rigid and centralized machinery. In fact, there was some tendency to criticize the Government for not having created this. Well, it was my view at the time, and it was certainly confirmed when I met the Dominion Prime Ministers, that this particular point of view did not appeal to them. They preferred the methods which are now employed. There are two objectives to be achieved: there is the exchange of information, and there is the concerting of common plans. In order to bring about the exchange of information on technical matters, it has been suggested that there should be liaison officers. This is merely a suggestion, which was made in the course of discussion, and which remains to be adopted. If the Dominion Governments accept this proposal, and appoint such officers, the United Kingdom will make it their business to see that they are kept in the closest possible touch with the United Kingdom staff. They will receive all the information which was made available to the Dominion Governments in the past - I hope, even more. Let me say this: the system would be reciprocal under the proposals we have made, in that there would be appointed by the United Kingdom liaison officers to the Dominions.

VICE-ADMIRAL TAYLOR (Paddington South)

Would the Prime Minister say who these officers would be? Would they be military officers, or what? Would they be of high rank?

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Clearly, they would be Service officers. I cannot say exactly what their rank would be. This is a suggestion which will have to be discussed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

VICE-ADMIRAL TAYLOR:

But they would be of high rank?

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Obviously, they would have to be very responsible officers. I cannot say exactly what rank they would have or what elevation the Hon. and gallant Gentlemen suggests. He and I start from different elevations. The development of the United Kingdom organisation in this White Paper is not unlike what is being developed in some of the Dominions, and that, I think, will help to make liaison effective. There is, on the other hand, the conclusion of agreements and the concerting of common plans. It is quite obvious that the exchange of liaison officers, however elevated in rank, is not enough. Decisions in these matters cannot be taken for Dominions Governments by their representatives in this country until they have been fully considered by the Dominion Cabinets. Dominion Governments, let it be remembered, are, like ourselves, member States of the United Nations, and defence arrangements will have to be considered in relation to our respective obligations to the United Nations, and within any regional schemes that may be evolved under that Organisation.

I would add that it is the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government to achieve the fullest co-operation in defence, as in other matters, with the Dominion Governments. Remember, this is not a thing we can lay down. They are equal partners in the Commonwealth. Therefore, all agreements must be done on that level, between equal partners. My right Hon. Friend, who will speak later in the Debate, will reply to any of the detailed points that may be raised. I have tried to give the House a general view of the conception in this White Paper. I believe that the present proposals will promote efficiency and economy in our defence organisation, and I therefore commend them to the House.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

EXTRACT FROM HANSARD, Thursday, 31st October, 1946.

Mr. ALEXANDER: ..... I shall leave some of the rest of the notes because I do not want to keep the House too long, but the House would not forgive me if I sat down without saying a word or two about the many speeches which have been delivered on those paragraphs of the White Paper which are headed "Collective Defence." That is in Part V of the White Paper. Let me, first of all, deal with the comments which have been made on the choice of the words of the heading. The term "collective defence" was not used in any attempt either to hark back to ideas prevalent before 1939 or to find some particularly innocuous expression in substitution for "Empire" or "Commonwealth". It was used simply and solely because this section of the White Paper deals not only with Colonial defence and with contacts on defence matters with the Dominions, but it must deal with any measure of collective defence which may be organised under the aegis of the United Nations. There has been no disposition on the part of any Hon. Member to quarrel with the idea that all our defence measures at home and overseas must be looked at against the background of our obligations to the United Nations Organisation. That, and that alone, provides the explanation of the form of wording used in the White Paper.

There is, I think, general acceptance of what is said in paragraph 40 on the subject of Colonial defence, more especially of the proposal to revive the Overseas Defence Committee as a sub-Committee of the Defence Committee in London, charged as it was before the war with surveying the whole field of defence preparations in the Colonies and their correlation with the general picture of Imperial defence. I was greatly interested in the speech of the Hon. and gallant Member for Dudley (Colonel Wigg). In the first place, I would say to him that His Majesty's Government entirely endorse the tribute he paid to the great contribution made by the Colonies to the war effort, and that the Government are fully alive to the importance of raising the standard of life in the Colonies and to the relationship of this aspect to that of Colonial defence. As he will be aware from his own experience in the House - he was in the House when we passed it - we have a long-term plan for the financial and economic development of the Colonies which is of the greatest relevance in this context. As regards the postwar control and administration of Colonial Forces, this is a matter which the Government have under review at the present time. The advantages of War Office control of Colonial land Forces where this is practicable is fully realised both here and in the Colonies, and full account will be taken of this point in working out the arrangements for post-war Colonial defence.

I now turn to the crux of the matter, that is to say, the arrangements to be made for contacts with the Dominions on matters of defence. In my view the starting point for any consideration of this question should be a remembrance by us of all the amazing contributions by the Dominions to the common war effort during the second world war on top of what they did in the first world war. This is not the occasion, nor is there time, to particularise those contributions with a detailed recital, but their nature will, I am sure, be present to the minds of every Hon. Member in this House. Their efforts generally went far beyond anything required in relation to their own domestic location on the face of the globe. Never in my personal experience have I encountered a more opposite illustration of the truth of a very short verse in the old book of Proverbs:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"A friend loveth at all times, but a brother
is born for adversity."

They were our brothers in adversity in 1939 and 1940. Sometimes we are still inclined to talk about the Dominions as our sons and our daughters, and this is very important though it sounds very trivial. I wish we would think of them more as brothers who have grown up and are independent, and are contributing to the whole business in a really magnificent way. We shall want them to contribute more. As their population grows and goes on growing their resources are expanding, and they take, as they are entitled to take, their independent action in connection with their membership of the United Nations Organisation. If we approach the general consideration of this matter from a recognition of their complete freedom and of the way they have helped us in the past, we shall make better progress.

I would stress once more what was said yesterday by my right Hon. Friend the Prime Minister in opening the present Debate. The intention of the Government is to increase and not to diminish any opportunities which were previously available for the exchange of information and views with the Dominion Governments on matters of defence. What is required is not some rigid form of arrangement which would bring them within our own defence organisation as explained in the White Paper, but rather the closest practicable contact not only in the sphere of the Services themselves, but also at the highest possible level; that is to say, whenever possible, contact between responsible Ministers. It is the aim of His Majesty's Government to do everything that is practicable under both of those heads. If the proposals outlined in the White Paper are, in fact, accepted by the Dominions, the House can rest assured that it will be the aim of His Majesty's Government to make those arrangements fully effective. I do not myself share the view that under those proposals we shall, as has been suggested, be restricted to a sort of contact of a Post Office character at a comparatively low level, but I feel convinced that the proposals made by the Government are capable of ensuring the maximum cooperation in defence matters with the Dominion Governments.

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy from 'The Times' of Monday, 4th November, 1946.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE

Representation of Dominions

Committee's Function and Title

To The Editor of The Times

Sir, - The Prime Minister's assurance, noted in your admirable leading article today, that the Dominions Secretary will attend the Defence Committee when matters of Commonwealth concern are discussed is not enough. It is often difficult to judge whether the Dominions are concerned or not. For that reason, before the war, subject to the Prime Minister's approval, those Dominions representatives who were accredited by their respective Governments to the Committee of Imperial Defence (C.I.D.) were given material before each meeting to decide the question for themselves. In practice they elected to come to a high proportion of the meetings.

That is the only satisfactory solution, and the Prime Minister's statement encourages hope of its restoration. Until then and even thereafter, however, the Dominions Secretary should be a full member of the Defence Committee to arm him with complete knowledge in dealing with the Dominions. In the case of Lord Addison there is the additional reason that he usually speaks for the Government on defence in the House of Lords.

May I add a point on the abolition of the title "Committee of Imperial Defence". This was defended by the Government on the ground that the C.I.D. was purely advisory, whereas the new Defence Committee, as a Cabinet Committee, would have some powers of decision. In practice, however, there has never been any difference between the C.I.D. and Cabinet Committees in this respect, except that some of the latter were only empowered to inquire and report. In both cases decisions of major policy were of course referred to the Cabinet for approval, and decisions on lesser matters were almost invariably acted on under Ministerial authority. This similarity in procedure is only natural because when the extensive delegation of Cabinet business to Cabinet Committees occurred between the wars, the well-established C.I.D. Sub-Committee system became the model. There is nothing that can be done by a Cabinet Committee on defence that could not be equally well done by the C.I.D.

It is a great pity then that the many merits of the White Paper should be offset by this lapse, from the principle of steady evolution and no break with the past, and that the Government, by this change of name, should antagonize people who consider national defence as non-controversial and are anxious to help them.

Yours faithfully,

HANKEY.

House of Lords, November 1st.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

UK/CD C 273718

From the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

For publication after 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, November 6th, 1946.

"EMPIRE DEFENCE"

Field-Marshal the Viscount Alanbrooke, G.C.B., D.S.O., addressed a meeting of the Royal Empire Society on Wednesday, November 6th, on "Empire Defence," at which Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O., presided. He said:-

"The subject of Empire Defence is evidently such a vast one that in the short time at my disposal I can only hope to touch on the fringe of the problem. I have, therefore, been somewhat at a loss in deciding what aspect to deal with; time would certainly not admit of a review of the various strategic problems confronting the Commonwealth. I consequently decided to concentrate on an examination of the organisation required for the co-ordination of Defensive plans throughout the Empire, and I propose to put before you what I might classify as the four corner stones of the edifice of Commonwealth security.

These four fundamental requirements may be classified as under:-

(a) The recognition by British Peoples that the maintenance of Peace in this world depends on the solidarity of our Commonwealth more than on any other factor.

(b) The existence within each nation of the Commonwealth of an organisation capable of developing its full defensive power.

(c) The provision of ways and means for co-ordinating Commonwealth defensive requirements as a whole.

(d) The acceptance by each member of the Commonwealth of a zone of responsibility.

I hope now to make my meaning clear by examining each of these factors in succession.

Now that the United Nations Organisation has been created there is a tendency in some quarters to look upon this organisation as a fully established bulwark against future war, specially designed to prevent future wars, and that consequently we need no longer look to the British Commonwealth of Nations for our security.

Whilst fully appreciating the importance of the United Nations Organisation, and all that it stands for, and without any wish to belittle the future that may lie ahead for it, we must nevertheless recognise that this organisation is in its infancy, is suffering from serious teething troubles, and will inevitably require many years before reaching maturity and being able to make its influence felt as a guardian of peace.

In the Commonwealth of Nations we have an organisation which has stood the test of two world wars which were fought specifically for the abolition of war and the maintenance of peace. An organisation which during the last half century has become one of the greatest guardians of peace in the world. I could not find better words to confirm this opinion than by quoting the words of that great statesman, Field-Marshal Smuts, in one of his recent speeches:-

"The Commonwealth of Nations has arisen, and the new pattern is spreading through the whole of the Empire, both at home and

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

abroad, wherever the British Flag flies. There is a new spirit of liberation, a new outlook which inspires the whole vast group of mankind. Among this widest human group scattered over all continents, and embracing many races and cultures, peace is maintained.

In this not a pointer for the whole human race? What the British Commonwealth has done, may we not hope that the whole human family may yet be able to achieve? On the paths of freedom and peace there is no more encouraging and inspiring example to follow in the whole range of human affairs today. This spirit and policy, this example and achievement of our Commonwealth are surely among the greatest, most encouraging factors making for world peace today."

If we are to have a sound foundation on which to build our Imperial Defence it is essential that the statesmen of all governments and the people of all Dominions should thoroughly appreciate this great power for peace which lies within this great Commonwealth of ours. This fact is so obvious that it might well seem unnecessary to dwell upon it, and yet before the last war there existed a tendency amongst certain Dominion statesmen to place the interests of the League of Nations above those of the Commonwealth; and now after the Second World War the same tendencies are apparent in relation to the United Nations Organisation.

The best way to ensure the ultimate success of the United Nations Organisation is to guard it against any major crisis during its infancy, and this can best be achieved by supporting this well-established organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the utmost whilst fostering the bonds of friendship and blood which bind it to the United States of America.

The advantages to be gained through membership of the Commonwealth are undoubtedly immense, but can only be enjoyed by a thorough realisation by each member of the responsibilities which such membership entails. Each British nation must be prepared to play its part to the full, and not leave the Mother Country to carry a disproportionate burden. That such a tendency should exist is perhaps not unnatural. The growth of the Commonwealth has been as that of a large family, and in the family circle the tendency exists through the force of habit for children to continue leaning on their parents after they have reached the age of maturity.

Without a full realisation by each Dominion of the vast role that the British Commonwealth of Nations is called upon to play in the future, coupled with a genuine desire to this end by accepting the full burden of its individual responsibilities, no system of Empire can exist.

If we are to go any further with our examination of the requirements of Commonwealth Defence we must assume that the will and determination to support it, even at the cost of sacrifices, must be in the hearts of all. Let us, therefore, accept that the first of our fundamental requirements will be fulfilled and that in the years that lie before us those bonds which have held this British family together will continue to grow in strength. We may thus pass on to our second corner stone and examine the requirements of an organisation capable of developing the full defensive power of each member of the Commonwealth.

The ability of a country to defend itself against aggression depends in the first place on the fighting qualities of its manhood and confidence in the justice of its cause, and secondly on the organisation at its disposal for developing its defensive potential.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

It is the second of these requirements that I wish to concentrate on at present. Evidently the actions of the three Fighting Services must in the first place be closely integrated. It is not sufficient only to rely on such integration once hostilities are forced on us. The development of the three Services in time of peace must be co-ordinated and correlated to ensure that we have a closely knit and well balanced fighting machine at our disposal should hostilities be forced on us. This in itself is not sufficient. Our fighting machine must be closely enmeshed into the gear wheels of Government. Modern Defence embraces questions intimately connected with Foreign policy, Home Security, Man-Power, Labour, Transportation, Supply, Food and most of the other matters of Government concern. Defensive plans must at all times be closely interlocked with the activities of all the various Government Departments, so as to ensure that from their very inception they are built on the rocks of close co-operation and not on the sands of isolation.

Furthermore the defensive organisation must be so closely integrated with the Government executive as to provide responsible statesmen with that true appreciation of the country's strength and weakness so essential in ensuring that a true relation exists between a selected policy and the strength required to support it.

We have built up in this country during the last couple of decades the organisation of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, which constitutes probably the best system that history has produced up to date. This organisation started between the two Great World Wars, and functioned for the first time during the last war. It worked admirably and stood up to all the stresses and strains of six years of war, emerging finally in a more mature form. As a result of experience gained in war, it has now been amplified by the formation of a Defence Ministry as described in a recent White Paper.

In the organisation of the Chiefs of Staff the heads of the three Services are united to form a super Chief of Staff in commission, with joint and individual responsibility for their work. They are served by a series of joint interservice Sub-Committees, dealing with Planning, Intelligence, Administration, Supply, Technical Developments and Research, etc. On each of these Sub-Committees representatives from other Government Departments, such as Foreign Office, Dominions Office, Colonial Office, Home Office, etc. participate as and when required from the very inception of plans and discussions.

Scientific research and developments are also closely watched by the Chiefs of Staff to ensure that modern scientific developments receive full recognition in all deliberations and plans.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee works directly for the Defence Minister, attends all Defence Committee meetings, and is called in to Cabinet Meetings when required. They are available as a corporate body at any time to tender advice on current events, to prepare plans, to put into execution plans approved by the Cabinet, and to supervise the execution of these plans.

Through the medium of this organisation closely linked to - and indeed an integrate part of - the Defence Committee, the defence potential of the country can be continually kept under review and examined so as to ensure that the resources available are employed to the best advantage and that our foreign policy bears a direct relation to the strength available to support it.

We have at present within each Dominion some form of Chiefs of Staff Organisation in varying states of development. All these organisations are based on that existing in the United Kingdom, and though not yet developed to the same extent, are all capable of expansion on similar lines. Evidently the more analogous these

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

abroad, wherever the British Flag flies. There is a new spirit of liberation, a new outlook which inspires the whole vast group of mankind. Among this widest human group scattered over all continents, and embracing many races and cultures, peace is maintained.

In this not a pointer for the whole human race? What the British Commonwealth has done, may we not hope that the whole human family may yet be able to achieve? On the paths of freedom and peace there is no more encouraging and inspiring example to follow in the whole range of human affairs today. This spirit and policy, this example and achievement of our Commonwealth are surely among the greatest, most encouraging factors making for world peace today."

If we are to have a sound foundation on which to build our Imperial Defence it is essential that the statesmen of all governments and the people of all Dominions should thoroughly appreciate this great power for peace which lies within this great Commonwealth of ours. This fact is so obvious that it might well seem unnecessary to dwell upon it, and yet before the last war there existed a tendency amongst certain Dominion statesmen to place the interests of the League of Nations above those of the Commonwealth; and now after the Second World War the same tendencies are apparent in relation to the United Nations Organisation.

The best way to ensure the ultimate success of the United Nations Organisation is to guard it against any major crisis during its infancy, and this can best be achieved by supporting this well-established organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the utmost whilst fostering the bonds of friendship and blood which bind it to the United States of America.

The advantages to be gained through membership of the Commonwealth are undoubtedly immense, but can only be enjoyed by a thorough realisation by each member of the responsibilities which such membership entails. Each British nation must be prepared to play its part to the full, and not leave the Mother Country to carry a disproportionate burden. That such a tendency should exist is perhaps not unnatural. The growth of the Commonwealth has been as that of a large family, and in the family circle the tendency exists through the force of habit for children to continue leaning on their parents after they have reached the age of maturity.

Without a full realisation by each Dominion of the vast role that the British Commonwealth of Nations is called upon to play in the future, coupled with a genuine desire to this end by accepting the full burden of its individual responsibilities, no system of Empire can exist.

If we are to go any further with our examination of the requirements of Commonwealth Defence we must assume that the will and determination to support it, even at the cost of sacrifices, must be in the hearts of all. Let us, therefore, accept that the first of our fundamental requirements will be fulfilled and that in the years that lie before us those bonds which have held this British family together will continue to grow in strength. We may thus pass on to our second corner stone and examine the requirements of an organisation capable of developing the full defensive power of each member of the Commonwealth.

The ability of a country to defend itself against aggression depends in the first place on the fighting qualities of its manhood and confidence in the justice of its cause, and secondly on the organisation at its disposal for developing its defensive potential.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

It is the second of these requirements that I wish to concentrate on at present. Evidently the actions of the three Fighting Services must in the first place be closely integrated. It is not sufficient only to rely on such integration once hostilities are forced on us. The development of the three Services in time of peace must be co-ordinated and correlated to ensure that we have a closely knit and well balanced fighting machine at our disposal should hostilities be forced on us. This in itself is not sufficient. Our fighting machine must be closely enmeshed into the gear wheels of Government. Modern Defence embraces questions intimately connected with Foreign policy, Home Security, Man-Power, Labour, Transportation, Supply, Food and most of the other matters of Government concern. Defensive plans must at all times be closely interlocked with the activities of all the various Government Departments, so as to ensure that from their very inception they are built on the rocks of close co-operation and not on the sands of isolation.

Furthermore the defensive organisation must be so closely integrated with the Government executive as to provide responsible statesmen with that true appreciation of the country's strength and weakness so essential in ensuring that a true relation exists between a selected policy and the strength required to support it.

We have built up in this country during the last couple of decades the organisation of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, which constitutes probably the best system that history has produced up to date. This organisation started between the two Great World Wars, and functioned for the first time during the last war. It worked admirably and stood up to all the stresses and strains of six years of war, emerging finally in a more mature form. As a result of experience gained in war, it has now been amplified by the formation of a Defence Ministry as described in a recent White Paper.

In the organisation of the Chiefs of Staff the heads of the three Services are united to form a super Chief of Staff in commission, with joint and individual responsibility for their work. They are served by a series of joint interservice Sub-Committees, dealing with Planning, Intelligence, Administration, Supply, Technical Developments and Research, etc. On each of these Sub-Committees representatives from other Government Departments, such as Foreign Office, Dominions Office, Colonial Office, Home Office, etc. participate as and when required from the very inception of plans and discussions.

Scientific research and developments are also closely watched by the Chiefs of Staff to ensure that modern scientific developments receive full recognition in all deliberations and plans.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee works directly for the Defence Minister, attends all Defence Committee meetings, and is called in to Cabinet Meetings when required. They are available as a corporate body at any time to tender advice on current events, to prepare plans, to put into execution plans approved by the Cabinet, and to supervise the execution of these plans.

Through the medium of this organisation closely linked to - and indeed an integrate part of - the Defence Committee, the defence potential of the country can be continually kept under review and examined so as to ensure that the resources available are employed to the best advantage and that our foreign policy bears a direct relation to the strength available to support it.

We have at present within each Dominion some form of Chiefs of Staff Organisation in varying states of development. All these organisations are based on that existing in the United Kingdom, and though not yet developed to the same extent, are all capable of expansion on similar lines. Evidently the more analogous these

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

various organisations can be made to be, the easier will be the task of the ultimate co-ordination of Commonwealth Defence problems.

Let us now assume that two of our corner stones have been laid; a unanimous desire throughout the Commonwealth for an official system of defence, and the existence within each Dominion of the necessary organization to develop its full defensive power. We may, therefore, consider the third of our corner stones. Evidently, our next step must be to provide the ways and means of co-ordinating defensive policy and plans throughout the Commonwealth as a whole.

A great deal exists already in the form of periodic Imperial Conferences, close consultation on imperial problems, exchange of officers, attendance of Dominion officers at the Imperial Defence College and at Service Staff Colleges, standardization of equipment, similarity of military organization etc. All these measures are in themselves excellent, but do not provide an organization specifically intended to examine from day to day developments that affect Commonwealth security and capable of promoting the continuous co-ordination of Defence plans.

During the last Great War an organization was set up to co-ordinate the war activities of Great Britain and the United States of America, known as the Combined Chiefs of Staff. This organization provided for the co-ordination of defensive policy between the two allies, for the examination of day to day developments, for the preparation of concerted plans of action, and for the supervision of the execution of these plans. As this organization provided between allies the link we are looking for within the Commonwealth, it is worthy of examination.

Within the U.S.A. an organization similar to the British Chiefs of Staff was established. The Combined Chiefs of Staff consisted of a committee composed of both Chiefs of Staff working as one. As this Committee could only assemble periodically a British interservice mission was established in Washington to represent the British Chiefs of Staff and to sit with the American Chiefs of Staff, as and when required to represent our views.

In each country the Chiefs of Staff continued to work in close consultation with their respective Governments, preparing plans which, after receiving Government approval, were passed across to their opposite numbers for consideration and for final agreement.

The responsibility for the final issue of orders to commanders in the field rested with whichever partner was most directly concerned. Thus, the U.S.A. remained responsible for the issue of orders for operations in the Pacific, whilst the British Chiefs of Staff dealt with the European theatre.

To achieve real concerted action periodic meetings of the Combined Chiefs of Staff were essential at intervening periods of three to four months, such as those which took place in Washington, Casablanca, Quebec, Cairo, Potsdam, etc. At these meetings both nations sat as a Combined Chief of Staff to deliberate together, to concert plans and to draft the policy for the conduct of the war. The results of these deliberations were then submitted to a Plenary meeting attended by the President and the Prime Minister so as to receive a combined Governmental approval.

The whole system worked admirably and stood the strain and stresses of war. As a rule, agreement was achieved through a process of telegrams and letters between Chiefs of Staff; when, however, a matter of serious difference did occur which could not

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

be solved on the Chiefs of Staff level, the matter was raised to a higher sphere and handled by correspondence direct between President and Prime Minister.

The system is an elastic one, retains full Governmental control at each end, and in no way impinges on the sovereign rights of the nations concerned. Both retained throughout their full liberty of individual action should they wish to do so. Surely some such system might be set up within the Commonwealth? It already exists in an incomplete form and would take little to convert it into an efficient organization for co-ordinating the defensive policy of the Commonwealth. An organization which has proved so successful when established between allies may well be expected to function even more efficiently between members of our Commonwealth family.

Travel by air has done marvels towards reducing distances, periodic meetings between Chiefs of Staff of various Dominions should be an easy matter, admitting of the closest co-operation in the solution of Imperial problems. More frequent Imperial Conferences might well be held and on these occasions Dominion statesmen should be accompanied by their Chiefs of Staff to admit of combined meetings between the staffs for the preparation of plans for consideration by the Conference.

I have said enough on this point to indicate the possibility that lies in this direction and it is time now to turn to the fourth and last of our corner stones, namely the allocation of zones of responsibility. I am using the word zones in its very widest aspect, and wish to cover not only territorial and strategic zones, but also zones of responsibility connected with supply and development of modern defensive requirements.

The geographical and strategic zones adjust themselves fairly simply. It would seem fair enough for each Dominion to assume direct responsibility for land, sea and air areas connected directly with the security and defence of that Dominion. Within its own strategic zone, each Dominion would carry out all necessary defensive studies culminating in defensive plans destined to meet various eventualities, and would formulate proposals as to the degree and nature of assistance required from other members of the Commonwealth in the event of emergency. These proposals and plans would be interchanged between the various Dominion Chiefs of Staff for examination, and would be discussed at meetings of the Combined Staffs and submitted as plans to be studied by Imperial Conferences.

The problem of the allocation of zones of responsibility in the development of the defensive potential presents greater difficulties. There is no doubt that modern weapons, such as air bombardment, long range rockets, improved submarines, and the atomic bomb, have seriously weakened Commonwealth security by greatly increasing the vulnerability of its heart, the United Kingdom.

Unfortunately, as matters exist at present, it is in the United Kingdom that the bulk of the defensive resources are concentrated. Heavy industry, shipbuilding, aircraft industry, production of technical instruments, textile materials, and man power are all mainly concentrated in this small country of ours. There are far too many valuable and vulnerable eggs in this very small and seriously exposed basket. Can we disperse some of these vital requirements throughout the Commonwealth? Can we arrive at a more equitable distribution, from a defensive point of view of our man power and resources? Undoubtedly with the growth of the Dominions we are gradually working towards a better distribution of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

resources throughout the Commonwealth, but this process is a slow one. Is this growth sufficient, or should it receive any artificial stimulus, if so, how?

These are some of the problems which require examination by Dominion Governments and their military advisers, with the object of deciding what zones of responsibility should be assumed by each member of the Commonwealth.

This completes the very superficial examination of the four corner stones of our edifice of Commonwealth defence. With an Empire spread over the four corners of the earth, Commonwealth defence must inevitably present problems of baffling complexity. A true realization of what the British Commonwealth of nations stands for, coupled with a clear appreciation of the degree to which the peace of the world depends its stability and strength, cannot fail to produce within all British hearts the determination to overcome all difficulties that may lie ahead of us."

N.B. It is expected that Colonel Oliver Stanley, M.P. and Lt.-General G.G. Simonds, Canadian Army, will be among those who take part in the discussion following Lord Alanbrooke's address.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273723

resources throughout the Commonwealth, but this process is a slow one. Is this growth sufficient, or should it receive any artificial stimulus, if so, how?

These are some of the problems which require examination by Dominion Governments and their military advisers, with the object of deciding what zones of responsibility should be assumed by each member of the Commonwealth.

This completes the very superficial examination of the four corner stones of our edifice of Commonwealth defence. With an Empire spread over the four corners of the earth, Commonwealth defence must inevitably present problems of baffling complexity. A true realization of what the British Commonwealth of nations stands for, coupled with a clear appreciation of the degree to which the peace of the world depends its stability and strength, cannot fail to produce within all British hearts the determination to overcome all difficulties that may lie ahead of us."

N.B. It is expected that Colonel Oliver Stanley, M.P. and Lt.-General G.G. Simonds, Canadian Army, will be among those who take part in the discussion following Lord Alanbrooke's address.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

From letter from Mr Mackenzie Bethune (Nov 6, 1946)

C 273724

P.S. Recent leading articles in "The Times" and speeches by such people as Alan brooke and Hankey seem to me to contain doctrines which are most short-sighted and dangerous. The emphasis on the "machinery" of Commonwealth defence obviously presupposes rigidity of central control, and I can imagine nothing more prejudicial to the interests of our several countries or more likely to lead to world disorder. Surely the secret of our security lies in close cooperation of a completely elastic nature so that each nation of the Commonwealth can contribute in its own way but in cooperation with all the others and with the United States towards a general system of security throughout the world and not merely on the narrow platform of a particular group of countries. Emphasis on what is called "Imperial Defence", with all the machinery of "Imperial Conferences", Combined Staffs and centralized policy would only in my view antagonize those with whom we must be friendly if we are to avoid disaster. I feel sure I am right about this but not one person in a million over here would agree.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(Excerpt from letter from Sir Shuldham Redfern to the Prime Minister, dated November 20, 1946.)

"I need hardly say that I feel more than gratified by your private letter on the subject of defence. "The Times" of November 7 contained a report of Alanbrooke's speech, a leading article, and an article by their Australian correspondent and the combined effect of these three indicated so short a view and so narrow a perspective that I wrote to the Editor in an attempt to shed a glimmer of light. The letter was not published and so I enclose a copy in case you would be interested to read it. The trouble in this country is not so much that there is ignorance of these things, although I fear it is very prevalent in high quarters, but that there is so much resistance to any attempt to dispel it. The wrong-headed views of people like Alanbrooke therefore pass unchallenged, and when the answer is forthcoming, it is suppressed by a process of wishful thinking. Whitehall is riddled with the mentality that regards the Commonwealth as a pyramid with the U.K. at the apex and the Dominions strung along the base or at best as a group for which it is necessary to find a "formula" so that every problem can have equal application to all members. I can conceive of no attitude which could be more pernicious or disintegrating."

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

re Organization

C273726

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET & PERSONAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 2180

LONDON, November 6th, 1946.

No. 2180. Secret and Personal. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

1. I attended today a luncheon meeting of the Royal Empire Society at which Mountbatten presided and Alanbrooke spoke at some length on questions of Imperial defence. The meeting was public and largely attended and I was surprised at the freedom with which the very recently retired Chief of the Imperial General Staff discussed the proposals on the Government's White Paper on Defence Organization in the drafting of which he had obviously taken a large part. I am trying to get copies of Alanbrooke's address. It will, I think, be worth studying because it amplifies from a War Office point of view certain aspects of the United Kingdom defence objectives which were not fully spelt out in the White Paper.

2. His main thesis was that the proposed system of exchanging joint liaison staffs between Commonwealth countries would achieve as close an approximation as would be possible in peace time to the combined United Kingdom - United States Chiefs of Staff set-up in war time. Alanbrooke's case was largely based on the published White Paper, though his argument drew heavily on two secret United Kingdom papers on Regional Defence Organization and on the relative manpower and financial strain of defence on various Commonwealth countries which were circulated at the Prime Ministers' meeting in May last. His argument

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273727

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

was interesting and important but it was rather important - to hear it put in public and under such auspices by a man who had held Alanbrooke's position. There was no specific or even indirect reference to the position of Canada in the course of his remarks but there was the inevitable misrepresentation of our position and interest which results whenever people try to make short statements in general terms about things as different in kind as the countries of the Commonwealth and the defence problems confronting them. The whole occasion was another illustration of the kind of gratuitous difficulties created by such ill-considered statements as that which was the subject of your telegram No. 1900 of November 2nd, on which I am reporting separately today.

3. General Simonds, who was present as a guest, was asked to say a few words at the close of Alanbrooke's address. He spoke briefly sensibly and with discretion, reminding them that the Parliament at Westminster was not the only Parliament which felt it had to decide vital questions of peace and war, and that for this reason the pursuit of specific promises and commitments for Commonwealth defence cooperation in all kinds of contingencies was likely to be an idle one. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

D. Way
T. Traill, Jowitt
C. " "

457

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C273728

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET LONDON, November 8th, 1946.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 2185

No. 2185. Secret.

1. At a meeting of High Commissioners with the Dominions Secretary yesterday afternoon, Beasley referred to a lengthy despatch on Australian views on Imperial defence policy which had appeared in the "Times" that morning, (summarized in my immediately following telegram) and intimated that his Government was rather embarrassed by the tepid response which United Kingdom had made to the Australian proposals for closer collaboration in Imperial defence. Specifically, opinion in Australia was inclined to regard the omission of the Dominions Secretary from the new United Kingdom Defence Committee as an indication of lessening United Kingdom interest in the Commonwealth aspect of defence policy.

2. Lord Addison in reply said that he, with Attlee and Alexander, had been members of the Committee of Three which had supervised the preparation of the Government's paper on the Central Organization for Defence. He himself had taken the initiative of suggesting that the Dominions Secretary should not be a member of the Defence Committee. If Dominions Secretary were a member of the Committee, the Colonial Secretary probably would have to be added, the Secretary of State for India as well, plus other Departmental heads who had large interests and responsibilities in the general defence program. It should be remembered that Defence Committee was not the whole Cabinet and had to be small enough to be an effective working body. It was this consideration that had led him to suggest that the Dominions Secretary and other similarly interested Ministers should not be permanently represented on the Committee, but

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273729

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

should have the opportunity of taking part in its discussions whenever they touched on matters of special interest to the several Departments. He thought this was the only workable method and indicated that the Government did not propose at present to alter the composition of the Committee.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 3:37 p.m.
Rec'd: 12:14 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C.273730

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - PUBLEX LONDON, November 8th, 1946.

NO. 2186

No. 2186. Following is summary of special article headed "Search for Unity in Empire Defence" from "Times" Canberra correspondent in "Times" of November 7th.

2. Article begins by referring to statement by Governor-General in speech from the Throne that Government intended that organization and strength of defence forces should proceed on basis of recognizing that Australia must make larger contribution towards defence of Commonwealth, that this could best be done in the Pacific, "British Commonwealth plans being related to those of the United States and other nations with possessions in the Pacific."

3. Correspondent said this section of Governor-General's speech should prove that speeches in British Commons last week (reference my despatch No. A. 933 of 5th November) sadly under-rated Australian eagerness for consultation on Commonwealth defence. In recent years Australia had taken the initiative in proposing closer integration for purposes of Imperial defence, and response of other Governments, including that of the United Kingdom, had profoundly disappointed successive Governments in Canberra. The correspondent then referred to Curtin proposals in May, 1944, in which little constructive interest was said to have been shown except by New Zealand.

4. In spite of this setback, however, the correspondent said that meanwhile an important advance had been the appointment of Bruce to the War Cabinet with right to be heard in formulation and direction of policy. If the proposals made by the Australian Government in May were

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C273731

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

adopted by United Kingdom, whose decision on them was awaited, Beasley would sit on the new Defence Committee, as Bruce did in the War Cabinet, and it was strongly felt in Australia that he should.

5. Reference was then made to Australian-New Zealand co-operation, which regional co-operation, he said, should be considered as an integral part of the larger framework of Commonwealth policy and not something running counter to it. Chifley found the trend of official thought about it in the United Kingdom in harmony with that of Australia.

6. On his return from London in May, Chifley called attention to burden of defence resting on United Kingdom, and declared Australian contribution must be to shoulder larger responsibilities for the whole Commonwealth in the Pacific, the approach being first by agreement between the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, and then with other interested Governments. Chifley, at talks in May, submitted specific suggestions on how such an Empire agreement should be fulfilled. First, an early and effective voice for the Governments concerned in policy and planning, then provision for the representation of the United Kingdom and New Zealand on responsible Australian organization and for Dominions in parallel United Kingdom organization. Except for important question of Ministerial representation, these Australian ideas were said largely to coincide with those of United Kingdom. Australia was ready to co-opt United Kingdom and New Zealand High Commissioners to her Council of Defence, and Heads of their Service Missions to her Committee of Service Chiefs when matters affecting those countries were discussed, but Australia

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273732

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

wanted comparable representation in London and Wellington.

7. Because of the General Election, it was said, there had been delay in the submission of proposals from Canberra, but Government's views would now soon go forward.

8. The correspondent concluded by reciting Australian contributions to Commonwealth defence, such as producing two heavy cruisers before the war in lieu of contribution to the defence of Singapore, and during the war erection of naval radio stations, Joint Intelligence Bureau serving all Commonwealth needs in the Pacific, projected co-operation with United Kingdom in research into guided projectiles. He concluded:

"Even if an overall plan of Empire defence ensuring the co-operation of all the Dominions is not yet attainable, these are certainly useful steps towards it." Message ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 3:37 p.m.
Rec'd: 1:41 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

UK/CD

TELEGRAM

C 273733

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET LONDON, November 9th, 1946.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 2192

No. 2192. Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Your telegram No. 1900 of November 2nd.

1. Moodie has learned that Gavshon of Associated Press, after Attlee's statement on defence White Paper in the Commons, went over to War Office where "a Major in the Public Relations Department" told him the story about standardization of British and American armaments to which you referred.

2. I have spoken about this to Machtig who agrees that it is incorrect and misleading. On Tuesday I am having a talk with Ismay and Hollis who is to succeed him, about this and other aspects of defence which have recently been raised and which I have reported in my telegrams Nos. 2180 and 2185. After this meeting I shall make a further report.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273734

Re Bases in Canada
U.K - U.S. Conversations - Gen Taylor

SECRET

LBP/SR
11.11.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I had to be in Montreal on Saturday, and on the train I read a very annoying Reuters despatch, in the Montreal Gazette, from London about alleged United States-United Kingdom military talks in Washington, over bases in Canada. When I reached Montreal, I asked the Department by telephone to send the following message immediately to Mr. Robertson:

> "My immediately following telegram No.1950 contains the text of a Reuters despatch from London, dated November 8th, which appears in today's edition of the Montreal Gazette.
>
> This is a misleading and mischievous report which can only have embarrassing and harmful consequences. I presume that the material on which this press despatch was based was not obtained from official sources. I would, however, be grateful for any information in this connection which you may be able to obtain and for any comment you might care to make."

I am attaching, for your information, a copy of my telegram No.1950 to Mr. Robertson, which gives the text of the Reuters despatch.

W.L.M. King

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273735

JS/WB

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON

EN CLAIR

No.1950 Ottawa, 9th November, 1946.

Following for Robertson from Pearson, Begins:

Reference my immediately preceding telegram, despatch follows:

"Maj.-Gen. R.E. Laycock, Britain's Chief of Combined Operations, has left for the United States and well-informed sources here believe he will present the British view on United States acquisition of bases in Canada.

"Preliminary talks on this subject with Canadian and United States military leaders are understood to have taken place when Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery and Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, whom Lord Montgomery succeeded as chief of the Imperial General Staff, visited North America recently. Gen. Laycock's visit is expected to take these informal talks a stage further.

"The desire of the United States for an over-all defence of the Arctic by Canada and the United States is considered to be the leading force behind these discussions.

"It is believed the Americans wish that Canada should strengthen her northern frontier defences by building a chain of air bases. Generally speaking, the British view is that Canada cannot undertake this task without considerable financial aid from the United States and one of the reasons for the present unofficial talks is believed to be concerned with allocation of costs and deployment of men and materials.

"Informed sources said discussion of these proposals is one of the first results of the appointment of A.V. Alexander, former First Lord of the Admiralty, as Britain's Minister of Defence." Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273736

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 2203

LONDON, November 12th, 1946.

No. 2203. Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Your telegrams No. 1949 and No. 1950 of November 9th.

1. During conversations this morning with Machtig, Ismay and Sir John Stephenson, I brought up the question of the Associated Press despatch from London about tripartite standardization and the Reuters despatch about Laycock's visit.

2. The first despatch had already been given consideration by the C.O.S. Committee, for though inaccurate in its references to Mr. Mackenzie King, it did contain a certain amount of information about the progress of discussions about standardization which the United Kingdom authorities were exceedingly anxious to keep secret. Ismay had reported the matter to Attlee, who had asked the Lord Chancellor to have investigation made into the circumstances of the leak. Ismay was not hopeful that this investigation would either fix responsibility or prevent the recurrence of this kind of press story.

3. Ismay said the Reuters despatch from London about the purpose of Laycock's visit to America was completely without foundation and could not have reached the press from any informed source. The facts were that Laycock, as Head of Combined Operations, had received a personal invitation from his American opposite number to visit Washington for a demonstration of some techniques and equipment that the Americans had been developing in the field of combined operations. The

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 273737

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STAIE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

C.O.S. had approved of the visit on the understanding that it should be kept secret, because they feared the press might attach an entirely unjustified significance to his journey. Ismay said they were very surprised when the news of Laycock's movements became public. He repudiated completely any suggestion that responsible United Kingdom Service authorities could have given Laycock's visit the interpretation attributed to it in the Reuters despatch published in the Montreal Gazette of November 8th. He drew my attention to a Washington despatch published in the Daily Telegraph this morning, in which it was stated that on the authority of "a military source", Laycock's visit to the United States and Canada has three purposes - to meet United States Army and Naval officers with whom he helped plan the D-Day landings - to see the latest amphibious training methods and arms - and to lecture at the Canadian Staff College, fulfilling a long-standing engagement.

4. Ismay said he fully shared our concern about the mischief which such unauthorized and misleading press despatches could do. They would do their best to curb this kind of speculation, which they regretted, but in the last analysis they were powerless to prevent irresponsible newspapermen from inventing stories. He repeated that, in his experience, efforts to track down leaks, even under war conditions, were almost invariably fruitless. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 7:50 p.m.
Rec'd: 4:22 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273738

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON

Ottawa, November 12th, 1946.

No. 1955
TOP SECRET
IMMEDIATE
CYPHER

Following for Robertson from Pearson, Begins:

Have you seen message contained in Dominions Office telegram No.191 of November 9th, from Prime Minister to Prime Minister on defence talks last May? This has had a deplorable effect here, as you can imagine, and a reply will be sent shortly which will probably indicate this. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273739

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE LONDON, November 13th, 1946.

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 2205

No. 2205. Top Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Your telegram No. 1955 of 12th November.

1. I have not yet seen Dominions Office telegram No. 191, as practice in London is that copies of personal Prime Minister to Prime Minister messages are not sent to High Commissioners without express authorization of the Prime Minister here.

2. Machtig told me on Friday that Attlee was contemplating sending a circular message to Commonwealth Governments asking them for their views on the defence liaison arrangements which United Kingdom had proposed during the Prime Ministers' meetings. I said that I did not know how matters stood between United Kingdom and other Commonwealth Governments, but as far as Canada was concerned, arrangements for appointing liaison staff in London and Ottawa appeared to be proceeding quietly and satisfactorily, and that I saw no occasion for addressing any special message to our Government at this time on this subject. Machtig said he agreed.

3. From our conversation this morning, it was fairly clear to me that Dominions Office advice in the matter had been disregarded and that the decision to send the circular message to Commonwealth Prime Ministers had been taken by the Prime Minister on advice primarily of his military advisers.

4. Machtig is sending me a copy of Dominions Office telegram No. 191 and I shall cable again when I have seen it. Ends.

Sent: 12:09 p.m.
Rec'd: 7:37 a.m.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273740

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; CANADA

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER LONDON, November 9th, 1946.

NO. 191

No. 191. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

Am sure that you would wish to know at once that we have come to the inescapable conclusion that it is necessary for us to have a permanent scheme of compulsory national service for men. You will, of course, be hearing full details in due course, but the main features of the scheme are:

(i) That it is to include every able-bodied man, regardless of class, trade or occupation.

(ii) That the term of embodied service is to be 1½ years, and that thereafter every man is liable to 5½ years' service in the auxiliary forces, i.e., a total of 7 years' service in all.

(iii) That it is to be introduced on 1st January, 1949, the date to which our present compulsory service scheme would remain in operation.

2. You will realize that the economic, industrial and financial implications of this decision are very grave. In the economic field, for example, it is quite clear that the maintenance of forces of the size we contemplate under the scheme will make heavy inroads on man-power which would otherwise be employed in helping to restore the economic life of the country. On present forecasts, it looks as if the gap between availability and requirements in men for all our purposes will be very wide indeed, and we can hardly see how it can be bridged. Similarly, in the financial field, we calculate that the maintenance of our forces under the scheme will cost about 750 million pounds a year. When compared with our average pre-war expenditure on defence,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C 273741

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

which was not much more than 100 million pounds a year, you will realize what this means.

3. You will remember that during the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers last April and May, a paper was circulated (P.M.M. (46)31) summarising the military commitments of the United Kingdom, and the economic and financial implications of the drastic measures that it had been necessary to take in order to fulfil them. It seemed clear from the discussion on this paper that you were much impressed by the burden which this country is bearing in the field of defence, and you agreed to consult your Ministers and technical advisers as to how you could help. We await your views on this point with the utmost interest.

4. You will remember also that a paper by the British Chiefs of Staff (P.M.M. (46)20) on the machinery for inter-Commonwealth collaboration in defence matters was discussed at considerable length during the Conference (see in particular, the Minutes of P.M.M. (46) 10th meeting of 2nd May). There was general acceptance of the broad principles at issue, and all the Dominions' Ministers who were present at this meeting agreed to discuss the matter with their Ministerial colleagues and technical advisers on their return to their respective countries. We have not yet heard anything further from you on this matter, and I need hardly say that we are most anxious to have your views.

5. I am sending a similar message to other Prime Ministers.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 9:20 p.m.
Rec'd: 6:33 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273742

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER LONDON, November 9th, 1946.

NO. 191

No. 191. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

Am sure that you would wish to know at once that we have come to the inescapable conclusion that it is necessary for us to have a permanent scheme of compulsory national service for men. You will, of course, be hearing full details in due course, but the main features of the scheme are:

(i) That it is to include every able-bodied man, regardless of class, trade or occupation.

(ii) That the term of embodied service is to be 1½ years, and that thereafter every man is liable to 5½ years' service in the auxiliary forces, i.e., a total of 7 years' service in all.

(iii) That it is to be introduced on 1st January, 1949, the date to which our present compulsory service scheme would remain in operation.

2. You will realise that the economic, industrial and financial implications of this decision are very grave. In the economic field, for example, it is quite clear that the maintenance of forces of the size we contemplate under the scheme will make heavy inroads on man-power which would otherwise be employed in helping to restore the economic life of the country. On present forecasts, it looks as if the gap between availability and requirements in men for all our purposes will be very wide indeed, and we can hardly see how it can be bridged. Similarly, in the financial field, we calculate that the maintenance of our forces under the scheme will cost about 750 million pounds a year. When compared with our average pre-war expenditure on defence,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273743

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

which was not much more than 100 million pounds a year, you will realize what this means.

3. You will remember that during the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers last April and May, a paper was circulated (P.M.M. (46)31) summarising the military commitments of the United Kingdom, and the economic and financial implications of the drastic measures that it had been necessary to take in order to fulfil them. It seemed clear from the discussion on this paper that you were much impressed by the burden which this country is bearing in the field of defence, and you agreed to consult your Ministers and technical advisers as to how you could help. We await your views on this point with the utmost interest.

4. You will remember also that a paper by the British Chiefs of Staff (P.M.M. (46)20) on the machinery for inter-Commonwealth collaboration in defence matters was discussed at considerable length during the Conference (see in particular, the Minutes of P.M.M. (46) 10th meeting of 2nd May). There was general acceptance of the broad principles at issue, and all the Dominions' Ministers who were present at this meeting agreed to discuss the matter with their Ministerial colleagues and technical advisers on their return to their respective countries. We have not yet heard anything further from you on this matter, and I need hardly say that we are most anxious to have your views.

5. I am sending a similar message to other Prime Ministers.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

LBP/SR
12.11.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing herewith a draft reply to Prime Minister Attlee's telegram No.191 on United Kingdom defence questions. An examination of the minutes of the Prime Ministers' meetings in question certainly supports the views stated in this draft.

At the 18th meeting, when the question of defence was under consideration, the minutes indicate that what you actually said was:

> "Mr. Mackenzie King said that he had read the memorandum with great attention. He would have liked to be able to make a positive contribution to the discussion but, as he had warned United Kingdom Ministers before he came, it would be quite impossible for him to discuss in any detail questions of defence or finance. His Ministers for Defence and Finance were not with him. He would be happy to make sure that the memorandum was made known to his colleagues and carefully studied by them. The matter was indeed one which required careful study and he was not in a position to make any commitment at the present time. There were many considerations to be taken into account. Canada's own obligations were already very much greater than they had been before the war and the United Kingdom was not alone in having liabilities for the objects specified in the paper. It had also to be remembered that any contribution made to the military forces at the disposal of the United Nations Organisation must affect the decision on the extent of the Canadian contribution in the field of specific Commonwealth obligation. He added that the United States had vast resources. Had not the time come to ask them to assume greater security responsibilities in Europe?"

> "Mr. Mackenzie King hoped that it would not be misunderstood if he took a somewhat reserved attitude on a paper of this importance. The question whether it would not be best to have a Commonwealth defence policy with allocation of specific liabilities was a recurrent one. Suggestions on this subject had been made as early as the Imperial Conference of 1923 and again in 1926. There had been strong Dominion opposition to the proposals, for

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

while there were military and financial advantages in such a system, there were also political considerations which no Dominion Minister could afford to overlook. The best plan in the world was of no value if the people would not accept it.

Mr. Mackenzie King said that, in his view, the surest way to win the support of the Dominions was to trust them to accept the obligations which they believed to be natural and right. The experience of the war had proved the wisdom of this course. If there had been a highly centralised policy there might have been a very different response from the Dominions. But if ever liberty was at stake, they could be trusted to respond wholeheartedly to the call.

Mr. Mackenzie King believed in the closest co-ordination and closest understanding which could be achieved, but he was not in favour of reversing the tendencies of the last 20 years."

I hope to have a factual memorandum completed very shortly on recent developments in Commonwealth defence questions.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273746

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 2206

LONDON, **November 13th, 1946.**

No. 2206. Top Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Reference my telegram No. 2203 of November 12th.

1. I took advantage of Ismay's presence at the meeting in Machtig's office to bring up Lord Hankey's public criticisms in the press and in the House of Lords of the Government's Defence White Paper. I said that I thought it surprising that men with Hankey's intimate knowledge of how the pre-war machinery of the Commonwealth Defence consultation had actually worked, and who knew where it had failed to work, should be pressing publicly and with such vigor for the reestablishment of the prewar Committee of Imperial Defence eo nomine. It was perhaps even more surprising that he should be lamenting the lack of provision in the Government's White Paper for regular meetings between the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Commonwealth High Commissioners in London, as if such meetings had been, or could be, useful or appropriate occasions for concerting consideration of defence questions. More disturbing, because fundamentally more important was his insistence on always bringing discussion on United Kingdom defence policies under the rubric of "Imperial Defence", and his assumption that other countries of the Commonwealth were naturally determining their respective defence policies in the light of this general conception. I mentioned Lord Hankey and Lord Alanbrooke particularly, though the line of argument they have been putting forward publicly recently, has been repeated fairly frequently by less well-informed speakers in Parliament here, and has found a responsive echo in the Australian and New Zealand press.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273747

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

2. I said that in my private opinion, continued happing on the "Imperial" aspects of defence policy in this country tended to defeat its own purposes, at least so far as cooperation in defence matters between Canada and the United Kingdom was concerned. In the course of the next few months our Government would probably have to face more difficult decisions on questions of defence policy than it had ever had to do in peace time, and that consideration of these major questions arising out of our North American position could only be made more difficult by the ever-lasting public emphasis in this country on the Imperial aspects of defence which were not central or even really relevant to the problems of defence policy with which our Government was confronted.

3. I thought that it would be a good thing if some measure of the tact and discretion which the United Kingdom authorities had learned to use in all public discussions on defence arrangements or understandings with the United States, was employed when Canadian interests and preoccupations were involved. Ismay agreed that the United Kingdom's best hope of maintaining the Combined United Kingdom - United States C.O.S. arrangements, to which they attach absolute importance, lay in their saying nothing whatever about them, least of all not boasting about the accretion of strength which could come from such understandings with the United States. I thought very similar considerations should be kept in mind in our case.

4. I am afraid I did most of the talking during a fairly lengthy meeting. Ismay insisted that I was preaching to the converted as far as he was concerned, but he protested that he was powerless to discourage the kind of public discussion that I thought was mischievous. He led tries to dissuade Hankey from criticising the Defence White Paper, but Hankey took a propriety

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273748

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

personal interest in prewar defence set-up as he had left it, and kept a blind eye for its shortcomings in the pre-1939 period, and refused to recognize the extent to which wartime developments had made it obsolete. He felt that the Opposition would use any stick to beat the Government with, if they felt they could get votes and popular support by accusing the Government of being slack and unenterprising in seeking cooperation and assistance from the Commonwealth countries, they would do so without any qualms of conscience.

5. Machtig said that the Dominions Office recognized the reasonableness from the Canadian point of view of the line I had taken, but said that they were continually being assailed from the other side by Australia and New Zealand, and consequently found it very difficult to devise a general formula that would not create difficulties in their relations with one or other of the Commonwealth countries.

6. I made it clear at the beginning and end of the meeting that I was voicing private worries about recent public developments in the discussions of defence questions over here, and had not been instructed to make any communication to the United Kingdom Government along these lines. At the same time I was probably expressing what would be the general viewpoint of the Canadian Government on these questions. If this general line of argument carries your judgment, I shall continue to pursue it informally on what seem to be appropriate occasions. I do not think anything should be said publicly at this time about the general Canadian attitude toward defence questions, but I do feel strongly that there are some pretty serious misunderstandings about our position in the minds of people who are responsible for formulating general

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

273749

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

United Kingdom policy in these matters. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Sent 8:10 p.m.,

Received 6:01 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

273749

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

- 4 -

LONDON,

United Kingdom policy in these matters. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Sent 8:10 p.m.,

Received 6:01 p.m.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273750

Despatch

T E L E G R A M

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA,

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER

NO.

Ottawa, November 28, 1946

No. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, begins:

I have read your telegram No. 191 of November 9th with much interest and some surprise.

The wording of the telegram would seem to imply that as the United Kingdom had decided to have a permanent scheme of compulsory national service for men, which in the economic field would make heavy inroads on manpower, and in the financial field involve a considerably increased financial outlay, in the light of paper (P.M.M. (46) 31) circulated at the meeting of the conference of Prime Ministers in April and May summarizing the military commitments of the United Kingdom, and what was said in reference thereto, that there has since remained and is now some obligation on the Canadian Government, as yet unfulfilled, as to how the burden of defence thus created is to be met in the form of help by Canada, and that the United Kingdom Government is awaiting the view of the Canadian Government on this point with the utmost interest.

Your reference in paragraph 3 to my reaction to Paper PMM (46-31) is, I think, based on a misunderstanding of what took place last May. When this paper, summarizing the military commitments of the United Kingdom, was brought forward at the Prime Minister's meeting on May 22nd last, my position, as stated in the Minutes of the meeting, was that I could make no commitments of any kind in regard to the matter it dealt with and that I would be required to take a somewhat reserved attitude with regard to it. I did not at that time say anything which could be interpreted as promising "help" because the question of "help" did not arise.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Immediately upon my return from the meeting of Prime Ministers, I reported fully to my colleagues on the subjects discussed, and on the matters requiring consideration by our technical advisersaas well as by the Cabinet. The whole question of our defence responsibilities has since been receiving very close attention, especially as they relate to the Arctic regions. I shall, of course, be glad to communicate our decisions to the United Kingdom Government just as soon as they are reached. Because of the number and magnitude of the considerations involved and possible political implications, it has not been possible thus far to reach final conclusions.

As to the other question which your telegram raises, machinery for inter-Commonwealth cooperation, I thought I had made clear while in London that our government would be prepared to appoint service liaison officers to our High Commissioner in London, and equally would be prepared to have liaison officers of the United Kingdom services attached to the United Kingdom High Commissioner's office in Canada. Already steps have been taken on our part to carry out what was then agreed upon. It is apparent, however, that the exact relationships and functions of these officials will have to be more clearly defined. I hope to be able to let you have very shortly our views on this matter.

I feel that I should add that unauthorized reports which have been coming out of London on "Imperial defence" matters and particularly Reuters story of last Saturday, referring to General Laycock's visit, have caused considerable embarrassment to us here and made the whole position more difficult. Stories of this kind can only be mischievous and harmful and I think it would be helpful if the War Office, which seems to be the Department most concerned with their publication, could be informed to this effect.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Secret A

Re telegram Nov 12 - from Ellen

The wording of the telegram cannot seem to suggest that as the U.K. had decided to have a permanent scheme of conscription, which would embrace Newfoundland as well as the Dominions, and in the financial field it was [illegible] in general financial matters, [illegible] (P.M.M. 46) 31)

right of a loose association of Dominions to withdraw from the Commonwealth of the U.K. and also was said in [illegible] as soon as the Dominions

Some delegation [illegible] on all unfulfilled as to how the burden of defence was created is to be met in the form of help and that the U.K. Government

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to [illegible] the [illegible] type of
the Canadian [illegible] on
this point with the editors
interest.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DRAFT

C 273754

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER

NO.

Ottawa, November 12, 1946.

No. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

I have read your telegram No.191 of November 9th with much interest and some surprise. Your reference in paragraph 3 to my reaction to Paper PMM (36-41) is, I think, based on a misunderstanding of what took place last May. When this paper, summarizing the military commitments of the United Kingdom, was brought forward at the Prime Minister's meeting on May 22nd last, my position, as stated in the Minutes of that meeting, was that I could make no commitments of any kind in regard to the matter it dealt with and that I would be required to take a somewhat reserved attitude with regard to it. I did not at that time say anything which could be interpreted as promising "help" because the question of "help" did not arise.

We are at the moment discussing in Cabinet here the whole question of our defence responsibilities, particularly in the Arctic region and I shall be glad to communicate to you decisions on this matter when they are reached.

As to the other question which your telegram raises, machinery for inter-Commonwealth cooperation, I hope to be able to inform you shortly about plans we are making for the appointment of Service Advisers to our High Commissioner in London.

I feel that I should add that unauthorized reports which have been coming out of London on "Imperial defence" matters and particularly Reuters story of last Saturday,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273755

referring to General Laycock's visit, have caused considerable embarrassment to us here and made the whole position more difficult. Stories of this kind can only be mischievous and harmful and I think it would be helpful if the War Office, which seems to be the Department most concerned with their publication, could be informed to this effect.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SECRET AND PERSONAL.

LETTER FROM LORD ADDISON TO MR. MACKENZIE KING

RECEIVED BY TELEGRAM 14th NOVEMBER, 1946

Dear Prime Minister,

I hope that you will not think it unbecoming if I take advantage of our friendship to send you a personal message with regard to the unfortunate events and misunderstandings connected with defence problems that have recently emerged.

We are as disconcerted as yourself at the Reuter's despatch about Laycock, which contained not only misleading account of the purpose of his visit but also other information the publication of which is highly injurious. The same applies to the earlier Press report about standardisation.

I have been greatly upset by these incidents and I would like you to know that we are instituting the most searching enquiries as to their origin. We regret them exceedingly.

I can well understand that the entirely accidental coincidence of these Press reports with the Prime Minister's telegram of the 9th November, No. 191, has made things more difficult. I can appreciate the point as to the misunderstanding of the wording of the concluding part of paragraph 3 to which exception is taken, but I would like to assure you that the sole purpose of the enquiry was to ascertain the extent to

/which

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

which your Government had been able to consider the papers put before the Prime Ministers' Meeting in May, with a view to being helped here by the knowledge of your reactions to those papers. There was nothing more in it than that. If there is any action that I can take at this end which will be helpful I should be glad to be advised.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ADDISON.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

C 273758

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER Ottawa, November 18, 1946.

NO.

Following from Prime Minister for Lord Addison:

Begins:

My dear Lord Addison: I thank you warmly for your characteristically kind personal message of November 14 received through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. I confess that much that has taken place in the last few weeks in connection with defence problems, as related more particularly to the organization of defence within the Commonwealth, has caused me a good deal of concern.

I thought that at the meeting of Prime Ministers in April and May last it had been agreed by all that, to use the words of Field Marshal Smuts, "we should be very cautious about setting up any new formal machinery"; that "all that was needed was Liaison Officers from the services to be appointed to the staffs of High Commissioners". Equally, to quote the words of the text of the final communique issued to the press on May 23rd, it was definitely agreed:

> "While all are willing to consider and adopt practical proposals for developing the existing system, it is agreed that the methods now practised are preferable to any rigid centralized machinery. In their view such centralized machinery would not facilitate and might even hamper the combination of autonomy and unity which is characteristic of the British Commonwealth and is one of their greatest achievements."

I thought, too, it was agreed by all, that for very obvious reasons as little as possible in the way of publicity should be given to the defence developments within the Commonwealth, and that above all nothing should be said which to use the words of Field Marshal Smuts, might create at the present juncture of international affairs, a wrong impression both in and out of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273759

Commonwealth, as to a "ganging up" ~~of first~~ against any possible future antagonism, or as to any lack of confidence in the United Nations' Organization.

Some recent speeches and public criticisms deriving special significance from the sources and occasions on which they were made contain doctrines which are wholly contrary to those formally agreed to at the Conference. Already they have given rise to controversy in our press. The emphasis which in these quarters has been placed on the machinery of Commonwealth Defence, which obviously presupposes rigidity of central control cannot prove other than prejudicial to effective cooperation in defence. The secret of our security lies in close co-operation of a completely flexible character. Each nation of the Commonwealth must be free to contribute in its own way not merely on the basis of a particular group of countries, but in co-operation with all the others and with the United States, towards a general system of security throughout the world. Both within and without the Commonwealth, emphasis on what is called "Imperial Defence", with all the machinery of Imperial Conferences, combined staffs and centralized policy, will only, I believe, serve to create antagonisms in quarters where every effort should be made to further the utmost that may be possible in the way of cooperation.

In reply to Attlee's telegram of the 9th instant I have felt it necessary because of the record to make it clear that no commitments of the kind it seems to imply were made by Canada at the meeting of Prime Ministers. I have no desire to add to the many anxieties with which he and you and other ministers of the government are faced. My sole aim, as you and he will know, is to occasion for all of us as little in the way of embarassment now and later as may be possible.

Kindest personal regards.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

ENDS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

WLMK:jg

DRAFT

Personal and Confidential:

My dear Lord Addison:

I thank you warmly for your characteristically kind personal message of November 14 received through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. I confess that much that has taken place in the last few weeks in connection with defence problems, as related more particularly to the organization of defence within the Commonwealth, has caused me a good deal of concern.

I thought that at the meeting of Prime Ministers in April and May last it had been agreed by all that, to use the words of Field Marshal Smuts, "we should be very cautious about setting up any new formal machinery"; that "all that was needed was Liaison Officers from the services to be appointed to the staffs of High Commissioners"; equally, to quote the words of the text of the final communique issued to the press on May 23rd, it was definitely agreed

> "While all are willing to consider and adopt practical proposals for developing the existing system, it is agreed that the methods now practised are preferable to any rigid centralized machinery. In their view such centralized machinery would not facilitate and might even hamper the combination of autonomy and unity which is characeristic of the British Commonwealth and is one of their greatest achievements."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Some recent speeches

The speech by Lord Alanbrooke at the Royal Empire Society on November 6, and public criticisms in the press and in the House of Lords of the Government's White Paper on Defence contain doctrines which are most short-sighted and dangerous, and which are wholly contrary to those formally agreed to at the Conference. I can imagine few things more prejudicial to effective co-operation in defence than the emphasis which in these quarters has been placed on the machinery of Commonwealth Defence, which obviously presupposes rigidity of central control. The secret of our security lies in close co-operation of a completely elastic nature. Each nation of the Commonwealth must be free to contribute in its own way, but in co-operation with all the others and with the United States, towards a general system of security throughout the world, and not merely on the basis of a particular group of countries. Emphasis on what is called "Imperial Defence", with all the machinery of Imperial Conferences, combined staffs and centralized policy, will only I believe serve to antagonize those with whom we must be friendly if we are to avoid disaster.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

he and Jan and other members of the Government are faced, by sea air, as Jan and he ~~must~~ well know, as all ~~have had~~ occasion for all of us as both in the navy & subsequent now and later as may be possible

and [illegible]

C 273761

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

UK/CD

C 273762

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

LONDON, **November 19th, 1946.**

CIRCULAR D. 1049

Circular D. 1049. Confidential. As Dominion Governments may already know, a Joint Services Staff College is in process of being established in United Kingdom to train officers already qualified in Staff work of their own services for Staff appointments on Joint Staffs and for higher Staff appointments in their own services. College will open in January 1947 and each course will last six months. War Office will act as administrators of the college.

2. Invitations to the Dominions services are being issued by Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry through normal service channels.

3. Press statement (which will mention attendance of Dominions students) will be issued shortly.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Sent 8:35 p.m.,

Received 7:32 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM: THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL

CYPHER

NO. 15

CANBERRA, November 21st, 1946.

Addressed London No. 392, repeated Ottawa No. 15, Wellington No. 281, Pretoria No. 101. Top Secret and Personal. Following from the Prime Minister for the Prime Minister, Begins:

Your telegram No. 355.

1. I have noted your decision to institute a permanent scheme of compulsory national service and your reference to its economic, industrial and financial implications.

2. In regard to Paper P.M.M. (46) 31, relative to United Kingdom defence obligations, you will recall that, at the meeting on 24th April, I said that the Australian Government recognized that in the future they must make a larger contribution towards the defence of the British Commonwealth, and they believed that it is in the Pacific that this contribution could best be made. I added that the extent of their contribution would depend on the proportion of their national income which they find it possible to allot, in money and manpower, to defence purposes.

3. On my return, the documents and proceedings of the Conference on responsibilities for Commonwealth defence were referred in the first place to the Government's technical advisers, but their report has not yet been received. This aspect is wrapped up with the strength, organization and cost of the defence forces which should be provided under our post-war policy, and on which the technical advisers have been working for some time. It will be necessary for the Government to consider all these matters in conjunction, and some time will elapse before decisions are reached.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273764
C

4. However, I would mention the following defence commitments which Australia has already undertaken, and which have a British Commonwealth implication:

(a) A British Commonwealth Occupation Force.

(i) We have provided a contingent for the British Commonwealth Occupation Force, strength of which, according to our latest information, was the highest percentage for any part of the Empire.

(ii) We have supplied the Commander-in-Chief and the bulk of the Headquarters Staff of B.C.O.F., and also the greatest proportion of force and base troops.

(iii) We have undertaken obligations for supply for B.C.O.F. from Australia which involve the maintenance of much larger administrative strengths than would otherwise be necessary for our own forces alone. The cost of this runs into several millions.

(iv) We provided, over and above our component of the force, an Air Construction Squadron. This was to be a temporary measure, but it is still a continuing commitment.

(b) Intelligence.

We have agreed to establish a Joint Intelligence Bureau and Signal Intelligence Centre in Australia, the annual maintenance cost of which has been estimated to rise to 500,000 pounds in the third year, apart from capital expenditure of 30,000 pounds in the first year.

5. As you are aware, the Government is at present considering the proposals relating to the establishment of a range and facilities for testing guided projectiles in Australia. The estimated capital cost in the report of the Evatts' Mission is 6,000,000 pounds which does not include 1,500,000 pounds for road and railway extension, and 9,000,000 pounds which is the cost of the Salisbury factory, should it be used as a development establishment. The annual maintenance cost has been estimated at 3,000,000 pounds. The Government is at present considering your proposals in regard to the liability for the cost of this project, which has important implications for the whole of the British Commonwealth.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

6. My statement in paragraph 2 above was made during the discussion on bases in the Pacific, with special reference to the cost of their maintenance. The cost of taking over manning and maintaining it in an effective condition would involve the expenditure of several hundred thousand pounds, according to what the Americans might be prepared to hand over, and the annual maintenance would be substantial.

7. In regard to Paper P.M.M. (46) 20 on the machinery for inter-Commonwealth collaboration in defence matters, you will recall from cablegram No. 346 of 30th September in reply to telegram Circular D. 866 relative to Command Paper 6923 (Central Organization for Defence), that I stated the Commonwealth Government's viewpoint is as expressed by me in London, and in my review to Parliament on 19th June. The Conference documents and proceedings on this matter were referred to the Government's technical advisers with the following instructions for drawing up a plan to give effect to the Government's views:

(a) In the case of the Australian higher defence machinery, provision should be made for co-opting the High Commissioners of the United Kingdom and New Zealand (and others as necessary) to the Council of Defence when matters affecting those parts of the Empire are under consideration.

(b) Similarly, provision should be made for co-opting the head of the accredited United Kingdom and New Zealand Service Staffs to the Defence Committee (Australian).

(c) Corresponding provision would also be necessary for Australian representation on the parallel machinery on the Governmental and official levels in the United Kingdom (and New Zealand if necessary).

(d) The system for co-ordination of Empire defence, in so far as Australia is concerned, will be based upon the higher defence machinery outlined in Document P.M.M. (46) 10 - the Council of Defence. The Department of Defence. The Defence Committee.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

When the detailed plan to give effect to the above is received and considered by the Government, a further communication will be forwarded to you. Ends.

MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Sent: 4:40 p.m.
Rec'd: 4:52 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

T E L E G R A M

C 273767

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA,

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER

NO.405 Ottawa, November 28, 1946

No. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, begins:

I have read your telegram No. 191 of November 9th with much interest and some surprise.

The wording of the telegram would seem to imply that as the United Kingdom had decided to have a permanent scheme of compulsory national service for men, which in the economic field would make heavy inroads on manpower, and in the financial field involve a considerably increased financial outlay, in the light of paper (P.M.M. (46) 31) circulated at the meeting of the conference of Prime Ministers in April and May summarizing the military commitments of the United Kingdom, and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ what was said in reference thereto, ~~that~~ there has since remained and is now some obligation on the Canadian Government, as yet unfulfilled, as to how the burden of defence thus created is to be met in the form of help by Canada, and that the United Kingdom Government is awaiting the view of the Canadian Government on this point with the utmost interest.

P.M.M. 46-31

Your reference in paragraph 3 to my reaction to Paper ~~P.M.M. (46-31)~~ is, I think, based on a misunderstanding of what took place last May. When this paper, summarizing the military commitments of the United Kingdom, was brought forward at the Prime Minister's meeting on May 22nd last, my position, as stated in the Minutes of the meeting, was that I could make no commitments of any kind in regard to the matter it dealt with and that I would be required to take a somewhat reserved attitude with regard to it. I did not at that time say anything which could be interpreted as promising "help" because the question of "help" did not arise.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Immediately upon my return from the meeting of Prime Ministers, I reported fully to my colleagues on the subjects discussed, and on the matters requiring consideration by our technical advisers as well as by the Cabinet. The whole question of our defence responsibilities has since been receiving very close attention, especially as they relate to the Arctic regions. I shall, of course, be glad to communicate our decisions to the United Kingdom Government just as soon as they are reached. Because of the number and magnitude of the considerations involved and possible political implications, it has not been possible thus far to reach final conclusions.

As to the other question which your telegram raises, machinery for inter-Commonwealth cooperation, I thought I had made clear while in London that our government would be prepared to appoint service liaison officers to our High Commissioner in London, and equally would be prepared to have liaison officers of the United Kingdom services attached to the United Kingdom High Commissioner's office in Canada. Already steps have been taken on our part to carry out what was then agreed upon. It is apparent, however, that the exact relationships and functions of these officials will have to be more clearly defined. I hope to be able to let you have very shortly our views on this matter.

I feel that I should add that unauthorized reports which have been coming out of London on "Imperial defence" matters and particularly Reuters story ~~of last Saturday~~, referring to General Laycock's visit, have caused considerable embarrassment to us here and made the whole position more difficult. Stories of this kind can only be mischievous and harmful and I think it would be helpful if the War Office, which seems to be the Department most concerned with their publication, could be informed to this effect.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER

NO. 406

Ottawa, November 18, 1946.

Following from Prime Minister for Lord Addison:

Begins:

My dear Lord Addison: I thank you warmly for your characteristically kind personal message of November 14 received through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. I confess that much that has taken place in the last few weeks in connection with defence problems, as related more particularly to the organization of defence within the Commonwealth, has caused me a good deal of concern.

I thought that at the meeting of Prime Ministers in April and May last it had been agreed by all that, to use the words of Field Marshal Smuts, "we should be very cautious about setting up any new formal machinery"; that "all that was needed was Liaison Officers from the services to be appointed to the staffs of High Commissioners". Equally, to quote the words of the text of the final communique issued to the press on May 23rd, it was definitely agreed:

> "While all are willing to consider and adopt practical proposals for developing the existing system, it is agreed that the methods now practised are preferable to any rigid centralized machinery. In their view such centralized machinery would not facilitate and might even hamper the combination of autonomy and unity which is characteristic of the British Commonwealth and is one of their greatest achievements."

I thought, too, it was agreed by all, that for very obvious reasons as little as possible in the way of publicity should be given to the defence developments within the Commonwealth, and that above all nothing should be said which, to use the words of Field Marshal Smuts, might create at the present juncture of international affairs, a wrong impression both in and out of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Commonwealth, as to a "ganging up" against any possible future antagonism, or as to any lack of confidence in the United Nations' Organization.

Some recent speeches and public criticisms deriving special significance from the sources and occasions on which they were made contain doctrines which are wholly contrary to those formally agreed to at the Conference. Already they have given rise to controversy in our press. The emphasis which in these quarters has been placed on the machinery of Commonwealth Defence, which obviously presupposes rigidity of central control cannot prove other than prejudicial to effective cooperation in defence. The secret of our security lies in close co-operation of a completely flexible character. Each nation of the Commonwealth must be free to contribute in its own way not merely on the basis of a particular group of countries, but in co-operation with all the others and with the United States, towards a general system of security throughout the world. Both within and without the Commonwealth, emphasis on what is called "Imperial Defence", with all the machinery of Imperial Conferences, combined staffs and centralized policy, will only, I believe, serve to create antagonisms in quarters where every effort should be made to further the utmost that may be possible in the way of cooperation.

In reply to Attlee's telegram of the 9th instant I have felt it necessary because of the record to make it clear that no commitments of the kind it seems to imply were made by Canada at the meeting of Prime Ministers. I have no desire to add to the many anxieties with which he and you and other ministers of the government are faced. My sole aim, as you and he will know, is to occasion for all of us as little in the way of embarassment now and later as may be possible.

Kindest personal regards.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

ENDS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C
COPY

C 273771 UK/CD

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S. W. 1.

23rd November, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

In view of the attention which I have drawn to recent unsatisfactory statements on Commonwealth relations, it is only fair, I think, to pass on to you the attached report in "The Times" of a speech which Mr. Attlee made at a dinner at London House which I attended. London House, as you know, is a hostel for students from the Commonwealth who are fortunate enough to possess white faces.

The Prime Minister's reference to the informal ties which bind and the instinctive mistrust of formal machinery was appropriate to the occasion and useful. As one would expect, however, it has been ignored by "The Sunday Times."

Yours sincerely,

N. A. Robertson

L. B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Extract from "The Times" of 13th November, 1946

COMMONWEALTH UNITY

LONDON HOUSE AS A SYMBOL

MR. ATTLEE'S TRIBUTE

Mr. Attlee attended a dinner given by the Governors of the Dominion Students Hall Trust at London House, Guilford Street, W. C., last night and described this residence for Dominion and United Kingdom students as "the realisation of a great conception."

Sir William Goodenough presided, and among others present were Mrs. Attlee, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor, Sir Edward Peacock, Mr. L. S. Amery, representatives of the Government and of the Opposition, the Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation, and the Governors of London House.

Each of the Dominions is about equally represented at London House, and there is a small number of students from the Crown Colonies. Most of those at present in residence are doing post-graduate work.

Mr. Attlee said that London House was an expression of the desire of all the members of the Commonwealth that their young men should form friendships which would help to draw closer the ties of unity. The student in London, especially from overseas, was apt to become isolated, and in that respect London University suffered compared with its older sisters. Their war-time experience had given young men a more vivid understanding of the British Commonwealth, and London House was one way of ensuring that this comradeship would continue. It was making an invaluable contribution to Empire understanding. In the Middle Ages universities recognised no national boundaries, and he would like to think that in the Commonwealth, at least, we could revive that admirable conception.

He referred to what had been done by the Rhodes scholarships, the British Council, and the Nuffield Foundation, and described the distinctive characteristic of the Commonwealth as its belief in freedom. It had no rigid constitution, and each of the self-governing Dominions rightly remained the sole judge of the contribution it would make to the common cause. It was because of this absence of a formal machinery of government that the informal ties between the peoples of the Commonwealth were of supreme importance. It was on them that its continued sense of community must rest. The more that its peoples met for discussion the better it was for the whole; if the Commonwealth had any principle of government, it was that of government by discussion. Consultation was continuously going on, and in the meetings of Dominion statesmen formal agenda and fixed resolutions were looked upon with instinctive mistrust because they felt that the equality and usefulness of discussion in any democratic assembly were to be judged by the "sense of the meeting" which emerged from it. The discussion was profitable only because those taking part in it, however great their differences of opinions on matters of detail, shared a common outlook and a common scale of values.

Sir Edward Peacock proposed the toast of "London House", and Mr. Amery responded. The health fo the Prime Minister was submitted by the Chairman.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

LBP/W
DEC. 6/46.
C273773

UK/CD

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I have received the copy of the communication from Sir Shuldham Redfern to The London Times. This seems to me to be a very enlightened analysis of the situation and I have sent a copy of it to our High Commissioner in London, as well as to our Ambassador in Washington.

Last evening I was going through a batch of clippings from British newspapers, and I noticed that the letter in question appeared in The London Times for November 23rd. I am attaching herewith the clipping in question. Apparently Sir Shuldham's letter was not published at once and he probably assumed that it had been rejected. I am glad that the London Times gave it the publicity it deserved.

I sent to you yesterday a copy of the report in The Times of a speech given by Mr. Atlee in London on November 13th, which is also a satisfactory statement of Commonwealth relations. As Mr. Robertson puts it in his letter, "The Prime Minister's reference to the informal ties which bind and the instinctive mistrust of formal machinery was appropriate to the occasion and useful."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273774

C

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject Imperial defence

Date NOV 23 1946 Publication LONDON TIMES

EMPIRE DEFENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Your Australian Correspondent's article on the "Search for Unity in Empire Defence" together with a leading article in *The Times* of November 7 and reports of an address by Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke to the Royal Empire Society clearly indicate that there is a large measure of agreement between the points of view of the United Kingdom and of Australia and New Zealand on the subject on Commonwealth defence. If these three countries only were concerned, a combined chiefs of staff system could no doubt be established without difficulty, supplemented by a central organization at the policy-making level on lines such as those suggested by Mr. Chifley in May, 1944. It is, however, important that the Canadian attitude towards such proposals should be most carefully considered. Canada's prestige as a nation of the British Commonwealth, her tremendous contributions of men and resources to allied victory in two wars, her geographic position sandwiched between the United States and Russia, and her interest in defence as both an Atlantic and as a Pacific Power render her cooperation of supreme importance in preventing a war in which she might well be the principal battle-ground.

For ten years I was privileged to be a close observer of Canada's external relations during one of the most critical periods of her history, and I have no hesitation in saying that any centralized British Commonwealth organization of either a political or military nature would be quite unacceptable to the Canadian Government. This is not due to any dog-in-the-manger attitude or to any feeling that Canada's voice would be inferior to any one else's. Still less is it due to fear of infringement of sovereign rights. Canada regards security as a world problem and not as a problem confined within the limits of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Canadian foreign policy, founded on anything less than universal security, would be prejudicial to the establishment of effective world peace and would thereby be opposed to the real interests of the Commonwealth itself.

Canada's attitude towards the other nations of the British Commonwealth and to all other countries has been clearly and repeatedly stated both in and out of the Canadian House of Commons. It is to cooperate as closely as possible both in the political and military field and at every level with all those who value freedom and progress, to the end that each country may in its own way contribute to the general security of the whole. This is a line from which Canada has never shown the slightest tendency to deviate.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

SHULDHAM REDFERN.

119, Barkston Gardens, S.W.5.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273774

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject Imperial defence

Date NOV 23 1946 *Publication* LONDON TIMES

EMPIRE DEFENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Your Australian Correspondent's article on the "Search for Unity in Empire Defence" together with a leading article in *The Times* of November 7 and reports of an address by Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke to the Royal Empire Society clearly indicate that there is a large measure of agreement between the points of view of the United Kingdom and of Australia and New Zealand on the subject on Commonwealth defence. If these three countries only were concerned, a combined chiefs of staff system could no doubt be established without difficulty, supplemented by a central organization at the policy-making level on lines such as those suggested by Mr. Chifley in May, 1944. It is, however, important that the Canadian attitude towards such proposals should be most carefully considered. Canada's prestige as a nation of the British Commonwealth, her tremendous contributions of men and resources to allied victory in two wars, her geographic position sandwiched between the United States and Russia, and her interest in defence as both an Atlantic and as a Pacific Power render her cooperation of supreme importance in preventing a war in which she might well be the principal battle-ground.

For ten years I was privileged to be a close observer of Canada's external relations during one of the most critical periods of her history, and I have no hesitation in saying that any centralized British Commonwealth organization of either a political or military nature would be quite unacceptable to the Canadian Government. This is not due to any dog-in-the-manger attitude or to any feeling that Canada's voice would be inferior to any one else's. Still less is it due to fear of infringement of sovereign rights. Canada regards security as a world problem and not as a problem confined within the limits of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Canadian foreign policy, founded on anything less than universal security, would be prejudicial to the establishment of effective world peace and would thereby be opposed to the real interests of the Commonwealth itself.

Canada's attitude towards the other nations of the British Commonwealth and to all other countries has been clearly and repeatedly stated both in and out of the Canadian House of Commons. It is to cooperate as closely as possible both in the political and military field and at every level with all those who value freedom and progress, to the end that each country may in its own way contribute to the general security of the whole. This is a line from which Canada has never shown the slightest tendeney to deviate.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
SHULDHAM REDFERN.
119, Barkston Gardens, S.W.5.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273775

COPY

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA

CANADA HOUSE,

LONDON, S.W.1

CONFIDENTIAL JS

23rd November, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I should like to refer to Dominions Office telegram No. D.1049 of 19th November concerning the press statement to be issued about the Joint Services Staff College.

In view of the recent difficulties over announcements of this kind we asked the Dominions Office informally if they could let us see the text of the announcement before it came out. We were particularly anxious that it would not be worded in such a way that editorial writers might find extravagant implications about Imperial defence. The Dominions Office informed us on the 20th that the announcement was in its final stages. The only reference to the Commonwealth was contained in one sentence, which said: "Each course will last six months, and there will be about 100 students, chosen from the Royal Navy, the Army, the R.A.F., the Home Civil Service, the Dominions and India." There seemed no very solid basis for criticism here, and the Dominions Office were informed that we would raise no objections.

I am enclosing a copy of this announcement which appeared in "The Times" this morning.

Yours sincerely,

"N.A. ROBERTSON"

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa, Ontario.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273776

Extract from "The Times"; Saturday, November 23rd, 1946.

A NEW STAFF COLLEGE

STUDENTS FROM ALL THE SERVICES

A new Staff College is to be opened in the New Year at Latimer House, Chesham, Buckinghamshire, to be known as the Joint Services Staff College. Each course will last six months, and there will be about 100 students, chosen from the Royal Navy, the Army, the R.A.F., the Home Civil Service, the Dominions and India.

There will be a wide syllabus covering the activities of all three services and of Government direction in war-time, designed to qualify officers for appointments on joint staffs, and for higher staff appointments in their own services. The directing staff of the college will be drawn from all three services., the commandant being found by each in turn. The first holder of the appointment is to be Rear-Admiral C.E. Douglas-Pennant. The college will develop mutual understanding and a common doctrine between the services and evolve a standardized system of staff work.

Officers will normally attend this college at some period after passing through their respective Staff Colleges and some years before attending the Imperial Defence College. Among the subjects that will be studied are the organisation and capabilities of the three services. Imperial strategy, the study and analysis of inter-service and joint operations, and the planning and execution of joint operations of all kinds. Such subjects as weapon and equipment development, scientific warfare, military geography, the machinery of war production and modern production methods, the Governmental and central direction of war will also be included in the syllabus.

Commandant's Career

Admiral Douglas-Pennant entered the service in 1907 at the age of 13 and served continuously at sea in destroyers from 1914 to 1921. In 1942 he was appointed Chief Naval Staff Officer to General Sir Bernard Paget, Commander-in-Chief, Home Forces, and later was Chief of Staff to Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsey, in which capacity he took a major part in planning the invasion of North Africa. He was Chief of Staff of the Eastern Task Force during the Sicily landings in 1943 and returned to the United Kingdom early in 1944 to take part in the planning of the invasion of Normandy, in which he finally commanded one of the naval assault forces. He was later promoted Rear Admiral, and served in the East as Deputy Chief of Staff to Admiral Viscount Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia Command.

Members of the directing staff of the college are drawn from all three services, the three senior members being Captain M.L. Power, R.N., Colonel T.E.D. Kelly, Royal Artillery, and Group Captain G.C. Barrett, R.A.F.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273777

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL

CYPHER LONDON, December 13th, 1946.

NO. 228

No. 228. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

Thank you for your message in telegram No. 405 of the 19th November. I am glad to see that you hope to be able shortly to let us have your views as to the relationships and functions of the Service Liaison Officers whom you have attached to your High Commissioner's Office in London.

I shall also be interested to receive from you an account of any conclusions reached by the Canadian Government on Canada's defence responsibilities which you consider are likely to be of interest to us.

I am sorry if our correspondence on this subject has been the source of any difficulty or embarrassment to you. No one regrets more than we do the difficulty which is from time to time created in these matters by wholly unauthorized and misleading statements. In so far as these appear to derive from leakages of official information, we are having the most searching investigations made. But I am sure that you recognize the difficulty that always exists in tracing the source of such leakages. On the more general question of statements made here, I feel sure that you realize as well as I do the difficulty of preventing persons, whether in Parliament or outside, from making irresponsible statements, but I can only assure you that neither I nor any of my colleagues nor anyone holding a responsible

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273778

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

position in the service here fails fully to appreciate the Canadian attitude in this matter or is lacking in an earnest desire to display the utmost consideration and understanding. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Sent: 2:15 p.m.
Rec'd: 1:50 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy/JAG

T E L E G R A M

C273779

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL
CYPHER
NO. 228

LONDON, Dec. 13, 1946

No. 228. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, begins:

Thank you for your message in telegram No. 405 of the 19th November. I am glad to see that you hope to be able shortly to let us have your views as to the relationships and functions of the Service Liaison Officers whom you have attached to your High Commissioner's Office in London.

I shall also be interested to receive from you an account of any conclusions reached by the Canadian Government on Canada's Defence responsibilities which you consider are likely to be of interest to us.

I am sorry if our correspondenceon this subject has been the source of any difficulty or embarrassment to you, No one regrets more than we do the dfficulty which is from time to time created in these matters by wholly unauthorised and misleading statements. In so far as these appear to derive from leakages of official information, we are having the most searching investigations made. But I am sure that you recognize the difficulty that always exists in tracing the source of such leakages. On the more general question on statements made here, I feel sure that you realize as well as I do the difficulty of preventing persons, whether in Parliament or outside, from making irresponsible state,ents, but I can assure you that neither I nor any of my colleagues nor anyone holding a responsible position in the service here fails fully to appredíate the Canadian attitude in this matter or is lacking in any earnest desire to display the utmost consideration and understanding. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 2:15 p.m.
Rec'd 1:50 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273780 B

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Name or Subject: Defence policies; Commonwealth relations; Joint Planning with U.S. Service Programmes

File No. Defence Binder.

Regarding

Date

SEE

Name or Subject: Cabinet Conclusions November 14, 1946.

File No. Safe

Req. 1414
10M—10-43

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273781

Subject
Compulsory Military Training

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273782

MEMORANDUM C 273782

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

Miss Sheild,

Mr Ross gave me this to give to P.M. He has seen it at least twice as far as I know. Perhaps you would like a look at it & discuss it.

W.L.M.K.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273783

THE DEFENCE CUTS

LEGION CHIEF WARNS PRIME MINISTER ABOUT POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF DRASTIC CUT IN DEFENCE ESTIMATES AND URGES LEGION BRANCHES TO EDUCATE PUBLIC ON NATIONAL DEFENCE NEEDS

AT the last meeting of the Sub-Executive Committee of the Dominion Council the question of the reduction in the Department of National Defence estimates was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the Canadian Legion should set its face against the reduction of expenditures which would bring the Armed Forces below a reasonable standard of adequacy and efficiency. Our military establishments should at least be sufficient for Canada to carry out her part in the maintenance of peace in the world today.

Experience between World War I and World War II showed how apparent economy in expenditure on the Armed Forces definitely helped bring on World War II, and it was the opinion of the Legion Council that Canada is in danger of again repeating that mistake.

A VITAL QUESTION

This question is of vital interest to all members of the Legion. National Defence is, therefore, a suitable subject for discussion in Commands and Branches. It is urged that they take steps to consider the matter thoroughly from all angles. Local Branches and Commands are in a good position to help mould public opinion regarding the necessity of the country being in a state of general preparedness and, in particular, respecting the value of maintaining local Reserve Units. Contact should be made with Reserve unit commanders in the Navy, Army and Air Force so as to get an idea of their problems and needs, and to observe the effect on their efforts of the reduction in the Estimates.

As this is a national question and is in no sense a Party one, the Dominion President has expressed the hope that, if after study and discussion our Commands and Branches feel that the accompanying letter to the Prime Minister reflects their opinion, they will advise Dominion Command and take steps to educate public opinion in their communities, especially as to the necessity for a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Defence. General Price also hopes that in carrying out the constitutional policies respecting Defence (see Part I, Principles and Policy, of the Legion Constitution), the Legion shall become a factor in avoiding past mistakes and thus make a great contribution to the welfare of Canada and the democratic way of life.



The Legion Chief

LETTER TO P. M.

The Dominion President's letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King reads as follows:—

Ottawa, Ont.,
March 28, 1947,

Dear Prime Minister:

The problem of adequate national defence has again become a matter of concern to the Canadian Legion. One of the Principles and Objects of our Constitution lays down "The Maintenance of Adequate and Efficient Armed Forces" by Canada, and at our Dominion Convention, held in Quebec City in May, 1946, the following resolutions were adopted:

"PEACETIME MILITARY SERVICE —

RESOLVED that the Canadian Legion demands a national unified system of compulsory training for defence purposes based on the fact that their members have carried a large share of the burden during the last two wars and do not wish a third."

"CADET MOVEMENT —

BE IT RESOLVED that the Legion supports the idea of Cadet Movements and physical training in schools and urges the Federal Government to endeavour to provide uniformity throughout the various Provinces of Canada."

UNPREPAREDNESS

While these resolutions do not present a complete statement of the Legion's views on the subject of national defence, they nevertheless indicate that the Legion does not wish to see a return to either the kind of thinking that developed so rapidly after the termination of World War I or the shocking conditions of unpreparedness which resulted from it.

The recent reduction in the Estimates for the Armed Forces and the discussions which ensued were so reminiscent of the past that the Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion feels that special representations should now be made to the Government respecting adequate National Defence, both now and in the future.

You and the Government are well aware of the measures necessary to fight a modern war. There is already a tendency in the effort

(Continued on page 36)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273783

THE DEFENCE CUTS

LEGION CHIEF WARNS PRIME MINISTER ABOUT POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF DRASTIC CUT IN DEFENCE ESTIMATES AND URGES LEGION BRANCHES TO EDUCATE PUBLIC ON NATIONAL DEFENCE NEEDS

AT the last meeting of the Sub-Executive Committee of the Dominion Council the question of the reduction in the Department of National Defence estimates was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the Canadian Legion should set its face against the reduction of expenditures which would bring the Armed Forces below a reasonable standard of adequacy and efficiency. Our military establishments should at least be sufficient for Canada to carry out her part in the maintenance of peace in the world today.

Experience between World War I and World War II showed how apparent economy in expenditure on the Armed Forces definitely helped bring on World War II, and it was the opinion of the Legion Council that Canada is in danger of again repeating that mistake.

A VITAL QUESTION

This question is of vital interest to all members of the Legion. National Defence is, therefore, a suitable subject for discussion in Commands and Branches. It is urged that they take steps to consider the matter thoroughly from all angles. Local Branches and Commands are in a good position to help mould public opinion regarding the necessity of the country being in a state of general preparedness and, in particular, respecting the value of maintaining local Reserve Units. Contact should be made with Reserve unit commanders in the Navy, Army and Air Force so as to get an idea of their problems and needs, and to observe the effect on their efforts of the reduction in the Estimates.

As this is a national question and is in no sense a Party one, the Dominion President has expressed the hope that, if after study and discussion our Commands and Branches feel that the accompanying letter to the Prime Minister reflects their opinion, they will advise Dominion Command and take steps to educate public opinion in their communities, especially as to the necessity for a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Defence. General Price also hopes that in carrying out the constitutional policies respecting Defence (see Part I, Principles and Policy, of the Legion Constitution), the Legion shall become a factor in avoiding past mistakes and thus make a great contribution to the welfare of Canada and the democratic way of life.



The Legion Chief

LETTER TO P. M.

The Dominion President's letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King reads as follows:—

Ottawa, Ont.,
March 28, 1947,

Dear Prime Minister:

The problem of adequate national defence has again become a matter of concern to the Canadian Legion. One of the Principles and Objects of our Constitution lays down "The Maintenance of Adequate and Efficient Armed Forces" by Canada, and at our Dominion Convention, held in Quebec City in May, 1946, the following resolutions were adopted:

"PEACETIME MILITARY SERVICE —

RESOLVED that the Canadian Legion demands a national unified system of compulsory training for defence purposes based on the fact that their members have carried a large share of the burden during the last two wars and do not wish a third."

"CADET MOVEMENT —

BE IT RESOLVED that the Legion supports the idea of Cadet Movements and physical training in schools and urges the Federal Government to endeavour to provide uniformity throughout the various Provinces of Canada."

UNPREPAREDNESS

While these resolutions do not present a complete statement of the Legion's views on the subject of national defence, they nevertheless indicate that the Legion does not wish to see a return to either the kind of thinking that developed so rapidly after the termination of World War I or the shocking conditions of unpreparedness which resulted from it.

The recent reduction in the Estimates for the Armed Forces and the discussions which ensued were so reminiscent of the past that the Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion feels that special representations should now be made to the Government respecting adequate National Defence, both now and in the future.

You and the Government are well aware of the measures necessary to fight a modern war. There is already a tendency in the effort

(Continued on page 36)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273784

The Housing Enigma

"WE ARE GETTING NOWHERE"

By J. L. E. Price, M.E.I.C.
Chairman, Canadian Legion National Housing Committee

WITH the coming of spring, people in all walks of life are asking about the outlook for housing in 1947. The answer depends entirely on the point of view.

From the point of view of the more fortunate minority in the higher income bracket, the outlook is not too bad. Last year, at least 80 per cent of all of the manpower and materials which could be devoted to housing went to create living accommodation for the minority in the higher income bracket and the way things stand now, there is every likelihood that the same thing will happen again this year.

POOR OUTLOOK

From the point of view of the less fortunate majority in the low income bracket, the outlook is not so good. Less than 20 per cent of the 60,000 living units, which according to government, were built and occupied last year were made available within the means of the average man of low income, and here again, the way things stand now the same thing is likely to happen in 1947.

From the point of view of the public-spirited citizen who is concerned at the extent to which dissatisfaction on the score of housing is adversely influencing the thinking of so many people at this time, the outlook is disconcerting. Failure on the part of all concerned to find a workable solution for the problem of providing adequate shelter for families of low income is continuing to create unprecedented dissatisfaction and resentment, not only on the part of veterans but on the part of labour generally, and the subversively inclined in the political field are taking full advantages of this unrest.



Jack Price

THE MAIN TROUBLE

It is plainly to be seen that the main trouble lies in the fact that we in this country are trying to reverse the normal order of things by attempting to solve our national housing problem altogether more from the top down than from the bottom up.

Events are going to show conclusively that the housing problem cannot be solved without resorting to new ways and means. Just as the weapons of World War I proved to be inadequate to cope with the new conditions encountered in World War II, so it is proving to be the case that the provisions of the National Housing Act, as presently constituted, are inadequate to cope with the new conditions with which we are now confronted where housing is concerned. No longer can the housing problem be regarded as one susceptible of solution on a purely economic basis, without regard for the human values involved.

SACRIFICES NECESSARY

It is obvious that some sacrifices will have to be made in order to provide shelter for those in the low income category. Why not realistically and boldly face the situation by making those sacrifices now, rather than go on running the risks involved in continuing to evade the ultimate issue which every thinking person knows to be inevitable?

The time for action is **now**, not when it is too late.

In the opinion of the writer, the patience displayed by the Legion up to this time has been justified by the hope that Government really meant to stop tinkering with the low cost housing problem and bring out a bold, realistic, practical plan to start the problem on the way to a successful conclusion.

So far, there is no real indication that Government intends to do more than just go on tinkering through still another building season, regardless of the suffering and disruption of family life which this will entail, and regardless of the effect it is likely to have in influencing the future economy of the Dominion in a political sense.

LAST-DITCH FIGHT

Frankly, it is beginning to be the personal belief of the writer that instead of taking the bit in its teeth and really doing something about the inescapable problem of minimum cost shelter, the Government is concentrating its every effort on a last-ditch fight to preserve the 4½ per cent interest rate to the borrower now obtaining under Part 1 of the National Housing Act.

It is obvious that the time has come when the National Housing Committee of the Legion has to de-

(Concluded at foot of next col.)

C 273785

THE END OF AN EPIC

* * *

The Final Windup of Legion War Services

By Lieut.-Col. D. E. Macintyre, D.S.O., M.C.
General Manager, C.L.W.S.

NOW that the life of the Legion's wartime subsidiary, Canadian Legion War Services, has come to an end officially, its accounts audited and the office premises at 158 Sparks Street, Ottawa, vacated, it might not be out of place to review some of the highlights of its activities.

Organized in September, 1939, to give direction to the Legion's war effort with the Armed Services, it continued to serve the men and women of the Forces in Canada until 30th June, 1946, and in the United Kingdom until 30th September, 1946. The last of our Supervisors serving on board troop and hospital ships did not relinquish his duties until the end of the year.

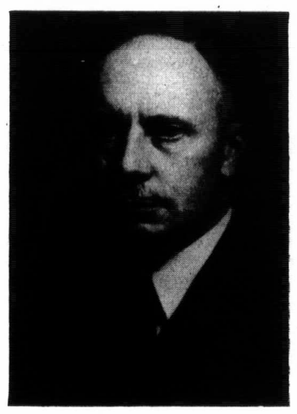
FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES

During those seven years the operations of C.L.W.S. reached such proportions and spread to such distant fields as could hardly have been contemplated by its founders. Nevertheless, the fundamental policies laid down by the original Directors have demonstrated that their original conception was sound, that is, that the veterans of the First World War had an understanding of the fighting man's mentality and requirements which was unequalled by any other group of people. From the very beginning the Legion emphasized the fact that the soldier was a citizen temporarily in uniform who must be properly re-established at the termination of the struggle with the least possible delay.

Our first printed brochure, issued in October, 1939, put the emphasis on such features as Personal Services (including rehabilitation) and Education (to fit men for civil life).

Its slogan for the 1940 financial campaign was, "Help Plan His Tomorrow—Today".

Other activities of which C.L.W.S. supplied its full share included Sports, Entertainment, Concert Parties, Movies, Canteens, Hostels and Clubs. All these things contributed in no small degree to the comfort and morale of the Fighting Forces, but they were operated not so much as a means in themselves as a point of contact with the men.



Colonel Macintyre

BOREDOM DEFEATED

We are justly proud of our efforts in providing clean, attractive surroundings and services for the leisure time of our men in uniform. We believe that by these means boredom was to a large extent defeated, and interest in making progress in the Services and in eventual re-establishment was quickened in the minds of thousands. There can be no doubt that, during the long and tiresome period of waiting between 1939 and 1943, the Auxiliary Services generally made a valuable contribution toward the maintenance of morale. In fact, the Army Commander, and many other senior officers in all the Services, have been glad to admit this fact.

If there were any officers or men who doubted the value of Auxiliary Services during the training period, their doubts must have been dispelled when we at last invaded Europe by way of Sicily and our Supervisors went ashore with the troops in the assault boats. From that point onward, the familiar Legion crest was seen on every battlefront in Europe and even as far distant as Africa, India and Burma.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The provision of Education was an ambitious program developed by a special committee of C.L.W.S. and known as "Canadian Legion Educational Services". The program furnished education on every level from the teaching of illiterates to courses in universities. The idea of supplying education by means of study groups, libraries and correspondence courses to men on active service during the course of the war originated with the Legion, but space does not permit nor am I capable of writing, a detailed report on this phase of our

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273786



ON THE ROAD TO HEALTH

A group of D.V.A. patients start on bicycles cross-county in British Columbia. These convalescent veterans get the kind of medical care that's designed to put them back on their feet as healthy, fit Canadians. Lots of fresh air and outside activities help. (Photo by W. G. Grant.)

work. However, I became very familiar with it through my close association with its directors and field staff. Sufficient to say that, due to the efforts of this committee and regional committees of volunteers, assisted by hundreds of teachers in and out of the Forces, thousands of servicemen were enabled to make advancement in their particular branch of the Service, and other thousands secured credits while still in uniform that assisted them materially on returning to civil life.

PERSONAL SERVICES

In the field of Personal Services our Supervisors — every one of them a veteran — were able to give information and advice in countless thousands of cases. If he could not solve the problem on the spot, the Legion Supervisor knew that there stood back of him an organization of 1,200 Branches in Canada which made possible the extension of help and the prosecution of inquiries on a very wide scale. This type of service is by nature confidential and never received the publicity accorded to more spectacular activities, but it was one of the most useful, and in fact was the corner-stone on which C.L.W.S. was organized.

WELCOME HOME PROGRAM

Stemming from our policy of giving Personal Services was our Welcome Home program. Inaugurated in 1940 in Montreal, it soon spread all over Canada and was regarded as a typical Legion activity. Every homecoming ship that docked in Canada was met by our Supervisors and their committees of voluntary Legionettes with a welcome and a gift. In New York, the Canadian Legion Post was most helpful in this regard. Our ambition was to meet every troop train at all important divisional points across Canada, and this ambition was always realized, except in a few cases where information on train movements was not made available by the authorities.

STAGE SHOWS

The provision of live stage shows was made the special task of C.L.W.S. Overseas, and a considerable organization was developed in London for the production of shows and the training and costuming of concert parties. At the height of our activities, we had thirty-five stage shows on tour in the United Kingdom and Continental Europe. The difficulties of securing talent, costumes and musical instruments were very real, but somehow or other they were overcome.

In 1945, the Department of National Defence and C.L.W.S. co-operated in organizing an overseas tour of nine amateur Concert Parties of high calibre. Six of these were sponsored by wealthy Canadian firms, while the others, including the Legion All-Stars, operated on their own resources.

MOVING PICTURES

In the Moving Picture field, we did our share along with the other three National Organizations — the Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army and Knights of Columbus. Accurate statistics were never possible, but our records show that over 38,000,000 admittances were given to our film entertainment. Those who served in Canada, Newfoundland, Italy, Northwest Europe, in the remote areas of Northern Scotland and Ireland, and on our Canadian war ships, know that our film shows were a welcome regular feature.

SERVICE CLUBS

Probably nothing we did made more friends than our chain of service clubs in Canada, Europe and India. These were especially welcome overseas where men came straight from the mud of battle, the strain of bombing sorties over enemy territory, or the long, weary watches on the Atlantic, to find a welcome from a gracious hostess, and a hot bath, clean bed and good food. We endeavoured to give these places a Canadian atmosphere by shipping many tons of Canadian foods to them each month. The proof of their popularity could be seen in the daily queues awaiting registration and in the thousands of letters requesting reservations.

MOBILE CANTEENS

Our Mobile Canteens disbursed free tea and biscuits everywhere in

C 273787

Europe where the Canadian Army served and at several points in Canada. It was not an uncommon sight to see these canteens up as close to the fighting line as they were permitted to go and they often operated under shell-fire.

Free writing paper was given away in large quantities — nearly 140,000,000 sheets of it, with envelopes to match. As for cigarettes, apart from those which were sold in canteens and clubs, we distributed nearly 125,000,000 free to the troops.

This is neither a financial nor a statistical report, but it is difficult to convey certain facts without quoting figures, so I shall use them sparingly. Later, our audited financial statement will be published as widely as possible.

DISPOSAL OF ASSETS

At the conclusion of operations we disposed of our assets. The policy on which we worked was to turn over to the Navy, the Army and the Air Force the furniture and equipment "in situ" if it was requested by them. We were glad to co-operate with them in their peacetime training program and transferred without cost approximately $223,000 worth of chattels to the three Services. In addition, we gave them our camp huts in Aldershot, N.S., Debert, N.S., Valcartier, P.Q., Petawawa, Ont., Camp Borden, Ont., Barriefield, Ont., Calgary, Alta, and Nanaimo, B.C.

We also turned over to the Department of Veterans Affairs, for use in their hospitals, about $40,250 worth of furniture and equipment.

The remainder of our assets were sold, giving priority to Legion Branches and Commands, who secured much needed furniture, projectors, etc., for a total of $65,668.68 (approx.) — a price which represented a very considerable saving to them. Legion Branches from coast to coast also had the opportunity of purchasing buildings at North Sydney, N.S., Mulgrave, N.S., Moncton, N.B., Vancouver, B.C., Kamloops, B.C., Vernon, B.C., Edmonton, Alta., Clear Lake, Man. and Mossbank, Sask. All these buildings were acquired by Branches at substantial reductions from cost.

Our Welcome Home huts at Moncton, N.B., and Levis, P.Q., were sold to the Red Cross Society, and our headquarters at Halifax was sold to a private individual after the Provincial Command of Nova Scotia had signified that they were not in the market for it.



MAY, 1945

This month two years ago saw the collapse and surrender of Hitler's armies and last hopes — the VOLKSTURM (home-guards). Some of them were fanatically tough to wrinkle out, but usually quit when their ammo was all used up.

OVERSEAS ASSETS

The situation overseas was entirely different. On the one hand, a great scarcity of goods existed and, on the other, there were no Legion Branches or Canadian Government departments with needs to satisfy. These conditions worked to our advantage as we sold our materials on the open market and secured very favourable prices.

By the end of 1946 we had realized a grand total of $700,746.14 from the sale of our assets in Canada and Overseas. This sum is being held in trust.

All assets are now sold, with the exception of one property in Ottawa, which has been used as headquarters for Canadian Legion Educational Services. It is hoped, however, that very soon a sale of these premises will also have been consummated.

CANTEENS

In November, 1939, the Canadian Legion joined with the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and the Y.M.C.A. in signing an agreement with the Minister of National Defence by which we undertook to perform certain services and to ac-

(Continued on page 36)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"Operation Fitness"

By George C. Machum

Chairman, Legion National Sports Committee

IT is encouraging to see the way the Legion in most of the provinces is entering into the field of sport promotion, and especially gratifying to note that the provincial committees are following a two-way program — sport for Legion members and sport for the youth of their communities. While the first part of the program is very desirable and serves as a means of keeping the members together, I believe all of us will agree that the second part is the field in which the Legion will find the widest and most interesting activity and play a most essential and useful role.

Every veteran knows the value of physical fitness. The high tempo and intensive action of the battle front and all that goes with active service demands condition and that extra stamina that comes from training and regular living. Every veteran ought to be interested in promoting physical fitness throughout our population, not in preparation for another war, but just in order to live usefully, to be able to stay on the job, and to enjoy life as it was meant to be enjoyed.



Colonel Machum

BIG DIVIDENDS

Sport is a body-builder. Taken in proper doses it will pay big dividends in better health and increased enjoyment of life. What greater task could the Legion set itself than to make a worth-while contribution to the health of the nation? We have been privileged to serve our country in time of need, but that need did not disappear with the uniform. We jumped in and gave something when the call came, but there is another call now and it asks us to do all we can to raise the physical standard of the nation.

We can look back with pride on the record of the 1,000,000 men and women in uniform between 1939 and 1945. Their deeds will live forever. But there is another side of the picture that we can only look at with consternation — the picture of nearly as many volunteers turned away from the recruiting offices as unable to meet the required physical standards. It is no satisfaction to know that other countries experienced the same or worse; we are thinking of Canada, and Canada's future is our concern.

Let us accept this challenge and set our minds to work together on this new task — "OPERATION FITNESS".

It is a two-fold job — educational and practical. We must first help to instil into the minds of the youth of the country the desire and determination to be fitter. There is much apathy abroad in the land, and it may take a bit of dynamite to blast some people out of its clutches, but it can be done. We must make the youth of our country sport-minded; we must make them become participators instead of spectators.

FACILITIES & EQUIPMENT

On the practical side comes the task of providing the facilities and the equipment to take care of broader participation. Many communities are notably deficient in playground space for summer sport and halls for winter indoor activity. In many poorer sections the funds for equipment are entirely lacking.

The Canadian Legion can swing into action on this two-fold task. We should do it. We ought to make definite plans to play our part in "Operation Fitness". The National Physical Fitness Council, from its headquarters in Ottawa, will send out blue-prints for the improvement of the physical standards of the nation, but it cannot provide the personnel to carry out these plans in the thousands of communities that make up the Dominion. The Legion is in practically every community. It can contribute something worthwhile towards the achievement of this worthy objective. The Legion can preach "fitness" at every opportunity. It can reach down to the youngsters in every area, lift them out of their apathy and start them on the road to better health.

LEGION LEADERSHIP

The Legion can go to bat with municipal, provincial and federal authorities for the provision of more playing space in summer, for community halls to take care of the idle hours in winter. It can provide from among its members many qualified leaders and coaches. It can set up trophies and prizes to help arouse interest. It can become one of the greatest influences in the country in the field of sport and beneficial recreation. In this way the whole membership will be drawn more closely together in service to the nation, at the same time providing an outlet for the enthusiastic energy of our powerful organization.

"Operation Fitness" is a big show, but it is just the kind of thing we ought to welcome — a real test of our unity and ability, a chance to show again, as in 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, that we have what it takes.

There are, of course, a large number of organizations already engaged in the promotion of sport and doing excellent work. It is not proposed that the Legion should replace them — let alone compete with them — but that we should take up the slack by rendering every assistance possible to existing groups and by jumping in and starting things ourselves where no leadership is now evident. Thus we would insure that in time there would be no community in the country without some sport program.

FIELD SPORTS

In most places certain sports are well organized — hockey, baseball, basketball, softball, skiing, etc. — but usually it is the same group that goes in for all sports in their seasons. It is among the backward youngsters that there is need of help. It is suggested here that much more attention should be given to track and field sports. Every boy can run and jump a little. Cross country races, road races, etc., are easy to organize and will bring out many entries. Everyone can try and need not be expert. Bicycling, gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, speed-skating, swimming, paddling, rowing, camping—these are all healthy activities that ought to be encouraged to the maximum. There is plenty of room in every community for broad expansion in sport without encroaching on the present active sport groups.

As National Chairman of the Legion's Committee on Sport, I want to congratulate those provincial commands which have taken up the challenge. The programs already organized among Legion members across the country are going to be a great help to Legion prestige. I just want to urge that we keep in mind always the need of helping the under-privileged youngsters in every community — kids who will never get a chance to make anything out of themselves in sport unless someone gives them a hand up.

A CHAMPION

Our Governor-General and Grand Patron of the Canadian Legion, Viscount Alexander, has lost no time in demonstrating his great interest in sport. He is a former mile champion of Ireland (1914) and would have gone to the Olympic Games for Britain in 1916 had not the Kaiser spilled the beans. In my office now I have "The Viscount Alexander Trophy" which will be presented this coming November to the outstanding *junior* amateur athlete of the year in Canada. This ought to stimulate competition across Canada through the coming months, and should become one of the most sought-after prizes ever offered in the Dominion. Every branch of the Legion should be interested in this award and start planning now to get it for their community. Give the kids a chance, comrades!

HERBIE — BACK ON CIVVIE STREET



Cartoon by Bing Coughlin

"Stop squawkin' — you always wanted to travel by water, didn't you?"

Pretty Bad

The soldier playing left end on the camp football team missed four easy passes. At half time he explained to the athletic officer, "I guess I'll have to get some glasses."

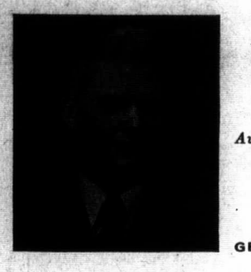
"Glasses!" roared the officer. "You're too far gone for glasses! What you need is radar!"

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273790



Our Legion

Authoritative Information from Headquarters Concerning Legion Policies and Activities

By J. C. G. Herwig

GENERAL SECRETARY, THE CANADIAN LEGION

Legion Achievements In War And Peace

THE other day one of the boys in the Dominion Command office overheard a conversation in the street car between two veterans. One was a new Legion member, the other unattached. The latter was asked by his friend why he hadn't joined the Legion. "Why", he replied, "should I spend four or five dollars a year to belong to an outfit I don't know anything about. What do they do for me, or for anyone for that matter? I'm not throwing my money away." His companion, the new Legion member, didn't seem to know just how to reply to that line of argument, which made me wonder how many other new members might find themselves in the same fix; and so, that little conversation on an Ottawa street car set me off writing this month about Legion accomplishments in war and peace.

21 YEARS OF SERVICE

A review of Legion accomplishments must necessarily cover the past 21 years or so. By entering the Canadian scene in 1926 it accomplished unity among the largest number of the then existing veteran organizations. The effectiveness of unity has been demonstrated by the great progress made not only by the Legion itself but in respect to veterans' affairs generally. From its inception the Legion became the national mouthpiece for all who have served in Canada's Armed Forces.

A FIRST CHARGE

What has been accomplished for veterans of the First Great War would be too long a story to tell in detail here, but, having achieved a substantial measure of unity, the Legion entered the rehabilitation field wholeheartedly. The disabled and bereft being a first charge upon the Legion, efforts were concentrated upon the Pension Act and Treatment Regulations. To bring about satisfactory conditions in these fields required constant vigilance and the maintenance of satisfactory machinery for securing the necessary data. The establishment of Dominion Headquarters Service Bureau and other bureaux in the provinces was designed to meet this need. Individual cases were sent in by Branches, and, in seeking individual adjustments, material was secured to define legislative proposals and to provide the evidence to establish both the worthiness and the soundness of the amendments to the Pension Act or treatment regulations we sought. The excellent quality of the work accomplished is reflected in the large number of beneficial amendments to veteran legislation during the past twenty years. The maintenance and results of this work undoubtedly led the way to the establishment of the Veterans' Bureau, an independent Branch of the Department of Veterans' Affairs, whose sole function is the preparation and presentation of pension claims and appeals on behalf of veterans.

THE PENSION ACT

The present Pension Act, in the form in which it is available for veterans of World War II, would hardly have been so comprehensive or so generous had it not been for the Legion's vigilance and pressure. Canada's pension rates are among the highest in the world, while the treatment of widows and orphans compares favourably with the United States. This aspect of



THE OLD AND THE NEW

Symbolising a development which is taking place in a good many Legion Branches these days, this photo shows, left, William McGregor, veteran of the First Great War, handing over the presidency of the Canadian Legion Branch at Dunville, Ont., to his newly-elected successor, Gordon Armishaw, a young veteran of the Second Great War. (Photo by Harold B. Stewart)

C 273791

Legion work must be carried on by experts. It is a continuous story the records of which can be found in the proceedings of successive Parliamentary Committees on Veterans' Affairs ever since 1919, if the efforts of the organizations that existed at that time and now make up the Legion are included.

In every town, village or hamlet throughout the country the results of this work are known, and Legion service to individuals and to veterans collectively is an accomplishment which, if written in terms of cash alone, would involve many millions of dollars, spread over the thousands of communities where disabled veterans and their dependents reside.

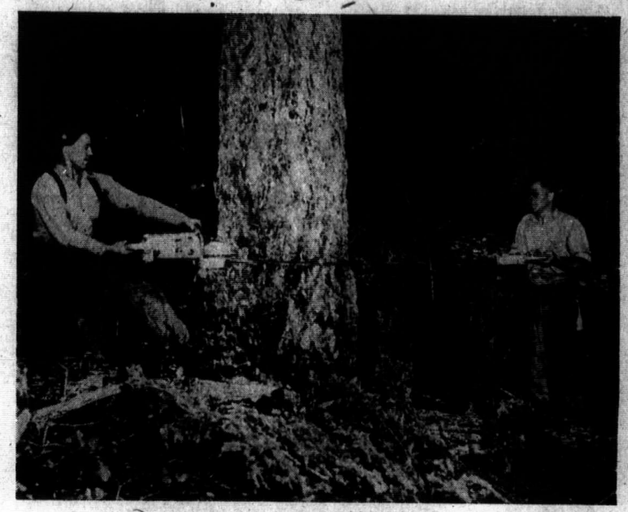
THE DEPRESSION

During the "Hungry Thirties" the Legion played a great part in bringing to light the plight of veterans caught in the depression and succeeded in securing the establishment of a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Colonel J. G. Rattray, a past president of the Ottawa Branch. One of the Commissioners was Bob Macnicol, Provincial Secretary of our B.C. Command. The carrying out of the recommendations of this Commission assisted many thousands of out-of-work veterans to weather the depression years.

CIVIL SERVICE JOBS

Throughout its existence the Legion has performed extremely valuable work in connection with the administration of the veterans' statutory preference contained in the Civil Service Act. Legion representatives attend examining boards to protect the interests of veteran applicants, and the Legion has actively participated in the defence of the preference wherever it has been attacked in Parliament or whenever Bills have been presented to modify or do away with the preference. Many ex-service men owe their rehabilitation in the Civil Service to this Legion activity.

When war was threatening in 1938-39 the Legion, anticipating the need for some protection at home, made a survey of veterans who were willing again to volunteer for service. The problem as we saw it at that time called for local protective measures against possible enemy sabotage or infiltration. More than 80,000 veterans were listed with the Legion, and, later, this effort justified a request to the Government that some provision should be made for veterans of the First World War to again serve in the Armed Forces in World War II. This led to the formation of The Veterans' Guard of Canada, which during the war reached a total strength of 10,000.



A TRICKY TRADE

Veterans learning to be power-saw operators under Canadian Vocational Training in British Columbia get to work on a sturdy portion of the forest as part of training for their tricky trade. (Photo by W. G. Grant.)

DOMINION COMMAND OFFERS $1,000 IN PRIZES FOR LEGION MARCH

In order to carry out a mandate of the Quebec Convention, the Dominion Command is sponsoring a competition for a LEGION MARCH.

The competition opened May 1 and closes July 31. Prizes of $500, $300 and $200 for the three best entries are being offered. The competition is open to all.

The Legion is looking for a march that can later be used with appropriate words as a song. Complete orchestral arrangement will not be necessary, but the melody should have a piano accompaniment with a minimum of at least 32 bars.

Arrangements have been made with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to include a number of the final selections in programs over a national hook-up.

To cut the administrative work of the competition to a minimum, regional judges will be appointed in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. They will screen the entries from their areas, and their selections will in turn be adjudicated by a final board of judges set up by Dominion Command.

Legion Provincial Secretaries will receive the entries for their province and hold them in safe-keeping until the closing date, July 1.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273792

WORLD WAR II

When the Second Great War broke out in 1939 the Legion decided that as a national organization it ought to play an active part in building up and maintaining the morale of our fighting forces. While the whole resources of the organization were placed in the hands of the Government for war purposes, it was felt that two main activities might be undertaken by the Legion to particularly good advantage, both for the benefit of the Armed Forces and for the individual Servicemen and women. The first was to provide a system of education that could be developed during spare time; the second was to provide auxiliary services in the form of entertainment, sports and canteens. It was also felt that by utilizing the unique facilities of the Legion for dealing with individual cases, a specialty could be made of providing personal services to individuals in the Armed Forces that could not be supplied through any other source.

C.L.W.S. & C.L.E.S.

In order to carry out these objectives the Legion established a subsidiary under the title "Canadian Legion War Services, Incorporated," which contained a special department known as "Canadian Legion Educational Services." While the Legion shared with other organizations the field of sports, entertainment, canteens, etc., it developed almost exclusively the educational and personal services features of its wartime program.

These were very large undertakings, involving the expenditure of several millions of dollars. The funds were originally raised by appeals to the general public but later were made available by the Government, which was anxious to avoid further public campaigns for funds during the period of the war. It is impossible to describe in detail these important undertakings, but many thousands of Canadian veterans can attest to the great services rendered to them personally by the Legion during their period of service with the Armed Forces, both in Canada and overseas.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT

With the experience gained during the post-war years of World War I behind it, it was natural that the Legion should play a major role in the development of the rehabilitation program for veterans of World War II. The first comprehensive expression of views on this subject was given at the 1940 Dominion Convention of the Legion, held in Montreal. Almost all the present rehabilitation measures were recommended in principle by that Convention. It is natural, therefore, that the Legion should have followed closely the development of the Government's rehabilitation program and that it should have played its part in bringing it to its present statutory form.



Cartoon by Tingley

A review of the Dominion President's reports to Conventions held during the war years, and the resolutions adopted at those Conventions, will indicate how each of the alternative rehabilitation measures was influenced by the Legion. Truly, the Legion can count, at least in some considerable part, the present rehabilitation program as one of its major accomplishments. It was largely conceived by veterans of the First World War. The influence of veterans of the Second World War began to take shape towards the end of the war, when the Armed Forces established special rehabilitation units and sent representatives to the various inter-departmental advisory committees endeavouring to set up proposals in such form as would be acceptable to the Government and the legislators.

The 1946 Parliamentary Committee on Veterans' Affairs finalized all the different measures in legislative form and the Legion now concentrates its attention on administrative aspects of the program and has resumed its traditional function of veterans' watchdog in respect to the actual carrying out of the various measures that have been passed for their benefit.

RENT CONTROL

With the sudden ending of the war many urgent problems have developed, one of the most important being housing. As early as 1941 the Legion was dealing with the problem of rising rents and advocated the introduction of some sort of control. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board then developed a rentals policy which called for the setting up of local rental control bodies in areas where congestion was heaviest. This was commenced on an experimental basis in centres like Ottawa, Halifax and Toronto. Pressure was placed upon Dominion Command to provide a member for the Ottawa Board to assist in establishing rent control, and the writer, who was asked to accept this responsibility, spent three evenings a week helping to deal with the large number of cases that came up for adjudication. There is no doubt that the common sense approach adopted by the Rental Control Board in Ottawa encouraged the Government to extend the control to other parts of Canada. The effect of these controls was to freeze tenants in theirs homes at a rental level as at a standard date in 1940, and these controls have been maintained until the change in policy announced by the Government last month.

EMERGENCY HOUSING

As the war years proceeded and congestion became more acute, the question of emergency housing developed. Legion pressure on behalf of dependents of men serving overseas undoubtedly resulted in the measures passed to prevent their eviction. As everyone knows, the situation became even more acute when demobilization began, and the Legion has played its part, both nationally and locally, in bringing about measures to deal more adequately with emergency shelter as the problem has been developing.

C 273793

LONG-TERM HOUSING

In addition to this, the Legion has been pressing for a long-term housing plan to take care of veterans in the low-income brackets, thousands of whom are living under the worst kind of crowded conditions. Without question the Legion's influence helped to bring about the development of Wartime Housing for veterans, and the establishment of a central housing body in the Department of Reconstruction, known as "The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation", which has been developing additional housing plans, such as Housing Enterprises and Integrated Housing. While it is recognized that Canada's housing problem can hardly be solved within a five-year period, it is certain that Legion influence, enhanced by the creation of a Dominion Command National Housing Committee, has brought about many changes in policy, federally, provincially and locally. Therefore, an effective housing activity on the part of the Legion can be counted among its many accomplishments.

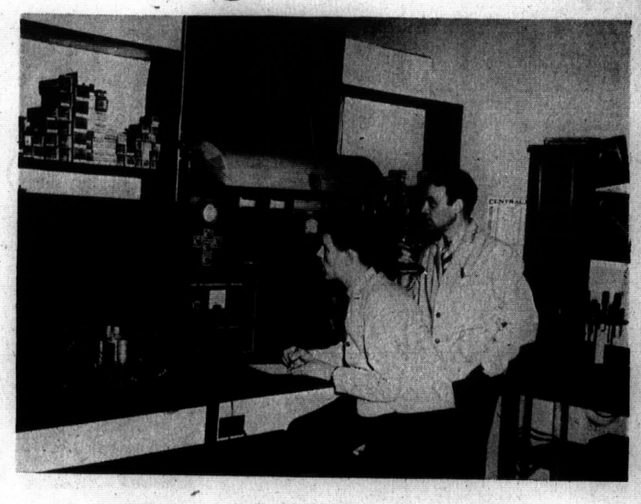
INCREASED MEMBERSHIP

In the field of organization the Legion has progressed tremendously. Thousands of new members have been added to the rolls and large numbers of new Branches are being added each month. The total strength now stands at 2,436 Commands, Branches and Auxiliaries, with a fully paid-up membership of 218,584, and close to 300,000, if those who for various reasons are in arrears but are still active members, are included.

It is quite an accomplishment to be able to marshal the opinion of such a large number of ex-service men for effective dealing with the problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction as they affect the veteran body, but in addition to this the Legion can point to other accomplishments in the way of influencing national policies. Its stand regarding a "total war effort" for Canada undoubtedly produced practical results, both in respect to aiding the Government to bring about wartime controls affecting manpower and industry, and eventually in respect to the use of N.R.M.A. personnel for reinforcements to the army overseas.

HIGHLIGHTS ONLY

In this brief outline of Legion accomplishments only the most important issues have been referred to. A detailed story of all that the Legion has accomplished throughout the years would require a very large volume, but enough has been said to indicate how far-reaching Legion influence and activities are in behalf of both the veteran body and the nation at large. The writer hopes that this account may be of some help to new members when, like our friend in the street car, they are asked by their pals why they should join the Legion.



VETERANS LAUNCH RADIO SERVICE SHOP

Two veterans in business, Darrel Pringle, left, and Jimmy Saville, are shown in their radio service shop in Victoria, B.C. They are discussing their signal generator testing equipment. (Photo by W. G. Grant)

This Month's Cover

THE striking picture on our front cover is the work of former Navy P. R. O. Photographer Roy Leblanc, now with the Croton Photo Service of New Westminster, B.C., an all-veterans establishment.

The "Old Sweat" with the handsome beard is Harry Unwin, of Newton, B.C., London-born member of the Canadian Engineers in the First Great War in which he served a near-five-year stretch in Canada, England, France, Belgium and Germany.

Now 70, but still full of vitality, Mr. Unwin took up land in the Fraser Valley on his return to Canada in August, 1919, and, like most things he has tackled, made a success of farming. Veterans' welfare is another of his favourite activities, and during his long Legion membership he has aided more than one baffled young buck.

Looking Ahead

"What made you decide to put off your wedding by two days?"

"Well, you see, I figured it out that my silver wedding would come on a Saturday, and I always play golf on Saturdays."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273794

EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

EDUCATION IS THE TRUEST AND MOST WHOLESOME MEANS OF PROMOTING HARMONY IN THE STATE
— Aristotle

By Wilfrid Bovey

Dominion Honorary Counsellor on Education
Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L.



THE new Canadian Citizenship Act not only crystallized an idea which was in all our minds, the idea of Canadianism, but made us think more of one of our greatest problems — What exactly is this Canada? A very easy answer is to say that Canada is the state created by the British North America Act. But if we think a little more we see that the British North America Act, a piece of paper, could not create anything; it could only state as law the will of the leaders who brought about its passage and believed that they in turn were expressing the wishes of most of the population.

THE B. N. A. ACT

Let us go a step further. A purely legal mind considering the B.N.A. Act thinks of it as an enactment of the British Parliament. Literally, as has been pointed out a hundred times, the Act was not the expression of the will of the people of Canada in the same way as a French Constitution expresses, or is supposed to express, the will of the people of France; it expressed the will of the British Parliament. But the underlying truth was quite different. The British Parliament enacted the B.N.A. Act, as we know, without interest or discussion, just as it would pass an amendment to the B.N.A. Act today; the bill had been framed by the political leaders of Canada — so let them have it; that was the British attitude. Probably not half the M.P.'s knew what it was all about.

* * *

What was it all about? What kind of state did the Fathers of Confederation mean to set up? We can be quite sure of this—that the Act was not intended to create a unitary state. Sir John A. Macdonald said in 1864:—

In framing the constitution, care should be taken to avoid the mistakes and weaknesses of the United States' system, the primary error of which was the reservation to the different states of all powers not delegated to the general government. We must reverse this process by establishing a strong central government to which shall belong all powers not specially conferred on the Provinces. Canada, in my opinion, is better off as she stands than she would be as a member of a confederacy composed of five sovereign states, which would be the result if the powers of the local Government were not defined. A strong central Government is indispensable to the success of the experiment we are trying."

In spite of the emphasis on a "strong central government" it is clear that the choice of a federal rather than a legislative union must have meant something. It was evidently never intended that the central government should be all-powerful, nor that it should enter at will into the provincial spheres of action. Prof. R. G. Trotter, the leading student of the subject, says:—

FEDERALIZATION

"Cartier and his followers realized their strength too well to think now of surrendering their advantage and accepting a legislative union which would ensure English-speaking ascendency. Federalisation, on the other hand, would leave French Canada free to maintain and develop her individuality. The inclusion of the Maritime Provinces in the federation was desired by the ministerialists in Lower Canada for a similar reason; it would create minority groups in the central government not unlikely to co-operate with Lower Canada in resisting Upper Canadian aggressiveness. In the Maritime Provinces themselves so strong was the local feeling that, as we shall see, serious opposition was encountered there to the acceptance of federation; a proposal for legislative union would almost certainly have met defeat."

THE PRESENT POSITION

What are we to make of the position in 1947?

It is perhaps unfortunate that most of the pronouncements made by Canadians as to Dominion-Provincial relations under the B.N.A. Act have been made by legal authorities who are also politicians and almost bound subconsciously to think of their own axes. On the other hand the British Privy Council, with no axe to grind, has been thoroughly inconsistent when faced with Dominion Provincial problems. It is perhaps worth noting that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a court, and is not bound by its own decisions or by principles involved in those decisions. It has always seemed to consider itself as having some remnant of its old governmental responsibilities. For one

C 273795

period, 1912 to 1929, under the leadership of Lord Haldane, the Privy Council took the view that there must be no extension of the authority of the Dominion beyond the strict letter of the law as they saw it. Then came a period (during which the radio and aviation questions were decided) when the Privy Council, then led by Lord Sankey, completely changed its views and undertook to strengthen our central government. When Lord Sankey retired, the Privy Council swung back to the Haldane ideas. Now it has again gone in the other direction.

TOOL, NOT FETTER

We must do better. We must not get bogged down in controversy as to meanings of words or what people once meant them to mean: Our constitution is not our fetter; it is our tool. We must make it operate as we want it to operate in our present circumstances and our immediate future; not as somebody intended it to operate in 1867.

* * *

In 1867 Canada had no existence as an international entity. Times have changed and we have changed with them. The part Canada has played in two great wars, and the increase in its wealth have, despite the Big Four, enormously increased our international responsibilities and hence the responsibilities and therefore the importance of the Federal Government. International economic problems cannot be dealt with by provinces. The existence of a large group of veterans of two wars ensures that a much more considerable group of citizens think first of Canada and only second of any province. Finally, there is the revolutionary change wrought by modern communications and transportation. No longer need distance keep us apart — although many of us scarcely yet realize the fact.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS NECESSARY

On the other hand, in a country of such enormous spaces, second only to Soviet Russia in superficies, stretching nearly one third the way around the world in latitude and 47 degrees from North to South, with considerable differences in population origins, in outlook, in ways of life and in geographical and economic conditions, it can be quite well argued that if we had no local governments we should have to create them. Either Quebec or Ontario weighs more than did the whole of Canada at the time of Confederation. British Columbia and the Prairies are no longer distant outposts but strong self-conscious communities. It can thus be argued that the decentralization provided for by the B.N.A. Act is even more necessary now than it was in 1867. It is interesting in this connection to note that there was in Britain before the last war a project to create provinces — London, Mercia, Wessex, etc. — as well as to provide "Home Rule" for Scotland and Wales.

There are then two main schools of thought — one seeing the desirability for country-wide action in the solution of labour matters, and in economic as in strategic defence; the other school sees the need for a close view and control of local conditions. These views are not incompatible, although many of their upholders think they are.

* * *

The adjustment of Federal-Provincial relations must be approached with three main facts in mind. First, the B.N.A. Act was basically a Canadian Act and was supposed to express the wishes of the Canadian people. It should still express them. Second, whether the pre-confederation intentions of the provinces are or are not, as a matter of legal theory, to be read into the Act, a very large group of Canadians believe that we must seek for these intentions to understand how the Act should be interpreted. Third, we do not need to accept any particular legal viewpoint. We can follow the example of the Privy Council and make our Constitution operate as we want it to operate. If our judgment is to be a wise and final one we must reach it after much study and with much foresight. *Perhaps the answer is a paradox — that on the one hand the provinces may have all the autonomy they ever had, even a little more; that at the same time the federal government may be stronger in its own field, of which so great a part is new.*

A WORTH-WHILE TASK

One thing is certain, no group of citizens is better entitled or more solemnly bound to deal with this great question than is the Canadian Legion. There is a worthwhile task for our Committees on Education.



A NEW INDUSTRY

Three Lethbridge veterans who started a new industry in their city are, left to right, J. A. Jarvie, J. P. Walker and J. K. Williamson. They are shown standing about a car of newly molded cinderblocks which are about to be pushed into the curing shed behind them.
(Lethbridge Herald Photo by Lloyd Knight.)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273796



THE OBSERVATION POST

Comments and Observations on Legion and Veterans' Doings

* * *

By Douglas W. Smith
PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER, CANADIAN LEGION H.Q.

War Neurosis and Postwar Neurosis

"HMMMM . . . drunk and disorderly again, eh? This is the third time you have been before me and this time you have struck an officer of the law. What have you to say for yourself?" said the judge to the young veteran.

"I'm sorry, but I don't seem to remember anything, Your Honour," replied the young vet as he dazedly rubbed a hand across his throbbing head.

The judge gazed keenly at him for a brief few seconds. "I wish I knew what to do with you, but this time you have gone too far and I have no alternative but to sentence you to thirty days' imprisonment." To himself, aside, "Too bad, and he had such a brilliant war record."

And so the young man is led from the dock by a blue-uniformed policeman, to the back of the court, down steps to a waiting room from where he is hustled into a Black Maria bound for an iron-barred cell to pay his debt to society for breaking one of its codes.

Few people notice the little old lady in the back of the court who leaves by another entrance, quietly sobbing, "He was such a nice boy before he went overseas" Even his mother doesn't understand him any more.

"A drunken bum," muttered a disinterested spectator in the courthouse.

* * *

Perhaps you are right, Mr. Spectator, and again the chances are you are dead wrong. The war is over and scars of the body heal quickly, but just how many victims are wandering about unheeded, uncared for, with scars on their minds?

How many guys are there that aren't in a category to be classed as insane or even mild mental cases? I bet that if each and every veteran were to sit back and think and reminisce about all the guys in his old outfit, he could remember at least one who came out of the show just a little punchy or off centre, yet wasn't what you could call goofy.

The scientists have a name for it — "war neurosis". It covers the chaps who are borderline cases. If things go smoothly and their environment is pleasant they are perfectly normal, but if the sledding gets tough and worries pile up they just haven't got it up above to weather the storm. The next thing you know they get depressed or else go off half-cocked and do something foolish.

Yes, Mr. Spectator, a drunken bum perhaps — or else upset and damaged tissues of the brain. Great shocks received in war sometimes leave no visible defects, but the shattering of the little cells that make us love and hate, cry and laugh is often more subtly dangerous than an open, gaping wound that nature heals.

That shell which fell so close in the Hochwald, or the long weary nights near Cassino, with icy rain pouring down, when word came up the line that instead of a rest you would have to do a double shift because the blasted reinforcements hadn't arrived from Canada as promised . . . Just consider that for a moment.

Were you ever locked in the rear turret of a Wellington bomber, Mr. Spectator, when the controls were jammed and you were screaming towards the earth in a crash landing and each second seemed a lifetime? Think that over too, will you?

Were you ever asleep in the foc'sle of a corvette when suddenly a crash comes and the sea starts to pour into the ship, which takes a list and you scramble in total darkness through surging water up to your waist, up a gangway and into the sea to spend hours adrift on a raft in the numbing Atlantic? Have you ever thought what that might have done to YOU?

No, this isn't a case of a veteran sobbing on your shoulder and looking for pity; it is just a candid attempt to get at the root of the trouble. Fortunately, with well-laid rehabilitation plans and medical examinations, such cases are so far less frequent than after World War I, but the fact that they do exist throws upon us a social obligation to delve deeper into the problem.

The Returned Servicemen's League of Australia, which, like the Canadian Legion, is a constituent member-organization of the British Empire Service League, has taken this problem under its wing by opening a readjustment centre called a "worry clinic".

* * *

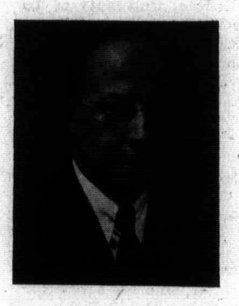
Now, on the other hand, let us forget for a moment "war neurosis" and think about another angle, that of "post-war neurosis", because there are enough mental hazards on our home front to drive many a good man off the straight and narrow.

A typical phone call to any Legion secretary runs like this: "For God's sake will you get me a house or a couple of rooms somewhere. My mother and my wife are at it night and day, and it's just driving me nuts. I tell you if something isn't done soon my marriage will be broken up."

Take the case of a young lad who married an English girl. For four years he had been painting this Canada of ours as a dreamland —

(Concluded at foot of next col.)

C 273797



THE HELPING HAND

Monthly Notes on the Great Humanitarian Work of the Dominion Service Bureau of the Canadian Legion

By Richard Hale
CHIEF PENSION OFFICER, THE CANADIAN LEGION

*

We who have trod the borderlands of death,
Where courage high walks hand in hand with fear,
Shall we not hearken what the Spirit saith:
"All ye were brothers there, be brothers here?"

Let us draw closer in these narrower years,
Before us still the eternal visions spread;
We who outmastered death and all its fears
Are one great army still, living and dead.

Legion Bureau Helps Canadian Seaman in U.S. Service

IT was June 21, 1942, and the U.S.S.S. *Alcoa Cadet* arrived at Murmansk, North Russia, along with the rest of a convoy after a rough passage of the Arctic seas. Suddenly there was a terrific explosion as the ship struck a mine, and in a few minutes she sank.

Among the crew of the ill-fated steamer was a Canadian seaman. He was severely burned on his face and hands, and suffered dislocation of several ribs; also, as a result of exposure in the icy water, he later developed bronchitis.

After a period in hospital in Russia and Scotland, the seaman was returned home to Canada and, in accordance with the regulations of the Maritime War Emergency Board of the U.S.A., the owners of the *Alcoa Cadet* paid him a total sum of $960 as compensation for the disability incurred. However, in 1944, being unable to resume his pre-war occupation, he applied to the Canadian Pension Commission for consideration and received the following reply:

TURNED DOWN

"The Commissioners have reviewed your application for a pension in respect of Chronic Bronchitis, Burns of Face and Hands, with Nervous Condition, but as you did not file your application within one year of the date on which you incurred these disabilities, your application is barred by Section 5 of Order-in-Council P.C. 104-3546, which reads: 'No pension shall be payable under these Regulations unless application is made therefor within one year after the occurrence of the death, or incurrence of the injury resulting in disability on account of which pension is claimed'."

It seemed pretty hopeless; and so this battered Canadian seaman, with the aid of a Legion Branch, secured light employment and tried to provide for his family which consisted of his wife and three children. In September, 1946, he decided to try once more as his health was very poor, and he wrote to the Dominion Service Bureau of the Legion. After a thorough inquiry into all the aspects of the case, the Bureau made very detailed representations to the Canadian Pension Commission under the Civilian War Pension and Allowances Act. It was emphasized that this seaman was in hospital overseas from June to September, 1942, and did not arrive in Canada until late in September, 1942. After that he was in receipt of a 100 per cent disability benefit from the Alcoa Steamship Company until March, 1943, and was then under the impression that he would be taken care of in future by this American company. In January, 1944, he did make an inquiry through the Canadian Department of Veterans' Affairs, and the Legion argued that, this being only nine months after he had ceased to receive compensation, it was only reasonable that he should receive consideration for his disabilities due to enemy action.

CLAIM ADMITTED

On March 18, 1947, the Canadian Pension Commission gave judgment admitting the claim and authorizing pension for chronic bronchitis, burns to face and hands, nervous condition and dislocation of ribs. Medical examination is now being carried out to determine the degree of disability and the amount of pension to be paid. This Canadian seaman, in simple language, wrote the Dominion Service Bureau of the Canadian Legion as follows: "I am at a loss for words to express my sincere thanks to you for your efforts in having effected such a favourable adjustment".

* * *

ANOTHER busy month was experienced by the Dominion Service Bureau in March, and the record of success was well maintained. A total of 98 pension claims

(Concluded on page 37)

I guess we all did a good deal of that overseas. She comes out here with her little child and, instead of the dream cottage, they have to hold up in one room with an electric grill and with six other families queuing up outside the bathroom. Many a marriage would have worked out all right if things had been at least normal but has cracked up due to these conditions.

From this you create a "post-war neurosis".

People who are disillusioned soon become easy prey for agitating elements.

There was once a little German Corporal who had "post-war neurosis". He ranted and raved for a long time and the world laughed at him.

I wish we hadn't done that.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273798

LEGION SPORTS



A Monthly Feature Designed to Encourage Healthful Sports Among Legion Members

By Fred Wooding

8,000 Attend Great Legion Track Meet In Montreal

AN indoor track meet in Canada has to be something big, both in the nature of the games on the card and in its spectacular appeal, to draw an attendance of more than 8,000 fans; but that's just what the Legion's annual Sports Parade, held under the auspices of the Quebec Command, accomplished recently in Montreal.

As an athletic event it was perhaps the most ambitious of its kind ever held in Canada, and the general consensus is that its success has brought about the greatest revival of interest in track and field sports the eastern part of the Dominion has ever known.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL PRESENT

The Montreal Forum, where big-time hockey, wrestling, boxing and other games are regular seasonal occurences. fairly lost its roof as the crowd, which was honoured by the presence of the Legion's Grand Patron, Viscount Alexander of Tunis, cheered the contestants in their outstanding achievements.

But no spectators present were more satisfied — or probably cheered more lustily — than Major-General C. B. Price, the Legion's Dominion President, Hugh M. Parry, President of the Quebec Command, and Lieut.-Col. George C. Machum, Chairman of the Legion's National Advisory Committee on Sports, all of whom saw in the Montreal show tangible evidence of the enthusiasm being injected into the Legion's long-range sponsorship of sports throughout Canada.

To Col. Machum, especially, it was a grand day, for it was his organizing genius, spontaneous keenness and deeply rooted conviction that sports are essential to the youth of this land that really made the Montreal show the success it was.

FAMOUS ATHLETES

Internationally famous athletes from New York University, Dartmouth College, University of Toronto, McGill University and Boston, as well as a girls' team from Cleveland coached by world-champion Stella Walsh, gave the fans every thrill that a track and field meet could provide.

There was Doreen Clough, for example, a youthful Montrealer, who defeated Stella Walsh in the 50-yard dash and thus became the new champion; there was "Flying Parson" Gil Dodds, who took the invitation mile, and there was Jimmy O'Brien, the University of Toronto sprinter, who set a new Canadian open record by polishing off the 50-yard dash at 5.4, a tenth of a second better than the old mark. And the fans will long remember the spectacular performance of New York University's Irving Mondschein, who defeated American champion John Vislocky in a jump that saw the bar notched to 6 feet 5½ inches.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

These were the highlights that brought the crowds to their feet time and time again and sent sports writers hurrying to their typewriters to spread the news throughout press and radio. The international recognition that was given the event as a result of the new records achieved and champions acclaimed, has since made



LEGION SALUTE FOR GREAT SOLDIER-ATHLETE

The colours of the Legion's Quebec Command are dipped here in salute to a distinguished comrade and all-round sportsman, Field-Marshal Alexander, at the great indoor track meet held by the Montreal Legion last month. From right to left, following the Governor-General, are Hugh M. Parry, President of the Quebec Command, and Major-General C. B. Price, the Dominion President. (Photo by Vic Davidson, The Gazette).

C 273799

many experts acknowledge that Canada can, and will, give a good account of herself at the forthcoming Olympic games. What can be accomplished by Canadians in other phases of sport has in the past been fairly well demonstrated — Barbara Ann Scott is a classic example — and we may be reasonably sure that before Olympic time the Legion, through its sports promotion, will find other new talent with the right stuff for world competitions.

"OPERATION FITNESS"

HOW the man does it we'll never know, but Colonel Machum, on top of all the other jobs headed on his shoulders, still finds time to do one more.

We refer you, troops, to the Colonel's very excellent piece in this issue of THE LEGIONARY entitled "Operation Fitness." This is recommended reading, for in it he has given a splendid interpretation of the aims underlying the Legion's sport promotion program and has set forth his own ideas on why sports are a necessary part of the national life.

Colonel Machum's words should inspire every Legion branch in Canada to get more enthusiastically than ever behind organized sports. When the overall purpose behind this great undertaking is weighed in balance, it becomes immediately a real challenge to us all to do our share. In this very worthy, and in these days vitally necessary, project we must and shall succeed.



LEGION DARTS ENTHUSIASTS

Darts are going strong in the Legion club at Timmins, Ont., thanks in no small degree to the enthusiasm of Jim Gordon, the club steward, who is seen above (left) with a fellow-player and Legion member, S. Watts.



GOVERNOR PRESENTS TROPHY

When Field-Marshal Alexander presented the Legion Mile Trophy to Gil Dodds, of Boston, Mass. (above, left), he probably recalled memories of May, 1914, when, as a young lieutenant in the Irish Guards, he won the mile championship at a track meet held in Dublin by the Irish Amateur Athletic Association. In the background is seen Lieut.-Col. G. C. Machum, Legion National Sports Chairman.

SPORTS AT TIMMINS

OUR good friend Jim Gordon, Club Steward of the Timmins Branch, isn't going to let us forget that members of his branch are pulling their weight in sports. In a letter just received Jim reports that eight teams had been oganized for the bowling league and two additional teams were being lined up. A league trophy has been donated and the branch itself is putting up prizes. On top of that the Timmins Legionaries are now completing plans for softball, soccer, junior and juvenile baseball and volley ball. Darts are going as strong as ever among the members and championships will be decided some time during May.

EDITORIAL PRAISE

OUR thanks to Harry Mitchell, Secretary of Branch 55, Woodstock, Ontario, for sending in this item from the editorial page of the Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*:—

"There is no mistaking the manner in which the Canadian Legion branches in this zone are going about the task of building up and carrying out a vigorous policy of sports promotion, and their efforts in this direction deserve the warmest praise.

"Legion vigour in this matter is not surprising, however, because branches throughout the country have shown in no uncertain manner since the end of the war that they are live-wire organizations, and that their members can look with confidence and courage to the future without forgetting the trials and the glories of the past."

Editorial praise of that kind is not given unless it is well merited, and we'll be looking to our correspondent at Woodstock to tell us more about it.

HOW ABOUT IT, JOE?

UP at Port Arthur things also seem to be happening. At a branch meeting there recently the Legion Athletic Association, and particularly boxer Billy Powell, were praised for their work in organized sports. We are going to send a carrier pigeon with a message to Joe Greaves, head of the Association, to see what can be done about a report on the Dominion boxing championship meet which, thanks to the Legion, is being held at Port Arthur.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273800

REMEMBER WHEN...

SERVICE TRAILS 1939 AND ONWARD

* * *

By Douglas Macbeth



IT would scarcely be cricket (as they would say in The Cricketer's Arms) if this page were to go to press without a mention of V-E Day in the May issue. I've tried to think of something to relate which would be of general interest, for after all, V-E Day belongs to everyone, in all the services, on all fronts. More especially, I'd say that it belonged to the English civilian.

Yes, I've tried to get away from the personal, and write about something that would apply equally to all Canadian fighting men, but is it possible? There were men afloat — in destroyers and in the slit trenches of Holland and Germany. There were men up in the air — in fighters, in bombers and in London. In the heat of Burma and India and in the driver's seat of tanks. There were men shivering in Alaska and in the hospital beds in Belgium. Canadians here, there and everywhere, with probably the only thing in common being thoughts of HOME. And so, by the very nature of things, I think that everyone has a private and personal recollection of V-E Day. You have yours, and if you're interested, here is mine.

* * *

My small diary shows, on April 28, 1945, "Rumours of an armistice". While they were a bit premature, things certainly were hotting up. Between then and May 1, we witnessed the meetings with Seyss-Inquhart at Achterveld, and the meeting between General Foulkes and von Blaskowitz at Wageningen. Something was cooking but it didn't seem to boil. We moved, edging forward. Mines were lifted, booby traps neutralized. More and more cable went out, the R.A.F. went out, the V-2's went out. Suddenly, however, it happened.

On May 6 we were briefed. While the Boche had promised to be good boys there was always the chance that some Party man would get in the last blow for Hitler. My job was to see that the telephone exchanges were left intact and that no patriot tossed a grenade into the terminal room of the exchanges which were of importance to us. Having seen to that, I was to return and send up the forward group to tie into Hilversum, our next headquarters.

We started at dawn, Nicol, Herbert and I, bristling with armamen like three of Jesse James' outriders. Over the line at Amersfoort, or a little before, and the action started. Whooping, yelling, screaming Dutch — men, women and children. Yards and yards of orange bunting hanging from the houses and festooning the streets. Boche stood around, jostled by the crowds. Jostled, but ignored. Sullen, but curious. It simply couldn't be true, but *could* it? The telephone exchange was guarded by an ugly Hitlerite who let us in without hesitation, and finding that the Dutch underground boys had the situation well in hand, we hiked for Zeist.

Memories of V-E Day

The highways were lined with people. Again the bunting was everywhere. I understand that it had been carefully hidden all through the occupation, and now it emerged in all its glory and all its thankfulness. We passed several parties of Boche, cycling or marching. One old *Volksturmer*, driving a farm cart, forgot himself and went so far as to wave a greeting to us. No doubt the Gestapo got him later! Anyway, to continue, Zeist was worse than Amersfoort. The crowds were larger and more enthusiastic. They bunched in the middle of the street and absolutely refused to move. Inch by inch we pushed the jeep through, all the while being pounded on the back, and finally came to the telephone building. As soon as we stopped, the jeep disappeared and a mound of humanity rose, higher and higher, until at last a party from the Underground rescued us. That exchange being satisfactorily guarded, we headed for Utrecht.

* * *

I may say, at this point that, except for a small recce party of carriers and armoured cars ahead of us, we were the first ones through. The mobs kept asking, "Where is your army?" and they seemed surprised that there were so few of us. "Hello, Tommy!" they screamed and then, "Cigarette, chocolate!" In Utrecht, by the way, it was necessary to call for volunteers to get us through the crowds and out of town. A wedge of Boy Scouts surrounded the jeep and ran interference for us. Their leader stood beside me and, in perfect English, proudly announced that he had been saving his uniform for five years for such an occasion as this. I told him that I, too, had been a Boy Scout. Gratified, he said, "Were you over at the Jamboree?" I had to disappoint him by declining that honour. While being escorted by his troop, we saw a collaborator getting paid off. He was finishing a jig, his dance floor being a Nazi flag, and as we passed by he suddenly fell to his knees as half a dozen Sten guns blazed. Each Underground man spat on him and the crowd melted away. The Judge Advocate's Branch had finished another case!

Hilversum. We missed the road, getting off on some sort of a by-

C 273801

pass. An old woman stood on the side of the road. I asked her, "Hilversum?" and waved to the four points of the compass. Coming over to the jeep, she said, "Where did you want to go?" I repeated, "Hilversum", and in excellent English she described the way, pointing out that for forty-odd years she had lived in Niagara Falls, having been employed by the Carborundum Company. A breath from home!

* * *

Farther down the road stood a knot of people. They turned out to be a group of nurses, and, true to form, they bunched on the road so that we couldn't pass. We were obviously the first detachment on that particular road and the backslapping only stopped when we were buried by the dozens who swarmed over the jeep. Order was restored by the Herr Doktor, who dragged his delirious females away from the vehicle. He took off his hat and said, "You must excuse the enthusiasm. For years we have been waiting for this day. And may I ask a favour?" Without waiting for an answer, he went on, "Would it be too much trouble to drive through the grounds of our sanitarium so that our patients could see you?" I replied, "Herr Doktor, it would be a great privilege, but tell me, where did you learn such perfect English?" He had studied at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. More breaths from home, for my great aunt had been in charge of the Gate House at the college and my mother was brought up in Baltimore.

* * *

We drove through the grounds of the San and the patients came to their windows or on to the verandahs to wave and yell. It was a T.B. hospital and several of the patients were too sick to get out of bed. I remember stopping outside a window on the ground floor and waiting until a man adjusted the mirror over his bed so that he could see us. We authographed the collars and cuffs of the nurses and left for Hilversum with a roar of cheers and yells to speed us on our way.

There was no doubt that everything was in order at the telephone exchange. The headquarters of von Blaskowitz was in that town, and all his lines, from all over Holland, terminated there. For a week our linemen worked side by side with the Boche in the exchange. Our mission performed, we retraced our route to Appeldoorn and despatched the forward party direct to Hilversum. The next day the world recognized as V-E Day.

That's MY story, as full as space will permit. You each have your own, and perhaps you will pause now and recall it. Quite a day, wasn't it?



Cartoon by Les Callan

SPRINGTIME

Some of these peace-time dugouts oughta be returned to "Quarter's Stores"

In Whimsical Mood

Mess Sgt.: It's tough to pay 50 cents a pound for meat.

Mess Secretary: Yeah, but it's tougher when you pay 25.

* * *

The soldier from the Tennessee mountains was playing poker with several English Tommies. Picking up his cards, he found four aces. "One pound," said the Englishman next to him.

It was the Tennessee boy's turn to bet.

"I don't know how yo' boys count yo' money," he said with another peek at his four aces, "but I'll raise yo'all one ton!"

* * *

Chaplain: "Are you troubled by improper thoughts?"

Recruit: "Nah. I kinda enjoy them."

* * *

The older generation thought nothing of getting up at six in the morning. The younger generation doesn't think much of it either.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273802

THE WORLD IN REVIEW

March 11 to April 10, 1947

A condensed analysis of significant happenings, published with a view to keeping Legion members, who have had the experience of war, abreast of the developments of peace.

By

Eric W. Morse

National Secretary,

United Nations Society in Canada.



THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

"TOTALITARIAN regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

— From President Truman's message to Congress, March 12, 1947.

* * *

This profoundly important statement of policy by an American President in 1947 gains perspective when placed against the statement of an American President in 1823, when he made clear, particularly to such Powers as Russia, France, and Spain who continued to cast lustful eyes on bits of the New World, that the U.S.A. intended on her part to keep out of European affairs and would view with disfavour any future attempt by European Powers at expansion into North or South America. The Monroe doctrine remained the sheet-anchor of American foreign policy until it was briefly abandoned in 1917-18, when the U.S.A. left her side of the high fence — only to return to it with grimmer determination in 1919.

President Truman's statement, made before Congress on the occasion of his proposal to take on Britain's rôle and give financial aid to Greece and Turkey, replaces and nullifies the Monroe Doctrine respecting any American engagement to keep out of Europe. It thus invites the jibe of a recent Norwegian cartoon showing the President explaining the new policy before Marshall and the two Senate leaders with the words: "Well, boys, Monroe wanted to prevent Europeans from interfering with American affairs. We've got to prevent them from interfering with European affairs". As to where else similar aid might have to be sent, some estimate can be made from the accompanying map which shows the encroachments made by Soviet in its quest for security since 1939.

The map also throws into relief the ring of "critical" states in Europe extending westward from Turkey and Greece — Italy, Austria, Germany — where the Truman Doctrine might have to operate.

WILL CHANCES OF WAR BE INCREASED?

Perhaps some idea of what the Russians think about the whole thing could best be given by imagining the roles reversed and having Russia proclaim that she proposed acting to support, say, Panama and Cuba against American domination. Their strategic importance is comparable, and the relative distances of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. from the countries in question are about the same. Mr. Wallace and those for whom he speaks have been at pains to point out the serious risk that the new policy therefore runs of hastening war through fear of American power politics. There is the further danger that it extends the area in which American prestige must be upheld — always a fruitful cause of war.

There are, however, I believe, more telling arguments on the other side. There is little doubt that the Russians were attempting in 1945 a *coup d'état* in Greece that was narrowly averted by the quick action of Mr. Churchill with the aid of British troops; this, if successful, would have resulted in Soviet domination of the whole Balkans and the outflanking of Turkey. The next step would be Soviet domination of the Middle East. If this process were to go on, the essential point seems to be that one day the U.S.A. would wake up to find the Soviet in control of all Europe and Asia, and war would then have become practically inevitable. Conversely, if Russia can somehow be contained in her present boundaries, which allow the U.S.A. certain strategic areas as offensive bases, war will not be an attractive risk for the Soviet. Britain's greatest, perhaps only, culpability in the events leading to World War I in 1914, many historians agree, was that she did not make clear to Germany that she would fight if Belgium or France were invaded. Had Roosevelt been able to enunciate even as late at 1938 or 1939, some such policy for the information of Hitler, it is extremely questionable whether we should have had to fight, at least until Hitler had been able to overcome Russia. I believe therefore that Mr. Truman's policy will weigh the scales on the side of peace. And between this and what would be in effect a policy of appeasement, I see no middle course.

The second question, that of whether the U.S.A. has by-passed U.N., however, is the really important one, because it bears on the long-term consideration not merely of increasing or decreasing the likelihood of war, but of avoiding it altogether.

MUST DO MORE THAN STOP COMMUNISM

If the aim of the U.S.A. is more than just to stop Communism by an exhibition of political muscle-flexing, she must be meticulously careful of the channels she uses for her power, lest her actions defeat their own end, and, by arousing fear of American power among the world's oppressed people, give the Communists a propaganda weapon second to none. World public opinion is the paramount consideration to keep in view, for it alone (short of war) is capable of stopping aggression, and it certainly cannot be roused in support of one-sided action that looks like intervention in some country's civil war. It is not enough for the U.S.A. in pursuit of her new responsibilities to be anti-isolationist: she must be internationalist.

C 273803

The American people for these reasons were quick to seize on the original blunder of their President and State Department, and Senator Vandenberg's amendment to the original proposal of aid for Greece and Turkey is an expression of the American people's sincere devotion to the cause of U.N. The effect of this amendment is to leave it completely in U.N.'s hands to terminate such aid if it feels it has become either unnecessary or undesirable. This is a very striking voluntary surrender of independence of action by a national body, especially the American Senate, and augurs well for the future.

It is to be hoped that U.S.A. will go even beyond this. The aid to Greece should be tied in with the relief recommendations for Greece made last year by the Food and Agriculture Organization. The current U.N. committee investigating Greek charges of border violations should be another useful "peg"; this might for instance be replaced by some sort of permanent U.N. border commission. The U.N., too, should be kept informed at every stage of developments — a second initial oversight only recently repaired. The U.S.A. has had to take steps on its own, but it would be statesmanlike on her part to hand over as much as possible of the administration of the aid in due course to U.N. agencies. Only such devices can shield American policy from the taunt of "imperialism", and ensure the support of the world's peoples, even though everyone knows her strategic and oil interests that are at stake.



RUSSIA'S WESTWARD MARCH

The westward march of Soviet Russia in its quest for security since 1939 is clearly shown in above map.

It would be tragic indeed if American actions, by ignoring these niceties, were to charge through and leave a gaping hole in the Charter. Suppose, for instance, that a Communist-dominated government came into power next year in Iran. This government, invoking an "emergency", calls on the Soviet for "aid", military and economic. Without setting the proper precedents through U.N. now in the Greek case, little could be done then to prevent the very peril the U.S.A. is trying to avert in Greece and Turkey.

CORFU INCIDENT

The case of the British destroyers that struck mines in Corfu Channel finally reached the Security Council last month, where Britain charged the Soviet-sponsored regime in Albania with laying the mines. The action proposed by Britain was that Britain and Albania settle the dispute on the basis of this assumption. Russia, however, vetoed this action, the tenth use of the veto that she has employed to date.

The incident is not without interest from the standpoint of the slow emergence of a rule of law, at least among the more civilized nations. The sequel to the incident certainly forms a contrast to precedents of even a decade before. As one high-ranking Royal Navy officer said: "In other times we'd have had a British squadron off the coast of the nation involved, and by now a division or two ashore making sure that whoever was responsible was going to pay in more ways than one".

Since the Security Council had proved incapable of rendering justice in the matter, Sir Alexander Cadogan on April 9 moved to have the case referred to the International Court of Justice, which was approved 8-0, Russia and Poland abstaining. The Corfu dispute makes history as the first case to go before the Court, which was set up by the U.N. Charter at San Francisco.

Two points regarding this latest use of the veto in the Security Council are worthy of note, in view of the pointed discussion on its abuse at the recent Assembly meeting: (1) it is the first time in seven months that it has been used; (2) Russia, in abstaining in the second vote, did not attempt to claim interpretation of this as a veto, as she had done in the Iranian case a year ago.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273804

Five Nines and Whiz Bangs

By The Orderly Sergeant

WELL, troops, last month we engaged in a slight dissertation on an eminent soljah, name of Wade — no, not our dear old pioneer sergeant, Geordie. The Wade I'm referring to was a Field-Marshal who did a job of work in Scotland, during the days of Bonnie Prince Charlie, and who, for a reward, was given a whole extra verse in the National Anthem — all to himself.

The marshal put in 58 years in the Army, and died as the age of 80.

Now prying into the old boy's past I find that the marshal was quite a boy on fatigue work — not that he did any himself, he being a field-marshal; but he acquired considerable fame through building roads in the Scottish Highlands. An Irish ensign is credited with singing:

"Had you seen those roads before they were made,
You'd have lifted up your hands and blessed General Wade."

* * *

The general began building the roads, academically speaking, in 1726. Five hundred soldiers were given 12-cents a day extra for digging, levelling, filling and crowning. Does that sound too technical, or do you know what I mean? If you do, you're a better man than I am.

The book of Words out of which I extracted these facts relating to General Wade, continued that "he himself employed in his surveys an English coach, which was everywhere, even at Inverness, the first vehicle of the kind ever seen; and great was the wonder it excited among the people, who invariably took off their bonnets to the driver, as supposing him the greatest personage connected with it."

All of which is the longest way I know to spell the homely word "baloney!"

* * *

It seems to me, as I read this one over, that I hear an awe-stricken troop say, "Now, does that all mean that the 500 men were given 12-cents a day — that is, was the 12-cents split up among the 500, so that each man got a piece of it; or did each one get 12-cents a day?"

Without reference to the Paymaster I can't answer that one. The War Office was always pretty generous, you know. You remember about a couple years ago I culled from an ancient print the fascinating info that, at the end of the Ashanti War, Sir Garnet Wolsley was given a present of $125,000 by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, while his troops — the blokes who did all the scrapping — were given the handsome bounty of $1.75 each.

Ah, well!

* * *

However, we're not through with the dear old marshal, yet. The book of Words set forth that Horace Walpole told that story how the gallant marshal was frequenting a "low-gaming house" when he missed his snuff-box.

In those days snuff was the equivalent of the old gasper. Instead of falling out for a drag, a chap just whisked out his snuff box, and snuffed a mitt-full of brown dust into his snitch. That is a habit that has now fallen into disuse. But, believe it or not, during the Last Unpleasantness I actually ran into a chap — a Brigadier, he was — who used to take snuff. Carried it around with him in a big box, just as a guy would carry around a packet of fags.

I travelled with the laddie by air from Gatwick Race Course to Amblie, in Normandy. He didn't offer me a snuff; and I was too bashful to ask him for one. I remember in the old days when I was a kid, the dear old patriarchs of the village used to amble along sampling each other's snuff, and blowing the residue into great, blanket-size red hankies. An impressive sight it was.

* * *

Where was I anyway? Oh, yes. We were in the gambling joint with Marshal Wade; and he'd lost his snuff box.

Well, the marshal insisted that the entire company should be searched. Everybody in the house would have to turn out his pockets. Apparently they all did, with one solitary exception.. There was one lad who demurred. Instead, with a look of anguish on his face he asked the marshal if he'd step with him into the neighbouring room.

The marshal did so, and to him the other bloke confided his embarrassment. He had, he said, been born a gentleman, and he earned his meal-ticket by making (and winning) small bets — just little fellahs. Also, he had half-of-a-chicken that had been donated to the waiters — not too friendly, of course. A gentleman had to draw the line somewhere. But, grateful for any mark of friendship coming from this born gentleman, the waiters were wont to hand him the odd slice of meat, a bit of bread now and then — in general, the means whereby the gentleman could keep body and soul together.

His present embarrassment was that in his pocket he had half-of-a-chicken that had been donated to him by a kind-hearted waiter; and if he turned that out in front of the assembled company in the next room, his reputation as a gentleman would simply vanish. A terrible situation.

* * *

As one gent to another, the marshal saw the point. Here, obviously, was a case of the old school tie; and he couldn't let his fellow-gentleman down.

The story goes that the marshal gave the bloke a gift of $500, just to tide him over a few rainy days; and that, actually, he found the snuff box in his own pocket, after all. So there you have a nice Hollywood ending.

* * *

Now that we got over the one about artillery first being used at the Battle of Crecy "to frighten the horses", I ran into what seems to me to have been the ideal army. I've read a lot about the Spartans, one way and another, and never figgered they were sissies. But apparently they were. Whenever they went into battle they had to have a half a dozen helots each to carry their swords, shields and what have you!

So long.— The Orderly Sergeant.

C 273805

Editorial — The Legionary — Views

"But words are things, and a small drop of ink, falling, like dew upon a thought, produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think."

Politics, Communism and the Legion

WHAT is the Legion's stand on politics in general and Communism in particular?

This is a question which many new members have asked THE LEGIONARY recently, and especially since the sensational claim made in *New World* last month by Igor Gouzenko that new Soviet spy rings are at work in Canada. For the benefit of our correspondents and all other recently-joined young veterans THE LEGIONARY is glad to furnish the answer.

First, we shall deal with the question of party politics generally. The answer to this, as stated repeatedly over the years, is that the Legion as an organization is completely non-partisan. It has to be, if for no other reason than that its members, being a complete cross-section of the Canadian people, belong to all political parties.

This policy of keeping the Legion out of party politics must not, however, be interpreted to mean that our organization is adverse to *individual members* taking an active part in political affairs. On the contrary, the stand the Legion has always taken in this respect is that the more war veterans there are in Parliament and the provincial legislatures, the better for other war veterans and for Canada.

The Legion believes that a man who has offered his life for Canada in her hour of desperate peril is more likely to have the national welfare of Canada at heart than one who hasn't. A man who has suffered danger and hardship with his fellows, whether on land, at sea or in the air, is more likely, the Legion believes, to understand their postwar problems and work harder for their solution than one who hasn't seen active service.

In other words, the Legion holds that, irrespective of the party he belongs to, a war veterans is more likely to be a better-than-average Member of Parliament than a non-veteran, both from the view-point of the nation's interests and that of his old comrades-in-arms. This is only a natural position for the Legion to take. In stating it, neither the organization nor its members are in any way casting reflection on the integrity, ability or patriotism of many excellent non-veteran parliamentarians.

In brief, whether Liberals, Conservatives, C.C.F.'ers or Social Creditors, the Legion is glad to see so many ex-servicemen of both world wars as members of the Dominion Parliament and provincial legislatures—and of municipal governments too. The Party matters nothing so long as the Spirit of Service to King, Country and Comrades is there.

NOW for the answer to the second part of the question—the Legion's stand with regard to Communism.

In the Constitution of the Canadian Legion there is a clause which says:—

> *"No avowed anarchist, Communist, or other person who advocates the destruction of organized government in Canada by force shall be permitted to become or remain a member."*

Both the wording and the intention of this clause are clear: Communists are absolutely not wanted within the Legion and are definitely not eligible for membership in our organization. There need be no doubt whatever on that point. Although the Legion's Constitution was written and adopted back in 1925, it has been reviewed at every Dominion Convention since, and each clause carefully examined, in order to make certain that it accurately reflects the current policies, views and opinions of the membership at large. The most recent reaffirmation of the Constitution, including the above clause, was at the Dominion Convention held last year in Quebec.

But, while Communists are ineligible for membership in the Legion, or rather because of that fact, our Branches should be on guard lest they get in through the back door. With a technique that would be commendable if applied to a more worthy cause, Communists have a way of worming themselves into organizations and into office. As the exposé of the former military intelligence officer at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa clearly shows, there is a definite effort being made to obtain a Communist voice — smooth, affable and barely recognizable at first — in Canadian organizations of all kinds.

THERE MUST BE NO COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO THE CANADIAN LEGION. THE LEGION CONSTITUTION SPECIFICALLY DEBARS THESE WOULD-BE WRECKERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE RIGHT TO MEMBERSHIP IN OUR ORGANIZATION. LET US SEE TO IT THAT THEY DON'T GET IN.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Legion Forum

Letters for this department should be brief, constructive and of general interest. They must be signed with true signatures and addresses. "Pen-names" are NOT accepted for publication. Owing to space limitations, preference is given to brief communications, but The Legionary does not undertake to publish all letters received and reserves the right to condense any that are too long. Unused letters are only returned if accompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelope. It should be understood that the views expressed ar those of the correspondents and that publication of them does not necessarily constitute endorsation by The Legionary. DEADLINE: The 10th previous to month of publication.

A COMPARISON

Editor, The Legionary:—

I note that Bill Burke of the Ontario Command claims to have enrolled a total of 40,261 members during the year 1946 and to have chartered 67 new branches.

We are very modest people out here in British Columbia, but I think I should advise you that our enrollments for the twelve months ending December 31, 1946, were 18,317, with charters issued to 30 new branches.

Comparing our population with that of Ontario, I think we are still well ahead of the game and that it is going to be some time before Bill can buy a hat at my expense. We have a standing bet that the minute Ontario enrolls more new members than British Columbia *in proportion to population*, I will buy Ontario's Provincial Secretary a new hat.

— *Robert Macnicol*, Executive Secretary, B.C. Provincial Command, Canadian Legion, Vancouver.

• • •

Editor's Note: We feel sure many Legion members will follow with keen interest the membership race between Ontario and British Columbia. Just to add a little zest to it, The Legionary hereby offers to print a photo of Bill Burke with his new hat on — if and when he wins his bet with Bob Macnicol.

BATTLE OF ORTONA

Editor, The Legionary:—

Being a veteran of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment, 1st Division, 2nd Brigade, I cannot help writing you on an article in your April issue — "The Two Ortonas".

I fought in the Ortona battle, and many more, and always had the impression that the Ortona show was put down in the Battle Honours of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment, the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada and the P.P.C.L.I. Now I gather from the above-mentioned article that it was fought and won by the West Nova Scotia Regiment.

Would you please inform me who fought that battle?

—*J. L. Sharkey*, Cranbrook, B.C.

• • •

Editor's Note: All honour to the Edmontons, Seaforths and Patricias for the decisive part they played in the battle for Ortona; but other units are entitled to some share of the credit, including the West Nova Scotias, the 48th Highlanders, the Hastings & Prince Edward Regt., the R.C.R.'s, the Ontario Regiment (Tanks) and the Three Rivers Regt. (Tanks). Anyway, our story was obviously not intended as a history of that battle. It merely told the tale of Pte. Gordon Spinney, M.M., of the West Nova Scotia Regiment, and what prompted him to suggest Ortona as the name of the newly established Legion branch in his hometown of Berwick, Nova Scotia. In a future issue we'll publish the story of the battle.

A FRIEND IN NEED

Editor, The Legionary:—

On April 6 there silently passed away a sincere friend and comrade of a very large number of veterans of this district. I refer to the late Manager of the Veterans Service Bureau of Montreal, Tom Leigh.

Tom was one of those noble souls who sought through deeds, and not words alone, to aid his fellow comrades of both wars in securing and adjusting pension entitlement for those he considered were justly deserving it. In his honest sincerity to afford help, he worked ceaselessly and unselfishly to a final solution of each individual case. In his devotion to others he forgot all about his own health and strength and, although he suffered physical distress almost continuously, he would not let that be a handicap to helping others.

Truly, it could be said of Tom Leigh that "he saved others, himself he could not save". So he has gone to a well earned rest at last, and those he so nobly helped will long remember him and be thankful.

— *A. Aldford*, Westmount, P.Q.

• • •

HELPING THE CHILDREN

Editor, The Legionary:—

In your April issue you were kind enough to publish a photograph of ragged European children and to appeal for help through the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada. I would like you to know how very much we appreciate your co-operation, and may I add that a great number of letters have come into our office recently referring to this news item and offering help. We are truly grateful for your support.

— *Dr. Lotta Hitschmanova*, Director for Canada, Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

• • •

Editor, The Legionary:—

Referring to the photograph headed "Foster Parents Wanted", which was published in your March issue, readers of THE LEGIONARY may be interested to know that the Westakiwin Post of the Canadian Legion has adopted two Viennese children, Elisabeth Hubner and



Kurt Grunert (pictured above. — Ed.). The funds needed for the adoption of these children were raised by a Christmas carol group headed by Tom Palfrey of this Branch and the children were chosen for sponsorship by the Legion through the Save the Children Fund.

Elisabeth is 13. She has had numerous illnesses and is weak and underfed. She is a good scholar and loves music. Her home was ruined by air raids.

Kurt is 11 and has also suffered through privations. He has ambitions of becoming a clergyman.

I thought other Legion Branches and Ladies Auxiliaries would be interested to hear of this.

— *W. J. Beeston*, Wetaskiwin, Alta.

PARCELS FOR BRITAIN

Editor, The Legionary:—

I was astounded when I read the paragraph on page 15 of the March issue headed, "Parcels for Europes", that it does not apply to the United Kingdom. Why? Who is responsible for this decision? I should be much obliged for a reply to these questions.

The people of the United Kingdom gave all the hospitality they possibly could to Canadian troops and in many cases went without their own meagre rations in order to do it. They are worse off than ever now and yet, when a special offer to send butter, ham, bacon, and marmalade (all rationed in Canada) is made, we are told "it does not apply to the United Kingdom". It is incredible.

— *Mrs. Alfred Woodcroft*, 2426 Windsor Road, Victoria, B.C.

• • •

Editor's Note: It is now possible to send CARE food parcels to Britain as well as the European countries mentioned in the March article. Mr. Breen Melvin, Canadian Representative of CARE, 193 Sparks St., Ottawa, has informed The Legionary that the original parcel was unacceptable to the United Kingdom authorities because (a) it weighed 49 lbs., and the British regulations limit parcel weights to 22 lbs., and (b) it contained a quantity of cigarettes, which the British Government was not prepared to admit duty free. The new CARE parcel finally approved by the U.K. authorities weighs 21.37 lbs. and contains food only.

A HISTORIC PHOTO

Editor, The Legionary:—

In his *Five-Nines and Whiz-Bangs* the "Orderly Sergeant" mentions a request he has received for a picture of the sailing of the First Canadian Contingent from Canada in 1914. I have a panoramic photograph of the fleet sailing from Baspe Basin, size about 2 feet 6 inches by 10 inches. The picture is copyrighted by the Montreal Standard Publishing Company. Whether they have any copies now available I do not know, but undoubtedly a request to them would bring that information.

—*J. E. Holmes*, Ottawa, Ont.

Editor's Note: The Montreal Standard has informed us that no copies are available of this historic photo and that the negative has long since been lost or destroyed.

INCREASE IN PENSION RATES

Editor, The Legionary:—

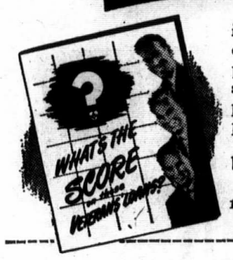
After a careful perusal of the brief submitted by the Legion Council to the Prime Minister and the reply by the Minister of Veterans Affairs, Mr. Ian Mackenzie, as published in March issue of THE LEGIONARY, it would appear that said brief failed to accentuate the problem facing the old veteran; that it to say, those who have attained to age 70 and are so seriously disabled as to be pensioned 100 per cent.

More or less immobile through war disabilities, and far removed from the sphere in which rehabilitation measures may or could interest him, financially unable to make his monthly pension of $75

DOMINION COMMAND RECEIVES THE ROYALTY

CANADIAN
LEGION
Cigarettes
Extra Mild—Extra Good!

...FOR VETERANS ONLY...
How Can I Start a Business of My Own?



You'll find the answer to that one in this new booklet, "What's the Score on these Veterans' Loans?". We have published it for veterans who want to start in business for themselves, to improve their present set-up or to go into partnership with a friend.

A copy is yours for the asking at any branch of the Bank of Montreal.

If your proposition is sound, there's money for you at the B of M.

BANK OF MONTREAL
working with Canadians in every walk of life since 1817
"MY BANK" TO A MILLION CANADIANS
B of M
AD76

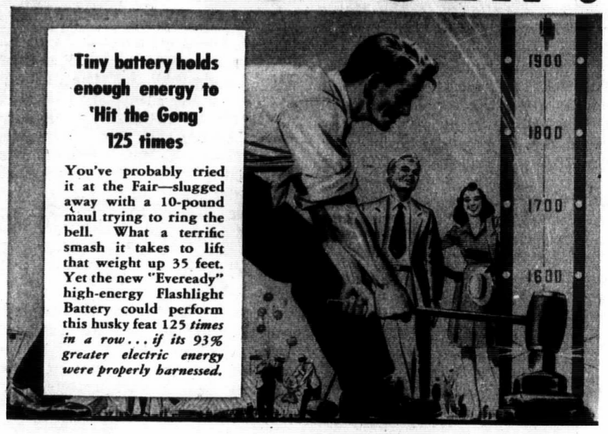
W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

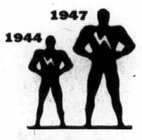
C 273808

NEW
"EVEREADY" FLASHLIGHT
BATTERY LASTS 93% LONGER!



Tiny battery holds enough energy to 'Hit the Gong' 125 times

You've probably tried it at the Fair—slugged away with a 10-pound maul trying to ring the bell. What a terrific smash it takes to lift that weight up 35 feet. Yet the new "Eveready" high-energy Flashlight Battery could perform this husky feat 125 *times in a row... if its 93% greater electric energy were properly harnessed.*



93% more energy than famous "Eveready" Batteries of previous years —yet at no extra cost.

LIGHT is *power* made visible. That's why new high-energy "Eveready" Flashlight Batteries are so important to you. With nearly *double* the electric energy of even famous "Eveready" Flashlight Batteries of previous years, their usefulness to you in terms of *light* is nearly doubled. You can depend on that dazzling, penetrating "Eveready" Flashlight beam for *nearly twice as long!* FM347

CANADIAN NATIONAL CARBON COMPANY LIMITED



per month meet the constantly rising costs of living, to which may be added medical and hospital costs even now on the up-grade for which no provision is made outside of pensionable qualifications, gradually cashing in and relinquishing life insurance policies and other equities with which to combat constantly rising prices, property taxes and so forth — this is the picture facing the old disabled veteran.

Notwithstanding all that an indifferent government may say to the contrary, the cost of living and the standard of living differs considerably from that of some 27 years ago when pension rates were first established. The proof of this statement rests in the fact that our Federal Parliament and most Provincial Legislatures have, in this interval, increased their own members' indemnities very considerably.

Mr. Mackenzie has gone far in his reply to this brief to stress the very excellent attempts made to meet the problems facing our younger disabled warriors. By this gesture of government liberality and justice all old veterans will, I venture to say, be profoundly impressed. However, insofar as the Old Veteran is concerned, his days are rapidly drawing to a close. Those entitled to War Veterans' Allowance have had their rates increased but, by the irony of fate, the old, completely disabled veteran pensioner is the last to be considered. Remedial measures are long over-due. Why not give him a break?

—*W. C. Warren*, Saanichton, B.C.

* * *

Editor's Note: A general increase in pension rates is one of the most important of the Legion's current objectives. Our correspondent, with whose argument The Legionary is in complete agreement, may rest assured that every opportunity is taken by the Dominion President and headquarters officers to impress this need upon those concerned in getting an increase effected — cabinet ministers, government officials and Members of Parliament.

OVERSEAS FIREFIGTHERS

Editor, The Legionary:—

I shall be grateful if you would kindly publish the following open letter to Legion members:—

"On behalf of our branch of the Legion, I would like to take this opportunity to thank each and

C 273809

everyone of you for the kind letters you have written to me regarding the article THE LEGIONARY was kind enough to publish in the March issue regarding our case. I only wish that the Government would read some of the letters you have written to us; they might then grant us the benefits we feel we are justly entitled to receive.

"I would also like to thank those of you who are having resolutions passed in your branches to support us. We deeply appreciate all you Legion members are trying to do for us and feel certain that your efforts will bring the desired results."

—*Herb R. Magill*, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Overseas Fire Fighters Branch, Canadian Legion, Toronto.

LEGION LIBRARY

Editor, The Legionary:—

On going over the material in the Dominion Command Library in Ottawa, I note the limited supply of books dealing with information concerning the First and Second Great Wars. Would any of your readers be able to help us increase this library?

The material needed is listed below:—

(1) Histories of regiments (applies to both wars).
(2) Training pamphlets (all services).
(3) Maps and atlases (both wars).
(4) Radio and its part in warfare (both wars).
(5) Airplane and its part in warfare (both wars).
(6) Types of warfare (both wars).
(7) Histories of the services (both wars).
(8) The Allies and their part in warfare (both wars).
(9) Badges and their histories (all wars).
(10) Servicewomen and their part in warfare.
(11) Books on the Boer War.

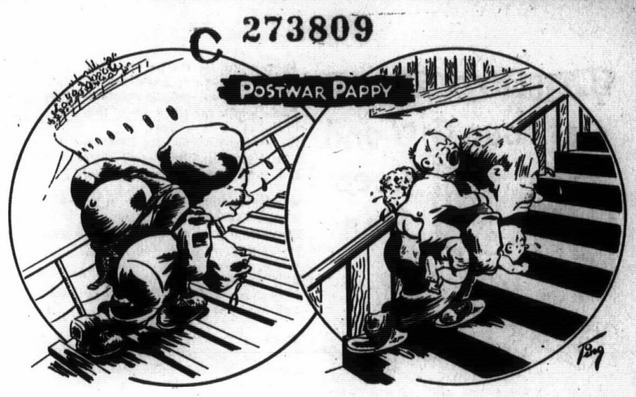
I hope readers of THE LEGIONARY can help us to obtain these books or pamphlets so that we may build up a valuable Library that will be of great service to the Legion.

— *Peggy Gerrard*, Librarian, Dominion Command, Canadian Legion, 75 Sparks St., Ottawa, Ont.

ESSEX SCOTTISH REUNION

Editor, The Legionary:—

The Essex Scottish is planning a reunion of all ex-members of the Regiment on June 13, 14, 15.



Cartoon by Tingley

We have the majority of addresses of ex-members as of the date of discharge from service. A publicity folder is being mailed to those whose addresses we have on hand. Any ex-member who has not received a folder or been otherwise informed, is requested to contact the undersigned, giving full particulars of service—number, rank, name, period served, Company and permanent address.

There is a Regimental History of World War II available for distribution at no cost to the individual upon confirmation of address. It is expected that general distribution will commence about May 1.

—*Lieut. C. Stapleton, D.C.M.*, The Essex Scottish Reunion Committee, Windsor, Ont.

THE KILT

Editor, The Legionary:—

In regard to "Vigil O'er The Kilt", in the April issue of THE LEGIONARY, I am enclosing a few lines which have been hanging fire for quite a while.

I was borrn nae sae farr frae the borrder — aye, nuff said.

— *P. Kitchin*, Eastview, Ont.

THE BANNING O' THE KILT
(Wi' apologies tae Bobbie Burns)

Is there ae Scot i' a' this land
Wha disna grieve, an a' that,
Tae hear aboot the kilt being banned?
The glamour's gaen wi' a' that,
For a' that, an' a that,
The skirl o' pipes, an' a' that,
The lassies stay at hame the noo
Tae rest their een, an' a' that.



"Oh you darling ... How simply perfect!"
"Perfection ... Check √ ... As they say about Sweet Caps."

SWEET CAPORAL CIGARETTES
"The purest form in which tobacco can be smoked"



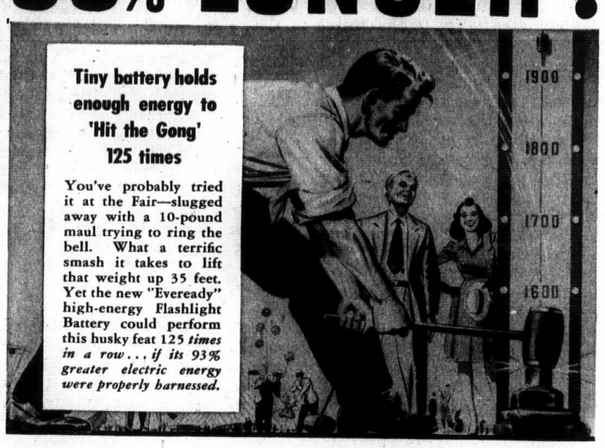
W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

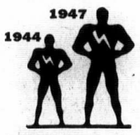
C 273808

NEW
"EVEREADY" FLASHLIGHT
BATTERY LASTS 93% LONGER!



Tiny battery holds enough energy to 'Hit the Gong' 125 times

You've probably tried it at the Fair—slugged away with a 10-pound maul trying to ring the bell. What a terrific smash it takes to lift that weight up 35 feet. Yet the new "Eveready" high-energy Flashlight Battery could perform this husky feat 125 *times in a row . . . if its 93% greater electric energy were properly harnessed.*



93% more energy than famous "Eveready" Batteries of previous years —yet at no extra cost.

LIGHT is *power* made visible. That's why new high-energy "Eveready" Flashlight Batteries are so important to you. With nearly *double* the electric energy of even famous "Eveready" Flashlight Batteries of previous years, their usefulness to you in terms of *light* is nearly doubled. You can depend on that dazzling, penetrating "Eveready" Flashlight beam for *nearly twice as long!*

FM347

CANADIAN NATIONAL CARBON COMPANY LIMITED



per month meet the constantly rising costs of living, to which may be added medical and hospital costs even now on the up-grade for which no provision is made outside of pensionable qualifications, gradually cashing in and relinquishing life insurance policies and other equities with which to combat constantly rising prices, property taxes and so forth — this is the picture facing the old disabled veteran.

Notwithstanding all that an indifferent government may say to the contrary, the cost of living and the standard of living differs considerably from that of some 27 years ago when pension rates were first established. The proof of this statement rests in the fact that our Federal Parliament and most Provincial Legislatures have, in this interval, increased their own members' indemnities very considerably.

Mr. Mackenzie has gone far in his reply to this brief to stress the very excellent attempts made to meet the problems facing our younger disabled warriors. By this gesture of government liberality and justice all old veterans will, I venture to say, be profoundly impressed. However, insofar as the Old Veteran is concerned, his days are rapidly drawing to a close. Those entitled to War Veterans' Allowance have had their rates increased but, by the irony of fate, the old, completely disabled veteran pensioner is the last to be considered. Remedial measures are long over-due. Why not give him a break?

—*W. C. Warren,* Saanichton, B.C.

* * *

Editor's Note: A general increase in pension rates is one of the most important of the Legion's current objectives. Our correspondent, with whose argument The Legionary is in complete agreement, may rest assured that every opportunity is taken by the Dominion President and headquarters officers to impress this need upon those concerned in getting an increase effected — cabinet ministers, government officials and Members of Parliament.

OVERSEAS FIREFIGTHERS

Editor, The Legionary:—

I shall be grateful if you would kindly publish the following open letter to Legion members:—

"On behalf of our branch of the Legion, I would like to take this opportunity to thank each and

C 273809

everyone of you for the kind letters you have written to me regarding the article THE LEGIONARY was kind enough to publish in the March issue regarding our case. I only wish that the Government would read some of the letters you have written to us; they might then grant us the benefits we feel we are justly entitled to receive.

"I would also like to thank those of you who are having resolutions passed in your branches to support us. We deeply appreciate all you Legion members are trying to do for us and feel certain that your efforts will bring the desired results."

—*Herb R. Magill,* Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Overseas Fire Fighters Branch, Canadian Legion, Toronto.

LEGION LIBRARY

Editor, The Legionary:—

On going over the material in the Dominion Command Library in Ottawa, I note the limited supply of books dealing with information concerning the First and Second Great Wars. Would any of your readers be able to help us increase this library?

The material needed is listed below:—

(1) Histories of regiments (applies to both wars).
(2) Training pamphlets (all services).
(3) Maps and atlases (both wars).
(4) Radio and its part in warfare (both wars).
(5) Airplane and its part in warfare (both wars).
(6) Types of warfare (both wars).
(7) Histories of the services (both wars).
(8) The Allies and their part in warfare (both wars).
(9) Badges and their histories (all wars).
(10) Servicewomen and their part in warfare.
(11) Books on the Boer War.

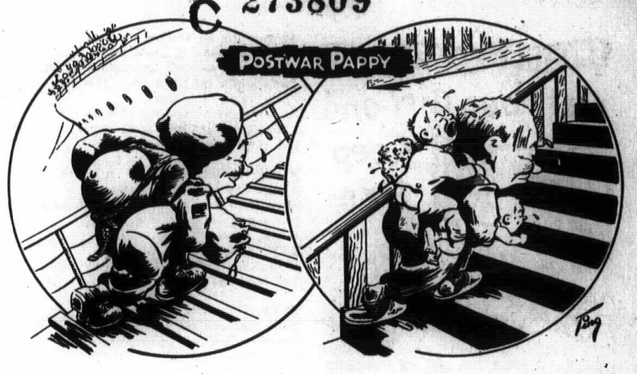
I hope readers of THE LEGIONARY can help us to obtain these books or pamphlets so that we may build up a valuable Library that will be of great service to the Legion.

— *Peggy Gerrard,* Librarian, Dominion Command, Canadian Legion, 75 Sparks St., Ottawa, Ont.

ESSEX SCOTTISH REUNION

Editor, The Legionary:—

The Essex Scottish is planning a reunion of all ex-members of the Regiment on June 13, 14, 15.



Cartoon by Tingley

We have the majority of addresses of ex-members as of the date of discharge from service. A publicity folder is being mailed to those whose addresses we have on hand. Any ex-member who has not received a folder or been otherwise informed, is requested to contact the undersigned, giving full particulars of service—number, rank, name, period served, Company and permanent address.

There is a Regimental History of World War II available for distribution at no cost to the individual upon confirmation of address. It is expected that general distribution will commence about May 1.

—*Lieut. C. Stapleton, D.C.M.,* The Essex Scottish Reunion Committee, Windsor, Ont.

THE KILT

Editor, The Legionary:—

In regard to "Vigil O'er The Kilt", in the April issue of THE LEGIONARY, I am enclosing a few lines which have been hanging fire for quite a while.

I was borrn nae sae farr frae the borrder — aye, nuff said.

— *P. Kitchin,* Eastview, Ont.

THE BANNING O' THE KILT
(Wi' apologies tae Bobbie Burns)

Is there ae Scot i' a' this land
Wha disna grieve, an a' that,
Tae hear aboot the kilt being banned?
The glamour's gaen wi' a' that,
For a' that, an' a that,
The skirl o' pipes, an' a' that,
The lassies stay at hame the noo
Tae rest their een, an' a' that.



"Oh you darling . . . How simply perfect!"
"Perfection . . . Check √ . . . As they say about Sweet Caps."

SWEET CAPORAL CIGARETTES
"The purest form in which tobacco can be smoked"

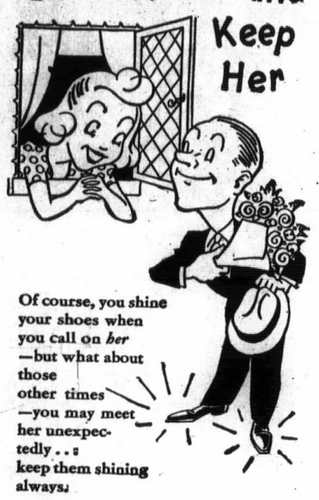
W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

SHINING EXAMPLE NO. 1

Get Your Girl and Keep Her



Of course, you shine your shoes when you call on *her* —but what about those other times —you may meet her unexpectedly . . . keep them shining always.

Acquire Polish THE "NUGGET" WAY



THE DAILY DOSE OF NUGGET DOES IT!

NAVY— ARMY— AIR-FORCE

MAKERS OF FINE UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENT

OFFICIAL LEGION SUPPLIERS
FLAGS - CAPS - BADGES - ETC.

Catalogue on request

WILLIAM SCULLY
LIMITED
MANUFACTURERS OF
MILITARY EQUIPMENT
1202 UNIVERSITY ST. MONTREAL, CANADA

Support Our Advertisers

Ye hear an' see the pipers come
Wi' heavin' chests, an' a' that,
Ye see the whirlin' sticks that drum,
The soond's the same for a' that,
For a' that, an' a' that,
The marchin' men an' a' that,
They leuk like breed frae Sooth o' Tweed
Wi' stovepiped legs, an' a that.

Wi'oot the kilt (man, hoo it swings
Aboon the knees an' a' that)
There'll be nae argument that hings,
Nae mysterie, an' a' that,
For a' that, an' a' that,
Wi' silent pipes an' a' that
Whaur are ye gaun for fetchin' men
Tae bear the gree an' a' that.

Maun it be honest poverty
That taks the kilt an' a' that?
Forbye a wee bit jealousie
O' tradition — lang wi' a' that.
For a' that, an' a' that,
The swing o' kilt an' a' that
Hes pride o' place o'er a' the airth
Mang best o' them for a' that.

What tho' he disna wear a kilt
Wi' sporran, pooch, an' a' that,
Wi'oot his dirk wi' jewelled hilt,
There's pride o' race for a' that,
For a that, an' a' that,
Wi'oot his tam, an' a' that.
An' wearin' pants o' Sassenach
He's aye a Scot for a' that.

A CHALLENGE

Editor, The Legionary:—

I am enclosing a poem which I wrote in the winter of 1919. It seems to me as much a charge to today's people as it was when written 27 years ago.

—*J. Bradley, Craik*, Sask.

OUR CHARGE

We fought the fight for JUSTICE
That the world may know no fear.
We fought the fight for FREEDOM
And for all that we held dear.

We died on the field of battle
That the TRUTH should ere prevail.
Nations, we charge you, promise
In future you will not fail.

There's a God in Heaven above us
As we lie on the torn battle ground.
We'll meet you with Him when he calls us,
With that long last trumpet sound.

So dry up your tears, all ye nations,
Remember for what we have bled,
Remember, aye, ever remember,
And continue the fight now we're dead.

VETERANS OR CIVILIANS?

Editor, The Legionary:—

Mr. H. C. Chadderton, of Ottawa, in your issue of March, 1947, risked the development of a first-class controversy in his reply to Mr. W. M. Ritson-Bennett's criticism of the article "Our Heritage".

If I may take the liberty to step into this exchange of correspondence, I should like to support Mr. Chadderton's views on the necessity of fulfilling his beliefs.

Mr. Chadderton touches, to my mind, three outstanding interests in his article — (1) whether or not we veterans should adopt the attitude that the "war is over"; forget about it now, forget we are veterans and become civilians; (2) as a group, ex-service persons should strive to keep alive the fact that there was a war, a distasteful one that became an embarrassment to our comforts and caused a few hardships; (3) the belief that soldiers, sailors and airmen have earned a share in this country.

We veterans cannot forget that there was a war; we must strive to keep alive the memory of the horrible, distasteful hardships and the sacrifices we willingly suffered. Finally, the great majority of us feel that we do own a share of Canada and will not relinquish our rights as landlords.

To develop my argument I must retrace history to the First Great War. A young Canadian stepped forth to war and laid down his life. He died, knowing that his wife, two children, were to be cared for by the country he so dearly bought a share of. The son of that man several years later tried, when leaving school, to obtain employment but his applications were repeatedly met with, "We can at this time only offer employment to sons of our employees". The boy received that answer from the firm his father worked for at the time of his enlistment. That same firm published an article in 1917 in which they were sympathetic to this young widow and family. But in 1935-36 they had forgotten.

That boy walked the streets and was noticed by a veteran, a Legionnaire, and subsequently was placed on the happy road of independence, a job and respectability in his community. That boy went overseas 1942-1945, won distinction for gallantry. He owns in his mind a share of Canada. The price was terrific and he will not relinquish his hold.

I, the above-mentioned lad, shall never forget the helping hand of A. E. ("Jack") Moore, that Legionnaire of Legionnaires; I shall never forget Mr. Civilian and his hand with thumbs down; and I shall never forget the trust placed upon me by those who fell at my side in the war. I dare not forget.

—*O. J. Harper*, Winnipeg Branch. Canadian Legion.

Smoke Legion Cigarettes

CORRECTION

Editor, The Legionary:—

In the Legion Log of the March issue it states that the Hon. J. A. Bernard, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, was present at a meeting of the Canadian Legion at Tignish, and that he is a resident of that town.

The Tignish referred to is, I believe, in Prince Edward Island rather than Nova Scotia, although there is also one in Nova Scotia. However, Mr. Bernard is not the Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia but of Prince Edward Island. The Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia is the Hon. Mr. Kendall, of Windsor, N.S.

—*Margaret R. Eaton*, London, Ont.

• • • •

Editor's Note: Thanks to our correspondent for spotting this error and giving us an opportunity to correct it.

THE BEST SETTLERS

Editor, The Legionary:—

Canada's great mistake is ignoring the capability of our own citizens where development is desired.

In old, settled Eastern districts, when young people have to go out into the world, why is no effort made by advice and propaganda to induce them to remain in the Dominion rather than go to the United States?

If they wish to go West, they should be informed and every assistance with regard to fares, etc., should be extended to them. They should at least have the same advantages as are accorded alien immigrants . . .

—*Robert Pontifex*, New Westminster, B.C.

GREETINGS FROM LONDON

Editor, The Legionary:—

Presenting my compliments and greetings from London to you and, through your kindly self, to all Canadian Legion members. I am a disabled soldier of that almost forgotten war of 1914-1918 in which I served with the East Yorkshire Regiment, and, believe me, thirty years of physical distress have not been funny or easy. But one does find forgetfulness and peace of mind in reading, and I have been fortunate in having sent from Canada regularly copies of THE LEGIONARY which I study with deep interest.

Those Canadian Legion cigarettes I see advertised so much in THE LEGIONARY make me rather envious of you Legion members in Canada because, first of all, cigarettes are mighty scarce here, and secondly, they help to keep the Legion in mind. I wish it well; in fact, I hope that the sales of the Canadian Legion cigarettes will exceed even the most optimistic dreams of the makers and the Legion. Good luck to you, Sir, and all members in Canada.

—*Ernest Graves*, 172 Eversholt St., Euston, London, N.W. 1, England.

BLIGHTY

Editor, The Legionary:—

As you are no doubt aware, *Blighty* throughout the war distributed free to the Forces in England and overseas millions of copies. *Blighty* is still being distributed free to the Forces overseas, and for the benefit of the ex-servicemen and women we have put a limited number on the bookstalls weekly and this is in considerable demand.

We have just made arangements with Messrs. Gordon & Gotch, Ltd., to become our sole selling agents in Canada. We are hoping that you will be able, through the medium of your magazine, to announce the fact to Canadian ex-servicemen that in future *Blighty* will be on sale in your country. We should very much appreciate your co-operation.

—*W. J. Chappell*, Public Relations Officer, "*Blighty*", London, England.

THE DIE-HARDS

Editor, The Legionary:—

May I trespass on your valuable space to request you to kindly publish the following notice in connection with the regimental journal of The Middlesex Regiment, *The Die-Hards*.

Subscriptions for *The Die-Hards* are now available at $1.11 per year, the remittance to be sent to the undernoted address:

The Editor,
"The Die-Hards," Middlesex Regiment,
Inglis-Barracks,
Mill-Hill,
London, N.W. 7, England.

I suggest that *The Die-Hards* would be a splendid medium for old comrades of the Regiment to get in touch with each other, both at home and abroad.

The 2nd Battalion, The Middlesex Regiment, is now stationed at Fayed, at the edge of the great Bitter Lake in the Suez Canal Zone,



Savings Accounts

Cash in the bank gives you confidence, helps you in social and business contacts, prepares you for opportunities as they come along. We welcome your account.

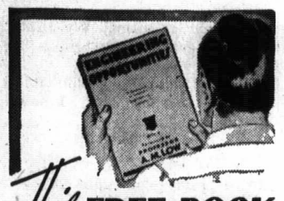
THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273812



This FREE BOOK is also your GUIDE for the FUTURE

New opportunities for the thoroughly trained man are here! Many new developments are broadening the engineering field. Learn more about them. Without obligation, write for our free book of home study courses. Canadian Institute of Science & Technology, Limited.

343 Chester Building, 219 Bay Street, Toronto 1, Ontario.

Aeronautical Engineering
A.F.R.Ae.S. Exam.
Air Ministry Exams for Ground Engineers.
General Aeronautical.
Advanced Aeronautical and Aeroplane Design.
Aero Engines Course.
Aircraft Apprentice
Pilots' "B" License
Air Navigators' Certificates.

Civil, Mining, Structural and Automobile Engineering
A.M.I.C.E. Examination
Civil Engineering
Civil Engineering Specifications, Quantities
Road Construction
Surveying and Levelling
Hydraulics
A.M.I. Struct. E.
Structural Engineering
Structural Design
Reinforced Concrete
Heating and Air-Cond.
Royal Sanitary Institute Examination.
Sanitary Engineering
Institute of Builders Exam. (I.I.O.B.)
Building Construction and Drawing
Advanced Building Construction.
Railway Engineering
Special Combined Building Course
Architecture
Geology and Mineralogy.
Metallurgy.
Petroleum Technology
General Mining Practice
Mining Engineering
Automobile Engineering
High-speed Diesels
Electrical Equipment of Automobiles

Electrical Engineering
A.M.I.E.E. Examination
General Electrical
Alternating Current
Electrical Installations
Power House Design
Neon Lighting
Electric Traction
Electricity Supply
Electric Meters Measuring Instruments
Design and Manufacture of Electrical Machinery and Apparatus
Telegraphy Course
Telephony Course

Mechanical Engineering
A.M.I. Mech. E. Exam.
General Mechanics
Mechanical Drawing and Design
Works Manager
Die and Press Tool Work
Sheet Metal Work
Welding Course
Maintenance and Stationary Engineers
Refrigeration Course
Institution of Production Eng. (A.M.I.P.E.)
Commercial Eng. and Works Management

Plastics
Plastics Technology
Plant and Mould Design
Plastic Paints, Varnish, and Lacquer.
Natural and Synthetic Rubber.
Laminated Wood

General Educational
University of London Examinations
London Matriculation
Intermediate and Final B.Sc. (Pure Science)
Higher Mathematics
Practical Mathematics
General Education
Cost Accountant's Course
Complete Salesmanship
Advertising
Sales Manager's Course
Modern Languages

Radio and Allied Groups
A.M. Brit. I.R.E. General Wireless
Advanced Wireless and High Frequency
Radio Servicing, Maintenance Repairs
Short Wave Radio
Practical Television
Sound Pictures



MAIL THIS COUPON NOW

Canadian Institute of Science and Technology, Limited;
343 Chester Building, 219 Bay Street, Toronto 1, Ontario

Please forward free of cost or obligation of any kind your 186-page Handbook, "ENGINEERING OPPORTUNITIES."

Name.....
Address.....
.....Age.....
Course Interested In.....

under command of Lieut.-Col. G. G. F. Reid.

—*Mrs. Harcourt G. L. Bengough*, 120 Burnside Rd. E., Victoria, B.C.

MORE ON MEDALS

Editor, The Legionary:—

Many references to medals, awards, etc., are printed in this column. Now, I have one way to settle the whole affair, at much less cost to the Government, less jealously and more satisfaction all around.

The Canadian Volunteer Service Medal differentiates between zombies and active servicemen. Therefore, let it remain. As for my suggestion, issue just one medal, preferably of silver, to every man that served in the forces, including the auxiliary forces. Then issue a clasp in the form of a bar inscribed with the theatres in which the man served. As an illustration, if the man served in England, Italy, France and on, then give him three bars for his service medal, each with one name on it.

—*L. A. Smithson*, Schumacher, Ont.

* * *

Editor, The Legionary:—

As the wife of a member of the Canadian Legion, I read with interest your excellent journal. I have just been reading the correspondence regarding the Defence Medal. To me it all seems so petty to hear men quibbling about such things. Over here thousands of women and the older men worked all day and kept it up all night rescuing folk from bombed buildings and saving the country from terrific destruction by fire. We do not have time to argue about medals; we just thank God we survived and try to get on with the still difficult job of living.

If it were medals for real active service that were under discussion, I should naturally not feel this way.

— *(Mrs.) C. Simm*, Farncombe, Godalming, Surrey, England.

* * *

Editor, The Legionary:—

Some time ago a daily newspaper here, in answer to a correspondent, volunteered the information that an appropriate certificate would be granted to men who served in the Reserve Army for six months or more during the recent war. The correspondent had deplored the fact that those who had served in the Reserve Army had not been accorded proper recognition.

A subsequent dispatch in the same newspaper read in part, "The British War Medal was awarded to all Empire servicemen and is reported to include men drafted for service in Canada only, who served at least twenty-eight days in the army".

There is an unanswered query forever in my mind: Why should not the Reserve man who served during the period of the late war merit more than a certificate in face of the foregoing dispatch if it is true?

Why, also, should he not merit as much recognition and in the same form as the C.P.C. and other purely civilian organizations, members of which were awarded one and in many cases two ribbons and a very fine certificate? Presumably the medals are to follow.

Admittedly it is hard to attain a standard for the bestowal of service medals satisfactory to everyone. However, it would appear that members and ex-members of the Reserve are without the pale of any fixed standard in this respect . . .

— *James Mortimer*, Montreal, Que.

* * *

Editor's Note: Just to keep the record straight, it is quite correct that the War Medal 1939-45 is awarded to full-time personnel of the Armed Forces who served only 28 days in Canada. Our correspondent is mistaken, however, when he states that members of the C.P.C. were granted "one, and in many cases two ribbons" — assuming, of course, that he is referring to SERVICE medals. It is possible that a few individuals may have received DECORATIONS, such as the O.B.E. or M.B.E., for other services to the state, but there was no issue of war medals for C.P.C. work. The only classes of civilians

RELIEVE ACHES & PAINS BY RUBBING IN

▶ Brings quick relief. Greaseless, fast-drying, no strong odor.

Large, economical size, 65c

19-46

MINARD'S "KING OF PAIN" LINIMENT

35¢

C273813

eligible for the War Medal are: accredited war correspondents, members of the Auxiliary Services (Canadian Legion War Services, Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus), the Canadian Red Cross, St. John Ambulance Brigade and the Corps of Canadian Fire Fighters — provided they served OVERSEAS as full-time, uniformed workers and their qualifying services comply with the regulations. The regulations are quite specific and leave no room for doubt on this point.

COIN COLLECTORS

Editor, The Legionary:—

I am interested in contacting comrades or civilians who collect old foreign coins, either as a hobby or as a business.

— *George Nichols*, 29 Linden Manor, Regina, Sask.

A BOUQUET

Editor, The Legionary:—

Too much cannot be said in praise of your wonderful magazine. I enjoy every page of it and feel all ex-service men should subscribe to it.

— *A. W. Breadner*, Kenaston, Sask.

A BRICKBAT

Editor, The Legionary:—

I would like to draw your attention to a lot of your writings on men who have achieved great honours in this war. Has it ever occurred to you that the men who went over in 1914, neither trained nor fully equipped, also did a good deed that made history for Canada? But the forgotten man, the burnt-out pensioner, doesn't come under the heading of men of great achievement. Even the old-age pensioners get five dollars more a month while me and thousands more made it safe. I know you won't print this letter . . .

—*Henry O'Brien*, R.R. 1, Wellington, B.C.

* * *

Editor's Note: Certainly we have published a good many stories of men who won great honours in the recent war — of distinguished leaders like Alexander and Montgomery, Eisenhower and Crerar; of outstanding heroes such as the 16 Canadian V.C.'s. We also published, in our "Salute to Valour" section, the pictures of more than a thousand Canadian sailors, soldiers and airmen who had won other awards for bravery, as well as photos of several thousand plain, ordinary fighting men of all ranks and all Services. We offer no apology for having done so, and we shall continue to follow this policy in the future.

At the same time, we have never for a single moment forgotten or ignored the plight of many of our old comrades of the First Great War, who are disabled, burnt-out or unemployed. Modestly but emphatically we claim that The Legionary has always championed their cause, as is clearly shown by the innumerable articles and editorials on increased pensions and War Veterans Allowances, as well as appeals for jobs for older veterans which we have published, are still publishing, and will continue to publish as long as there is a need for them. We have every sympathy with our correspondent's view but we certainly do not consider it fair of him to blame The Legionary because the Government and Parliament have not seen fit to increase the pension and W.V.A. rates to the extent he, and we, would like to see it done.

High Time

"George", demanded the little woman, holding up a handful of red, white and blue disks to the view of her hollow-eyed spouse, "are these poker chips that I found in your pocket?"

"Why, my dear", was the apologetic reply, "I suppose they are. You see I—"

"Well, George", the little woman sourly reproved, "all I've got to say is this: If you haven't sense enough to cash in your chips when you quit the game, it's time you stopped playing poker!"

A VETERAN INSURANCE SERVICE

THE LONDON & LANCASHIRE INSURANCE Co. Ltd.

Offices:
Toronto - Winnipeg - Vancouver
Montreal - St. John.

FIRE CASUALTY AUTOMOBILE

50 to 1 Favourite!



Yes sir, Heinz 57 Sauce is a flavour favourite with men everywhere. Fifty bottles of this zesty sauce are being bought today for every one sold eight years ago—that's convincing proof of popularity! Why not try taste-tempting 57 Sauce today? You'll find it a treat with fish, eggs or meat.

C-17VP

57



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273814

The Defence Cuts

(Concluded from page 5)

to re-establish ordinary civilian pursuits to forget that the end of hostilities does not establish peace and that war may again be possible within the lifetime of those who fought in the last war and, indeed, some who engaged in World War I.

With the demand from all over the country for reduction in taxes, there is a natural inclination to cut down the expenditure on the Armed Services, but the lessons of the past warn us that apparent economy, which militates against the adequate maintenance of a proper standard of National Defence, encourages the enemies of democracy and becomes appalling extravagance in lives and treasure.

It is well known that if expenditure on the Defence Forces is reduced below a certain limit, the money spent is entirely wasted and becomes a greater extravagance than a much higher expenditure.

The task of building up the Reserve Forces — Naval, Military and Air — after a Great War, is a difficult one under our present voluntary system. The announcement of the reduction in the estimates has had a serious effect in discouraging those who are making considerable sacrifices in giving their time and energy to this work in the national interest.

FINANCIAL SACRIFICES

From personal contact with members of the Legion all across Canada, I am convinced that they will willingly accept the financial sacrifices necessary to maintain our Forces on an adequate and efficient basis.

We feel that under present conditions leadership must come from the Government if the public is to realize the necessity for the continuing interest in national defence. The almost complete ignorance among the general public on defence matters at the outbreak of the last war was really appalling; with the developments of modern science this ignorance on a future occasion might prove fatal to our national existence and way of life.

The Legion suggests that the annual debate in the House on the Armed Forces Estimates is inadequate to cover the subject and to arouse the public to a proper appreciation of Canada's defence needs. We are of the opinion that problems of preparedness, involving the rapid mobilization of the full resources of the country when the need arises, should become the subject of constant consideration by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons.

Yours sincerely,
C. B. PRICE,
Dominion President.

GOOD PHYSIQUE, MAGNIFICENT SHIRT! WHERE DID YOU GET IT?



"The physique, doc? The shirt's a good old B.V.D!"

Just what the doctor should have ordered—only he didn't—So guess who's enjoying real shirt comfort today while awaiting those B.V.D. replacements!

B.V.D.

MAKERS OF FINE SHIRTS

The B.V.D. Company Limited, Montreal

8-46

End of an Epic

(Continued from page 9)

count for all assets and unexpended cash balances at the end of the war. The agreement went into some detail with regard to the operating of canteens in Canada and set forth that, after paying certain expenses (which were defined in the agreement) the gross profits should be divided as follows:

1. That 5 per cent of the *sales* (not profits) should be paid monthly to the units served. This was invariably done, with the result that units in Canada received dividends from C.L.W.S. to the extent of $355,386.13. (Each canteen was run as a separate business with its own bank account and books, which were regularly audited.)
2. That 2 per cent was to be set aside for general overhead in managing and supervising the Canteen Department.
3. That, after deducting items 1 and 2 above, the resultant net profit be turned over to the Receiver-General of Canada in trust, to be held until a Board of Trustees could be set up and a policy developed with regard to expending the funds for the benefit of ex-service men and women and their dependents. The amount turned over by C.L.W.S. was $239,861.04.

We believe that these figures are correct, but they are subject to final audit and reconciliation with the Auditor General's Branch. However, they indicate that we accounted for every last penny of our profits in Canada, amounting in all to $595,247.17.

Overseas the policy was somewhat different in that, by army order, we did not distribute profits but froze them in a special account. These profits amounted to $548,148.16 by the end of 1946, out of which $125,000 was turned over to the Canadian Treasury Officers in London to help finance our operations overseas, thus saving foreign exchange. The balance is held by us pending final settlement with the Department of National Defence.

It will be seen, therefore, that by careful management a grand total of $1,143,395.23 has either been paid over or will be placed in trust by Canadian Legion War Services with a Government-appointed Board, who will administer the Canteen Fund, of which the Legion's contribution is only a part.

A Parliamentary Committee is now sitting for the purpose of reviewing this whole question, and it is expected that in the near future a Canteen Board will be set up.

JOINT PURCHASING

In addition to our own canteens, we co-operated with the other three organizations in a large joint purchasing, shipping and warehousing venture, known as BRONCO, the purpose of which was to supply canteens in Europe outside of the United Kingdom. This was managed very efficiently by the Y.M.C.A., but the four Auxiliary Organizations handled the merchandise and were jointly responsible to the Government for the funds advanced to finance the undertaking. We are informed that the venture was quite profitable, but the auditors' final report is not yet complete. As with our own operations, the total net profit will be turned over to the Canteen Fund.

The operation of canteens was one branch of our activity, but they required the attention of considerable forces in the field who daily worked long hours, and a staff at headquarters who were called upon to carry out careful and extensive purchasing, shipping and accounting at all points.

THINGS THAT COUNT

In conclusion may I say that no program, no amount of money, makes any undertaking a success. The things that count are loyalty and cheerful service and, while there were some exceptions, the vast majority of our Supervisors and other employees were intensely interested in their work and gave their best without thought of weather, fatigue or award. To them, and to the many volunteers who worked with them, the Legion owes much.

The Helping Hand

(Concluded from page 19)

were successfully adjusted, of which 92 were related to the Second War and 6 to the First War. There were also 7 other miscellaneous adjustments secured. A total of $31,394.71 was paid to the successful claimants in retroactive pension and their future security is now assured by the payment of a monthly rate of pension.

Year by year our Legion upholds legitimate claims to pension, medical treatment and hospitalization, War Veterans' Allowance and other benefits to which we believe ex-servicemen and their dependents are justly entitled. As time goes by, the claims become more difficult and require more evidence to prove their relationship to service. In this great work of service, Legion Branches and Provincial Commands, as well as District Service Bureaux, are playing a splendid part.

The Last Post

Rfn., George Franklin Leslie — E. 30410, Royal Rifles of Canada. Taken prisoner at Hong Kong 1941, transferred to Nilgata Camp, Japan, and died in D.V.A. Hospital, Cornwallis, Deep Brook, N.S., April 12, 1947.

W-O Robert J Kearns — 302015 and C. 12552, 39th Battery, C.E.F. (21 years Imperial Army, 7 years in India). March 30 at Calgary, Alta., aged 78. Life member Strathmore Branch, Canadian Legion.

Sgt. S. J. Lisik — L.7547, R.C.E.M.E. April 6 at Lipton, Sask. aged 40. Member Stockholm Branch, Canadian Legion.

T. L. Leigh — 3rd Bn., C.E.F. April 6 at Montreal, aged 48. Manager, Veterans Service Bureau, Canadian Legion Memorial Building, Montreal.

LEARN PATTERN-MAKING THE SAM REGAL METHOD

The American Gentleman Designing School — teaches pattern-making and grading of men's clothing and women's tailored garments for wholesale manufacturing and custom tailoring.

CANADIAN VETERANS ACCEPTED

American Gentleman Designing School, 111-5th Ave. New York 3, N.Y.

SLOAN'S Liniment
Good for TIRED MUSCLES
JUST PAT IT ON!

WE STILL HAVE ENEMIES!

Enemies who thoughtlessly deplete our great natural resources — of forest — and of fish and wildlife.

But by education, these enemies can be converted into Allies —

Talk care with fire in the forests, wherever you go, to campers and smokers especially

Talk conservation for future sport to the game and fish hogs.

THINK - OF THE TOMORROWS WE FOUGHT FOR!

ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND FORESTS

Hon. H. R. Scott, Minister
F. A. MacDougall, Deputy Minister

C273815

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273816



TREASURY NOTES

Authoritative and helpful information and comments on Legion financial matters

By B. Thomas

Treasury Officer, Canadian Legion, Dominion Command

The Organization and Operation of the Poppy Campaign

ONE of the most important annual functions of the Legion's Treasury Department in Ottawa is the operation of the Poppy Campaign on a national scale.

Remembrance Day, November 11, is of great significance to the Canadian people generally; to the Legion particularly it is a day on which all its members pay tribute to their fallen comrades, using the scarlet poppies as emblems of remembrance.

Each year a contract is made between the Department of Veterans' Affairs and the Legion for the supply of Poppies and Wreaths which are made by disabled veterans in the "Vetcraft" workshops operated by the Department.

FIRST HELD IN 1923

The first Poppy Campaign took place in 1923 and was conducted under an agreement between the Department and the Great War Veterans Association. Similar campaigns were conducted by the G.W.V.A. up to and including the year 1925. In the year 1926, the Canadian Legion having come into existence and having absorbed the G.W.V.A., the Department made its contract with the Legion. Since then, the Campaign has been conducted annually by the Canadian Legion, a similar contract being granted each year, and this has continued throughout these years without material change.

By virtue of this contract Dominion Headquarters of the Legion undertakes to buy from the Department the entire supply of poppies necessary for the carrying out of a nation-wide campaign.

The prices charged by the Department to Dominion Command of the Legion for poppies, wreaths, etc., are as set out in the contract. Dominion Command in turn distributes these poppies through the medium of the Provincial Commands, on a non-returnable basis, and a substantial sum of money is paid each year by the Legion to the Department of Veterans Affairs in pursuance of the contract.

Generally, the functions of Dominion Command of the Legion in the conduct of the Campaign are:

The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of bad men.—Plato.

(a) To maintain the campaign on a nation-wide scale, to increase its scope wherever possible, and to educate the public and particularly the younger generation to a true realization of the significance of the poppy as a Token of Remembrance.

(b) To secure orders from each Provincial Command for the entire requirements of each Province.

(c) To estimate the entire national requirements and to place its order accordingly.

(d) To co-operate with the Department in seeing that all orders from all sources are promptly and satisfactorily filled.

(e) To be solely responsible to the Department for payment of the entire account and for this purpose to get in the monies from Provincial Commands in sufficient time to complete its payments not later than December 31, after each Campaign.

MAGNITUDE OF OPERATION

A very great amount of work is involved in receiving and transmitting orders and in subsequent checking and adjusting of each Provincial Command account. The collection of the large sums of money involved also demands unremitting attention. It is a matter of satisfaction that on no occasion has Dominion Command of the Legion failed to make full settlement with the Department within the contractual period. The magnitude of this operation can be best understood when it is remembered that Vetcraft poppies are now sold through Legion channels in almost every city, town, village and hamlet in the Dominion.

So far as is known there is no criticism from any source as to the operation of the campaign by Dominion Command or the prices charged. It is well known that any sums remaining on hand each year, after settlement with the Department, are devoted to the maintenance of the Dominion Command Service Bureau, with the exception of a small administrative charge fixed by Dominion Convention.

All forwarding charges on wreaths, i.e. freight, express, etc., and on small and large poppies in all the Provinces are paid by Dominion Command.

FUNCTIONS OF PROVINCIAL COMMANDS

It may be said at once that the Legion could not successfully operate the Poppy Campaign were it not for the fact that in each province its Branches are efficiently organized under a Provincial Command. The services of Provincial Commands are essential. Any attempt by Dominion Command to deal directly with each point in Canada where poppies are sold, and to undertake collections direct, would entail far too complex and cumbersome a task and would most likely prove not only impractical but impossible of operation. There are each year over 2,400 Legion Branches and Auxiliaries engaged in the distribution of poppies, and to these must be added a very large number of other points where Vetcraft poppies are distributed.

It is only by reason of the fact that it is possible to divide the country into a number of distinct

(Continued on page 40)

C 273817

Smile Awhile

★ ★ ★

A Pole was rescued from concentration camp and sent to a hospital in Scotland. Recovered, he went to London to see a Polish friend. "Well, Wladyslaw," said the friend, "have you learned any English yet?"

"Aye, a wee bit", was the reply.

* * *

After three years of service and loads of medals, the bombardier was discharged and returned home. The first night he went out with the girl he had been rushing when he joined the army, but now she didn't seem as pretty or as bright as before he left. When he got home, he threw away her picture and tore up her letters. "That," he mumbled to himself, "that was one of my near-Mrs.

* * *

The teacher asked little Johnnie: "Of what significance is the 11th of November, 1918?"

"On that day," promptly responded Johnnie, "the Armistice of the First World War was signed, and there have been two minutes of peace every year since."

* * *

One of the best "survivor" stories of the war has been related by a member of the crew of a submarine who returned from a hair-raising experience at sea with this little gem:

"We crash-dived and watched the gauges with anxious eyes. Depth charges were popping too close for comfort. We expected the lights to go at any moment. Suddenly the sub's cook rushed into the control room:

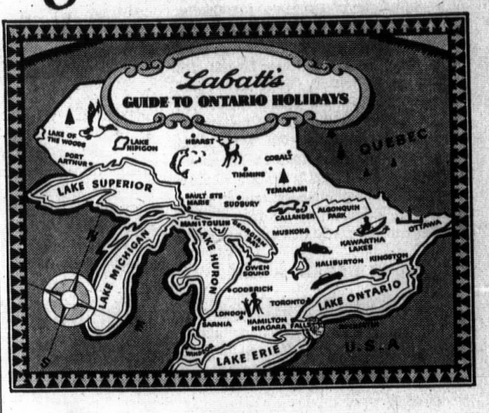
"'For cripes sake,' he yelled, 'you've got to do something about that destroyer. My bread's falling!'"

* * *

"Hurry up," called the London air-raid warden, pounding on the door. "Didn't you hear the siren?"

"Just a minute, warden, till I get my teeth," came a woman's voice.

"Never mind your teeth, ma'am," said the warden. "They're not dropping sandwiches."



Roads to Enjoyment !..

Every year in Ontario thousands enjoy the holidays of their lives, because climate and nature combine to make of our Province the ideal natural playground. And because it is in everybody's interest that this should continue to be true, John Labatt Limited have planned a series of advertisements each of which will tell of the special advantages of one specific district. Look out for them!

For detailed information about any particular section, write Ontario Holiday, Room 1004, Victory Building, Toronto.

Tourist Business is Good Business!

Every one of us is personally interested in the tourist industry! If resort owners, guides, boat liveries prosper, we all share in their prosperity. So plan your own holidays in Ontario and do all you can to encourage friends from other parts of Canada and from the United States to come and share our fun.

"Let's make them want to come back!"

Published in the public interest by John Labatt Limited

Labatt's

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273818

and separate zones, i.e., provinces, and that there is a well-organized and responsible authority in each province, i.e., Legion Provincial Commands, which estimates the requirement of the entire province in advance and places its order accordingly, and to which Dominion Command may safely look for payment of the entire account within the stipulated period, that it is possible for Dominion Command of the Legion to carry out its contract.

MUCH DETAIL WORK

The functions and duties of Provincial Commands in relation to the Campaign are, in respect to their own territory, similar to the functions of Dominion Command in relation to the provinces, except that in most instances Provincial Commands must undertake a very large amount of detail work.

Provincial Commands are required

(a) To vigorously encourage the sale of Vetcraft Poppies throughout their entire territory and to fill all orders even when such orders are very small and can only be filled at a loss.

(b) To estimate in advance the requirements of the entire Province and to place its order with Dominion Command accordingly.

(c) To co-operate with the Department in seeing that all orders are promptly and properly filled. In many cases Provincial Commands receive the poppies in bulk and make up and ship orders themselves.

(d) To attend to the proper invoicing of all orders and to make collections and pay Dominion Command within the contractual time limit.

Several Provincial Commands solicit orders on such an extensive scale and have so much work in connection with the preparation, carrying on and winding up of the Campaign, that they find it an annual necessity to employ additional staff for the purpose.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

It is beyond doubt that all Legion Branches, and indeed the public at large, have the utmost confidence in the Provincial Commands concerned and have satisfied themselves long ago that all surplus monies remaining in the hands of Provincial Commands from the sale of Poppies have been and are used for most excellent purposes. In most of the provinces, Provincial Commands are compelled by necessity to maintain an efficient Service Bureau which is kept in existence at the expense of the Command for the benefit of all ex-service men throughout the whole province, whether members of the Legion or not. The value to the community of these Service Bureaux has long been established.

It is significant that although Provincial Command prices have been maintained in each province at the same level for many years past, nevertheless the Campaign is continued by the Legion each year with a high degree of success, thus showing that the general public has full confidence in the Canadian Legion.

The Department of Veterans Affairs is aware that no Association other than the Legion has the organization and resources at its disposal to effectively and efficiently carry out a national campaign and to make its collection so as to ensure prompt settlement.

It is considered that, having regard to the heavy responsibilities which Dominion and Provincial Commands of the Legion undertake and meet each year in the carrying out of the Poppy Campaign, there should be little objection to these Commands deriving at least some revenue to meet costs and expenses involved, and to assist them in carrying out their unceasing obligations in regard to relief and service work.

GROWTH OF CAMPAIGN

The National Poppy Organising Committee under the Chairmanship of Major A. D. Golden meets periodically to discuss methods by means of which the Campaign can be improved, and as a result many valuable suggestions have been made and acted upon.

Much more could be said regarding the Poppy Campaign, but space does not permit. In conclusion, however, it can be stated that since the early days of the Legion the Campaign has grown steadily and the sale of emblems in 1946 reached an all-time high, totaling over 4,000,000 poppies and 29,000 wreaths for all Canada, while the amount paid by Dominion Command to the Department of Veterans' Affairs in that year was $136,245.70.

D.V.A. Urges Vocational Students To Complete Apprenticeship Courses

OFFICIALS in the Department of Veterans Affairs responsible for supervision of the training of veterans last month expressed concern over a tendency becoming apparent among veterans who have taken comparatively short courses in Canadian Vocational Training institutions to accept employment at high rates of wages, and to neglect to follow normal apprenticeship procedure. The D.V.A. officials explained that with employment conditions exceptionally good in many of the designated trades, veterans with only six months training are able to command wages almost equivalent to those of journeymen.

"This is fine from the veteran's standpoint at the present time," a spokesman for the Department of Veterans Affairs said, "but over the long term it may result in considerable hardship. The six months course in C.V.T. institutions does not give any trainee journeyman status and, while the veteran cannot be blamed for accepting employment at the highest possible wage available, it is, nevertheless, a fact that by foregoing the required apprenticeship which results in a reduced wage during the apprenticeship period, the veteran is jeopardizing his status in the years to come.

"There is also the possibility that provincial legislatures may enact laws which would force all workers in the designated trades, including certain building trades, to obtain a licence before they engage in their craft. If this legislation is passed, it is quite evident that the veterans who complete their apprenticeship in the normal way will be in a much better position than those who reach for the high wages now."

C 273819.

The Last Post

At the going down of the sun
And in the morning
We will remember them.

* * *

Obituary notices, which are published free of charge, should include surname, initials or Christian names, regimental number, rank, unit, place and date of death.

AC. 2 Oswald E. Bissonnette—R. 130878, R.C.A.F. October, 1946, at St. Paul, Alta. Member Calgary Branch, Canadian Legion.

William S. Brown — 703001, 102nd Bn., C.E.F. March 23 at Victoria, B.C. Member Britannia Branch, Canadian Legion.

John Chisholm — B. 14255, Veterans Guard of Canada. March 22 at Fort Arthur, Ont. Member Port Arthur Branch, Canadian Legion.

Marcel J. Duchesneau — E. 29768, R.C.S.C. December 10 at Port Arthur, Ont. Member Port Arthur Branch, Canadian Legion.

Charles Dupuis — 438798, 52nd Bn., C.E.F. March 4 at Port Arthur, Ont. Member Port Arthur Branch, Canadian Legion.

Georges Eves — 138562, 75th Bn., C.E.F. March 15 at Victoria, B. C. Member Britannia Branch, Canadian Legion.

P. E. Filiatrault — March 1 at St. James, Man. Member Dryden, Ont., Branch, Canadian Legion.

Peter Fleming — 3206725, 1st Depot Bn., C.E.F. July 5, 1946, at Port Arthur, Ont. Member Port Arthur Branch, Canadian Legion.

F. W. Gossage — 65378, 24th Battalion, C.E.F. (Victoria Rifles of Canada). March 15 at Lachine, P. Q. Member Lakeshore Veterans Branch, Canadian Legion.

AC. 2 William M. Green — R. 124985. R.C.A.F. March 20 at Windsor, N.S. Member Vimy Branch, Canadian Legion, Halifax.

John Brant Kerby — 311910, 3rd. C.D.A.C., C.E.F. February 27 at Winnipeg, aged 53, Member Valour Road Memorial Branch, Canadian Legion.

Pte. James Kerr — 22321, 10th Bn., and 3rd Field Ambulance, C.E.F. January 14 at Winnipeg. Member Winnipeg Branch, Canadian Legion.

William J. W. McBurney — 14th Bn., C.E.F. At Winnipeg, aged 67. Member Valour Road Memorial Branch, Canadian Legion.

John A. McDonald — 2192502, C. E. and 5th Bn., C.R.T., C.E.F. March 29 at St. James, Man., aged 78. Member Valour Road Memorial Branch.

Richard T. McDonald—C.E.F. and R.F.C. March 2 at Minnedosa, Man., aged 56. President, General Dyer Branch, Canadian Legion.

A. Moore — 645470, 158th Bn., C.E.F. January 6 at White Rock, B.C.

Elijah V. Prieston — 1001245, 226th Bn., C.E.F. March 9 at Port Arthur, Ont. Member Port Arthur Branch, Canadian Legion.

Stephany Scolsky — K. 48316, No. 11 District Depot. March 22 at Victoria, B.C. Member Britannia Branch, Canadian Legion.

R. J. Sullian — R. 81228, R.C.A.F. January 18 at White Rock, B.C.

Pte. Selah Ellsworth Sunbury — 297352, 224th Bn., C.E.F. March 19 at Prince Rupert, B.C., aged 57. Member Prince Rupert Branch, Canadian Legion.

Pte. Joseph Edward Welcher — F. 66422, R.C.A.S.C. March 8 at Halifax, N.S., aged 33. Member Vimy Branch, Canadian Legion.

Robert Quinn — South African and First Great War. March 7 at Vancouver. President Lions Gate Branch, Canadian Legion.

LOST TRAILS

George E. Dickson — 1099486, "A" Coy, 10 Bn., Canadian Railway Troops. Friends desirous of obtaining his address. Anyone knowing his whereabouts please notify L. F. Laforet, 20 Frank Ave., Riverside, Ont.

Lieut. R. D. P. Gilday — R.C.N.V.R. Present address urgently required in connection with estate. Last known address 3980 or 4868 Cote des Neiges Road, Montreal, P. Q. Anyone knowing his whereabouts please notify Chief Pensions Officer, Canadian Legion, P. O. Box 57, Ottawa, Ont.

William Hadden — Veteran of World War I. Last known address Winnipeg, Man. Present address required as Wm. Hadden Sr. is in poor health. Anyone knowing his whereabouts please notify John C. Hadden, 769 McDougal St., Niagara Falls, Ont.

George Malencich — M. 2117 and K. 45045. Present address required as pension medical examination has been authorized. Last known address Edmonton, Alta. Anyone knowing his whereabouts please notify Chief Pensions Officer, Canadian Legion, P.O. Box 657, Ottawa, Ont.

Arthur G. Surrage, formerly of 20 Dupont St., Toronto, Ont. Pension Commission requires this veteran to report for examination. Anyone knowing his present address, please notify Chief Pensions Officer, Canadian Legion, Box 657, Ottawa.

Mary C. Hagen — No.6181, formerly of 406 Oxford St., Halifax, N.S. Pension Commission requires this ex-service woman to report for examination. Anyone knowing her present address, please notify Chief Pensions Officer, Canadian Legion, Box 657, Ottawa.

Joseph E. Pollock — No. B-106480, formerly of 163 Main St., Newmarket, Ont. Pension Commission requires this veteran to report for examination. Anyone knowing his present address, please notify Chief Pensions Officer, Canadian Legion, Box 657, Ottawa.



HANDS AT WORK...
LEARNING TO WELD

ONTARIO'S future prosperity depends directly on a sufficient volume of production to satisfy domestic needs and assure for Canada a pre-eminent place in the markets of the world. Take the metal trades for example . . . never before has the demand, both here and abroad, for the products of Ontario's metal industries been so great. Production must be increased . . . but to meet new production goals, skilled hands are needed. For them great opportunities lie ahead. Higher wages, job security, better working conditions are within easier reach of those who have mastered a skilled occupation.

Today, through the plan sponsored by the Department of Veterans' Affairs and other agencies, hundreds of young workers are being trained to meet the needs of the metal trades. Graduates of these rehabilitation courses are now ready to take their places in Ontario's industry. Available to you are veterans, well started on the road to skilled metal working trades such as tool making, blacksmithing, machine operation, iron working, pattern making, welding and forging. Seek them out with confidence. They are your future craftsmen.

THE BREWING INDUSTRY ONTARIO

Published by THE BREWING INDUSTRY (ONTARIO)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273819

C273820

BRANCH NEWS — FROM SEA TO SEA

The Legion Log

Secretaries are invited to send news of IMPORTANT branch activities of more than local interest. Owing to space limitations, the reports should be brief and trenchant, typewritten and double-spaced. Please do not send newspaper clippings. "100 Per Cent Branches"—those subscribing to The Legionary on behalf of all their paid-up members—are indicated by an asterisk. DEADLINE: The 10th previous to month of publication.

ALBERTA

★**JASPER** — The following officers have been elected for 1947: Past President, W. H. Dixon; President, D. J. Keen; 1st Vice-President, W. J. Hooper; 2nd Vice-President, J. Ward; Treasurer, W. J. Heckley; Secretary, W. Booth; Executive, T. A. Ross, W. J. Popey, D. Fraser, A. W. Peterson, F. A. Bryant, W W. Ruddy, J Yeoman, D Martyn, M. Macdonald, W. R. Ruddy, W. Hudson, D. G. McLellan.

At a general meeting held on March 27, Mr. Carl Heckbert, Provincial President, and Mr. Walter McLaren, 1st Vice-President of the Montgomery Branch, Edmonton, addressed a crowd of veterans and citizens who, following the usual one minute silence, listened with intense interest to the speakers. A brief but convincing appeal to all veterans to co-operate in making the Legion the greatest and most useful organization in Canada was made by the President, Denny Keen.

Mr. Heckbert presented W. H. Dixon with a past president's badge and spoke highly of his 16 years in office.

The following evening a "smoker" was held in the club-room in honour of the speakers of the previous night. Lieut.-Col. "Ted" Brown, of Edmonton, was also present.

—W. B.

★**MEDICINE HAT** — All committees of the local Branch are working overtime these days. The sports committee is most active in making preparation for the baseball and football season, getting all equipment ready and rounding up the players. There will also be a ladies softball team; they were senior provincial champions in 1946. In addition, arrangements are being made for the lawn bowling season, and this branch boasts some of the best in the west.

Other branch matters are not being passed up and every attention is being given to all veterans' problems. By the time this goes to press, the annual Vimy commemoration will have passed another milestone. The younger committee members are shaping up well and making themselves very useful, assisted by the older members whose place they will have to fill some day.

—J. W. W.

★**STRATHMORE** — At the March meeting the following officers were elected: President, Ian MacKenzie; 1st Vice-President, Sam Slater; 2nd Vice-President, Andrew Scott; Secretary-Treasurer, S. H. Crowther; Executive, Wm. Woodliffe, Wm. Tew, Harley Willson. George McLean, Douglas Hirtle, Dave Kermack.

Vimy Day was commemorated by a social evening attended by members and their families.

Recently a Ladies' Auxiliary was formed. The ladies are most enthusiastic and are going to be of great help to the Legion. There are already 30 - 40 members. The officers are: President, Mrs. E. Tew; 1st Vice-President, Mrs. E. Woodliffe; 2nd Vice-President, Mrs. R. Boissevain ; Secretary - Treasurer, Mrs. F. Slater.

—S. H. C.

★**SLAVE LAKE** — The following is a corrected list of officers of the Slave Lake Branch: President, S. W. Harris; 1st Vice-President, A. Laurence; 2nd Vice-President, J. M. Heathman; Secretary-Treasurer, E. R. Kirkpatrick; Executive, R. T. Barnes, S. A. Brown, R. Green, C. T. Tee, C. J. Schurter; Sergeant-at-Arms, G. J. Rochon.

—E. R. K.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

★**AGASSIZ** — The mighty Fraser River looks a rather formidable obstacle at times. During the floods of last year, for example, the R.C.A. and municipal engineers, with the aid of the Legion and other organizations had a real fight to keep the ground around Agassiz from being washed away. But it takes more than that to keep two good Legion branches apart. There is no bridge within 30 miles either way, and the river can only be crossed for limited periods each day by ferry, but the comrades from Chilliwack Branch overcame this difficulty by chartering an extra ferry in order to attend a recent meeting at Agassiz.

EDSON — The Provincial President of the Alberta Command, S. C. Heckbert, accompanied by Col. E. Brown and Walter McLaren, of Edmonton, spoke at a large gathering of the Edson Branch on March 24. Their messages were timely and interesting.

A Vimy Remembrance Smoker was held in the Legion Hall on April 9, with an attendance of over 100. Some ten veterans of the Battle of Vimy were present and were given an ovation. The evening was given over to speeches by old and young veterans, and to wartime songs and stories.

The resignation of President J. L. Laurence was accepted with regret at the regular meeting held on April 10. He has been in poor health for some time. The officers of the Branch are now: President, R. A. Ansell; 1st Vice-President, F. J. Tanton; Treasurer, H. V. Harrison; Secretary, J. Pattinson; Executive, W. S. Grierson, E. T. Elliot, D. M. Caston, T. I. McLeod.

—J. P.

CLOVERDALE — Plans for a new $30,000 Legion building for Cloverdale were given approval at a general meeting in March. The proposed structure will be one storey high and will have club rooms, cafe, reading and billiard rooms, executive offices and a section for the Legion Women's Auxiliary. Plans will provide for a second floor to be added in the future.

Presentation of a life membership was made to Hubert L. Harris of Cloverdale at a smoker on April 9 in recognition of his services to the branch during the last 25 years.

Over 140 applications for building materials to complete partially finished veterans homes were filled by the Surrey Veterans Housing Committee in co-operation with mill owners and building supply houses, it was reported as the committee wound up its activities at the end of March.

As well as a club-room downtown, the Branch has a Memorial Hall where the meeting was held under the joint chairmanship of Mr. Mackenzie, President of Branch 32, and Mr. Baldwin, President of Branch 4. After a most successful business discussion, the visiting President conducted an impressive ceremony for new candidates.

—W. E. M.

★**VANCOUVER** — A figure unique in Vancouver veteran and sports circes, a man famed as a friend of the city's children, Robert Quinn, President of the Lions Gate Branch of the Canadian Legion, "went west" on March 7.

A veteran of the Boer War and the First Great War, Bob Quinn was a real champion of the veteran's cause and the Legion was always foremost in his thoughts. Apart from being President of the Branch, he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees and it was he who organized a campaign to raise money to buy the present Branch premises. He also represented the Branch on the District Council of the Legion and was Chairman of the Kitsilano Community Centre at the time of his death.

One of Bob Quinn's sisters is Lady Lukin, widow of the late Major-General Lukin who commanded the South African Expeditionary Force in France in the First Great War.

VICTORIA — Since the creation of the Sir Percy Lake Memorial Scholarship by the Victoria District Council in June, 1943, it has been won four times — three times by the son of a veteran of World War I and the fourth time by a 20-year old veteran of World War II. All the boys have proved a credit to themselves and to the memory of that very fine gentleman whom the

C 273821



Remember the Name?

To many veterans of service in Holland, thoughts of Utrecht will always be accompanied by the melodic pealing of the chimes in the Dom. A very beautiful old cathedral, it is reputed to be the highest landmark in Holland. The Dom will live long in the memories of many Canadians . . .

Published in the interests of continued friendship between
HOLLAND and CANADA

ERVEN LUCAS BOLS
DISTILLERS

1426 Bishop St., Montreal, Que.

Founded in Amsterdam

Anno 1575

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273822

Scholarship honours. John Syrett, the first winner, is now a member of the Faculty of the University of British Coumbia.

With the consent of the Faculty of Victoria College, the Victoria & District Zone Council has now had prepared a fine Honour List containing the names of the winners to date. It will be hung in the College and each year the winner's name will be inscribed on it as an inspiration to all students eligible for the award in the years to come.

—C. A. G.



NEW LADIES AUXILIARY IN HALIFAX

Shown here are the officers, executive and charter members of the newly-formed Ladies' Auxiliary of the Cornwallis Branch of the Canadian Legion, Halifax, N.S. The photo was taken during the installation of officers which was conducted by Major Alastair MacKinnon, Provincial Secretary of the Nova Scotia Command. President of the Auxiliary is Mrs. E. H. Shortreed, fourth from left in front row. *(Photo by W. M. Schaffner)*

MANITOBA

TRANSCONA — The present officers of the Transcona Branch are as follows: President, A. C. Pelletier; 1st Vice-President, F. Hay; 2nd Vice-President, A. K. Douville; Treasurer, W. L. Kozak, W. Copeland, R. J. Hewitson, E. E. Rand, D. M. MacKay, F. Miles, J. H. Taylor, F. Magas; Secretary, S. R. Davy.

★WINNIPEG—The following members of the Valour Road Memorial Branch were chosen as delegates to the Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Command Convention to be held in Brandon June 8-11: D. E. Brown, R. S. Cox, T. Edmondston, Mrs. Geoffrey Hess, G. E. Hocking, M.C., J. H. Polson, G. Earl Ramsay (President), C. T. Scrace, Miss Myrtle Tait, G. C. Wallace (1st Vice-President), J. E. Wilson, G. L. Wright.

The following members of the branch who have served on the Command Executive were endorsed to attend the convention: Orton S. Dowd, Don Forrest, Rev. T. J. Malone, S.J., Fred J. A. Orchard, Rev. G. E. Phillips, M.M., Hon. C. Rhodes Smith, K.C., (President of the Manitoba Command).

The branch sponsored its twelfth annual Vimy celebration on April 11. Guest speaker was Lieut.-General the Hon. P. J. Montague, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C., V.D., Honorary President of the Branch. As usual there was a large attendance.

—G. E. C.

★DRYDEN, N.W. ONT. — At a recent general meeting 40 new members were initiated, bringing the membership to over 300. The ceremony, under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Ferguson, called on all officers in their various roles, and each new member was introduced personally.

The resignation of the Teasurer, Mr. A. B. Faulkner, was regretfully accepted and a social evening was sponsored in honour of him and his wife before their departure for Cornwall.

The officers of the Ladies' Auxiliary have presented the Branch with several framed photographs of the Lake Superior Regiment. The ladies comprised the executive of the wartime auxiliary to the Lake Superior Regiment in Dryden.

At a general meeting held on March 17 in the new club-rooms, a life membership was presented to Mr. J. M. Doyle, who since the branch was first formed has held the offices of 1st Vice-President, Sergeant-at-Arms and Chairman of the Sick and Visiting Committee.

—K. R.

★FLIN FLON — At the regular monthly meeting held March 17, eleven applications for membership were passed and eight new members initiated. Following the business session the Navy vets took over and put on a ring-tailed entertainment.

—W. S. D. L.

★MINNEDOSA — Last month saw the passing here of a good and true friend, President of the General Hugh Dyer Branch, Richard T. McDonald.

Accountant for the local office of the Manitoba Department of Highways, Mr. McDonald found time to engage in almost every phase of community endeavour. He was the leader of the Scout troop since 1935, Commanding Officer of the Air Cadet Squadron during World War II, prior to which he was a member of the Minnedosa Veterans Guard. He had been a member of the school board since 1933, people's leader of the Scout troop since warden in the Anglican church; during the war he was active with the Red Cross and later the Citizens' Rehabilitation Committee.

Mr. McDonald was predeceased by two sons, F/O D.R.C. (Dick) McDonald, R.C.A.F., killed in a raid over Hamburg, in August, 1943, and Capt. John W. B. McDonald of the Tank Corps, who was killed in the Hochwald Forest, Germany in February, 1945.

—J. S. H.

★HARTNEY—The Legion here has a fine meeting hall and a lot of the credit is due to the Ladies' Auxiliary for their unstinted aid. In appreciation of their splendid co-operation the Branch was host to the ladies at a get-together on March 26.

C 273823

The ice is still THIN!

★

Even though the "Danger" signs of Inflation can be taken down now, they have to be replaced with signs reading "Proceed With Caution". The ice is still too thin for any Canadian to tell himself, "Now, at last, I can go ahead and buy everything I want."

We can't—yet. But we can proceed to enjoy—in moderation—many of the goods and services which were so long in short supply. These good things are ours at moderate prices now because we were moderate in our demands before.

Today, Canadians can indeed be proud of one of this country's finest possessions, which is, as The House of Seagram has long contended, this nation's policy of moderation in all things—in its thinking, in its buying and in its personal habits.

Men who Think of Tomorrow  *Practice Moderation Today!*

THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

★**KENORA, ONT.** — A record attendance, the initiation of six new members and an interesting talk by the Branch Padre, Canon F. J. Boyd, were the highlights of the March meetings held by the Kenora Branch. One minute's silence was observed in memory of Mr. Dan McLeod, who had been an honorary member of the Kenora Branch for many years.

— F. G.

★**MIDDLECHURCH** — The local Branch has been very active during the past winter, especially in community affairs. There had not been a skating rink in the district since early in the war, and the need for one was particularly great as far as the younger generation was concerned. A drive was started by the Legion, with a minimum objective of $300. The sum raised was $450, with an added donation of a building suitable for conversion to a dressing room and electricity for the rink and building. The construction was carried out by the members of the branch on Sundays and in other spare time.

A Ladies Auxiliary was formed during the winter and has been doing very well. In February, a district family was burnt out of their home and the parents and eight children lost everything they owned. The Ladies Auxiliary took care of them and held a drive through which they raised enough clothing, furniture, and other necessities to comfortably furnish the entire family. The men of the Branch held a dance and social evening which, in spite of a raging blizzard, raised $40 toward a fund which is aimed at building the family another home.

The following officers were elected for 1947: President, T. J. Rimmer; 1st Vice-President, N. B. Hunter; 2nd Vice-President, N. L. Robins; Secretary-Treasurer, W. M. Glady; Executive, J. Balderstone, A. Oakley, W. Wuerch, K. Lysakowski, J. Vandal; Sergeant-at-Arms. J. Wilson.

— W. M. H.



NEGRO V.C.'s MEMORY HONOURED BY LEGION BRANCH

Above are seen the officers and members of the William Hall V.C. Branch and Auxiliary in Halifax, N.S., named in honour of the memory of Canada's only coloured Victoria Cross winner, who, as an Able Seaman in Peel's Naval Brigade, won the coveted award for bravery in the Indian Mutiny — on November 16, 1857, at Lucknow. See story below.

NEW BRUNSWICK

★**EDMUNDSTON** — The Edmundston Branch is looking into the possibility of having door-to-door delivery by letter carrier in this municipality, so as to provide a more efficient postal service for the community at large.

The Past President, F. C. Miller, was presented recently with a pen and pencil set in appreciation of his untiring work during his term of office.

The Branch is debating the question of employing a full-time Secretary-Treasurer-Club Manager since the membership has reached a point where the work involved is too much for part-time voluntary workers.

A brick sale is planned for the near future, the proceeds of which will be added to the Memorial Building Fund.

The question of Veterans' Housing is receiving considerable attention. Plans have been made to acquire suitable land and to build approximately 50 houses costing between $5,000 - $7,000 each. It is hoped that construction will start early in May.

— R. V. McC.

WESTFIELD — A well-attended meeting of the Westfield Branch was held at Grand Bay on March 7 under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Earle Logan, K.C., the President. The highlight of the meeting was an interesting talk by Mr. R. Graham Simms, former Company Commander in the Carleton and York Regiment, on some of his experiences while a prisoner-of-war.

NOVA SCOTIA

HALIFAX — The William Hall V.C. Branch recently held its annual meeting and instalaltion of officers at the Allied Merchant Seamens Club under the chairmanship of the President, Mr. R. S. Symonds. Short addresses were given by visiting officiers of other Legion branches in Halifax and other distinguished guests.

The installation of officers was conducted by Past Provincial President J. J. McIntosh, assisted by the Provincial Command Welfare Officer, O. Miles. A valuable leather brief case was presented to S. M. Jones who has entered his 10th year as Secretary of the branch.

The Branch officers installed (shown in the accompanying photo. — Ed.) are: President, W. A. Johnson; 1st Vice-President, W. J. Skeir; 2nd Vice-President, F. L. Berry; Immediate Past President, R. S. Symonds; Treasurer and Past President, C. G. Wilson; Secretary, S. M. Jones (10th year); Recording Secretary, A. D. Thomas; Sergeant-at-Arms, R. A. Williams.

Officers of the Ladies' Auxiliary installed at the ceremony (also shown in the picture. — Ed.) are: President, Mrs. W. A. Johnson; 1st

Today we Live in a Greater Canada

Foreign Flags over OTTAWA

TELL OF CANADA'S IMPORTANCE IN THE MODERN WORLD

20 years ago there was none . . . ten years ago only four . . . TODAY there are 24 Ambassadors, High Commissioners and Ministers representing their governments at Canada's capital. Striking evidence, that, of Canada's new place among modern nations!

We emerged from the war a far greater country than we ever were in pre-war days. Peacetime accomplishments are maintaining that new greatness today.



In the 30's we had a High Commissioner in London, and an Agent-General in France—but we had little say in our foreign affairs. Canada negotiated with foreign powers through the British Foreign Office, with Empire countries through the British Colonial Office.



In World War I Canada won the right to a separate signature to the Treaty of Versailles. That made 1919 an important date for us. Then, in 1931, we and the other Dominions gained recognition as equal partners with the United Kingdom.



World War II...Canada's achievements in battle overseas and in production at home won us world recognition as a modern power. The great majority of the embassies at Ottawa were established during the war years.



GUY PURSER is a young Canadian who started in 1931 with a gasoline station. Today, as a result of applying his knowledge of motor cars, his energies and talents to the full, he has developed a unique business in automotive service. His success has enabled him to fulfill a long nourished ambition to train and ride his own jumping horses, taking part successfully in open competition, and to turn his dramatic abilities profitably to playing leading roles in motion pictures.

GUY PURSER says: *"I'm glad I decided to follow my career in Canada. There were opportunities when I started out. There are much greater ones now. No longer need young Canadians go beyond our borders to follow the road to success. It lies before them in Canada today."*

ONE OF A SERIES PRESENTED BY

Molson's

IN THE INTERESTS OF A GREATER CANADIAN APPRECIATION OF CANADA'S PRESENT GREATNESS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Vice-President, Mrs. E. Lucas; 2nd Vice-President, Mrs. H. Jackson; Immediate Past President, Mrs. S. M. Jones; Treasurer, Mrs. B. Halfkenny; Secretary, Mrs. A. Francis; Sergeant-at-Arms, Miss S. Colley.

— S. M. J.

ONTARIO

TORONTO — On March 22 Major-General C. B. Price, Dominion President of the Canadian Legion, paid his first official visit to Toronto. The Ontario Command together with the Toronto District Council made the most of the occasion and staged a splendid dinner for the Legion's national leader at the Royal York Hotel. The colourful event was presided over by Erle R. Burgess, of St. Thomas, the Provincial President, and was attended by Legion members from Toronto and district and many other parts of Ontario.

General Price was given a hearty and enthusiastic welcome, and his address, which featured the current national policies and activities of the Legion, was received with the keenest interest and appreciation.

WINDSOR — "Onward, Ever Onward" could easily be the motto of the Ontario Provincial Command and will definitely be the keynote of the 15th Biennial Ontario Provincial Command Convention which is scheduled to be held in Windsor from September 21-24. It is expected that between 1,200 and 1,500 representatives of 437 branches, making up the 54 zones in the nine districts, with a total membership of 98,042 ex-service men and women, will gather to facilitate ways and means to live up to the Purposes and Objects as set out in the Constitution of the Canadian Legion.

The Legion's Grand Patron, Viscount Alexander of Tunis, has been invited to attend and it is fully anticipated that His Excellency will be present. In attendance also will be the Dominion President, Major-General C. B. Price, who will be accompanied by several of the Dominion Command officers.

The 5,200 veterans of the 12 Branches comprising Zone I of District A are going all out for this event and are making "strikes" of every pre-convention problem that crops up. Billetting arrangements are in the hands of a capable local committee, who have been assured of adequate accommodation by the local hotels, tourist homes, etc. The drill-hall of H.M.C.S. *Hunter* will be made available for the convention hall and caucus rooms.

Zone Commander Sidney Aiken is general chairman and is being assisted by representatives of each Branch in the Zone.

— V. G. E. H.

★**TORONTO** — At a recent meeting of the Downtown Club Branch the following officers were elected for the year 1947: President, Harold Tabbiner; 1st Vice-President, H. Whittaker; 2nd Vice-President, J. A. McNicol; Secretary, E. A. Macdonald; Treasurer, E. Pratt; Auditor, Daunt Golden; Sergeant-at-Arms, Charles Collard.

Recent meetings of the Club have been well attended and very constructive, with all those present showing great interest in the activities not only of this branch but of the Legion as a whole.

— L. M. K.

TORONTO—The Canadian Overseas Fire Fighters Branch held its second annual convention and dinner at Niagara Falls on March 22. Legion members were in attendance from the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec, and from Ottawa, South Porcupine, Windsor, Brantford, London, Sudbury, North Bay, and other Ontario cities and towns.

The chief speakers were Frank E. Lennard, M.P., Past President of Dundas Branch; Fire Marshal Scott, K.C., Lieut.-Commander Bevis, former head of the Navy Fire Fighters; Captain Donald A. Dunlop, of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, and Mr. George Moffat, President of the Toronto Fire Fighters Association and a member of the Toronto Advisory Council of Veterans. All of them endorsed the Overseas Fire Fighters' demand for equal treatment with members of the Armed Forces.

— H. R. M.

★**OTTAWA** — At the April meeting of the Ottawa Branch the speaker was Eric W. Morse, M.A., ex-Squadron Leader, R.C.A.F., National Secretary of the United Nations Society in Canada, and editor of THE LEGIONARY's monthly feature, "The World in Review." Mr. Morse, who is a member of the Branch, spoke on the subject: "Can the United Nations Prevent Another War?" and his extremely able address was listened to with the keenest interest by all present. Brigadier C. B. Topp, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., the Branch President, was in the chair.

The reason a dog has so many friends is that his tail wags instead of his tongue.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL — Legion members throughout Montreal and the Province of Quebec were shocked last month to learn of the sudden death on April 6 of T. L. Leigh, Manager of the Veterans Service Bureau, Canadian Legion Memorial Building, and former Assistant Chief Pension Officer, Canadian Legion Headquarters, Ottawa.

Only 48 years of age, "Tommy" Leigh volunteered for service in the First Great War at the age of 17 and served in France and Belgium with the 3rd Battalion, C. E. F. He fought in the Battle of Vimy, April 9, 1917, and was buried with full Legion honours on April 9, 1947. (See also "A Friend in Need," under The Legion Forum, page 28. — Ed.)

★**LAKE ST. LOUIS** — The Lake St. Louis Branch is more than proud of its recently acquired home which was made possible through the generosity and co-operation of Mayor Anatole Plante Carignan, the Lachine City Council, and the public at large. The quarters, the custody of which has been placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees under the chairmanship of Mr. Stan Elliott, rank among the finest in the province.

The Branch membership has jumped from a few dozen 14 months ago to the present 250, and it is still growing under the youthful, enthusiastic leadership of President Harry Chapman.

This year the Housing Committee has been working overtime in an effort to solve the housing problem of local veterans. The newly formed Welfare, Sports, Social and

Entertainment Committees are also very active in their respective fields. The Branch hockey team made an excellent showing this past winter and successfully defended its title against Verdun and retained the "Hugh Parry Trophy", emblematic of league leadership. A softball team is now in the process of formation.

— N. E.

SASKATCHEWAN

★**MAPLE CREEK** — The Ladies' Auxiliary here held a successful card party in the Legion Hall on March 26, with an attendance of over fifty persons.

STENEN — The Stenen Branch held its regular monthly meeting in the local curling rink on April 2, when the new officers were installed by Zone Representative Richardson of Canora. The officers are as follows: President, R. J. Lovell; 1st Vice-President, L. W. Busch; 2nd Vice-President, William Chehorsky; Sergeant - at - Arms, Frank Grabowecki. After the installation of officers, Mr. Richardson gave the gathering a talk on matters relating to the Legion in general and the Branch in particular.

This summer Stenen will be the scene of a Zone Convention and it is expected that from 18 to 20 branches will participate.

— A. J. M.

VISCOUNT — At a well attended meeting of the local Branch held last month, the Hon. President, W. T. Morphy, reviewed the work of organizing the Branch and the splendid service rendered by its first president, George Powell. In recognition of this service Comrade Powell was presented with an engraved Past President's badge.

U. S. A.

PORTLAND, OREGON — The following officers have been elected for the year 1947: Commander, Fred C. Coombes; Past Commander, Walter Culver; 1st Vice-Commander, C. M. Ryan, 2nd Vice-Commander, J. R. W. Clarke; Finance Officer, Ed. Hopper; Adjutant, G. G. (2nd War veteran), Jno. W. Stares Muirden; Executive, G. Mansfield (2nd War veteran), Charles Mason.

It is interesting to note that two 2nd War veterans were nominated to fill the higher offices of the Post and would certainly have been elected, but both stated they felt the need of a little "seasoning" and refused the nominations.

— G. G. M.

GREAT LAKES COMMAND—The Great Lakes Command Council meets in Chicago early in May at the request of Commander Fred Stanley to set up the program to be offered to the Command Convention late in August. U.S.A. Post 132, Chicago, will be the host to the Command Council meeting in their new quarters.

As announced in the April issue, the G. L. C. Convention will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, at the Nicollet Hotel, August 29th to September 1. The Dominion First Vice-President, Lieut-Col. Lionel D. M. Baxter, O.B.E., will attend the Convention with T. D. Anderson, Assistant General Secretary, and Douglas W. Smith, Public Relations Officer, Dominion Command, Ottawa.

Commander Horace E. Read, O.B.E., the G.L.C. representative on the Legion World War II Canteen Fund Committee, has recommended to General Sansom's Committee specific consideration for the benefit of Canadian veterans residing in the U.S.A. It is proposed that general control of the Fund remain in the hands of a central Board in line with General Sansoms recommendation, but that the U.S.A. be treated as a province so that the four U.S.A. Commands and all Canadian veterans of World War II in the States can be assured of consideration. Commander Read believes that a specific portion of the Fund should be set apart for the use of such veterans and that the U.S. Veterans Administration, the American Red Cross, and the Canadian Legion in the U.S.A. could furnish supervision of benefits from the Fund under local Boards of representatives from these three agencies. These recommendations have the approval of the officers of the Great Lakes Command concerned with the matter.

— G. W.

Campaign For Jobs For Older Veterans

THE Department of Veterans Affairs is planning a concerted drive across Canada to find additional employment for older veterans, the Right Hon. Ian A. Mackenzie, Minister of Veterans Affairs, has announced. The Minister said that the situation in regard to the older veterans is serious, with approximately 9,000 of them registered for employment but still unplaced.

Citizens' groups in the communities where the situation is serious have promised complete co-operation, the Minister said, and it is hoped that an educational campaign will be productive of a number of jobs. He said that the National Employment Service is co-operating fully in the campaign.

"The older soldier is up against a pretty difficult problem. In many cases his peacetime career has been interrupted twice by war and as many times by depression. The result has been that many of these men have never been able to get a firm place in civilian life. We are not looking for career employment for these people but feel that in every industry there are certain dead-end jobs which require only reliability and a willingness to work. These older soldiers have this in large measure. It is our hope that we can induce employers to reserve these dead-end jobs for all time for the older citizens."

The Minister said that among the principal difficulties was the belief of employers that employment of older people made group insurance plans and pension plans too expensive. His Department, he stated, had looked into the matter and had found that actually the difference in cost of a group insurance plan between an employee 25 years of age and one 40 years of age, was only $1.58 per $1,000 of insurance annually. Similarly, the difference between the cost to the employer in the normal pension plan is not high.

"Statistics which we have available actually show that the most productive years in a man's life are those between 45 and 54," Mr. Mackenzie said, "and we feel that we have an excellent business man's argument with which to approach the employers of Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

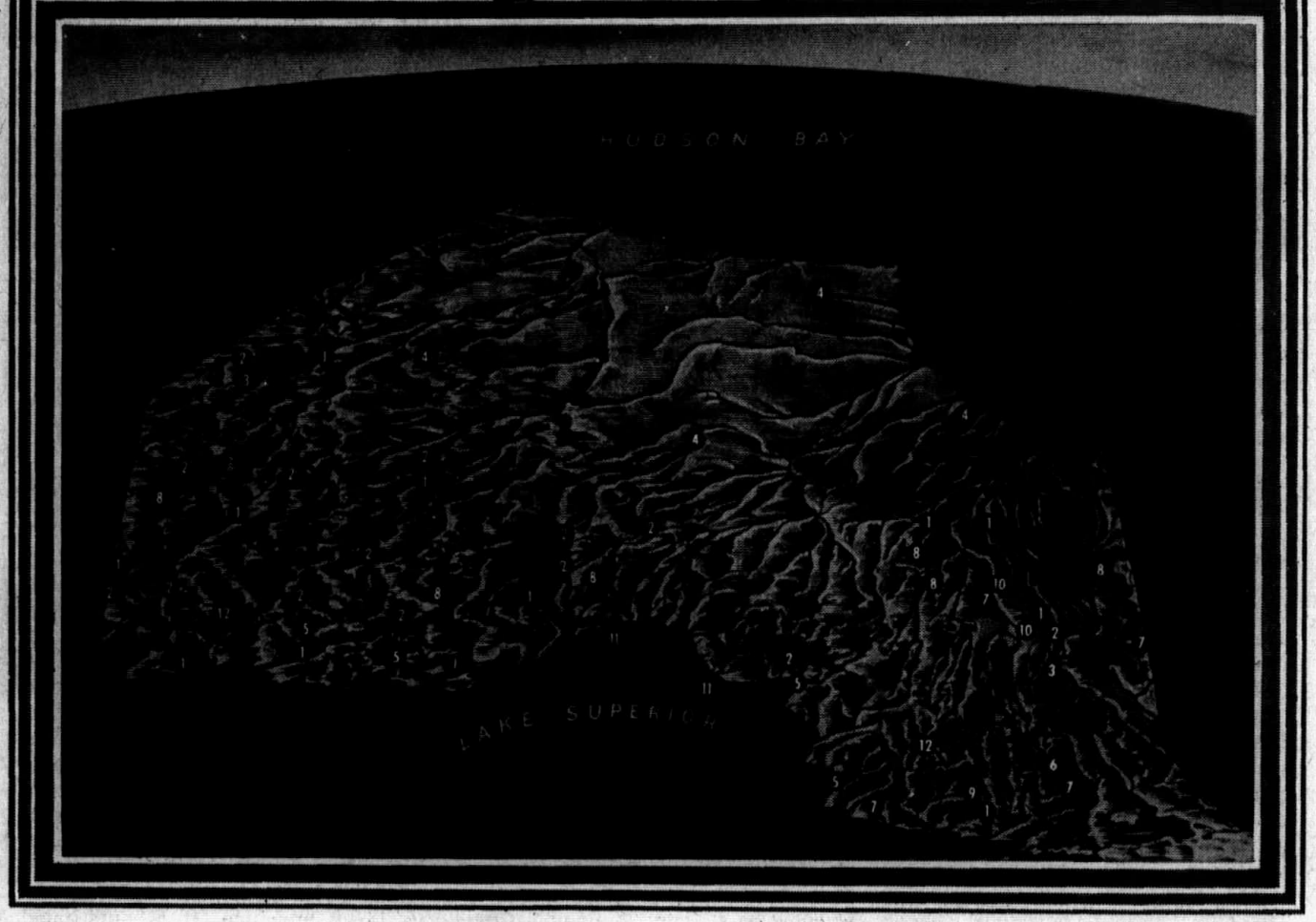
POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273828

Map-Legend

1. Water power
2. Gold
3. Silver
4. Furs
5. Iron
6. Nickel
7. Copper
8. Pulpwood
9. Platinum metals
10. Mixed farming
11. Fishing
12. Game

NEW HORIZONS IN *Canada Unlimited*



One of a series of maps "New Horizons" copyright by O'Keefe's

NORTHERN *Ontario*



With an area of 308,478 square miles, Northern Ontario is more than five times the size of the southern part of the province. Although well-known as a mining district, its forests produce over a million tons of paper pulp, and its vast power resources are more than sufficient for its needs. Its gold, silver and copper mines are largely responsible for Ontario's position as Canada's leading mineral producer and the nickel mines of Sudbury produce 90% of the world's supply of this vital substance. The mines, the rivers, and forests of Northern Ontario provide the essential raw materials to build up the stock pile of supplies for the great industries of the Province.

The future development of Northern Ontario exemplifies the glowing opportunity that is to be found in The New Horizons of Canada Unlimited. Here is a land with future unmatched in the world... a future designed to fulfill the highest ambitions of the young men of Canada.

O'Keefe's
BREWING COMPANY LIMITED

F120

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273829

THE CANADIAN LEGION

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE SERVICE LEAGUE

Founded in 1925 by Field-Marshal Earl Haig

2,180 Commands, Branches and Auxiliaries Enrolled Legion Membership, Over 275,000

Patron-in-Chief of the British Empire Service League
HIS MAJESTY THE KING
Grand Patron of the Canadian Legion
FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT ALEXANDER of TUNIS, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.S.I., D.S.O., M.C.
Governor-General of Canada
Grand President
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RICHARD TURNER, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
Dominion Honorary Presidents
Major-General the Hon. L. R. Laflèche, P.C., D.S.O. — Vice-Admiral Percy Nelles, C.B., R.C.N., Retd.
Lieut.-Col. James McAra, V.D. — Air Marshal W. A. Bishop, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C.
Brigadier-General Alex. Ross, C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., K.C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Dominion President
Major-General C. B. Price, C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., V.D.

Dominion 1st Vice-President
Lieut.-Col. L. D. M. Baxter, O.B.E., V.D.

Dominion 2nd Vice-President
Group Captain A. Watts

Dominion Chairman
A. E. Moore, Esq.

Dominion Hon. Treasurer
Captain G. H. Rochester, M.B.E.

Immediate Past Dominion President
Alex. Walker, Esq., C.B.E.

Dominion Vice-Chairman
Lieut.-Col. L. Lalonde, O.B.E.

Dominion Hon. Counsellor on Education
Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Wilfrid Bovey, O.B.E., K.C., LL.D., D. Litt., F.R.S.C., M.L.C.

Legal Adviser
O. F. Howe, Esq., K.C.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The executive officers and the following members:—

Alberta: S. C. Heckbert.
British Columbia: Peter Barr (acting).
Manitoba: Major the Hon. C. Rhodes Smith, K.C.
New Brunswick: Lieut.-General E. W. Sansom, C.B., D.S.O.
Nova Scotia: W. C. Dunlop, K.C.
Ontario: Erle Burgess and Howard Lansing.
Prince Edward Island: Capt. N. W. Lowther, K.C., M.M.
Quebec: Capt. H. G. Gonthier and Alex. C. Solomon.
Saskatchewan: Walter W. Whelan.
Tuberculous Veterans' Section: Major the Rev. R. D. Mess, M.M.
Imperial Division: Capt. C. L. Hall.
Naval Veterans' Section: J. W. Wittcomb.
Air Force Veterans' Section: Philip S. Fisher, C.B.E., D.S.O., D.S.C.
Great Lakes Command: F. Gordon Wright, LL.B.
California Command: Fred A. Cooper.

DOMINION HEADQUARTERS

Legion House, 75 Sparks St., Ottawa

General Secretary: J. C. G. Herwig.
Assistant General Secretary: T. D. Anderson.
Executive Assistant: Thomas A. Kines.
Public Relations Officer: Douglas W. Smith.
Treasury Officer: B. Thomas.
Asst. Treasury Officer: Henry Fish.
Chief Pension Officer: R. Hale.
Deputy Chief Pension Officer: Allan D. Piper.
Pension Officers: A. A. Robinson, A. G. Cracknell, R. B. Tennant.
General Service Officer: L. McKeown.
Imperials' Service Officer: G. Kermack.
Librarian: Miss Peggy Gerrard.

PROVINCIAL COMMANDS

Alberta: *President*, S. C. Heckbert; *Secretary*, David Fraser, 601 Leeson-Lineham Block, Calgary.
British Columbia: *President*, J. H. Henderson; *Secretary*, Robt. Macnicol, 207 West Hastings St., Vancouver.
Manitoba: *President*, Major the Hon. C. Rhodes Smith, K.C.; *Secretary*, Lieut.-Col. A. Cairns, 203 Lombard Bldg., Winnipeg.
New Brunswick: *President*, Brigadier W. A. I. Anglin, O.B.E., M.C., A.D.C.; *Secretary*, Donald M. Thompson, Saint John.
Nova Scotia: *President*, Dr. C. B. Lumsden; *Secretary*, Major A. MacKinnon, P.O. Box 112, Halifax.
Ontario: *President*, Erle Burgess; *Secretary*, W. T. Burke, 229 Yonge St., Toronto.
Prince Edward Island: *President*, James S. Walker; *Secretary*, A. H. Peake, P.O. Box 274, Charlottetown.
Quebec: *President*, Hugh M. Parry, M.M.; *Secretary*, Keith Woolley, Legion Memorial Building, Mountain St., Montreal.
Saskatchewan: *President*, Walter W. Whelan; *Secretary*, Len J. Chase, M.S.M., Veteran Block, Regina.

COMMANDS IN U.S.A.

California: *Commander*, W. C. G. Chandler; *Adjutant*, G. Kaempf, 2023 Sierra Place, Glendale, Calif.
Great Lakes: *Commander*, Fred Stanley; *Adjutant*, Hugh Bussell, 5046 Maplewood Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Eastern States: *Commander*, Wallace Blair; *Adjutant*, Ambrose Robart, 105 Bowdoin St., Medford, Mass.
Maine: *Commander*, John A. Madill; *Adjutant*, Reginald D. Groff, M.M., 69 Vesper St., Portland, Me.

GET EVERY VETERAN
IN YOUR REGION
TO SMOKE AND PUSH
"CANADIAN LEGION"!
Extra Mild-Extra Good!



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

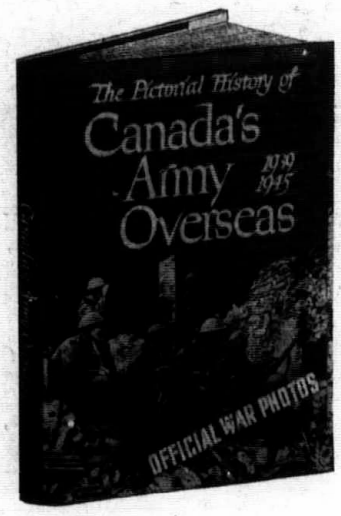
POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273830

The Pictorial History of

CANADA'S ARMY OVERSEAS

1939-1945



The only complete story to be published, in pictures and text, of the Canadians in Britain, North Africa, Sicily, Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spitzbergen, Kiska and Hong Kong. **$3.50**

Published by WHITCOMBE, GILMOUR & COMPANY

AVAILABLE SHORTLY

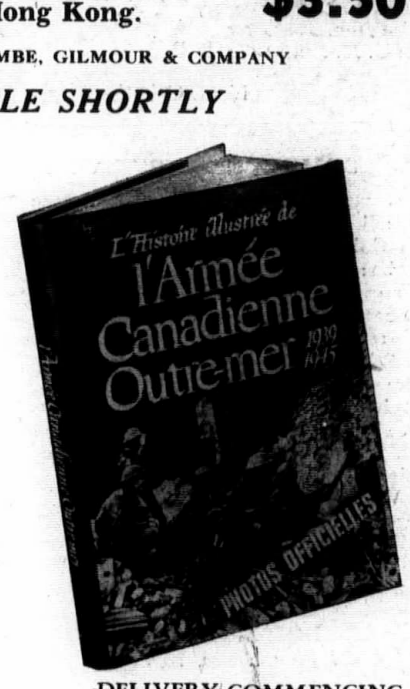
CONTAINS OVER 700 PHOTOS!

(More than 4,000 identifiable faces)

288 pages, beautifully cloth-bound with gold stamping

"... You don't have to look very deeply inside these covers to see that the photographs have been chosen, and that the text has been prepared, with imagination and historical sense. This book will be precious to every soldier — and to every soldier's friend." — GREGORY CLARK.

(Feature Writer and War Correspondent)



DELIVERY COMMENCING LATE JUNE

SEND IN THE ATTACHED ORDER FORM NOW!

Your only guarantee that you will receive a First Edition.

THE LEGIONARY BOOK SERVICE,
P. O Box 553 — Ottawa, Ont.

(PIN YOUR REMITTANCE HERE)

Enclosed please find $3.50 in payment of one copy of "The Pictorial History of Canada's Army Overseas". Forward to the following address when ready:—

ENGLISH EDITION
FRENCH EDITION
(Strike out the edition NOT wanted)

(Signed) .....

.....

(All cheques and Post Office Orders must be made payable at par in Ottawa)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Legion[illegible]ry



OLD SWEAT

No 11 VOL XXII

MAY, 1947

10 CENTS

Entered as Second Class Matter Post Office, Montreal.

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

FOR FILM
Épreuve illisible

Page 9 C 273831

The Legion

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
EAST BLOCK
OTTAWA ONT
COMPL



OLD SWEAT

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C27403?

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

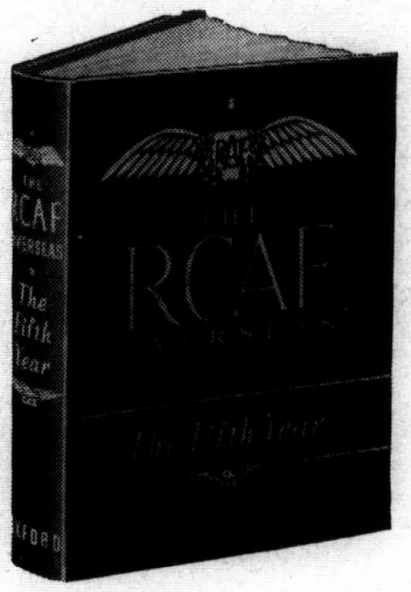
POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273832

A Splendid Gift to a Veteran

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF

THE R.C.A.F. OVERSEAS



"The Fifth Year"

tells the official story of the R.C.A.F. from September, 1943, to August, 1944, and includes a Roll of Honour and list of decorations and awards. "... A gallant and moving story ... airmen will treasure it, and their families." — *The Ottawa Journal* **$3.00**

"The First Four Years"

"...One is surprised at first at the level tone of this record; then one realizes the wisdom of not attempting to gild the lily with superlatives."—Torchy Anderson, reviewing **The First Four Years** for Southam newspapers.

$3.00



THE LEGIONARY BOOK SERVICE,
P.O. Box 553 — Ottawa, Ont.

(PIN YOUR REMITTANCE HERE)

Enclosed please find $3.00 in payment of one copy of The R. C. A. F. Overseas "THE FIRST FOUR YEARS" / "THE FIFTH YEAR"
(strike out the volume not wanted.) Forward to the following address

(Signed).....

.....

All Cheques and Post Office Orders must be made payable at par in Ottawa

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273833

The Legionary

The Voice of the Legion

THE LEGIONARY is the official national magazine and exclusive property of The Canadian Legion. It is published by The Canadian Legion Press, Ltd., a Dominion-chartered company owned by The Canadian Legion and operated by a Board of Directors comprising the following of whom six are members of The Legion's Dominion Executive Council: President, Alex. Walker, C.B.E., Calgary; Vice-Presidents, Brigadier Milton F. Gregg, V.C., C.B.E., M.C., Fredericton, N.B., and Group Captain H. R. Stewart, E.D., Ottawa; Hon. Treasurer, J. A. MacIsaac, Ottawa; Members, Lieut.-Col. L. D. M. Baxter, O.B.E., V.D., Winnipeg; Group Captain Alfred Watts, Vancouver; Lieut.-Col. Lucien Lalonde, O.B.E., Montreal; Captain Gordon H. Rochester, M.B.E. Ottawa, and Philip S. Fisher, C.B.E., D.S.O., D.S.C., Montreal. John Hundevad, Ottawa, is Secretary of the Company.

VOL. XXII — MAY, 1947 — No. 11

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Captain John Hundevad

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Wilfrid Bovey ("Education and Citizenship"); Peggy Gerrard ("No Man's Land"); R. Hale ("The Helping Hand"); J. C. G. Herwig ("Our Legion"); G. Kermack ("British Veterans in Canada"); J. D. Macbeth ("Remember When..."); E. W. Morse ("The World in Review"); W. W. Murray ("Five Nines and Whiz Bangs"); D. W. Smith ("The Observation Post"); B. Thomas ("Treasury Notes"); F. H. Wooding ("Legion Sports").

EDITORIAL & BUSINESS STAFFS
Ottawa: Legion House, 75 Sparks Street. Editorial Assistant, G. M. Guy; Accountant, L. E. Stone; Circulation Supervisor, E. J. Bartlett; Assistants, D. E. Brunton, B. M. Ellis, I. Hess, D. A. Sheppard, N. E. Hodgins, V. G. Richens, F. E. Dalton, L. Linklater.

Montreal: 2151 Ontario Street East. Production Manager & Advertising Representative, Captain E. R. Chambers; Mailing Assistants, M. Reny, S. Favreau.

Toronto: 310 Manning Chambers, 72 Queen Street West. Advertising Representative, Major K. C. Macpherson.

Field Representatives: P. H. Fisher (Ontario and Quebec), H. J. Ganter (Maritime Provinces), Ben Hodge (Western Provinces).

CARTOONISTS
Les. Callan, Bing Coughlin, M. R. Tingley.

CORRESPONDENCE
All correspondence regarding editorial material and subscriptions should be addressed to : Editorial and Business Offices, *The Legionary*, P.O. Box 553, Ottawa, Ont.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
Rate to Legion members : $1.00 a year, or 10 cents a copy. Others: $2.00 a year in Canada, other parts of the British Empire, and in the U.S.A.

ADVERTISING RATES
General rate: 75 cents per agate line. For full particulars apply to Advertising Representatives (see above) or Head Office, Ottawa.

PUBLICATION DATE
Published monthly on the 1st. Deadline for all editorial and advertising copy, and for new subscriptions: The 10th previous to month of publication.

DELIVERY
Every effort is made to have subscribers' copies arrive promptly, but present conditions cause unforeseeable mechanical and transportation difficulties which occasionally result in late delivery. When this happens, we ask the indulgence of our readers.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS
Notice must be received at Ottawa by the 10th to be made effective for the following month's issue. When ordering a change, please give both new and old address.

Authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa.

Features

PAGE

THE DEFENCE CUTS 5
THE HOUSING ENIGMA
By J. L. E. Price 6
THE END OF AN EPIC
By Lieut.-Col. D. E. Macintyre 7
MONTY & JOHNNY
Cartoon by Les Callan 9
"OPERATION FITNESS"
By Lieut.-Col. George C. Machum 10
HERBIE BACK ON CIVVIE STREET
Cartoon by Bing Coughlin 11
OUR LEGION
By J. C. G. Herwig 12
POSTWAR PAPPY
Cartoon by M. R. Tingley 14
EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP
By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Wilfrid Bovey 16
THE OBSERVATION POST
By Captain Douglas W. Smith 18
THE HELPING HAND
By Richard Hale 19
LEGION SPORTS
By Captain F. H. Wooding 20
REMEMBER WHEN ...
By Lieut.-Col. J. D. MacBeth 22
SPRINGTIME
Cartoon by Les Callan 23
THE WORLD IN REVIEW
By Eric W. Morse 24
FIVE-NINES AND WHIZ-BANGS
By "The Orderly Sergeant" 26
EDITORIAL 27
THE LEGION FORUM 28
POSTWAR PAPPY
Cartoon by M. R. Tingley 31
TREASURY NOTES
By B. Thomas 38
SMILE AWHILE 39
THE LAST POST 41
THE LEGION LOG 42
CAMPAIGN FOR JOBS 49

The 10th is Monthly Deadline

The 10th of every month is the deadline for new subscriptions, news items and advertising copy for the following month's issue.

For example, May 10th is the deadline for the issue to be published on June 1st.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

273834



Beauty creams for lovelier complexions



Petrolatum, medicinal oils and jellies as health aids



Wax to seal jams and jellies and for candles



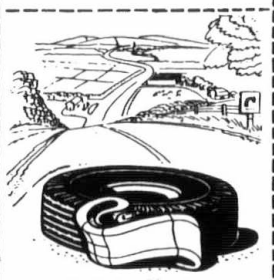
Cattle sprays. Healthy herds give more milk



Snug comfort from hot water bottles of Butyl rubber



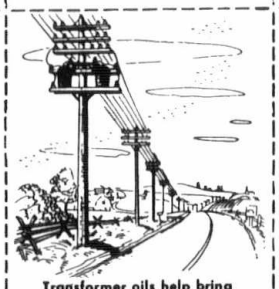
Ink oils for good, clear printing



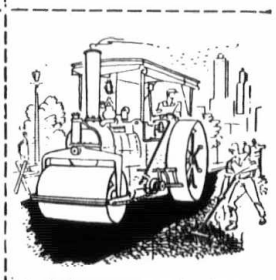
Synthetic rubber for tires and tubes



Glass moulding oils for improved glass manufacture



Transformer oils help bring us electricity



Asphalt pavement makes driving smoother, safer



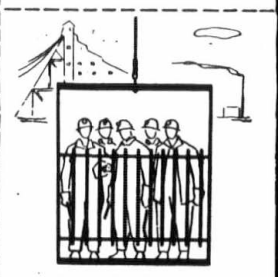
Orchard sprays for more fruit of better quality



Asphalt roofing for economy and fire resistance



Kerosene brings bright lamp light to rural and summer homes



Mine cable lubricants for safe operation of hoists



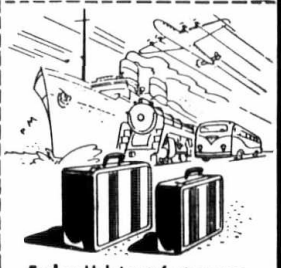
Home and industrial fuel oils for clean automatic heating



Leather oils for durability and comfort in footwear



Solvents for safer, more thorough dry-cleaning



Fuel and lubricants for transportation on land, sea and air

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT OIL

500 Products FROM PETROLEUM... MAKE FOR BETTER LIVING

Not so many years ago only two useful products were obtained from crude oil—kerosene for lamps and axle grease for wagons. Now scientists have found ways of making more than 500 important petroleum products from oil.

Oil helps people to look well and be well. It goes into face cream, perfume, hand lotion and shampoo; into medicine, salve, ointment, even anesthetic. Oil aids travel with fuel and lubricants for our cars, planes and boats, synthetic rubber for tires and asphalt for roads. New uses for petroleum every day make life easier, more enjoyable.

Continual research carried on in leading petroleum laboratories has made possible these hundreds of useful products—products which themselves, or as ingredients in products of other industries, make our world go 'round. Scientists and engineers of Imperial Oil have played a big part in the search for new ways to make petroleum a household and industrial servant thus bringing better living for all.

IMPERIAL PRODUCTS

IMPERIAL OIL LIMITED

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CONFIDENTIAL
(TO BE ENCLOSED IN ENVELOPE M. F. B. 270)

C 273835

Dr. GIBSON

For the Personal information of the Prime Minister

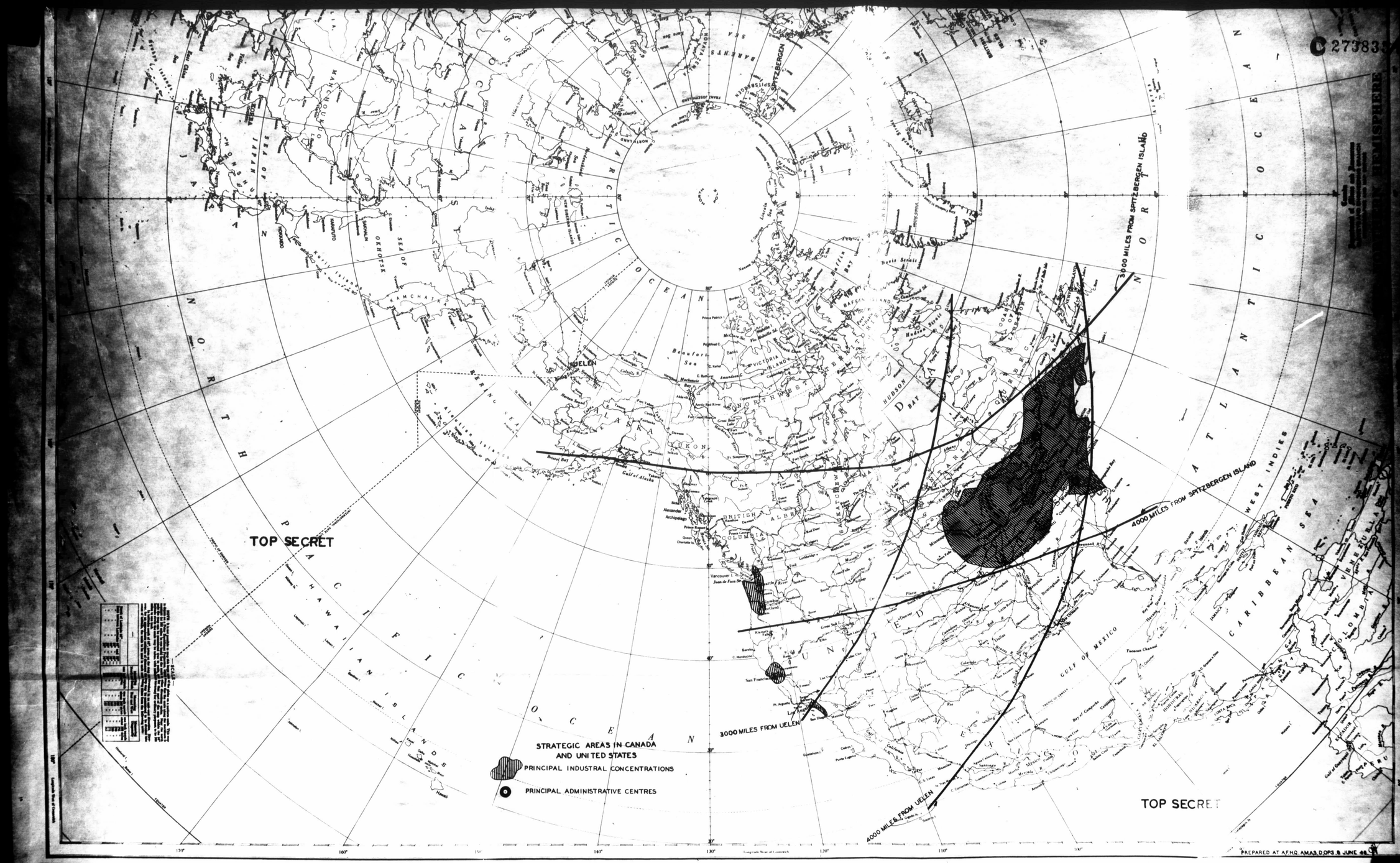
M. F. B. 381
200M-11-44(6084)
H.Q.1772—39-396

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273833



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADA

C 273836

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, June 9th, 1948.

T O P S E C R E T

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a.

My dear Prime Minister,

I return to you the communication from Rt. Hon. J.B. Chifley, Prime Minister of Australia, dated 28th May, 1947, regarding Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence, which you were good enough to let me see.

In accordance with your permission I brought this to the attention of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Yours faithfully,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

PM to see first

C273837

MEMORANDUM

The Prime Minister:

Mr. Claxton has telephoned to say that he understands a Top Secret Memorandum on Defence was sent to the Prime Minister by the Prime Minister of Australia on the 28th of May, 1947.

Mr. Claxton has asked if he might be allowed to see this memorandum.

J.W.P.

7.5.48

Urgent Request Received 7-5-48

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273838

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

PRIME MINISTER,
CANBERRA.

TOP SECRET

28 MAY 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE.

I would refer to the discussions at the Conference of Prime Ministers last year on Responsibilities and Organization for Commonwealth Defence, and to the views expressed by the Australian Government Representatives, both verbally and in documents submitted by them to the Conference.

2. In regard to the documents submitted by the United Kingdom, I said that it would be necessary to refer the proposals for detailed examination to the Australian Government's advisers, after which they would be considered by the Government. The proposals would then be reviewed and a memorandum based on the conclusions would be prepared in relation to the Australian machinery for further consideration on the Inter-Governmental level.

3. I am now forwarding herewith for your information a memorandum dated 23rd May, 1947, which contains the Australian Government's views and conclusions on :

Part I - Responsibilities for British Commonwealth Defence.

Part II - Machinery for Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence.

Part III - Australian Joint Service Staff in the United Kingdom.

Part IV - Australian Joint Service Staff in the United States.

4. It will be noted from paragraph 12 of the memorandum that the Governments of the United Kingdom and New Zealand are being invited to participate in the Australian Defence Machinery on matters of Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence in accordance with paragraphs 8 to 11, and to maintain in Australia a Joint Service Representative and Staff who will be accredited to the Defence Department.

5. As stated in paragraph 13 :

"Reciprocally, the Australian Government would have the right of similar representation on the same basis as mentioned in paragraphs 11 and 12 on the corresponding machinery of the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

Should matters dealt with by the Australian Government Machinery, in accordance with the principles and

-/ conditions

17.5.29(U.K.)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273839

conditions referred to in paragraphs 8 and 9, give rise to questions having a relation to other parts of the British Commonwealth, the Australian Government would gladly extend an invitation to representatives of the other Dominions to participate on the same basis as the United Kingdom and New Zealand at any or all of the levels that have been mentioned. The Australian Government would welcome the opportunity of reciprocal representation should it be desired."

6. Should you now, or at any future time, consider that it would be to our mutual interests and advantage for the Canadian Government to be represented on the Australian Defence Machinery, the Australian Government would warmly welcome such an arrangement. Reciprocally, the Australian Government would appreciate representation on the corresponding Canadian Defence Machinery if it should be mutually agreed that it was desirable.

Yours sincerely,

Prime Minister.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister of Canada,
OTTAWA. CANADA.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273840

PRIME MINISTER,
CANBERRA.

28 MAY 1947

TOP SECRET

My dear Prime Minister,

CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE.

I would refer to the discussions at the Conference of Prime Ministers last year on Responsibilities and Organisation for Commonwealth Defence, and to the views expressed by the Australian Government Representatives, both verbally and in documents submitted by them to the Conference.

2. In regard to the documents submitted by the United Kingdom, I said that it would be necessary to refer the proposals for detailed examination to the Australian Government's advisers, after which they would be considered by the Government. The proposals would then be reviewed and a memorandum based on the conclusions would be prepared in relation to the Australian machinery for further consideration on the Inter-Governmental level.

... 3. I am now forwarding herewith for your information a memorandum dated 23rd May, 1947, which contains the Australian Government's views and conclusions on :

Part I - Responsibilities for British Commonwealth Defence.

Part II - Machinery for Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence.

Part III - Australian Joint Service Staff in the United Kingdom.

Part IV - Australian Joint Service Staff in the United States.

4. It will be noted from paragraph 12 of the memorandum that the Governments of the United Kingdom and New Zealand are being invited to participate in the Australian Defence Machinery on matters of Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence in accordance with paragraphs 8 to 11, and to maintain in Australia a Joint Service Representative and Staff who will be accredited to the Defence Department.

5. As stated in paragraph 15 :

"Reciprocally, the Australian Government would have the right of similar representation on the same basis as mentioned in paragraphs 11 and 12 on the corresponding machinery of the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

Should matters dealt with by the Australian Government Machinery, in accordance with the principles and

-/ conditions

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

conditions referred to in paragraphs 8 and 9, give rise to questions having a relation to other parts of the British Commonwealth, the Australian Government would gladly extend an invitation to representatives of the other Dominions to participate on the same basis as the United Kingdom and New Zealand at any or all of the levels that have been mentioned. The Australian Government would welcome the opportunity of reciprocal representation should it be desired."

6. Should you now, or at any future time, consider that it would be to our mutual interests and advantage for the Canadian Government to be represented on the Australian Defence Machinery, the Australian Government would warmly welcome such an arrangement. Reciprocally, the Australian Government would appreciate representation on the corresponding Canadian Defence Machinery if it should be mutually agreed that it was desirable.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. CHIFLEY

Prime Minister.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister of Canada,
OTTAWA. CANADA.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273842

TOP SECRET

CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273843

CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TOP SECRET

C O N T E N T S

Page

PART I - RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

1. UNITED KINGDOM PROPOSALS 1
2. DEFINITIONS 1
3. REQUIREMENTS OF A MAIN SUPPORT AREA 2
4. RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE OF MAIN SUPPORT AREAS 3
5. DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE OF REGIONS OF STRATEGIC RESPONSIBILITY 3
6. PROTECTION OF LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MAIN SUPPORT AREAS 4
7. AREAS OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE - OTHER THAN MAIN SUPPORT AREAS 5

PART II - MACHINERY FOR CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

8. CONCLUSIONS OF PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE .. 6
9. AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS 7
10. AUSTRALIAN HIGHER DEFENCE MACHINERY 8
11. PRINCIPLES 10
12. PROCEDURE 11
13. RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENTS 12
14. REPRESENTATION OF OTHER PARTIES TO A REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT 13
15. THE SITUATION IN WAR 13

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273844

Page

PART III - AUSTRALIAN JOINT SERVICE STAFF IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

16. DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM .. 13

17. STAFF OF THE DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE 14

18. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION 15

19. RELATION OF DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE TO SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES 15

PART IV - AUSTRALIAN JOINT SERVICE STAFF IN THE UNITED STATES

20. DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES .. 16

21. STAFF OF THE DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE 16

22. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION 16

23. RELATION OF DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE TO SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES 17

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273845

TOP SECRET

CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

PART I - RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

1. UNITED KINGDOM PROPOSALS

The following were the proposals in document PMM.(46).5 which was submitted to the Prime Ministers' Conference by the United Kingdom Government :-

Each member of the Commonwealth should :-

(i) Accept responsibility for the development and defence of their Main Support Area and the strategic zone around it.

(ii) Accept the principle of joint responsibility between members of the Commonwealth concerned for the protection of lines of communication between Main Support Areas.

(iii) Agree that it is in their strategic interest to assist both politically and militarily in maintaining our position in those protective areas which directly affect the security of their territory and communications.

2. DEFINITIONS

The following definitions are given in the United Kingdom document :-

(i) Main Support Areas are the United Kingdom, the American Continent, Southern Africa, and Australia and New Zealand.

(ii) Strategic Zones are the areas of which each main support area is the heart.

(iii) Areas of Strategic Importance other than Main Support Areas are stated to be, Western Europe; the Iberian Peninsula and North West Africa; the Middle East; and South East Asia.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273846

3. REQUIREMENTS OF A MAIN SUPPORT AREA

The requirements of a Main Support Area were stated in PMM.(46) 5 as :-

Industrial facilities
Manpower
Accumulation of materials and supplies
Training facilities
Research and development
Intelligence.

The views of the Australian Government on these requirements are as expressed by the Prime Minister at the Prime Ministers' Conference :-

(a) Industrial Facilities: In regard to the development of an industrial potential for war purposes in Dominions, it would be seen from the statement on Australian Defence Policy, that this is a Policy which Australia has been pursuing..... It would be prepared to co-operate in this to the greatest extent possible.

(b) Manpower: The proposal for a more even spread of manpower was in harmony with the Commonwealth's Immigration Policy and, as indicated in the statement on Australian Defence Policy, the question of transfer of people and production units in industries had been raised during the war.....

(c) Accumulation of Materials and Supplies: The proposal for accumulation of materials and supplies in the Dominions was in keeping with the general view on dispersion of resources..... Arrangements such as those suggested for the production and storage of stocks were a matter for examination in regard to the details of specific proposals.

(d) Training Facilities: The extent to which training facilities could be established or maintained for expansion and use for Empire purposes was a matter for consideration in relation to other Defence requirements and for examination in regard to the basis on which any such arrangements would be made.

(e) Research and Development: The question of co-operation in research and development had been referred to in the statement on Australian Defence Policy..... (Note: The Australian Government has since endorsed the recommendations of the British Commonwealth Defence Science Conference and agreed to participate in the Guided Missiles Project.)

(f) Intelligence: As mentioned in the statement on Australian Defence Policy, the Government is at present considering the establishment of a Joint Intelligence Bureau for the Pacific Area..... (Note: The Australian Government has since approved of the establishment of the Joint Intelligence Bureau and a Signal Intelligence Centre in Australia.)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4. RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE OF MAIN SUPPORT AREAS

The primary responsibility of Australia for the development and defence of its territory is in accordance with the principle of responsibility for Local Defence accepted by the Self-Governing Dominions at the Imperial Conference of 1923.

5. DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE OF REGIONS OF STRATEGIC RESPONSIBILITY

(i) Basis of Approach

The Australian Government's view on the method of approach to this question in the Pacific was stated as follows to the Prime Ministers' Conference :-

> As indicated in the memorandum submitted to the Conference on Regional Security in the Pacific, including the use of bases by the United States, the view of the Australian Government is that the question of Bases must be related to an overall plan in which the United States should be associated in the maintenance of security in the Southwest Pacific.
>
> If an arrangement can be reached with the United States, it should then be possible to prepare a strategical appreciation which would indicate the nature and strength of the forces to be provided by each of the parties to the agreement.
>
> Planning relating to any regional arrangement will therefore be governed by the progress of political negotiations.
>
> There should be assigned to the Australian Government Machinery responsibility for the development of the defence aspect of matters relating to Regional Security in the Pacific, in which the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand are concerned, and provision should be made for the representation of the United Kingdom and New Zealand at the appropriate levels on such machinery.

(ii) Provisions of Australian-New Zealand Agreement

The Australian-New Zealand Agreement provides that :-

> The two Governments agree that, within the framework of a general system of world security, a regional zone of defence comprising the Southwest and South Pacific Areas shall be established and that this zone should be based on Australia and New Zealand, stretching through the arc of islands north and north-east of Australia, to Western Samoa and the Cook Islands.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(iii) Australian Government's Conclusions

In accordance with the foregoing, the Australian Government is willing that its machinery should undertake the development of the defence aspect of matters relating to Regional Security in the Pacific, in accordance with the principles and procedure outlined in Part II for the functioning of the Australian Higher Defence Machinery in this respect. The precise scope of the area to which this would apply will be ultimately determined by the area of any regional arrangement that may be reached.

As indicated above, the nature and strength of the forces to be provided by each of the parties to a regional arrangement would be stated in any agreement or understanding that may be reached. The acceptance of the responsibility for development of the defence aspect does not therefore imply the acceptance by the Australian Government of the commitment of providing all resources and forces required for the area concerned.

As stated by the Australian Prime Minister to the Prime Ministers' Conference, it is recognised that, in the future, Australia must make a larger contribution towards the defence of the British Commonwealth in the Pacific. Commitments have already been undertaken in respect of the Guided Missiles Project and the Joint Intelligence Machinery. The Government is prepared to examine other measures relating to the development and defence of Australia as a main support area and the associated area of regional defence. These measures would be considered in relation to the priority and importance of other Defence proposals and commitments, and to the amount that can be provided for Defence.

6. PROTECTION OF LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MAIN SUPPORT AREAS

As stated by the Australian Prime Minister at the Prime Ministers' Conference, the extent to which Australia is prepared to go in the acceptance of the principle of joint responsibility between members of the British Commonwealth concerned for the protection of lines of communication between Main Support Areas is a matter for examination in the light of other commitments and particularly those of a British Commonwealth nature which have already been or may be accepted.

The Australian Government appreciates that, parallel to the principle of responsibility for the Local Defence of its territory, there is also a primary obligation relating to the protection of the lines of communication within the area of the Australian Naval Station. In accordance with the terms of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement, it will co-operate with the New Zealand Government, whose area of naval responsibility is adjacent, and also with the United Kingdom Government whose area of naval responsibility borders on the Australian Naval Station.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

C 273849

7. AREAS OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE - OTHER THAN MAIN SUPPORT AREAS

The United Kingdom proposal in PMM.(46) 5 is "that each member of the British Commonwealth agree that it is in their strategic interest to assist both politically and militarily in maintaining our position in those protective areas which directly affect the security of their territory and communications". The method of implementing this general principle is also stated in broad terms as follows - "each member of the Commonwealth therefore should agree to take all steps, political and military, in those areas in which they are directly concerned, so as to maintain conditions favourable to the Commonwealth in peace, and to accept joint responsibility for their defence in war."

The practical application of this proposal involves several important considerations. As pointed out by the Australian Prime Minister at the Prime Ministers' Conference, it absolutely impinges on the sovereign control of Policy by Governments, and this consideration must govern the method to be followed. The strategic position of each part of the Empire differs though, from the aspect of the collective security of the British Commonwealth, they are all linked to a common strategic basis. As stated in sub-paragraph 2 (iii) above, the area of strategic importance of direct concern to Australia is South East Asia.

The views of the Prime Ministers' Conference on methods of consultation and their flexibility to meet the varied situations and the individual and collective needs of members of the British Commonwealth were expressed as follows in the final communique of the Conference :-

> The existing methods of consultation have proved their worth. They include a continuous exchange of information and comment between the different members of the Commonwealth. They are flexible and can be used to meet a variety of situations and needs, both those where the responsibility is on one member alone, and where the responsibility may have to be shared. They are peculiarly appropriate to the character of the British Commonwealth, with its independent members who have shown by their sacrifices in the common cause their devotion to kindred ideals and their community of outlook.

On the question of method, the following statement was submitted in document PMM.(46) 8 on the principle of Australia acting from time to time on behalf of the British Commonwealth in matters relating to the Pacific :-

> An entirely new concept in British Commonwealth relations is now emerging. This concept tends to reconcile full Dominion autonomy with full British Commonwealth co-operation. The same principle involves the possibility of a Dominion acting in certain regions or for certain purposes on behalf of the other Members of the British Commonwealth, including the United Kingdom itself. This is evidence that the machinery between nations of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

British Commonwealth has now reached a stage where a common policy can be carried out through a chosen Dominion instrumentality in an area or in relation to a subject matter which is of primary concern to that Dominion. This principle is capable of extension and suggests the possible integration of British Commonwealth policy at a higher level by a new procedure.

In regard to South East Asia as the area of strategic importance of direct concern to Australia, the following views of the Australian Government were expressed by the Minister for External Affairs in Parliament on 26th February 1947 :-

> I now wish to refer to a matter in which, I believe, all honorable members will be closely interested, namely, the changing situations in South-East Asia, India and the Far East. They all merit close consideration by the House. The recent war gave to peoples of the whole of this area an opportunity for political development at a rate previously unprecedented..... This general trend should not surprise any student of foreign affairs. It is, in fact, in accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter, and, in particular, with the obligations of colony-possessing powers to promote the political development of non-self-governing or politically under-developed countries. Australia is directly concerned with these political developments and their consequences. Just as far as the peoples of South-East Asia cease to be dependent upon the decisions of European governments, so far do Australia's interests in the councils of South East Asia increase. We must work for a harmonious association of democratic states in the South-East Asia area and see in the development of their political maturity opportunity for greatly increased political, cultural and commercial co-operation.

It will be apparent that methods and procedure on political policy must conform to the broad principles that have been referred to above. The machinery outlined in this memorandum provides a means by which military policy and measures can be examined and considered.

PART II - MACHINERY FOR CO-OPERATION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH DEFENCE

8. CONCLUSIONS OF PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

The Minutes of the tenth meeting of the Conference of Prime Ministers held on 2nd May 1946, record that "there appeared to be a general measure of agreement on the broad principles at issue". The principles were outlined in document PMM.(46) 20 as :-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(a) A centralised system of Commonwealth defence is unlikely to be generally acceptable and might restrict freedom of action of the individual members of the Commonwealth in making bilateral arrangements for co-operation with allies.

(b) We must, therefore, set up some looser system for co-ordination which, we suggest, should be based upon the national defence organisations to be maintained in the United Kingdom and in each Dominion.

(c) The essence of this system is that the United Kingdom should maintain a mission in each Dominion, while the Dominions should maintain similar missions in London and in other Dominions as required.

(d) It may not be possible to bring this system fully into operation immediately, but provided the essentials are agreed, the necessary framework upon which the full organisation could grow will be available.

It was also stated that any system devised must fulfil the following conditions :-

(i) Ensure that final co-ordination of, and executive decisions on, all matters of high defence policy are achieved by agreement between Governments of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions.

(ii) Provide the maximum degree of co-ordination on defence matters which the sovereign status of the members of the Commonwealth allows.

(iii) Provide for discussion of Dominion views on world security problems.

(iv) Be sufficiently flexible to cope with the varying outlooks and resources of the different countries of the Commonwealth.

(v) Be framed so as to allow the central direction of effort in war to be carried out from an alternative location to the United Kingdom.

(vi) Be capable of interlocking with that of the United States and possibly of other potential allies.

9. AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS

At the Conference, the Australian Prime Minister stated that :-

(a) It is fundamental to future arrangements for co-operation in Defence that appropriate machinery should be created to provide for an effective voice by the Governments concerned in policy and in the higher control of planning on the official level.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) There should be assigned to the Australian Government Machinery, responsibility for the development of the defence aspect of matters relating to Regional Security in the Pacific, in which the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand are concerned, and provision should be made for the representation of the United Kingdom and New Zealand at the appropriate levels on such machinery.

(c) Corresponding provision would also be necessary for Dominion representation on any parallel machinery in the United Kingdom. On the official level, the Australian Government contemplates the strengthening of its Joint Service Staff in London, as a counterpart to the Defence Committee in Australia, and to provide an agency for advice to the Resident Minister in London on Defence matters.

(d) Consideration is also being given to the Australian Joint Service Staff requirements in Washington and at the seat of the United Nations. Development in this direction would depend on any arrangement reached with the United States and machinery which may be created for the purposes of implementing any agreement.

The Australian Government would also add the following conditions and principles to those referred to above in paragraph 8 and in this paragraph, to which the machinery for Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence must conform :-

(i) Be capable of functioning efficiently in war.

(ii) So function in peace that modifications necessary to meet condition (i) can be introduced automatically and without any disruption in the organisation.

(iii) Be capable of acting as the agents for the British Commonwealth, either in peace or war in respect of Forces assigned to the Australian Government and expansion, if necessary, to undertake 8 (v).

10. AUSTRALIAN HIGHER DEFENCE MACHINERY

In accordance with sub-paragraph 8 (b), the system for co-ordination of British Commonwealth Defence, in so far as the Australian Machinery is concerned, will be based upon the following Higher Defence Machinery :-

(i) The Council of Defence

(a) Constitution

The Prime Minister;
The Treasurer;
The Minister for Defence;
The Minister for External Affairs;
The Minister for the Navy;
The Minister for the Army;
The Minister for Air;
The Minister for Munitions;
The Minister for Post-War Reconstruction;
The Leader of the Government in the Senate;
The Chief of the Naval Staff;
The Chief of the General Staff;
The Chief of the Air Staff; and
The Secretary, Department of Defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) Functions

To consider and advise upon any questions of Defence Policy or organisation which are referred to the Council by the Prime Minister or the Minister for Defence.

(ii) The Department of Defence

Functions

The functions of the Minister and Department of Defence are :-

Defence Policy as a whole, including :-

(a) Co-operation in Empire Defence and the Defence aspect of the Charter of the United Nations.

(b) The Supply aspect of Defence Policy, including the review of production programmes and capacity.

(c) The scientific aspect of Defence Policy.

(d) The financial requirements of Defence Policy, and the allocation of the funds made available.

The Defence aspect of Armistice and Peace Terms, Control Commissions, and Forces of Occupation.

Matters of policy or principle and important questions having a joint Service or inter-departmental Defence aspect.

The Higher Defence Machinery, the control of the Joint Service Machinery, and Secretariat of the Council of Defence.

Questions relating to the Organisation and Machinery for -

Co-operation in Empire Defence.
Co-operation in Regional Security, including obligations under the United Nations Charter.
Higher Direction in War.
Higher Direction of the Services.

National Planning as provided for in Commonwealth War Book.

Administration of Inter-Service Organisations, such as the Joint Intelligence Machinery.

The Defence aspect of Civil Defence Policy.

The Strength and Organisation of the Forces.

Higher Appointments in the Services.

Honours and Awards.

(iii) The Defence Committee

(a) Constitution

The Chief of the Naval Staff;
The Chief of the General Staff;
The Chief of the Air Staff;
An officer of the Department of Defence appointed by the Minister for Defence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) Functions

The functions of the Committee are to advise the Minister with respect to the following :-

(1) Defence Policy as a whole;

(2) Matters of policy or principle and important questions having a joint Service or inter-departmental Defence aspect; and

(3) Such other matters having a Defence aspect as are referred to the Committee.

(iv) The Chiefs of Staff Committee

Functions

(a) Preparation of strategic appreciations and military plans.

(b) Executive power and authority for the control of operations in war, if a Commander-in-Chief is not appointed as was the case with the Southwest Pacific Area during the 1939-45 war.

(c) Executive functions for the control and administration of special Forces of a British Commonwealth nature, the responsibility for which is assigned to the Australian Government, subject to such control conforming to the principles and procedure of the established machinery of Government and administration.

11. PRINCIPLES

Under the Declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926, the sovereign control of Policy rests with the Government of each part of the British Commonwealth.

The Australian Government, in document PMM.(46)8, referred to the new concept in British Commonwealth relations which is now emerging "where a common policy can be carried out through a chosen Dominion instrumentality in an area or in relation to a subject matter which is of primary concern to that Dominion. This principle is capable of extension and suggests the possible integration of British Commonwealth Policy at a higher level by a new procedure". (See paragraph 7.)

As mentioned in paragraph 9, the Australian Prime Minister emphasised to the Prime Ministers' Conference the following cardinal principles on which Australian Policy relating to machinery for co-operation is based :-

First, the Governments concerned must have an effective voice at an early stage in the formulation of Defence Policy and in the higher control of Planning. Secondly, responsibility for the development of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273855

Defence aspect of matters relating to regional security in the Pacific should be assigned to the Australian Government machinery, on which provision would be made for United Kingdom and New Zealand representation. Thirdly, there should be Dominion representation in the United Kingdom machinery corresponding to any United Kingdom representation in the Australian machinery.

12. PROCEDURE

The use of the Australian Defence Machinery for matters of Co-operation in British Commonwealth Defence will be in accordance with paragraphs 8 to 11, and the following procedure relating to representation thereon :-

(i) Government representation

The High Commissioners of the United Kingdom and New Zealand will be invited to attend meetings of the Council of Defence when matters affecting those parts of the British Commonwealth are under consideration.

As the sovereign control of its Policy is retained by each member of the British Commonwealth, and as the Council of Defence is a statutory advisory body to the Australian Government, any recommendations which it may make on subjects of a British Commonwealth relation, are matters for consideration by the Governments concerned.

The proceedings of the Council will not limit, in any way, the channel of direct communication between Governments, though representatives of Governments will no doubt be authorised to express the views and decisions of their Governments on matters which have received the prior consideration of Governments, and on which they have been able to instruct their representatives.

Should it be preferred on any occasion, or for any matter, that a Minister should represent the United Kingdom or New Zealand Governments, this would be arranged.

(ii) Representation on the Official Level

The Governments of the United Kingdom and New Zealand are invited to maintain in Australia a Joint Service Representative and Staff who will be accredited to the Defence Department.

The general principle in regard to representation on the official level will be that the Joint Service Representative will be invited to attend meetings of the Defence Committee and Chiefs of Staff Committee when matters affecting his country are under consideration. Where necessary, he would also accompany his Governmental Representative to the Council of Defence as an adviser.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273856

As each member of the British Commonwealth is responsible for its own Policy, and as the Defence Committee and Chiefs of Staff Committee are part of the machinery of the Australian Defence Department, which is administered by the Minister for Defence, the Joint Service Representative will be responsible to and instructed by his Government, High Commissioner, or Superior Service Authority in such a manner as his Government may prescribe.

Similarly, members of the staff of the Joint Service Representative would be invited to attend meetings of the Joint Service Machinery subordinate to the Defence Committee and Chiefs of Staff Committee.

In view of the number of members of the British Commonwealth and nations of the Pacific which will probably be represented, it is essential that the number of persons authorised to attend and speak at the various committees should be kept as low as possible, and that only a single representative should be accredited to each of the committees on the various levels. By arrangement, according to the nature of the subject to be discussed, the Joint Service Representative could be accompanied by members of his staff, and, in cases where individual members of the staff are representing the Joint Service Representative on subordinate committees, they also could be accompanied by other members of the staff.

Should the United Kingdom and New Zealand also desire to maintain individual Service Representatives accredited to the Australian Service Departments in the same manner that Australian Service Representatives are accredited to the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry, this can be arranged. They should be clearly designated as such, and should hold lower rank than the Joint Service Representative accredited to the Defence Department.

13. RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENTS

Reciprocally, the Australian Government would have the right of similar representation on the same basis as mentioned in paragraphs 11 and 12 on the corresponding machinery of the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

Should matters dealt with by the Australian Government Machinery, in accordance with the principles and conditions referred to in paragraphs 8 and 9, give rise to questions having a relation to other parts of the British Commonwealth, the Australian Government would gladly extend an invitation to representatives of the other Dominions to participate on the same basis as the United Kingdom and New Zealand at any or all of the levels that have been mentioned. The Australian Government would welcome the opportunity of reciprocal representation should it be desired.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

14. REPRESENTATION OF OTHER PARTIES TO A REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT

As stated in paragraph 5, the Australian Government's view on the method of approach to Regional Security in the Southwest Pacific is through an agreed plan between the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and other nations with possessions in this area.

In accordance with sub-paragraph 8 (vi), the Australian Higher Defence Machinery is capable of expansion to provide for the representation of the United States and other nations, on the same principles as outlined for members of the British Commonwealth, in order to deal with the Defence aspect of Regional Security.

15. THE SITUATION IN WAR

The principles and procedure outlined are considered to establish a satisfactory basis on which to deal with matters of British Commonwealth co-operation in peace, and to furnish a sound footing for adaptation in war in the light of the particular circumstances then to be provided for.

PART III - AUSTRALIAN JOINT SERVICE STAFF IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

16. DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

An Australian Joint Service Staff will be established in London as a counterpart to the Australian Defence Committee (which corresponds to the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff Committee) and to provide an agency for advice to the Australian High Commissioner on Defence matters.

The Head of the Joint Service Staff will be designated as the Defence Representative to emphasise the Joint Service character of his appointment, and the fact that the scope of his duties relates to the whole field of Defence Policy.

The Defence Representative will be of the equivalent rank of Major-General.

The appointment will be made by the Minister for Defence on the recommendation of the Defence Committee. Its duration will be for two years, and each of the Services in turn will provide the officer to fill the appointment.

The duties of the Australian Defence Representative in London will be :-

(a) To be the Accredited Representative of the Australian Defence Department, the Defence Committee, and the Chiefs of Staff Committee, to their corresponding bodies in the United Kingdom.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) To advise the Australian High Commissioner in London on questions of Defence Policy and of general Joint Service interest, after such consultation as is necessary with the Australian Service Representatives in London.

(c) To keep the Australian Service Representatives in London informed of Joint Service matters which are under consideration on a Defence Department level when such matters are of interest to them, and to consult them where necessary, when individual Service interests are involved.

(d) To maintain liaison with representatives in England of the Australian Munitions Department and the Australian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

(Note: As the representative of the Royal Australian Navy in London is not on a similar basis to that of the other two Services, the action in (b) and (c) by the Defence Representative relating to consultation and advice with Service representatives will, in the case of the Navy, be with the Naval officer on the Defence Representative's staff.)

17. STAFF OF THE DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE

The initial establishment of the staff of the Defence Representative will be two officers of the equivalent rank of Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel respectively, one from each of the Services other than that of the Defence Representative, and a third officer of the rank of Brigadier or equivalent as an Inter-Service Technical Officer.

The duties of these officers will be :-

Colonel: Assistant to Defence Representative and available for liaison work with such committees of the United Kingdom Joint Planning Organisation as circumstances require.

Lieutenant-Colonel: Available for liaison work with such committees of the United Kingdom Joint Planning Organisation as circumstances require, and to conduct the secretarial work of the Australian Joint Staff in London.

Brigadier:

(i) Responsible for keeping in touch with decisions on technical policy, such as those emanating from the Defence Research Policy Committee. Australian Representative on the Guided Projectiles Co-ordinating Committee and for the present on the United Kingdom Ordnance Board, and such other Inter-Service Technical Committees as may be necessary from time to time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273859

(ii) Responsible to the Defence Representative for co-ordinating the technical work of an Inter-Service character of the Technical Officers of the Services, as required, and for maintaining liaison with the Australian representatives in England of the Munitions Department and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

The appointments of the officers of equivalent rank of Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel will be for a period of two years. In the case of the Inter-Service Technical Officer, the best qualified officer available will be selected for this appointment, irrespective of the service to which he belongs, and therefore this appointment will not necessarily be filled in strict rotation by officers of each of the three Services. Also, it may be desirable in some cases to extend the duration of the appointment beyond the normal period of two years.

18. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

The channel of communication will be between the Secretary, Department of Defence, and the Australian Defence Representative. The Australian Defence Representatives in London and Washington will also communicate direct with each other as may be necessary, but the use of this channel shall not short circuit the use of the primary channel to the Defence Department in respect of matters for which the responsibility rests with the Department and on which it should co-ordinate action between London and Washington.

Where the preparation of detailed plans is involved, an exchange of information and views at planning levels may be desirable. Where such is the case, direct consultation and communication at a planning level will be authorised in respect of specific tasks.

19. RELATION OF DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE TO SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES

The existing functions of the Australian Service Representatives in London will remain unchanged. They will continue to represent their own Services with the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry, but, as stated in paragraph 16, it will be one of the functions of the Defence Representative to advise the Australian High Commissioner on matters of Joint Service interest or policy and to that extent their individual relationships with the High Commissioner will be affected. The existing channels of communication for individual Services will not be varied.

The ranks of the Army and Air Force Representatives in London will be Brigadier and Air Commodore respectively. The Naval Liaison Officer will have no responsibility in connection with the Joint Service Machinery, and his rank will be determined by other considerations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273860

PART IV - AUSTRALIAN JOINT SERVICE STAFF IN THE UNITED STATES

20. DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES

An Australian Joint Service Representative, to be designated as the Defence Representative, will be appointed in the United States.

The Defence Representative will be of the equivalent rank of Major-General. The appointment will be made by the Minister for Defence on the recommendation of the Defence Committee. Its duration will be for two years and each of the Services in turn will provide the officer to fill the appointment.

The duties of the Australian Defence Representative in Washington will be :-

(a) To be the Accredited Representative of the Australian Defence Department, the Defence Committee, and the Chiefs of Staff Committee to the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, and to the Combined Chiefs of Staff if this body continues to exist in the post-war period.

(b) To act in an advisory capacity on Defence or Service matters to the Australian Delegation at the United Nations Organisation.

(c) To represent Australia on the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations Organisation if, and when, invited.

(d) To act as adviser on Defence Policy and inter-Service matters to the Australian Ambassador in Washington.

21. STAFF OF THE DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE

The initial establishment of the staff of the Defence Representative will be one officer of the equivalent rank of Lieutenant-Colonel who will be from a Service other than that of the Defence Representative. The appointment of this officer will be for a period of two years.

The duties of the officer will be secretarial work of the Defence Representative and liaison on his own level with the staff and secretariats of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, Combined Chiefs of Staff, Australian Delegation to the United Nations Organisation, and with the individual Australian Service staffs in Washington.

22. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

The channel of communication will be between the Secretary, Department of Defence, and the Australian Defence Representative. The Australian Defence Representatives in Washington and London may also communicate direct with each other as outlined in paragraph 18.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

23. RELATION OF DEFENCE REPRESENTATIVE TO SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES

Consequent on the appointment of the Defence Representative, the Australian Military Mission will be reduced in status, size, and function. Ultimately, it should become a Military Attache and staff, but it is desirable that it should be maintained as a mission as long as this is acceptable to the United States Authorities. The Australian Army Representative (or Military Attache) should be of the rank of Colonel. The ranks of the Naval and Air Attaches will not exceed that of Captain and Group Captain respectively.

The Defence Representative will obtain technical information from and consult with the individual Service Representatives (Attaches) in Washington, as necessary.

23rd May 1947

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273862

"C"

Canadian Service Representatives in London

(Liaison Officers).

D. Standardization of Military Equipment

E. Recruitment of former RCAF personnel for service with RAF.

F. Defence (Publicity).

G. Montgomery Visit to Canada - U.S.S.R. Reaction.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 273863

Confidential

Ottawa, December 5th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Canadian Service representation in the United Kingdom; instructions.

Following your conversation with Pearson and me the other evening, we have revised the draft instructions to the Service liaison officers at Canada House and I am attaching a copy of the revision for your consideration.

You will observe that the term "liaison officer" has been inserted throughout, also that the reference to subordinate staff has been eliminated.

If the attached is satisfactory, it might perhaps go to the Cabinet Defence Committee and thence to the Cabinet for approval.

A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 273864

Draft instructions re Canadian Service representation in London - Liaison Officers

Instructions issued under date of January 8th, 1945, setting up the Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, to be cancelled and the following issued in lieu thereof:

"The Canadian Joint Staff Mission in London which was constitued by Cabinet War Committee decision of January 8th, 1945, will terminate its activities and be superseded by a Liaison Officer from each of the Armed Services and from Defence Resaarch who will be attached to the staff of the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

"These officers will provide liaison between their respective Services and the corresponding Services in the United Kingdom on matters of mutual interest; in addition each will be responsible for keeping the High Commissioner informed on matters affecting his Service.

"It will be incumbent upon the Liaison Officers to consult together in matters of joint interest to the Canadian Armed Forces with the object of submitting joint reports on such matters to the High Commissioner and to the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Ottawa. The principles and procedure to govern in the performan ce of such joint functions will be determined in consultation with the High Commissioner".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy/JAG

T E L E G R A M

C 273865

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL
CYPHER
NO. 228

LONDON, Dec. 13, 1946

No. 228. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, begins:

Thank you for your message in telegram No. 405 of the 19th November. I am glad to see that you hope to be able shortly to let us have your views as to the relationships and functions of the Sergice Liaison Officers whom you have attached to your High Commissioner's Office in London.

I shall also be interested to receive from you an account of any conclusions reached by the Canadian Government on Canada's Defence responsibilities which you consider are likely to be of interest to us.

I am sorry if our correspondenceon this subject has been the source of any difficulty or embarrassment to you. No one regrets more than we do the dfficulty which is from time to time created in these matters by wholly unauthorised and misleading statements. In so far as these appear to derive from leakages of official information, we are having the most searching investigations made. But I am sure that you recognize the difficulty that always exists in tracing the source of such leakages. On the more general question on statements made here, I feel sure that you realize as well as I do the difficulty of preventing persons, whether in Parliament or outside, from making irresponsible state,ents, but I can assure you that neither I nor any of my colleagues nob anyone holding a responsible position in the service here fails fully to appreciate the Canadian attitude in this matter or is lacking in any earnest desire to display the utmost consideration and understanding. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 2:15 p.m.
Rec'd 1:50 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy/JAG

T E L E G R A M

C 273865

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL
CYPHER
NO. 228

LONDON, Dec. 13, 1946

No. 228. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, begins:

Thank you for your message in telegram No. 405 of the 19th November. I am glad to see that you hope to be able shortly to let us have your views as to the relationships and functions of the Service Liaison Officers whom you have attached to your High Commissioner's Office in London.

I shall also be interested to receive from you an account of any conclusions reached by the Canadian Government on Canada's Defence responsibilities which you consider are likely to be of interest to us.

I am sorry if our correspondenceon this subject has been the source of any difficulty or embarrassment to you. No one regrets more than we do the dfficulty which is from time to time created in these matters by wholly unauthorised and misleading statements. In so far as these appear to derive from leakages of official information, we are having the most searching investigations made. But I am sure that you recognize the difficulty that always exists in tracing the source of such leakages. On the more general question on statements made here, I feel sure that you realize as well as I do the difficulty of preventing persons, whether in Parliament or outside, from making irresponsible state,ents, but I can assure you that neither I nor any of my colleagues nos anyone holding a responsible position in the service here fails fully to appredíate the Canadian attitude in this matter or is lacking in any earnest desire to display the utmost consideration and understanding. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 2:15 p.m.
Rec'd 1:50 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, November 27th, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Canadian Service representatives in London; terms of reference

Attached for your consideration are draft instructions to the Service liaison officers at Canada House.

Pearson tells me that you had in mind making use of the term "Attache". You will notice that the term "Adviser" is suggested in the attached draft.

I would propose that with such revisions as you may wish to make a draft be put before the Cebinet Defence Committee and thence to the Cabinet in due course.

Pearson has no other suggestions to offer.

A.D.P.H.

Note by Prime Minister:

I think we should hold to the term agreed to viz: Liaison officer - and not go beyond its implications in any particular. W.L.M.K. 30/11/46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 273867

Draft instructions re Canadian Service representation in London - Service advisers to the High Commissioner

Instructions issued under date of January 8th, 1945, setting up the Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, to be cancelled and the following issued in lieu thereof:

"The Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, which was constituted by Cabinet War Committee decision of January 8th, 1945, will terminate its activities and be superseded by Service Liaison Officers to be appointed to the staff of the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

"They will be known respectively as Navy, Army, and Air Liaison Officers attached to the office of the High Commissioner, and in this capacity each will be responsible for informing the High Commissioner on matters affecting his Service.

(See re Scientific advisers)

e.g.
Liaison Officer (Navy)
" " (Army)
" " (Air)

"Each of these officers will provide liaison between his Service and the corresponding Service in the United Kingdom on matters of mutual interest.

(This was to be the one and only duty as decided at the time of the meeting of Prime Ministers in London)

"It will be incumbent upon the Liaison Officers to consult together in matters of joint interest to the Canadian Armed Forces with the object of submitting joint information and reports on such matters to the High Commissioner and to the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Ottawa. The principles and procedure to govern in the performance of such joint functions will be determined in consultation with the High Commissioner."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Confidential Ottawa, December 5th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Canadian Service representation in the United Kingdom; instructions

Following your conversation with Pearson and me the other evening, we have revised the draft instructions to the Service liaison officers at Canada House and I am attaching a copy of the revision for your consideration.

You will observe that the term "liaison officer" has been inserted throughout, also that the reference to subordinate staff has been eliminated.

If the attached is satisfactory, it might perhaps go to the Cabinet Defence Committee and thence to the Cabinet for approval.

A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273869

CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, November 27th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Canadian Service representatives in London; terms of reference

Attached for your consideration are draft instructions to the Service liaison officers at Canada House.

Pearson tells me that you had in mind making use of the term "Attache". You will notice that the term "Adviser" is suggested in the attached draft.

I would propose that with such revisions as you may wish to make a draft be put before the Cabinet Defence Committee and thence to the Cabinet in due course.

Pearson has no other suggestions to offer.

D.P.H.

A. D. P. H.

I think we should take the term offered by Pearson officer - and not go beyond its implications in any particular

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Draft instructions re Canadian Service representation in London - Service advisers to the High Commissioner

Instructions issued under date of January 8th, 1945, setting up the Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, to be cancelled and the following issued in lieu thereof:

"The Canadian Joint Staff Mission, London, which was constituted by Cabinet War Committee decision of January 8th, 1945, will terminate its activities and be superseded by Service ~~advisers~~ liaison officers to the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

"They will be known respectively as Navy, Army, and Air ~~and Defence Research~~ liaison officers ~~advisers~~ to the High Commissioner, and in this capacity each will be responsible for ~~advising~~ informing the High Commissioner on matters affecting his Service.

"~~In addition,~~ each of these officers will provide liaison between his Service and the corresponding Service in the United Kingdom on matters of mutual interest. ~~For the performance of these duties each will be served by a small staff who will assist with these liaison duties in specialized fields.~~

"It will be incumbent upon the ~~Service advisers~~ liaison officers to consult together in matters of joint interest to the Canadian Armed Forces with the object of submitting joint ~~advice~~ information and reports on such matters to the High Commissioner and to the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Ottawa. The principles and procedure to govern in the performance of such joint functions will be determined in consultation with the High Commissioner."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273871 Finder L 01

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 7

LONDON, January 6th, 1947.

No. 7. Top Secret. Following for the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister, Begins:

Thank you for your telegram No. 444 about the details governing the establishment of the Canadian Joint Service Liaison Staff to be attached to your High Commissioner's office in this country.

I was much interested to see the terms of the instructions under which you intend your Liaison Staffs to operate, and the members can be assured of our welcome. I am grateful to you for the action you have taken and I am sure that both the Canadian and British Services will benefit from these contacts and in discussing individual Service and inter-Service problems which will be our mutual concern in the future. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent 5:00 p.m.

Rec'd. 4:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273871 Finder L.O.

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 7

LONDON, **January 6th, 1947.**

No. 7. Top Secret. Following for the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister, Begins:

Thank you for your telegram No. 444 about the details governing the establishment of the Canadian Joint Service Liaison Staff to be attached to your High Commissioner's office in this country.

I was much interested to see the terms of the instructions under which you intend your Liaison Staffs to operate, and the members can be assured of our welcome. I am grateful to you for the action you have taken and I am sure that both the Canadian and British Services will benefit from these contacts and in discussing individual Service and inter-Service problems which will be our mutual concern in the future. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent 5:00 p.m.

Rec'd. 4:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Defence Research

C 273872

GLM:JBW C

14th December, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

British Commonwealth Scientific Liaison Offices in London and Washington

1. Last summer the Commonwealth Scientific Official Conference, which was attended by a Canadian delegation of nine, unanimously approved the establishment of a special type of Commonwealth Scientific Liaison Offices in London and Washington.

2. On December 12th the Canadian High Commissioner in London informed us that the Report of the Conference would be published as a Command Paper in the United Kingdom on Monday, December 16th, and asked if we intended to publish the report. After consultation with the National Research Council we replied that we were not planning to publish the report but that the National Research Council would be issuing a descriptive Press Release on December 16th.

3. Substantially, the recommendations of the Conference mean that the Liaison Offices of the various members of the Commonwealth will be located in the same building and will share and pay for certain common services and rent but will operate as autonomous units. The exact Canadian commitment for rent and common services will be about $13,000 or $14,000. The National Research Council has approved the scheme and is willing to obligate itself financially for the expenses involved.

4. The United Kingdom authorities making the preliminary arrangements to implement the scheme have been informed informally by the National Research Council that the estimate of the Canadian commitment is acceptable and that the Council favours the proposal. We have recently received despatch No. 118 of November 26th from the Dominions Office asking if the Canadian Government approves.

C. B. Pearson

Dr. Wm. Mackenzie by Hand 16-XII-46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273873

"D"

Standardization of Military Equipment. (1946)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C 273874 DB

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

EN CLAIR

NO. 2364

LONDON, December 9th, 1946.

No. 2364. Your telegram No. 2108. This afternoon in the House of Commons, Mr. Piratin, Communist, asked the Prime Minister what decisions have been reached regarding the standardization of arms in the discussions taking place between military representatives of His Majesty's Govennment and the United States of America. Following is the answer given by the Lord President of the Council, together with supplementary questions and answers:

"I have been asked to reply | no decisions have been taken | In view of the reciprocal exchange of weapons between the United States and the United Kingdom which took place during the war over a very wide field, and the existing cooperation between the respective forces in the occupation of Germany, there have naturally been informal exchanges of views on continuing such standardization in the interests of economy and efficiency. The general position of the Government here was made clear in the statement made by my Right Honourable Friend the Prime Minister in the debate on the address of the 18th November.

Mr. Piratin. Is the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that American newspaper reporters have stated that they have had their information from authoritative spokesman of the War Office in this country? Does he, therefore, deny that statement so that the British public may know it is untrue?

Mr. Morrison. The Honourable Member may be disposed to take everything that appears in the American press at its face value. I am not.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273875

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Mr. Oliver Stanley. Is the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that similar statements were made by the Honourable Member for Gateshead and is that not much more important?

Mr. Morrison. Well, Sir, of course if any member of this House makes a statement, I am bound to treat it with respect, but I should not take that as conclusive".

2. Zilliacus' question will be asked tomorrow and we shall send you text and answer as soon as available.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Sent 7:51 p.m.,

Received 4:38 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

DB/—

C 273876

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - TK

WA-4344

WASHINGTON, December 10th, 1946.

WA-4344. With reference to previous messages concerning alleged Secret Military Agreements between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, the New York Daily Worker published the following story on December 9th, Begins:

"Report Canada-United States Secret Military Pact.

"The London Sunday newspaper, The People, asserted yesterday that the United States and Canada had entered into a Secret Military Pact, according to UP. The newspaper said the Agreement provided for unification of the two armies in event of war and complete standardization of weapons.

"Appointment of a Supreme Commander was said to be provided in the Pact, along with establishment of a Joint Staff College and formulation of operational war plans for defense of the Western Hemisphere.

"The newspaper said the Agreement was drafted by General A.L. MacNaughton, Canadian Chairman of the National Regional Defense Board for the Americas.

"It also said A.V. Alexander, Britain's new Defense Minister, would deny the existenee of any Secret Military Agreement between Britain and the United States as soon as he takes over the office.

"The newspaper said, however, that Alexander would disclose details of the Weapon Standardization Agreement between the United States and Britain. It said the standardization plan was drafted during Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery's recent visit to the United States. Montgomery is Chief of the British Imperial Staff.

"The People said the British-American Agreement was now being

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273877

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

worked out by a Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee in Washington."

Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 11:58 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C 273878 DBI

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CODE

NO. 223

LONDON, December 10th, 1946.

No. 223. Following is text of questions and answers in House of Commons on Monday, December 9th, Begins:

Mr. Piratin asked the Prime Minister what decisions have been reached regarding standardization of arms in discussions taking place between Military representatives of His Majesty's Government and United States of America.

Mr. H. Morrison: I have been asked to reply. No decisions have been taken. In view of reciprocal exchange of weapons between United States and United Kingdom, which took place during the war over a very wide field, and existing co-operation between respective forces in occupied Germany, there have naturally been informal exchanges of views on continuing of such standardization in the interests of economy and efficiency. The general position of the Government here was made clear in statements made by my Right Honourable Friend the Prime Minister in debate on the Address of November 18th.

Mr. Piratin: Is the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that the American newspaper reporters have stated that they have had their information from authoritative spokesmen of the War Office in this country? Does he, therefore, categorically deny the statement, thus informing the British public that it is untrue?

Mr. Morrison: The Honourable Member may be disposed to take everything that appears in the American press at its face value. I am not.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C 273879

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Mr. Oliver Stanley: Is The Right Honourable Gentleman aware that similar statements were made by The Honourable Member for Gateshead (Mr. Zilliacus), and is that not much more important?

Mr. Morrison: Of course, if any Member of this House makes a statement, I am bound to treat it with respect, but I should not take it as conclusive. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 6:40 p.m.
Rec'd: 9:30 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM 273880 DB

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

EN CLAIR

NO. 2370

LONDON, December 11th, 1946.

No. 2370. My telegram No. 2358 of 9th December. Standardization of armaments.

In answer to Zilliacus' question on December 10th, the Prime Minister said - "I would refer my Honourable Friend to the reply made yesterday by my Right Honourable Friend, the Lord President of the Council, to the Honourable Member for Mile End, and to the remarks I made in my speech in the debate on the Address of the 18th November. The principles there outlined are those which govern the policy of the Government. In these matters, the only point I would add is that the statement in the first half of the question, as to the views expressed by the Canadian Prime Minister in April, is without foundation."

2. Mr. Zilliacus then asked - "In view of the failure of the Prime Minister to answer the last part of the question either on 18th November or through the Leader of the House yesterday, would my Right Honourable Friend, in view of the rising disquiet on both sides of the Atlantic as to the present situation, take a further opportunity of making a full statement on the nature and extent of the Anglo-American military conversations."

The Prime Minister - "I do not think there is any apprehension except that I gather the questions asked by the Honourable Member are apt to cause apprehension in some quarters. I thought that my statement on the Address dealt very fully with the whole question."

Mr. Quintin Hogg - "Is the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that, had standardization been achieved in 1940, our enemies might have been discomfited?"

Mr. Speaker - "The Honourable Member is not asking for information. That is surely a purely hypothetical question."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C273881

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Mr. Anthony Greenwood - "Would the Right Honourable Gentleman tell the House with what pleasure he would welcome any indication that other foreign Powers are prepared to be as internationally minded as America."

The Prime Minister - "If the Honourable Member had followed what I said in the debate on the Address, he would have seen that I would welcome it."

Mr. Piratin - "Would the Prime Minister, now that he is able to answer the question himself, as was not the case yesterday, give the House a categorical answer to the question as to whether Field Marshal Montgomery, when he was in the United States during the summer, did not discuss questions of standardization on a much wider basis than that of our necessary forces in Germany."

Mr. Speaker - "That does not seem to me to be connected with the question on the Order Paper."

Mr. Ronald Chamberlain - "In view of our 20 years' Treaty with Russia, can the Prime Minister say whether we are having parallel conversations with that country."

The Prime Minister - "We should welcome any such conversations with Russia, but we have not been very successful in getting any from that side."

Mr. Quintin Hogg - "Could the Right Honourable Gentleman say what possible advantage could accrue from an arbitrary refusal to standardize to any but the potential enemies of this country."

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 1:35 p.m.
Rec'd: 10:09 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C273882 DB

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
LONDON

4th December, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I should like to refer to my letter of yesterday, in which I described the allegations made in "The Daily Worker" about the Anglo-American Military Alliance. Attached is the text of this article, which we did not have time to copy for enclosure with my letter yesterday.

"The Daily Worker", I might add, has not been at all convinced by the inept denial of the War Office, and it is continuing the attack with enthusiasm.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. W. HOLMES.

N.A. Robertson.

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

JWH/RMC

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY from "The Daily Worker", Monday, December 2nd, 1946.

BRITAIN READY FOR MILITARY PACT WITH U.S.

PARLIAMENT NOT TOLD, STAFF CHIEFS AGREE IN SECRET

From Frank Pitcairn

Britain is about to enter a far-reaching military pact with the United States.

Secretly, without Parliament being consulted, the Chiefs of Staff have agreed on full details.

War Office spokesmen officially state the pact will operate as soon as Mr. A.V. Alexander takes over as Minister of Defence.

As part of the arrangement, Britain has completely reversed her position on the atom bomb. Until the end of last week Britain officially stood for control and abolition of the atom bomb as the most dangerous and horrible known weapon.

At Saturday's United Nations meeting, Sir Hartley Shawcross abandoned this position and came to the defence of the U.S. atom bomb monopoly. He violently rejected Soviet proposals for quick steps to abolish atom warfare.

Negotiations binding Britain to total dependence on the U.S. as regards arms have been in progress since May.

General Sir William Morgan, now commanding in the Mediterranean, is being sent to Washington as Chief of Military Mission at the end of the year to put the scheme into effect.

Britain Supplies the Men.

Mr. Attlee's suggestion, in reply to "rebel" questions in the Commons on November 18, that the Anglo-U.S. talks have been limited, "regional" and directed toward a mere "interim" scheme, is contradicted by War Office authorities.

The plan embraces all forces and is officially described as a ten-year programme.

The plan, people in the closest touch with the Cabinet admit, assumes that in the event of war the U.S. would supply the arms and Britain the fighting men.

Officials admit these secret negotiations have a direct bearing on the British demobilisation slow-down and on conscription plans.

Arms to be Made in America

Negotiations for virtually "merging" the British Army with the Americans have been in progress for some months.

/They

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

They were started on the proposal of Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister, in April.

Details were worked out when U.S. Admiral Leahy was in London and later when Field-Marshal Montgomery was in the United States in the late summer.

They were the military counterpart of the Churchill-Bevin activity on the foreign political front.

Now it is officially stated that these schemes will be put into operation as soon as the establishment of the new Defence Ministry under Mr. A.V. Alexander is finally legalised.

It is admitted that under these schemes the position of Britain's fighting forces in relation to the United States will be similar to France's position relative to Britain in 1939.

American factories will produce arms - and mainly British soldiers will use them. All British equipment is to be standardized to American models.

Even cartridges, for example, are to be grooved instead of rimmed. The British .303 inch rifle is to be scrapped for a U.S. model. Mortars, all types of artillery, including naval guns, are to be dealt with in the same way.

All Britain's military secrets, it is officially stated, are being given to the United States.

Australia, New Zealand and Canada are to be made available as "dispersed bases" and "dispersed sources of arms supply" to the United States.

All this, which in effect binds Britain hand and foot to the United States and to United States policy, has been carried out strictly behind the scenes without Parliament being asked to do anything but approve a slow-down in demobilisation and a particular form of conscription calculated to satisfy U.S. requirements.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273884 DB

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

CYPHER - Public

NO. 444

Ottawa, December 3rd, 1946.

No.444. Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister. Begins:

1. With reference to your telegram No.228 of December 13th, the Cabinet have given further consideration to the question of Canadian Service representation in London and to the relationship and functions of the Liaison Officers to be attached to our High Commissioner's Office.

2. We have come to the conclusion that if our Liaison Officers are instructed in the terms set out in paragraph three of this message they will be in a position to perform effectively and to our mutual advantage the important functions contemplated without their appointment involving any of the serious difficulties to which Field Marshal Smuts and I drew attention at the meetings with Commonwealth Prime Ministers last spring.

3. Accordingly, the Cabinet have this week approved the following instructions to our Liaison Officers in London who will be known respectively as Liaison Officer (Navy), Liaison Officer (Army), Liaison Officer (Air Force), and Liaison Officer (Defence Research). Text of instructions begins:

The Canadian Joint Staff Mission in London which was constituted by Cabinet War Committee decision of January 8th, 1945, will terminate its activities and be superseded by a Liaison Officer from each of the Armed Services and from Defence Research who will be attached to the staff of the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

These officers will be responsible for keeping the High Commissioner informed on matters concerning their respective Services; they will provide liaison, on matters of mutual interest, between their respective Services and the corresponding Services in the United Kingdom.

It will be incumbent upon the Liaison Officers to consult together in matters of joint interest to the Canadian Armed Forces with the object of submitting joint reports on such matters to the High Commissioner and to the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Ottawa. The principles and procedure to govern in the performance of such joint functions will be determined in consultation with the High Commissioner. Text ends.

4. Steps are being taken forthwith to appoint our four Liaison Officers to the staff of Canada House on the above basis and we feel sure that the functions which they will be able to perform will do much to facilitate the traditional co-operation and co-ordination in defence matters between the Services of our two countries.

5. We have over the past few weeks given a good deal of attention to defence questions, particularly in relation to our joint plans with the United States and before long I expect to be in a position to let you know of the conclusions which are reached which are likely to be of interest to you. In this connection you may know that Mr.St.Laurent and Mr.Bevin had a word together recently in New York.

6. The unauthorized publicity which has appeared in the press on both sides of the Atlantic, over recent weeks, has of course been embarrassing but I appreciate fully the difficulties involved in dealing effectively with this kind of thing.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

May I conclude by thanking you for what you have said in your message concerning the Canadian attitude in these matters, and for your own consideration and understanding. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Distribution:

Prime Minister
Secretary of State for External Affairs
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs
Minister of National Defence
Mr. Heeney

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
-MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C273887 WB DB

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S.W.1.

No. A. 1048.

13th December, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 2370 of 11th December, in which I reported the answer given by the Prime Minister to Mr. Zilliacus's question on the subject of the standardisation of armaments with the United States.

2. One further question on this subject was asked in the House of Commons at Westminster on the 11th December by Mr. Swingler, a Labour M.P. who is such a frequent contributor to "The Daily Worker" and so frequently praised by "The Daily Worker" that I think he might be considered very close to the Communist Party. Mr. Swingler asked the Prime Minister whether he would give an assurance that His Majesty's Government would not enter into any military pact with the United States Government or any other government without the prior approval of Parliament. The Prime Minister's reply was as follows:

> "The broad principles of His Majesty's Government's foreign policy are subject to constant review by Parliament; but it would be entirely contrary to constitutional practice to require the Government to obtain the prior consent of Parliament before taking any detailed steps to give effect to that policy.
>
> Mr. Osborne: Would the Prime Minister make it clear that we should welcome, in peace, a continuance of the Anglo-American alliance which we welcomed in war?
>
> The Prime Minister: I have already made it clear to the House that His Majesty's Government welcome an alliance for the preservation of peace with all countries."

3. The answers in the House and the statements in the United States on this subject seem to have had a satisfactory effect, and very little attention has in fact been paid to them in the press. "The Daily Worker", needless to say,

/refuses

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

refuses to accept the Government's statements, but a good deal of its thunder has been stolen by Parliamentary statements which have helped to remove the atmosphere of mystery which the Communists had created, and have tended to put the whole matter in its proper perspective.

4. One of the most interesting comments has come from Mr. A. J. Cummings, the Left-Liberal commentator of "The News Chronicle". His remarks on the subject are attached.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) N. A. Robertson

High Commissioner.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C 273889 ~~US/NAD~~

TOP SECRET Ottawa, September 5th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Standardization of military equipment between the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada

1. The Chief of the General Staff understands that, when Field Marshal Montgomery sees you in Ottawa on Monday, he will raise the question of standizing equipment and weapons as between British, Canadian and United States forces.

2. This morning, the Chiefs of Staff Committee, with Robertson, Pearson, Wrong and myself, considered a paper on this question approved by the U.K. Cabinet Defence Committee and forwarded to External Affairs through Earnscliffe. The paper, which is in the form of a report by the U.K. Chiefs of Staff, recognizes the desirability of standardizing equipment between the Armed Forces of the three countries, outlines the difficulties which the impàementing of such a policy involves and concludes by recommending the joint approach to the U. S. Government on the part of the United Kingdom and Canada. The object would be to persuade U.S. authorities to adopt a policy of immediate cooperation with a view to eventual adoption of weapons and equipment of common types.

3. Canadian military authorities have, for some time, recognized that the adoption of standard equipment as between the United Kingdom and the United States would be directly in the interest of Canada. Our industrial standards are for the most part North American; on the other hand, traditionally, our Navy, Army and Air Force have been equipped on the British model, though the recent war modified this to a considerable degree. As in so many other fields, our objective, it is felt, should be to bring the British and Americans together.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273890

4. Field Marshal Montgomery intends to discuss this subject informally not only with General Eisenhower, but apparently with the President. If you agree, we thought that there would be no harm in your saying to the Field Marshal that he might intimate in Washington that he had approached the Canadian authorities informally and had learned that they were in general agreement with the U.K.'s views.

5. On the other hand, we did not think that the objective could best be achieved by a formal approach by the U.K. government on the political level; nor did we feel that the Canadian government should be a party to a joint approach as is suggested in the U.K. paper. It was our view that a less formal initiative by the U.K. staff to their opposite numbers in the United States would not be so likely to encounter political difficulty. So far as Canada is concerned, the joint planning now being carried on under the auspices of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence has already given an opportunity to our officers to express a view favourable to standardization. Any further initiative which might be taken on our part might, we felt, remain on the Service level.

6. It was thought that you might wish to have our views on this subject before you see Field Marshal Montgomery and I have, therefore, prepared this note rather hurriedly in order that you may have it in good time. It has been seen by Robertson and Foulkes, both of whom concur.

7. General Foulkes tells me that he is to have a word with you privately before you see Field Marshal Montgomery.

A.D.P.H.

P.S. I have just been informed that the U.K. government now feel that any "joint approach" be left in abeyance until the results of Montgomery's informal discussions are known.

N.B. See also Cabinet Conclusions, September 26, 1946. Para 21(3)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Ottawa, October 31st, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Staff conversations; United Kingdom-Canada-United States; standardization of equipment

You will remember that, when Field Marshal Montgomery was in Ottawa, you discussed with him and with the Minister of National Defence and the Chief of the General Staff U.K. proposals for the standardizing of military equipment. At that time, you indicated that the Canadian government were prepared to cooperate in measures designed to promote uniformity in these matters. Subsequently, after Montgomery had visited Washington, you heard from him that the President had also expressed agreement as to the desirability of the Services of the three countries working together to this end.

On September 26th, you reported these developments to the Cabinet and it was agreed that the process of standardization should be worked out by stages on the Service level, but that there should be no question of any formal inter-governmental agreement on the subject. The Cabinet Defence Committee had previously approved a recommendation in favour of standardization from the Chiefs of Staff and this was reported to the Cabinet at the same time by Mr. Abbott.

On Tuesday last, Pearson and I were invited to a meeting of the Chiefs of Staff to hear General Foulkes' account of subsequent developments. This made it quite clear that the British and Americans

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

contemplate joint planning over a much broader field than that of standardization of equipment. Indeed, the draft agenda prepared for discussions which are to begin in Washington on November 11th indicates that both the U.K. and the U.S. Staffs are looking forward to a complete examination of the over-all strategic problem in the light of estimated Soviet intentions.

Canadian authorities had not known in advance of the nature of the recent talks which took place in England between Eisenhower and Montgomery and their Planners. Foulkes has now been brought into the picture fully, however, and at present is considering with his Naval and Air Force colleagues the briefing of the Canadian Service representatives who will attend the tri-partite meetings in Washington on November 11th. He agreed with me that you should be informed at once of the turn of events. Since the Minister is away (Mr.Gibson is not, I think, aware of what has transpired), I asked Foulkes to write me a brief statement of the salient features of the position in a personal letter, a copy of which is attached.

My impression is that, while the U.K. government are fully aware of the extent of the proposed conversations with the United States, the same may not be true in Washington, though presumably the President has been informed. Naturally, the highest degree of secrecy is being maintained.

A.D.P.H.
A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Copy

C 273893

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, Canada 29 October, 1946.

Dear Mr.Heeney,

Following my discussion at this morning's Chiefs of Staff meeting you mentioned that it might be advisable for you to have a word with the Prime Minister to inform him of the progress of the talks with the British Planners, and the nature of future discussions to take place in Washington commencing 11 November. It would be helpful, perhaps, if I briefly review the background which has led up to the present situation.

You will recall that following Field Marshal Montgomery's brief visit with the Prime Minister, it was agreed that Canada should participate in conversations, on a Military level, with the United States and Great Britain on questions of current strategy and standardization, as outlined by Field Marshal Montgomery. After the Field Marshal's visit to Washington I received a letter in which the Field Marshal mentioned that he had secured the approval of President Truman to the proposal of Tri-Partite talks on a Military level. He also mentioned that the American Chiefs of Staff had agreed that the talks should include all mutual defence matters, and not only standardization. I received a similar message from General Eisenhower, advising that the talks would take place in Washington early in October.

On the 11th of October I received a letter from the Field Marshal in which he explained that the British and American Planners had held a preliminary meeting in London, and had drawn up a tentative Agenda for the further meetings which are to be held in Washington in November. He explained further that for reasons of security he had thought it advisable not to invite the Canadian participation, but to inform us later of their discussions, and he suggested further that a team of Canadian Planners should arrive in London about the 20th of October to discuss with the British Planners this Agenda.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

I discussed that matter with Mr.Abbott, and our first reaction was one of considerable annoyance that preliminary talks had been held without our participation. However, we felt that perhaps this was a good opportunity of registering our objection to such procedure and of stating Canada's case. Therefore, with the Minister's approval I proceeded with the team to the United Kingdom. On the morning of Monday, 21st October, I had an interview with Field Marshal Montgomery, when he outlined the previous meeting with the Americans, and he mentioned that he considered it desirable to have a common Commonwealth front in this matter before meeting the Americans in Washington.

I took exception to this proposal and reminded the Field Marshal that we were upset that these talks should have been held without Canadians being present, and that I could not agree to any such thing as a common Commonwealth front when dealing with these matters. He emphasized that the preliminary United States-Great Britain talks were mainly in connection with the future of the Occupation Forces in Germany in which, of course, we were no longer interested, and that nothing had been decided except the tentative Agenda had been drawn up.

It was finally agreed that there would be no preliminary talks, either in Ottawa or Washington, between the British and the Canadian teams, nor would we put up, at any time, a common front to the Americans. The Field Marshal now fully understands that during these talks Canada must be treated in the same manner as the other two participants.

I undertook to review the Agenda and the preliminary papers which are to form the basis of the discussions in Washington, and further to brief the Canadian team before they proceeded to Washington. I later met the members of the British team to discuss with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

them the composition of the Canadian team, and the Agenda.

The British are very anxious that agreement be reached on the strategical concept, which is to form the basis of the planning for cooperation on all matters in the event of war, and they are to present a paper in Washington giving their views on the strategical concept. They feel that until common agreement is reached on the strategical concept it would be unsound to discuss ways and means of standardization of operational procedure, weapons, and equipment.

It was further agreed that the Planners would bring in recommendations as to what mutual tasks should be undertaken in peace time, and the ways and means in which these tasks would be carried out. A report of the Planners is to be forwarded to the respective Chiefs of Staff Committees before further action is undertaken.

I have agreed to arrange for a Canadian Planning group, on Brigadier level, to meet the British and United States groups for these talks in Washington commencing 11th November. It is clearly understood by all concerned that these talks are purely exploratory and do not make, or accept, any commitments whatsoever. I feel that it is of considerable importance that we send down the best possible representation for these talks; not that we can contribute very much to talks on Allied grand strategy, but it appears important to me to be adequately represented so that we can be kept completely in the picture and to ensure that Great Britain does not again consider that she is talking on behalf of Canada in any matters whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Charles Foulkes.

A.D.P. Heeney, Esq., K.C.,
Secretary to the Cabinet,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT.
Epreuve illisible

~~US/NAD~~

273896

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S FILES.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Nov. 1 1946.

Standardization of Armaments

Attached are:

(1) A copy of the item which appeared in the Montreal Gazette of Oct. 31;

(2) A draft telegram to the High Commissioner in London, for your consideration.

Our records show that on April 5 the Canadian Chiefs of Staff Committee were informed that the British Chiefs of Staff were considering a report on standardization of equipment between the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. This report was submitted to the United Kingdom cabinet defence committee on May 30. It was communicated to the Canadian Government through the British High Commissioner on ~~May 30~~ Aug. 22, and was discussed with Field Marshal Montgomery during his visit.

20th May before I knew of a similar attack

The report expressed the view that, although complete standardization was at present impossible, interchange of weapons and stores was both possible and extremely desirable. It listed a number of technical matters on which agreement, if it could be reached, would greatly reduced the inconveniences now inseparable from using one another's equipment.

On Sept. 20 the British High Commissioner was informed that the report had been considered by the Canadian authorities, and that the policy outlined in it accorded with their views and was acceptable to them as a general basis for planning. It was felt, however, that discussions with the United States should be informed and conducted on a Service level.

C B Pearson

Draft is OK
Perhaps emphasize that PM was not at London meeting
Nov 20/46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C73858 Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date Oct. 31/46

Subject

DOMINIONS AGREE

King, Chifley, Nash Views Simi lar on Commonwealth Plan

NO FORMAL ALLIANCE

Britain Could Then Fill Mili tary Needs in U.S. With Little Confusion

London, October 30.—(AP)—Autho itative British military informan said today that British Empire an American political and militar chiefs have agreed in principle standardize land, air and nav weapons and munitions to fix United States sizes and patterns.

Informants said the issue weapon standardization first w broached by Prime Minister Ma kenzie King of Canada during th conference here last April of Con monwealth prime ministers.

Mr. King, these sources said, to the conference that Canada wa convinced her territorial integrit and future security were insepara bly linked with those of the Unite States and that defence strate had to take into account the tec nical, productive and scientific r sources of the United States.

Prime Minister Chifley of Au tralia and Walter Nash, New Ze land deputy prime minister, ex pressed similar views concerning their countries.

The military informants said A. V. Alexander, defence minister-designate, would give the standardization decision practical effect as soon as he takes office.

Asked whether such an agreement implied the conclusion of a formal military alliance between Britain and the United States, an army source said: "No, but it does mean a deliberate decision from the British side to settle any disputes that might arise in the future by discussion."

The source said Britain and the United States were continuing to exchange information on military weapons developments—more than a year after the end of the war—adding: "I don't believe there is a single military secret between ourselves and the Americans."

Supply officials said that under standardization Britain would be able to contribute as well as receive, citing as examples the United Kingdom leadership in the fields of radar and jet-propelled engines.

No formal decisions were reached at the commonwealth conference, but Prime Minister Attlee immediately initiated discussions with his military chiefs and later took up the matter, through the joint staff board, with top American military men. Agreement then was reached, the informants said.

In practice, it was said, the arrangement will mean that in any future emergency Britain would be able to order most of her military requirements from the United States with considerably less trouble than in the last war.

A big advantage to the United States, it was pointed out, was that countries like Australia and New Zealand, where British weapon and munitions factories are to be established, would in effect become "advanced bases" for United States forces in the event of a conflict.

The informants suggested it would take a minimum of 10 years to complete the British conversion. The British .303 rifle, used for about 50 years, will be redesigned to the American .30 calibre. Cartridges will be grooved instead of rimmed. Mortars, field artillery, medium and heavy artillery and naval guns eventually will be replaced, it was said.

A spokesman for the Admiralty, asked to say how the planned change would affect Britain's capital ships, said discussion of that subject was "premature."

Whatever talks were proceeding along the lines indicated were at "the highest level," he added. Another Admiralty informant explained that the question of naval armaments was "under review."

In the House of Commons, John Dugdale, Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, told a questioner Britain was awaiting the United States Navy's official report on the Bikini atom bomb tests before investigating changes in design and construction of British warships.

Precise technical details of how armaments on aircraft would be standardized could not be ascertained from the Air Ministry."

A War Office source said Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, discussed details of the standardization when he visited Canada and the United States in August and September and had returned "tremendously impressed" with all he had seen of the United States military machine.

Much of the British responsibility for developing standardization will fall on Lt.-Gen. Sir William D. Morgan, Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean, who is due to succeed Field Marshal Baron Wilson as chief of the British Military Mission in Washington.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C73858 Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date Oct. 31/46

Subject

DOMINIONS AGREE

King, Chifley, Nash Views Simi lar on Commonwealth Plan

NO FORMAL ALLIANCE

Britain Could Then Fill Mili tary Needs in U.S. With Little Confusion

London, October 30.—(AP)—Autho itative British military informan said today that British Empire an American political and militar chiefs have agreed in principle standardize land, air and nav weapons and munitions to fixe United States sizes and patterns.

Informants said the issue weapon standardization first w broached by Prime Minister Ma kenzie King of Canada during th conference here last April of Con monwealth prime ministers.

Mr. King, these sources said, tol the conference that Canada w convinced her territorial integrit and future security were insepara bly linked with those of the Unite States and that defence strateg had to take into account the tec nical, productive and scientific r sources of the United States.

Prime Minister Chifley of Au tralia and Walter Nash, New Ze land deputy prime minister, ex pressed similar views concerning their countries.

The military informants said A. V. Alexander, defence minister-designate, would give the standardization decision practical effect as soon as he takes office.

Asked whether such an agreement implied the conclusion of a formal military alliance between Britain and the United States, an army source said: "No, but it does mean a deliberate decision from the British side to settle any disputes that might arise in the future by discussion."

The source said Britain and the United States were continuing to exchange information on military weapons developments—more than a year after the end of the war—adding: "I don't believe there is a single military secret between ourselves and the Americans."

Supply officials said that under standardization Britain would be able to contribute as well as receive, citing as examples the United Kingdom leadership in the fields of radar and jet-propelled engines.

No formal decisions were reached at the commonwealth conference, but Prime Minister Attlee immediately initiated discussions with his military chiefs and later took up the matter, through the joint staff board, with top American military men. Agreement then was reached, the informants said.

In practice, it was said, the arrangement will mean that in any future emergency Britain would be able to order most of her military requirements from the United States with considerably less trouble than in the last war.

A big advantage to the United States, it was pointed out, was that countries like Australia and New Zealand, where British weapon and munitions factories are to be established, would in effect become "advanced bases" for United States forces in the event of a conflict.

The informants suggested it would take a minimum of 10 years to complete the British conversion. The British .303 rifle, used for about 50 years, will be redesigned to the American .30 calibre. Cartridges will be grooved instead of rimmed. Mortars, field artillery, medium and heavy artillery and naval guns eventually will be replaced, it was said.

A spokesman for the Admiralty, asked to say how the planned change would affect Britain's capital ships, said discussion of that subject was "premature."

Whatever talks were proceeding along the lines indicated were at "the highest level," he added. Another Admiralty informant explained that the question of naval armaments was "under review."

In the House of Commons, John Dugdale, Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, told a questioner Britain was awaiting the United States Navy's official report on the Bikini atom bomb tests before investigating changes in design and construction of British warships.

Precise technical details of how armaments on aircraft would be standardized could not be ascertained from the Air Ministry.

A War Office source said Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, discussed details of the standardization when he visited Canada and the United States in August and September and had returned "tremendously impressed" with all he had seen of the United States military machine.

Much of the British responsibility for developing standardization will fall on Lt.-Gen. Sir William D. Morgan, Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean, who is due to succeed Field Marshal Baron Wilson as chief of the British Military Mission in Washington.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273899

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE/SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA (Under)

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON

Ottawa, November 2nd, 1946.

No. 1900
TOP SECRET
CYPHER

Following for Robertson from Pearson, Begins:

1. Montreal Gazette, October 31, has Associated Press despatch from London quoting authoritative British military informants, in connection with standardisation of armaments of the British Empire and United States, as saying issue of standardisation was first broached by Prime Minister of Canada during April Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Report continues: "Mr. King, these sources said, told the conference that Canada was convinced her territorial integrity and future security were inseparably linked with those of the United States and that defence strategy had to take into account the technical, productive and scientific resources of the United States".

2. Full record of minutes of 1946 Prime Ministers' Conference contains no reference to such a statement by Mr. King, nor to any discussion of arms standardisation while he was present. I understand, however, that, during Mr. King's visit last May, there was some informal discussion of standardization. He was not even present at any discussions which may have taken place in April.

3. The Prime Minister brought the matter up in conversation yesterday. He does not take exception to the principles regarding standardization which are advocated, but first, to the statement that the proposal had been initiated by him and, secondly, to the breach of the accepted practice of not making public, without previous agreement, any part of the proceedings of conferences of Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth.

4. Our files indicate that, at the time of the Prime Ministers' meeting last spring, studies regarding standardisation had already been undertaken by the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff, who later reported to the British Cabinet. Recent developments were outlined in my despatch No.1613 of September 24th.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

5. It seems clear that there is a revival in certain circles in London, particularly in Service Departments, of loose and unhelpful talk on Imperial Defence questions which advocates ideas and uses expressions which are out of date and inappropriate.

6. I should be glad to have your comments on these developments, including any explanation obtainable as to the appearance of the Associated Press despatch mentioned above. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C273901 WB

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S.W.1.

3rd December, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

Since my letter to you of 28th November, in which I expressed my anxiety about the determination of the Left-wing critics in this country to expose the nature and extent of Anglo-American military collaboration, there have appeared several bits of evidence in print which will, I think, confirm what I said last week.

In "The Times" of November 23rd it was reported that Mr. R.H.S. Crossman, who, as you will remember, was spokesman for the Labour "rebels", speaking at a National Peace Council meeting on November 22nd, said:

> "I am still anxious about the degree of military co-operation disclosed by the War Office statements that in future British, Canadian New Zealand, and Australian soldiers will use American arms. If we pool our armaments in peace-time to this extent with the Americans and have no similar arrangements with Russia, then we are in effect members of an exclusive Anglo-American alliance. Our foreign policy will inevitably be dependent on the foreign policy of the Power which manufactures our arms."

Although we were aware of the reports which had appeared in the North American press about standardisation of arms we did not think that any official statement on this subject had at any time been put out by the War Office. As a result of a very informal enquiry on our part the Dominions Office made some investigations at the War Office. The War Office themselves said that the only basis that they could think of for such a statement was an article which appeared in "The Daily Express" of October 30th, which was speculative and not specific in its sources. A copy of this article, headed: "British Arms All U.S. Sizes - Cabinet Decision", is attached.

However, in "The New Statesman and Nation" for November 30th there is a good deal more detail on this matter. "Critic", who is the author of the London Diary in "The New Statesman" in which these comments are made, is usually the

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

/Editor,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273902

Editor, Mr. Kingsley Martin, but Mr. Crossman himself is, of course, one of the editors of "The New Statesman". The text of that part of the London Diary to which I refer is attached. "Critic" reports the familiar anxieties of his circle about military co-operation with the Capitalistic American. He says that War Office spokesmen had made it perfectly clear to American journalists that agreement had been reached in principle on the re-equipment of the British Army with American arms and munitions, and he proceeds to give details about this agreement. These familiar details have obviously been derived from the Associated Press despatch mentioned in your telegram No. 1900 of 2nd November.

There are two other aspects of this comment which are, I think, relevant to the remarks in my previous letter. "Critic" says, "How can we have independent British or Commonwealth foreign policy if we share our military secrets and our military intelligence with the Americans, and if our soldiers are armed with American weapons?" You will note also that he quotes "someone very close to the Cabinet" as having said: "Of course what the rebels allege is perfectly true, and thank heavens it is! In the present state of the world we must have American military backing." This, says "Critic" was at least a frank answer as compared with that which the Prime Minister gave in the House.

These reports of the military alliance have now been taken up with energy and imagination by "The Daily Worker", which yesterday (December 2nd) presented a feature story under the headline: "Britain Ready for a Military Pact with United States". According to this story the Chiefs of Staff had agreed on the details of a far-reaching military pact with the United States without Parliament being consulted. It was said that War Office spokesmen had officially stated that the pact would operate as soon as Mr. A.V. Alexander took over as Minister of Defence. The basis of the story was again the A.P. despatch of October 30th, and "The Daily Worker" even repeated the suggestion that negotiations were started on a proposal of the Canadian Prime Minister. Needless to say, the alleged facts in the A.P. report were considerably magnified, and drastic conclusions were drawn about the extent to which Britain had sold out to the reactionary Americans. These allegations have been judged serious enough to necessitate a denial on the part of the War Office and the Foreign Office. Attached is the report of these denials in this morning's "Times".

I am enclosing an extra copy of this letter in case you should wish to send a copy to Mr. Wrong.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) N. A. Robertson.

P.S. I shall send the text of "The Daily Worker" article to you in tomorrow's bag, as I do not wish to hold up this letter while it is being copied.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C273903

WB

COPY of article in "The Daily Express", October 30th, 1946.

BRITISH ARMS ALL U.S. SIZES

CABINET DECISION

From Chapman Pincher

All the weapons and ammunition for Britain's "Atomic Age" forces will be designed, as far as possible, to standard American sizes and patterns.

The Cabinet has decided this so that in any future emergency Britain can buy freely in the American arms market.

Some big changes - to be carried out over a long period - will be made in equipment.

The .303-inch rifle will be redesigned to the U.S. .300 calibre. Cartridges will be grooved instead of rimmed.

Mortars, field artillery, fighter aircraft and some naval guns will have to be replaced. But the Chiefs of Staff consider the strategic advantages gained make the changes worthwhile.

Britain and America have arranged for an automatic interchange of information on all weapon developments.

Under One Man.

Sir Alwyn Crow, the rocket expert, has been transferred from the Directorate of Guided Projectiles to the new post of chief weapons liaison officer in Washington.

Work on guided projectiles and robot plane development has now begun to overlap and will be placed under one man - Sir Ben Lockspeiser, chief of Government air research.

The rocket research station at Westcott, Bucks, may now be transferred to the new National Aeronautical Establishment at Bedford. This would save duplication of expensive wind-tunnels and other research and administrative expenses. For the Government plans to spend £20,000,000 in the next few years on rockets.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C73904 WB

COPY from "The New Statesman and Nation", November 30, 1946.

A LONDON DIARY

The more I look at Clem Attlee's replies to Crossman's questions last week on standardisation of armaments the more disturbed I am. War Office spokesmen have made it perfectly clear to American journalists that agreement has been reached in principle on the re-equipment of the British Army with American arms and munitions, though I gather that no such agreement has been reached with regard to the Navy or the Air Force. The present plan, worked out by Monty and Eisenhower, includes the proposal that the British 303 rifle should be replaced by the American 300: that identical systems of training should be established and that there should be a large-scale interchange of officers for this purpose. It is reckoned that the whole operation, which includes the acceptance by the British Army of the metric system, may take some ten years to complete. Under it not only Britain, but Australia and New Zealand, which use British equipment, will be geared to the American war machine. The Prime Minister's reply - that we were willing to make the same arrangements with the U.S.S.R. and to submit the plan to Uno approval - is no reply at all. While the British and American Chiefs of Staff - with the Combined Chiefs of Staff still in operation - have been going ahead, the Military Committee of the United Nations has been totally inactive since last March. We are now busily engaged with staff conversations on combined Anglo-American strategy with the Americans; no staff conversations with the Russians have taken place. It is surely obvious that such a policy must help to separate the world into two blocs instead of uniting it. How can we have independent British or Commonwealth foreign policy if we share our military secrets and our military intelligence with the Americans, and if our soldiers are armed with American weapons? Nothing which the Prime Minister said refutes the suggestion that we are being committed to a de facto Anglo-American Alliance under which Britain maintains a long-term conscript army which in the first year of a war will do the fighting while America supplies the arms.

Discussions of the problem are confused by the contradictory replies given by supporters of Mr. Bevin's foreign policy. I put the problem the other day to someone very close to the Cabinet, and he said, "Of course what the rebels allege is perfectly true, and thank heavens it is! In the present state of the world we must have American military backing. Don't you realise that if American troops were withdrawn from Europe to-day the Red troops would sweep to Calais?" This at least was a frank answer. Instead of following the Premier in denying the existence of an Anglo-American alliance my friend argued that Red aggression was the main danger, that we could not meet it alone, and that Anglo-American unity was the only basis on which the United Nations could be established. Once the Russians had been shown that expansion was impossible, they might co-operate - supposing that America was then in a mood to do so, which now looks improbable. If this is really the reasoning behind the Government's foreign policy, then surely the Prime Minister should say so openly, and let the country know what its commitments really are.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C273905

Copy of Report in "The Times" dated 3rd December, 1946.

A WAR OFFICE DENIAL

The following official statement was issued yesterday:-

"In view of a report published in a morning newspaper (not "The Times"), the War Office denies that any official announcement has been made concerning a military pact between Great Britain and the United States."

- - - - -

Our Diplomatic Correspondent writes:-

"During the day the Foreign Office joined in describing the whole report as entirely without foundation. There are no military arrangements with the United States beyond those limited in character, announced by Mr. Attlee in the House on November 18."

- - - - - - - - - - -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273906

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE LONDON, December 3rd, 1946.

SECRET

CYPHER-PUBLEX

NO. 2312

No. 2312. Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

My telegram No. 2203 of November 12th. Determination of British Left Wing to smoke out the Anglo-American Military Alliance is becoming more embarrassing. "The New Statesman and Nation" last week based charges of secret military agreements largely on information contained in Associated Press despatch reported in your telegram No. 1900 of November 2nd. "The Daily Worker" has now taken up this story as a major issue and yesterday repeated statement that proposals for standardization were first made by Canadian Prime Minister. I understand further reports along these lines are appearing in American newspapers as well.

This morning's papers publish following denial which, as the Guardian aptly says, "lacks precision" and "in view of a report published in a morning newspaper, the War Office denies that any official announcement has been made concerning a Military Pact between Great Britain and the United States." The "Times" diplomatic correspondent also states "during the day the Foreign Office joined in describing the whole report as entirely without foundation. There are no military arrangements with the United States beyond those limited in character, announced by Mr. Attlee in the House on November 18th."

Letter to you in today's bag. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent 4:00 p.m.

Rec'd. 4:55 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273907

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET & PERSONAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 2332

LONDON, December 5th, 1946.

No. 2332. Secret and Personal. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Following is quotation from "Daily Worker" of December 4th.

"Canadian protest. While the British authorities were solemnly denying that they had, at any time, officially admitted the existence of certain Arms Agreements with the United States, people in the know were amusedly recalling the fact that only a couple of weeks ago the Canadian Government officially protested to the British Government against official British disclosures on this subject made to American newspapers.

The Canadian Government complained that these official British disclosures were acutely embarrassing to it. It said it would have preferred to have time to prepare public opinion to face the new state of affairs.

The Canadian Government was under no illusion as to the entirely official character of the statements given to the American press. In fact, it objected to them chiefly on the ground of their "excessive" accuracy.

Yet, while such statements were being published in the United States and Canada, the British Government took no steps to deny them. It was only when the Daily Worker made so bold as to offer this information to the unfortunate British public too that the authorities considered that the bounds of discretion were being overstepped."

Enquiries have been made at Dominions Office by representative of "Time" magazine concerning the truth of the report of a

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273008

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Canadian protest. We understand that Dominions Office Director of Information replied that as no official disclosures had been made there could not have been an official protest. A denial in this form seems unlikely to be any more convincing than the War Office statement quoted in my telegram No. 2312.

You may wish to check where such a rumour may have had its origin in Ottawa. Ends.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 6:54 p.m.
Rec'd: 3:13 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273901

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 211

No. 211. Top Secret. We have this morning heard from Washington that in view of recent rumours about talks on standardization of armaments, United States Acting Secretary of State proposes to make statement on subject at press conference at noon today Washington time.

We are telegraphing urgently to ask if this statement can be postponed until Monday next when Prime Minister has to answer a question in Parliament here. Text of telegrams exchanged is being repeated to you in my immediately following telegrams.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 12:50 p.m.
Rec'd: 8:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273910

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 212

LONDON, **December 6th, 1946.**

No. 212. Top Secret. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of telegram from United Kingdom Embassy, Washington No. 6978, Begins:

State Department telephoned this evening to inform us that in view of recent rumour about talks on standardization of armaments, Acheson proposed to make an announcement on this subject at his press conference tomorrow at 12:00 a.m., Washington Time, in response to an inspired question. Text is contained in my immediately following telegram.

2. I have discussed the matter with Field Marshal Lord Wilson, who, while agreeing with me that His Majesty's Government should have an opportunity of commenting before any announcement is made by the United States Government, considers that an announcement of some kind, though not necessarily a unilateral one, would be useful in putting an end to public speculation on this subject. He has already pointed out in a telegram to the Chiefs of Staff that this speculation has been stimulated by publication in today's United States press of a United Press message from London quoting "a high Government source" as confirming that the United States and United Kingdom had begun standardization of infantry equipment and that talks were going on in Washington on other means of co-ordinating British and American armed forces. Source is also quoted as stating that Russia would be welcome to join in the discussions but that decision already

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

taken had made standardization of certain small arms an accomplished fact.

3. I have obtained a guarantee from the State Department that proposed statement will not be made until I have received your views. They ask me to point out, however, that news stories culminating in today's alleged guidance from a "high Government source" in London make it imperative for them to say something almost immediately. They hope that you share this view and will be able to concur in their proposed statement. If it is possible for you to do so, before 12:00 a.m. tomorrow, they would, of course, be particularly appreciative basing their hopes on the alleged London statement. They would, of course, welcome a similar statement in London and believe that a Parliamentary question is down for early next week on this subject.

4. Please instruct me Most Immediately. Ends.

We are enquiring urgently as regards United Press message referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 of above, origin of which is not understood here.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 3:52 p.m.
Rec'd: 10:45 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

273912

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 213

LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

No. 213. Top Secret. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of telegram from United Kingdom Embassy, Washington, No. 6979, Begins:

Following is text, Begins:

In response to questions as to whether or not there has been a military pact entered into by the United States on the one hand and the United Kingdom and Canada or either of them on the other hand, particularly on the question of standardization of arms, it is suggested that the following line be taken. During the late war the United States provided vast quantities of supplies, including military supplies of all types, to our Allies. This action began first with the United Kingdom, with which country the exchange of weapons was reciprocal, and covered a very wide field of equipment of all kinds. In order to accomplish quickly and efficiently the tremendous task with which we were faced, those who handled these supplies in both countries and directed them towards the winning of the war found that a certain amount of standardization of equipment followed inevitably and aided tremendously in the efficient prosecution of the war. In many cases new types of equipment were developed jointly. Wherever standardization was effected there was a saving of time, money and manpower. It is natural and inevitable for the armed forces to standardize necessary military equipment to the greatest degree practicable. Economy really means the utmost efficiency

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273913

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

in utilizing resources, including most especially the appropriations made by Congress. The American people are particularly interested in economy and in reducing the cost of Government. Because of the effectiveness of these measures, there have, from time to time, been informal exchanges of views on standardization of arms, notably with the United Kingdom and Canada. Our close association with these two countries in the late war and the degree of standardization accomplished as a result thereof have made this logical. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this very natural development implies political arrangements or commitments. There has, of course, been no alliance of any kind entered into or even considered. As the Secretary of State said on 16th of March of this year, "We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in an alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union." There has been no change in policy. The commitments of the United States are to the United Nations. Ends. Message ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Sent: 1:52 p.m.
Rec'd: 9:57 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C.273914

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

LONDON, **December 6th, 1946.**

CYPHER

NO. 214

No. 214. Top Secret. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of reply sent to United Kingdom Embassy, Washington, Begins:

Your telegrams No. 6978 and No. 6979.

1. Following question is on Order Paper to Prime Minister for Monday, December 9th - two further questions are on Order Table on same subject for December 10th and 11th. Text of question on December 9th is as follows:

Mr. Piratin: To ask what decisions have been reached regarding the standardization of arms in the discussion taking place between military representatives of His Majesty's Government and the United States of America.

2. To Mr. Piratin's question, we are advising Prime Minister to reply "None, Sir". We propose to advise Prime Minister to reply to almost inevitable supplementaries by referring to relevant extract from his speech in debate on address of November 18th in reply to Crossman amendment. Relevant passage is in Hansard for November 18th, column 585.

3. To the two further questions on December 10th and 11th, texts in my immediately following telegram, the reply can be given by simple reference to above-mentioned answer or on similar lines.

4. Our thought is that this line would enable us to base

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273915

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

ourselves on relation of matter to security arrangements in United Nations Charter, which would be a better line for us than line given in your telegram No. 6979 since it, to some extent, side-tracks idea of an exclusive tie-up. But it would be clearly impossible for us to take this line if American statement on lines State Department suggest had been made in advance of Prime Minister's reply on Monday, December 9th.

5. Please, therefore, ask Acheson most urgently whether, in the circumstances, he would agree to postpone his statement until after Prime Minister has given answer in House of Commons on Monday, December 9th; if Acheson has a press conference at one o'clock on that day, this would suit very well from point of timing. Please explain to Acheson that we much regret having to ask this and hope that it will not cause him great inconvenience: but, as both he and you will realize, implications of this subject are, in view of recent debate on address, possibly even more embarrassing here than they may be in the United States and we, therefore, feel entitled to ask him to do his best to meet our views. In that event, we should have no objections to his own statement following the line he suggests.

6. We are, of course, keeping Canadian Government fully informed. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Sent: 2:37 p.m.
Rec'd: 10:50 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273916

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 215

LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

No. 215. Top Secret. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of Parliamentary questions for 10th and 11th December, respectively, to which reference is made.

Mr. Zilliacus, - to ask the Prime Minister, what stage has been reached in the discussions for the standardization of British air, land, naval weapons and munitions to fixed United States sizes and patterns that were initiated by him, in pursuance of views expressed by the Canadian Prime Minister at the Empire Conference last April through the Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee; and whether any measures are in contemplation for the standardization of training manuals, exchange of officers and joint use of naval and air bases by the United States of America and the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Mr. Swingler, - to ask the Prime Minister, what progress has been made in the negotiations between the British and United States Chiefs of Staff for the standardization of land, naval and air weapons.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRES

Sent: 1:44 p.m.
Rec'd: 9:14 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273917

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 216

No. 216. Top Secret. My telegram No. 214, paragraph 2.

Text of relevant passage in House of Commons Official Report is contained in my immediately following telegram.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 6:28 p.m.
Rec'd: 1:57 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273918

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

EN CLAIR

LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

NO. 217

No. 217. Following is text of passage in Prime Minister's statement in House of Commons on 18th November, Begins:

The next point to be considered is our collaboration with American General Staffs. Surely, people realize that we are still in occupation, jointly with America, of parts of Europe. Is it so very strange that we should continue to collaborate with their General Staffs? Is not everybody aware that during the war we integrated our armaments to a very large extent and is not it clear that, if there is to be any standardization, it is a matter that can be discussed? It is an extremely difficult thing to do and it could only be done and implemented under the security arrangements which we are endeavouring to make under the United Nations Organization. The United Nations Organization looks, in its set-up, to this kind of collaboration in regions. Then, I am asked, why have not you had a similar arrangement with the U.S.S.R. We should have been glad to have it. We have been trying hard to get one. In February last, we appointed our representatives to try to get the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council going and again and again we have invited our friends of the U.S.S.R. to come in. Unfortunately, they are still considering the matter and they have not been able to come, but that is not our fault. We are trying to work it under the United Nations Organization. Why should it be thought that we are wrong if, in the interim, we have to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C278918

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

EN CLAIR

LONDON, December 6th, 1946.

NO. 217

No. 217. Following is text of passage in Prime Minister's statement in House of Commons on 18th November, Begins:

The next point to be considered is our collaboration with American General Staffs. Surely, people realize that we are still in occupation, jointly with America, of parts of Europe. Is it so very strange that we should continue to collaborate with their General Staffs? Is not everybody aware that during the war we integrated our armaments to a very large extent and is not it clear that, if there is to be any standardization, it is a matter that can be discussed? It is an extremely difficult thing to do and it could only be done and implemented under the security arrangements which we are endeavouring to make under the United Nations Organization. The United Nations Organization looks, in its set-up, to this kind of collaboration in regions. Then, I am asked, why have not you had a similar arrangement with the U.S.S.R. We should have been glad to have it. We have been trying hard to get one. In February last, we appointed our representatives to try to get the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council going and again and again we have invited our friends of the U.S.S.R. to come in. Unfortunately, they are still considering the matter and they have not been able to come, but that is not our fault. We are trying to work it under the United Nations Organization. Why should it be thought that we are wrong if, in the interim, we have to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 3919

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

make various arrangements as we have had to all over the world? Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Sent: 6:53 p.m.
Rec'd: 3:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273920

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-4303

WASHINGTON, December 6th, 1946.

WA-4303. Confidential. My WA-4299 of December 5th. State Department now tells us that they will not issue their proposed statement on the standardization of equipment before Monday since Lord Inverchapel has asked for a delay in publication. They are giving me the full text this afternoon and I shall transmit it to you by teletype.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 1:21 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C273921

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

LONDON, December 7th, 1946.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 2354

No. 2354. Top Secret. Reference Dominions Office telegrams Nos. 212, 213 and 214.

1. My private opinion is that draft United States statement on status of standardization discussions would leave the general question in a much more satisfactory state than the proposed British Parliamentary statements would. My only comment on the text of the American statement is that I think it would be desirable to delete the suggestion that talks on this question have been proceeding between the United States "on the one hand" and Canada and the United Kingdom "on the other hand." United Kingdom authorities appear to be very worried lest the American statement precede their proposed Parliamentary statement, but not as worried as I would be about the effect of it following immediately after Mr. Attlee's answers. They are, of course, preoccupied with the domestic political aspect of this question, particularly in the light of the Left-Wing revolt on foreign policy.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 4:16 p.m.
Rec'd: 12:04 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C. 273922

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER WASHINGTON, **December 6th, 1946.**

TELETYPE

WA-4312

WA-4312. Confidential. With reference my WA-4303 of December 6th, proposed statement on standardization of arms. I have received the following draft text of the statement which the Acting Secretary of State is now expected to make on Monday, December 9th. I see no reason for objection on our part to the contents of this statement, but if you feel otherwise I should be glad of your views as soon as possible. Statement begins:

"During the late war the United States provided vast quantities of supplies, including military supplies of all types, to our Allies. This action began first with the United Kingdom, with which country the exchange of weapons was reciprocal and covered a very wide field of equipment of all kinds. In order to accomplish quickly and efficiently the tremendous task with which we were faced, those who handled these supplies in both countries and directed them towards the winning of the war found that a certain amount of standardization of equipment followed inevitably and aided tremendously in the efficient prosecution of the war. In many cases new types of equipment were developed jointly. Wherever standardization was effected there was a saving in time, money and manpower. It is natural and inevitable for the armed forces to standardize necessary military equipment to the greatest degree practicable. Economy really means the utmost efficiency in utilizing resources, including most

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273923

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

especially the appropriations made by Congress. The American people are particularly interested in economy and in reducing the cost of Government.

Because of the effectiveness of these measures there have from time to time been informal exchanges of views on standardization of arms, notably with the United Kingdom and Canada. Our close association with these two countries in the late war and the degree of standardization accomplished as a result thereof have made this logical. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this very natural development implies political arrangements or commitments. There has, of course, been no alliance of any kind entered into or even considered. As the Secretary of State said on March 16th of this year, 'We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in an alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union.' There has been no change in policy. The commitments of the United States are to the United Nations." Statement ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 9:00 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273924

CONFIDENTIAL

LBP/SR
6.12.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The attached telegram outlines a proposed statement from the State Department in Washington regarding United Kingdom-United States-Canadian standardization. I can see no objection to it, especially as the only reference to Canada is to the holding of informal discussions on standardization of equipment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273925

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-4299

WASHINGTON, **December 5th, 1946.**

WA-4299. Standardization of equipment. The State Department has informed us that a statement will be issued, probably tomorrow, by the Acting Secretary of State to clarify the position which has arisen in view of the publication of a number of press reports from London. Their draft statement refers to the provision of supplies during the war to Allied Governments, and especially to the United Kingdom, which of itself brought about a certain measure of standardization and led to joint development of new equipment. This has resulted in a saving of time, money, and manpower, involving lower appropriations for defence purposes than would otherwise be necessary. The Statement goes on to say that there have been informal exchanges of views on standardization with the United Kingdom and with Canada, but that no formal commitments have been entered into; it would be a great mistake to conclude that the arrangements implied any political commitments or any alliance with other countries. The political commitments of the United States were wholly to the United Nations.

2. I have said that I could see no objection from our point of view to the publication at this time of a statement on these lines. There has been some irritation here over the reports from London and especially over stories that the arrangements with the United Kingdom constitute a military alliance. The only reference to Canada in the draft is to the holding of informal discussions on standardization of equipment.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

Received 6:41 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - Publex

NO. 427

OTTAWA, 7th December, 1946.

Your telegram No. 215 of December 6th. Top Secret.

Mr. Zilliacus' reference in his question to the Canadian Prime Minister is, of course, unfortunate because it is misleading. We hope that it may be possible in the reply to make it clear that Mr. Zilliacus' interpretation of the views of the Prime Minister (who was not in London in April) is mere speculation.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

PLEASE REPEAT TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON No. 2108
Publex

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 27[illegible]

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 2358

LONDON, December 9th, 1946.

No. 2358. Your telegram No. 2108 of 7th December. Understand Dominions Office are asking Mr. Attlee to make it clear in his reply to Zilliacus that "the reference to the Canadian Prime Minister in this question is without foundation".

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 3:05 p.m.
Rec'd: 1:46 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273928

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON, December 9th, 1946.

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-4329

WA-4329. Your messages EX-3085 and EX-3087 of December 7th. State Department informs me that the Acting Secretary will issue their statement on standardization of arms and equipment at noon today. After discussion with me, they have decided to omit the sentence reading, "There has, of course, been no alliance of any kind entered into or even considered" toward the end of the statement, as being unnecessary and possibly giving rise to later questions. They propose to leave in the words "on the one hand" and "on the other hand", to which Mr. Robertson took mild objection in his telegram No. 2354 of December 7th, because this is in conformity with the language of the question which the statement is intended to answer. I think that the inclusion of these words need not be at all embarrassing. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 11:39 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273929

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

EN CLAIR

LONDON, December 11th, 1946.

NO. 224

No. 224. Following is text of question and answer in House of Commons on Tuesday, 10th December, Begins:

Mr. Zilliacus asked the Prime Minister what stage has been reached in the discussions for standardization of British air, land, naval weapons and munitions to fixed United States sizes and patterns that were initiated by him in pursuance of views expressed by the Canadian Prime Minister at the Empire Conference last April through the Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and whether any measures are in contemplation for the standardization of training manuals, exchange of officers and joint use of naval and air bases by the United States of America and the British Commonwealth and Empire.

The Prime Minister (Mr Attlee) - I would refer my Honourable Friend to the reply made yesterday by my Right Honourable Friend the Lord President of the Council to the Honourable Member for Mile End (Mr. Piratin) and to the remarks I made in my speech in the debate on the Address on 18th November. The principles there outlined are those which govern the policy of the Government in these matters. The only point I would add is that the statement in the first half of the question as to the views expressed by the Canadian Prime Minister in April is without foundation.

Mr. Zilliacus - In view of the failure of the Prime Minister to answer the last part of the question, either on 18th November or through the Leader of the House yesterday, would my Right Honourable Friend, in view of the rising disquiet on both sides of the Atlantic as to the present situation, take a further

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273930

TELEGRAM

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

opportunity of making a full statement on the nature and extent of the Anglo-American military conversations.

The Prime Minister - I do not think there is any apprehension except that I gather the questions asked by the Honourable Member are apt to cause apprehension in some quarters. I thought that my statement on the Address dealt very fully with the whole question.

Mr. Quintin Hogg - Is the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that had standardization been achieved in 1940 our enemies might have been discomfited.

Mr. Speaker - The Honourable Member is not asking for information. That is surely a purely hypothetical question.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood - Will the Right Honourable Gentleman tell the House with what pleasure he would welcome any indication that other foreign powers are prepared to be as internationally minded as America.

The Prime Minister - If the Honourable Member had followed what I said in the debate on the Address he would have seen that I would welcome it.

Mr. Piratin - Would the Prime Minister, now that he is able to answer the question himself as was not the case yesterday, give the House a categorical answer to the question as to whether Field Marshal Montgomery, when he was in the United States during the summer, did not discuss questions of standardization on a much wider basis than that of our necessary forces in Germany.

Mr. Speaker - That does not seem to me connected with the question on the Order Paper.

Mr. Ronald Chamberlain - In view of our 20 years Treaty with Russia, can the Prime Minister say whether we are having parallel conversations with that country.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 273931

From THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

- 3 -

LONDON,

The Prime Minister - We should welcome any such conversations with Russia, but we have not been very successful in getting any from that side.

Mr. Hogg - Could the Right Honourable Gentleman say what possible advantage could accrue from an arbitrary refusal to standardize to any but the potential enemies of this country. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273232

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - TK

WA-4378

WASHINGTON, December 12th, 1946.

WA-4378. The statement about alliances and standardization which was issued by the Department of State on December 9th and the questions asked in the British Parliament on this subject have so far aroused little interest here, although the correspondents were dissatisfied by the vagueness of that part of Monday's statement which related to standardization.

The Daily Worker is the only paper we have seen that is emphasizing the questions raised on this subject by the Left Wing Labour Members in London. With its usual distortions, it asserted on December 8th in an article headed "The Anglo-U.S. Arms Pact Aimed Against Soviets" that "revelations in London this week about a ten year Anglo-American Military Agreement directed against the Soviet Union are likely to arouse a new wave of rebellion within the Labour Party." The article managed to bring in references to Montgomery's visit to this Continent, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, alleged negotiations for joint use of "Empire bases" by the U.K. and U.S., Senator Connally's "sensational statement" that "Britain and Canada have the atom bomb", and Churchill's speech at Fulton.

I have already repeated by teletype the Daily Worker's contribution of the next day. On December 10th, they had a Washington story on the front page which referred to the State Department's statement and to the charges made by Zilliacus, and included the following passages:

"Last summer the State Department launched a drive in Congress for legislation authorizing Military Standardization

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

272933
C273933

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Agreements with a number of countries.

These included the Chinese Military Assistance Act, applying to all of South and Central America, and the Philippine Military Assistance Act.

With the full adoption of these measures and the completion of the Anglo-Canadian-American Agreement, all of the advanced capitalist nations except France and the central European Powers will be using American model arms and training according to the American Army Manual".

On December 11th, they reported under the heading "Attlee Dodges Query On U.S. Arms Deal" the further questions asked in London on the 10th and asserted that "according to the United Press" Zilliacus secured a unanimous vote at a private meeting of the Labour Party's External Affairs Committee "to ask the Government privately for full information on the nature and scope of conversations".

These manifestations of the party line need not be taken very seriously, and I only report them because they indicate once more the position which will be adopted when we have occasion to say anything publicly about our own defence discussions with the U.S.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 10:45 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C273934 D/Binder WB

BY AIR. 27333.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S.W.1.

24th December, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

The local Communists have continued to press their charges about Anglo-American Arms agreements. It is an almost continuous theme in "The Daily Worker" and the extreme Left-wing M.P.'s have been asking further questions.

On December 17th Mr. Zilliacus asked the Secretary of State for War on what authority the War Office, through its usual publicity channel, had told an American news agency about this alleged United States-British arms pact. Mr. Bellenger's reply was: "My hon. Friend is misinformed: my Department issued no such statement". The next day "The Daily Worker" reported this answer and said that it was in a position to jog the memory of the War Minister. It continued:

> "The statement - a very full and menacing statement - on the Anglo-U.S. Arms Agreement was issued from the War Office.
>
> "And the name of the man who gave it was Major H. Le Provost, a Public Relations Officer of the War Office.
>
> "Perhaps Mr. Bellenger will now think again before giving foolish answers to serious questions."

The next day in the House of Commons Mr. Bellenger said that his attention had been drawn to a statement in "The Daily Worker" alleging that his answer was incorrect and naming a particular Officer in the Public Relations Department of the War Office as a source of the statement which he denied had been made by the War Office. Mr. Bellenger said further that he had enquired into this matter and was satisfied that there was no foundation whatever for this further allegation, which was completely denied by the Officer concerned. "The Daily Worker" retorted again the next day with the following "facts":

> "The name of the Public Relations Officer concerned is known not only to us, but to at least a dozen M.P.'s.
>
> "It is known to the editor of the Associated Press Bureau in New York.

/"It was

L. B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273935

"It was known to him, also, that the War Office story had been fully confirmed by the Air Ministry and the Admiralty.

"The Associated Press - largest U.S. news agency - gave out the story as from "authoritative sources.

"That phrase is used exclusively to refer to official departmental sources.

"Although this official "authoritative" statement was published throughout North America early in November, no British denial was made concerning it.

"It was not denied that the facts of the tie-up were true. It was not denied that they had been officially issued."

There the matter rests at the beginning of the Parliamentary recess. There seems little doubt, I think, that Major Le Provost who is mentioned in "The Daily Worker" is the same Major in the Public Relations Department of the War Office referred to in my telegram No. 2192 of 9th November. Major LeProvost, however, is no longer in the Public Relations Department, having been posted elsewhere because of the hue and cry which was initiated by the Dominions Office after our representations to them. I understand that the Public Relations Officers in the War Department are being extremely correct these days. Le Provost, according to the views which Mr. Moodie has picked up, was a rather simple-minded fellow who had got into some difficulties previously over talking too freely.

The press in general has not shown very much interest in this subject after the first flurry. However, we shall probably continue to have a few mischievous stories from time to time. "Reynolds News", which has shown an interest second only to that of "The Daily Worker" in this "Anglo-American Arms Pact" last Sunday published on its front page a story headed "Canada As Buffer for United States". This article, which was cabled from New York, quoted an article written in "P.M." of December 21st by the Canadian journalist, Leslie Roberts. You will probably have seen the original article. According to this report, Roberts said that for more than a year the United States authorities had been pressing Ottawa for permission to build bases and meteorological stations in Canada and to set up lines of communications for military activity which would transform Canada into a "Belgium of North America." According to reports this pressure had come not through the State Department but through high-ranking Service Officers who believed a war with Russia inevitable, and wanted Canada as an armed buffer state.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) N. A. Robertson.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 273936

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Jan. 3/47

Subject

U.S. Denies Early Merger With UK Army

Arms Standardization Studies Pursued

By John M. Hightower

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — (A.P.) —Responsible officials today ruled out for the predictable future any full-scale merger of British and American armed forces, but indicated that the United States is seeking an extensive standardization of arms in some foreign countries, based on United States armaments.

The question of arms standardization, as explained here, is based on the broad political principle that countries which might some day have to fight together should prepare in advance to do that.

But officials threw cold water on reports by the Paris Socialist newspaper Aurore that British and United States armies will soon be forged into a single fighting arm, extending from the North Pole to the Rio Grande and from Asia Minor to Japan.

Aurore asserted that Britain and the United States would sign a secret accord on March 15 to fight together if attacked, and said equipment and training for the armed forces of both countries would become uniform.

In London, a British Government official confirmed that the United States and Britain have agreed to standardize "certain items of military equipment." As a step in that direction, he said, the standardization of small arms to American patterns is being discussed.

Approval Required

Some of the proposals for standardization will require Congressional approval, it was pointed out here. And President Truman is expected to urge again the necessary legislation.

Primarily his military and diplomatic advisors want enactment of measures approved by Congress last session (1) to allow Government disposal of arms to Canada and Latin American countries and (2) to allow assignment of military missions to foreign governments.

These are part of a program which Government advisers consider necessary to buttress the position of the United States as a world power and prepare it against future possibilities which may develop either inside the United Nations in connection with plans for international peace forces or outside the United Nations in connection with great power rivalries.

The arms standardization project was explained on high authority to cover primarily the equipping of South American forces with American rather than European, chiefly British, weapons which they now use.

Joint Study

The War and State Departments have been working since last fall through the joint Canadian-United States Defence Commission to standardize Canadian and American arms. This mainly involves making arrangements by which the Canadians would give up their traditional British military system and weapons and adopt the American system.

In the third and less urgent category of co-operation between the United States and British military forces. British sources here and in London said the limit of formal agreement so far reached is for the exchange of 100 officers each between the American and Royal Air Forces for training.

No plans have yet been made for maintaining permanently the Combined Chiefs of Staff of which Baron Wilson is the British member and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower the American Army member. But ranking officials here expect that the organization will go on. President Truman said it will function for at least another six months.

Canadian Services React Favorably

OTTAWA, Jan. 3—(C.P.)—High Canadian service scources reacted with frank satifaction today to official reports that Britain and the United States are at work on arms standarization and joint officer training.

Although Defence Minister Claxton maintained silence and gave no hint of any Canadian statement of her position and policy, previous comments of his predecessor left no doubt where Canada stood in the matter.

Now Finance Minister, Hon. Douglas Abbott told the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament that the Dominion was in favor of arms similarity but that she was waiting hopefully for her two major allies to make up their minds.

In fact, Canada has been in the position of a nation with a strong historical attachment to Britain and a strong geographical and neighborly connection with the United States. Had they drifted apart, she would have had to choose between them. Now that they are knotting themselves closer together her services higher-ups react with relief.

For, with standarization, their problem of equipping and training three fighting forces will be rendered somewhat easier. As a nation which even during the war had to rely on outside scources of fighting equipment to a large extent, Canada could be nothing but pleased that her two favorite arsenals will be turning out the same sort of weapons.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 273936 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Jan. 3/47

Subject

U.S. Denies Early Merger With UK Army

Arms Standardization Studies Pursued

By John M. Hightower

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — (A.P.) —Responsible officials today ruled out for the predictable future any full-scale merger of British and American armed forces, but indicated that the United States is seeking an extensive standardization of arms in some foreign countries, based on United States armaments.

The question of arms standardization, as explained here, is based on the broad political principle that countries which might some day have to fight together should prepare in advance to do that.

But officials threw cold water on reports by the Paris Socialist newspaper Aurore that British and United States armies will soon be forged into a single fighting arm, extending from the North Pole to the Rio Grande and from Asia Minor to Japan.

Aurore asserted that Britain and the United States would sign a secret accord on March 15 to fight together if attacked, and said equipment and training for the armed forces of both countries would become uniform.

In London, a British Government official confirmed that the United States and Britain have agreed to standardize "certain items of military equipment." As a step in that direction, he said, the standardization of small arms to American patterns is being discussed.

Approval Required

Some of the proposals for standardization will require Congressional approval, it was pointed out here. And President Truman is expected to urge again the necessary legislation.

Primarily his military and diplomatic advisors want enactment of measures approved by Congress last session (1) to allow Government disposal of arms to Canada and Latin American countries and (2) to allow assignment of military missions to foreign governments.

These are part of a program which Government advisers consider necessary to buttress the position of the United States as a world power and prepare it against future possibilities which may develop either inside the United Nations in connection with plans for international peace forces or outside the United Nations in connection with great power rivalries.

The arms standardization project was explained on high authority to cover primarily the equipping of South American forces with American rather than European, chiefly British, weapons which they now use.

Joint Study

The War and State Departments have been working since last fall through the joint Canadian-United States Defence Commission to standardize Canadian and American arms. This mainly involves making arrangements by which the Canadians would give up their traditional British military system and weapons and adopt the American system.

In the third and less urgent category of co-operation between the United States and British military forces. British sources here and in London said the limit of formal agreement so far reached is for the exchange of 100 officers each between the American and Royal Air Forces for training.

No plans have yet been made for maintaining permanently the Combined Chiefs of Staff of which Baron Wilson is the British member and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower the American Army member. But ranking officials here expect that the organization will go on. President Truman said it will function for at least another six months.

Canadian Services React Favorably

OTTAWA, Jan. 3—(C.P.)—High Canadian service scources reacted with frank satifaction today to official reports that Britain and the United States are at work on arms standarization and joint officer training.

Although Defence Minister Claxton maintained silence and gave no hint of any Canadian statement of her position and policy, previous comments of his predecessor left no doubt where Canada stood in the matter.

Now Finance Minister, Hon. Douglas Abbott told the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament that the Dominion was in favor of arms similarity but that she was waiting hopefully for her two major allies to make up their minds.

In fact, Canada has been in the position of a nation with a strong historical attachment to Britain and a strong geographical and neighborly connection with the United States. Had they drifted apart, she would have had to choose between them. Now that they are knotting themselves closer together her services higher-ups react with relief.

For, with standarization, their problem of equipping and training three fighting forces will be rendered somewhat easier. As a nation which even during the war had to rely on outside scources of fighting equipment to a large extent, Canada could be nothing but pleased that her two favorite arsenals will be turning out the same sort of weapons.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date JANUARY 3, 1946.

Subject STANDARDIZATION OF ARMS

Ottawa Officials Welcome Arms Standardization

Ottawa, Jan. 2 (CP).—High Canadian services sources reacted with frank satisfaction today to official reports that Britain and the United States are at work on arms standardization and joint officer training.

Canada has been in the position of a nation with a strong historical attachment to Britain, a strong geographical and neighborly connection with the United States. Had they drifted apart, she would have had to choose between them. Now that they are knotting themselves closer together her services higher-ups react with relief.

For, with standardization, their problem of equipping and training three fighting forces will be rendered somewhat easier. As a nation which even during the war had to rely on outside sources of fighting equipment to a large extent, Canada could be nothing but pleased that her two favorite arsenals will be turning out the same sort of weapons.

The tangible repercussions within the dominion were not immediately open to prophesy. There was nothing, however, to bear out the report of a Paris newspaper that "the first proving ground for the (full) unification of British and American armies would be set up in Canada." Nor was there any official statement that the report was untrue.

It was learned that Canada has participated in informal talks at services levels on the subject of standardization. And it was considered logical that her forces would eventually become part of any over-all British-American agreement to have the same arms and soldiers and airmen trained the same way to use them.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date JANUARY 3, 1946.

Subject STANDARDIZATION OF ARMS

Ottawa Officials Welcome Arms Standardization

Ottawa, Jan. 2 (CP).—High Canadian services sources reacted with frank satisfaction today to official reports that Britain and the United States are at work on arms standardization and joint officer training.

Canada has been in the position of a nation with a strong historical attachment to Britain, a strong geographical and neighborly connection with the United States. Had they drifted apart, she would have had to choose between them. Now that they are knotting themselves closer together her services higher-ups react with relief.

For, with standardization, their problem of equipping and training three fighting forces will be rendered somewhat easier. As a nation which even during the war had to rely on outside sources of fighting equipment to a large extent, Canada could be nothing but pleased that her two favorite arsenals will be turning out the same sort of weapons.

The tangible repercussions within the dominion were not immediately open to prophesy. There was nothing, however, to bear out the report of a Paris newspaper that "the first proving ground for the (full) unification of British and American armies would be set up in Canada." Nor was there any official statement that the report was untrue.

It was learned that Canada has participated in informal talks at services levels on the subject of standardization. And it was considered logical that her forces would eventually become part of any over-all British-American agreement to have the same arms and soldiers and airmen trained the same way to use them.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

MEMORANDUM TO THE CABINET DEFENCE COMMITTEE:

Attached is a draft Statement regarding standardization, which has been prepared in accordance with the direction of the Cabinet Defence Committee on January 9th, 1947 for use in the House of Commons should the occasion arise.

The Chiefs of Staff would like to draw your attention to the following points in connection with this subject.

(a) When this matter was first discussed with the U.K. Chiefs of Staff, the Canadian Chiefs of Staff were asked to regard it as top secret, and this request has been complied with to the letter. Subsequently, however, the U.S. State Department issued a statement, the text of which is attached as Appendix "A". This matter was discussed also in the United Kingdom House of Commons. When asked what decisions had been reached regarding the standardization of arms in the discussions taking place between the military representatives of His Majesty's Government and the United States of America, Mr. Morrison, replying for the British Prime Minister, stated:

"I have been asked to reply. No decisions have been taken. In view of the reciprocal exchange of weapons between United States and United Kingdom which took place during the war over a very wide field, and the existing cooperation between the respective Forces in the occupation of Germany, there have naturally been informal exchanges of views on continuing such standardization in the interests of economy and efficiency. The general position of the government here was made clear in the statement made by my Right Honourable friend, the Prime Minister in the debate on the Address of the 18th November.";

(b) In accordance with your earlier direction, all conversations with the United Kingdom and the United States have been conducted on an unofficial Service level and no commitments of any kind have been made. Further discussions and exploration of the question on the same basis are expected to continue;

(c) Though the attached draft Statement avers that no political arrangements or commitments of any kind are visualized, the desirability of achieving standardization vis a vis the United States is agreed in principle in the Recommendation of November 20th of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence which you have approved. You also approved earlier, a communication to the United Kingdom indicating our general agreement to a policy designed to achieve standardization, but pointing out our separate responsibilities and individual position in this regard.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Chiefs of Staff suggest that the Statement, as finally agreed upon, be cleared with both the United Kingdom and the United States governments prior to use.

W.W. Bean ,
Group Captain, R.C.A.F.,
Secretary,
CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

Privy Council Office,
January 30th, 1947.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Chiefs of Staff suggest that the Statement, as finally agreed upon, be cleared with both the United Kingdom and the United States governments prior to use.

W.W. Bean,
Group Captain, R.C.A.F.,
Secretary,
CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

Privy Council Office,
January 30th, 1947.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

APPENDIX "A"

U.S. PUBLIC STATEMENT ON STANDARDIZATION

During the late war the United States provided vast quantities of supplies, including military supplies of all types, to our Allies. This action began first with the United Kingdom, with which country the exchange of weapons was reciprocal and covered a very wide field of equipment of all kinds. In order to accomplish quickly and efficiently the tremendous task with which we are faced, those who handled these supplies in both countries and directed them towards the winning of the war found that a certain amount of standardization of equipment followed inevitably and aided tremendously in the efficient prosecution of the war. In many cases new types of equipment were developed jointly. ver standardization was effected there was a saving in time, money and manpower. It is natural and inevitable for the armed forces to standardize necessary military equipment to the greatest degree practicable. Economy really means the utmost efficiency in utilizing resources, including most especially the appropriations made by Congress. The American people are particularly interested in economy and in reducing the cost of Government.

Because of the effectiveness of these measures there have rom time to time been informal exchanges of views on standardization of arms, notably with the United Kingdom and Canada. Our close association with these two countries in the late war and the degree of standardization accomplished as a result thereof have made this logical. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this very natural development implies political arrangements or commitments. As the Secretary of State said on March 16th of this year, 'We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in an alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union.' There has been no change in policy. The commitments of the United States are to the United Nations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

STATEMENT ON STANDARDIZATION

There have been many references in the press to standardization of arms and equipment between the Armed Forces of the U.K., Canada and U.S.A. It seems desirable to state the position of Canada in this matter.

2. The Canadian Armed Services have always been, and still are, organized and equipped along generally similar lines to the forces of the U.K. and other Commonwealth countries. During World War II they were equipped with articles of United Kingdom, Canadian and U.S.A. origin, much of the equipment being of other than Canadian manufacture.

3. Canadian industry produced a wide variety of military equipment, using both United Kingdom and U.S.A. designs, modified in certain cases to suit Canadian production methods. Such articles were not used solely by Canadian forces but formed a part of the common pool and were distributed in accordance with operational requirements. Canadian forces used almost no equipment peculiar to themselves.

4. This reciprocal exchange of weapons between the Allies inevitably resulted in some standardization of equipment; aided in marked degree the efficient prosecution of the war; and resulted in substantial economies for the governments concerned. It seems logical, therefore, that there should have been since the war, between officers of our Armed Forces, and those of the U.S.A. and the U.K., informal exchanges of views on the continuation and extension of these wartime practices.

5. It will be appreciated that manufacturing standards and manufacturing processes differ as between the U.K. and the U.S.A. In Canada our processes are generally similar to those of the U.S.A. since Canadian industry forms a part of the North American industrial complex. It follows, therefore, that the problem of equipping Canadian forces, should the need arise, would be greately simplified by the adoption of common standards by the U.K. and U.S.A.

6. An example of the kind of problem is the work that is being done on standardization of screw threads. The bodies collaborating are the National Physical Laboratory of the United Kingdom, the American Bureau of Standards and the National Research Council of Canada. They have been at work over a period of years determining suitable common standards for screw threads, and have reached the stage where agreed designs are now being tested by the three countries. It is hoped that adoption of common designs will follow in due course.

7. If collaboration in design is extended to include a wide range of military equipment the benefits to Canada would be great, since production of such equipment should be simplified. We will welcome such collaboration between the three countries as being a means of equipping the forces in the most efficient and economical manner.

8. It must be appreciated that no political arrangements or commitments of any kind are visualized, nor would they be appropriate.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Log file

STATEMENT ON STANDARDIZATION

There have been many references in the press to standardization of arms and equipment between the Armed Forces of the U.K., Canada and U.S.A. It seems desirable to state the position of Canada in this matter.

2. The Canadian Armed Services have always been, and still are, organized and equipped along generally similar lines to the forces of the U.K. and other Commonwealth countries. During World War II they were equipped with articles of United Kingdom, Canadian and U.S.A. origin, much of the equipment being of other than Canadian manufacture.

3. Canadian industry produced a wide variety of military equipment, using both United Kingdom and U.S.A. designs, modified in certain cases to suit Canadian production methods. Such articles were not used solely by Canadian forces but formed a part of the common pool and were distributed in accordance with operational requirements. Canadian forces used almost no equipment peculiar to themselves.

4. This reciprocal exchange of weapons between the Allies inevitably resulted in some standardization of equipment; aided in marked degree the efficient prosecution of the war; and resulted in substantial economies for the governments concerned. It seems logical, therefore, that there should have been since the war, between officers of our Armed Forces, and those of the U.S.A. and the U.K., informal exchanges of views on the continuation and extension of these wartime practices.

5. It will be appreciated that manufacturing standards and manufacturing processes differ as between the U.K. and the U.S.A. In Canada our processes are generally similar to those of the U.S.A. since Canadian industry forms a part of the North American industrial complex. It follows, therefore, that the problem of equipping Canadian forces, should the need arise, would be greately simplified by the adoption of common standards by the U.K. and U.S.A.

6. An example of the kind of problem is the work that is being done on standardization of screw threads. The bodies collaborating are the National Physical Laboratory of the United Kingdom, the American Bureau of Standards and the National Research Council of Canada. They have been at work over a period of years determining suitable common standards for screw threads, and have reached the stage where agreed designs are now being tested by the three countries. It is hoped that adoption of common designs will follow in due course.

7. If collaboration in design is extended to include a wide range of military equipment the benefits to Canada would be great, since production of such equipment should be simplified. We will welcome such collaboration between the three countries as being a means of equipping the forces in the most efficient and economical manner.

8. It must be appreciated that no political arrangements or commitments of any kind are visualized, nor would they be appropriate.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS C-273943

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER LONDON, February 5th, 1947.

CIRCULAR D. 96

Circular D. 96. Top Secret.

..... [Extract re Standardization.]

2. M. Koukin then broached question of standardisation of military equipment. He was told that there was no United States-United Kingdom agreement so far, but exchange of information which led to common standards had been very useful in war, and we had pursued it. During war there had been much inter-change which had benefited Soviet Union as well as ourselves, and we understood that Soviet Union was putting standardization into effect with Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and that, in fact, whole output of Skoda Works was no on U.S.S.R. standardized basis. We could not understand alarm about this kind of thing. We felt that world peace depended particularly upon Soviet Union, United States and ourselves, and that sooner or later we should have to face this problem, especially if we were ever going to give effect to Article 43 of Charter. However, nothing as yet had been finally decided except continuation of inter-change of useful information, which began during war and which had been found to be of mutual advantage.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273954

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

LONDON, February 5th, 1947.

CIRCULAR D. 96

Circular D. 96. Top Secret.

..... Extract re Standardization.

2. M. Koukin then broached question of standardisation of military equipment. He was told that there was no United States-United Kingdom agreement so far, but exchange of information which led to common standards had been very useful in war, and we had pursued it. During war there had been much inter-change which had benefited Soviet Union as well as ourselves, and we understood that Soviet Union was putting standardization into effect with Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and that, in fact, whole output of Skoda Works was no on U.S.S.R. standardized basis. We could not understand alarm about this kind of thing. We felt that world peace depended particularly upon Soviet Union, United States and ourselves, and that sooner or later we should have to face this problem, especially if we were ever going to give effect to Article 43 of Charter. Howeyer, nothing as yet had been finally decided except continuation of inter-change of useful information, which began during war and which had been found to be of mutual advantage.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY DB/ Stat C 273945

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

MOSCOW, February 7th, 1947

NO. 46

No. 46. February 7th. Today "Izvestia" carries leading article on "Activities of the United States in the Arctic," in which material from article by Roberts in P.M. last December and Fraser in MacLean's is utilized.

2. Original coolness in Canada to American demand for bases in the Arctic is said to have changed and Canadians are now co-operating fully with America in Arctic military plans. This has caused uneasiness and protest in democratic circles of Canada but nevertheless "general public has no information on how Canadian authorities reacted to them".

3. Ermashev, in lecture at Polytechnic on January 31st on "Polar Strategy" declared interest in the arctic was connected directly with desire for world expansion of monopolies of capitalists in Canada, United States and Britain. Canada was said to play an essential role in the United States - United Kingdom - Canada plans for defence, standardization of equipment, etc. Ultimate aim of United States is to secure military control of Canada, particularly her Arctic regions, which is proving difficult because of conflict of British interests. Howeverk to secure their capitalistic aims Canadian monopolists were said to be not unwilling to see Canadian relations with U.S.S.R. deteriorate under American pressure. Symptoms of this is much featured spying of last year, Operation Muskox, attempts to unite United States - Canada military efforts, etc. Visit of Field Marshal Montgomery was said to be specifically to settle differences between Canada and United States over former's Arctic possessions.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

Sent - 7:05 p.m.
Received 3:02 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBsD C273946

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

TOP SECRET Ottawa, February 15th, 1947.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 265

Following is the text of the draft statement on standardization of military equipment referred to in my immediately preceding telegram. Text begins:

1. There have been many references in the press to standardization of arms and equipment between the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Canada, and the U.S.A. It seems desirable to state the position of Canada in this matter.

2. The Canadian Armed Services have always been, and still are, organized and equipped along generally similar lines to the forces of the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries. During World War II they used equipment of United Kingdom, Canadian and United States origin.

3. Canadian industry produced a wide variety of military equipment, using both United Kingdom and United States designs, modified in some cases to suit Canadian production methods. Such articles were not used solely by Canadian forces but formed a part of the common pool for distribution in accordance with operational requirements. Canadian forces used almost no equipment peculiar to themselves and much of the equipment was of other than Canadian manufacture.

4. This reciprocal exchange of weapons between the Allies inevitably resulted in some standardization of equipment; aided in marked degree the efficient

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273847

prosecution of the war; and resulted in substantial economies. In these circumstances it is natural that there should now be informal exchanges of views on the continuation and extension of these wartime practices.

5. It will be appreciated that manufacturing standards and processes differ as between the United Kingdm and the United States. Canadian industry is patterned generally along United States lines. Having regard to this situation and the predominently British character of our organization, it follows that the problem of equipping Canadian forces, should the need arise, would be greatly simplified if, in fact, common standards were in use in the United Kingdom and the United States.

6. A typical example of the problem is the present variation in screw thread designs. The National Physical Laboratory of the United Kingdom, the American Bureau of Standards and the National Research Council of Canada have collaborated for several years in an effort to set suitable common standards for screw threads and have reached the stage where agreed designs are now being tested by the three countries. It is hoped that this will lead to the adoption of uniform designs in due course.

7. If collaboration in design is extended to include a wide range of military equipment, production will be simplified and Canada will benefit

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

accordingly. We will welcome such collaboration between the three countries as an effective step towards equipping the Canadian forces in the most efficient and economical manner.

8. While the Canadian government is prepared to support measures designed to achieve a greater degree of standardization with the United Kingdom and the United States, it is neither intended nor contemplated that discussions to achieve this end should result in any political arrangements or commitments. Text ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273948 DBsD

TELETYPE MESSAGE

TO: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR - WASHINGTON

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

Name of Sender A.D.P.Heeney

Date Feb. 15, 1947 Room 229 Bldg. East Block

No. EX 444

TOP SECRET

Following is the text of the draft statement on standardization of military equipment referred to in my immediately preceding telegram. Text begins.

1. There have been many references in the press to standardization of arms and equipment between the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Canada, and the U.S.A. It seems desirable to state the position of Canada in this matter.

2. The Canadian Armed Services have always been, and still are, organized and equipped along generally similar lines to the forces of the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries. During World War II they used equipment of United Kingdom, Canadian and United States origin.

3. Canadian industry produced a wide variety of military equipment, using both United Kingdom and United States designs, modified in some cases to suit Canadian production methods. Such articles were not used solely by Canadian forces but formed a part of the common pool for distribution in accordance with operational requirements. Canadian forces used almost no equipment peculiar to themselves and much of the equipment was of other than Canadian manufacture.

4. This reciprocal exchange of weapons between the Allies inevitably resulted in some standardization of equipment; aided in marked degree the efficient prosecution of the war; and resulted in substantial economies. In these

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

218080
C 273950

circumstances it is natural that there should now be informal exchanges of views on the continuation and extension of these wartime practices.

5. It will be appreciated that manufacturing standards and processes differ as between the United Kingdom and the United States. Canadian industry is patterned generally along United States lines. Having regard to this situation and the predominently British character of our organization, it follows that the problem of equipping Canadian forces, should the need arise, would be greatly simplified if, in fact, common standards were in use in the United Kingdom and the United States.

6. A typical example of the problem is the present variation in screw thread designs. The National Physical Laboratory of the United Kingdom, the American Bureau of Standards and the National Research Council of Canada have collaborated for several years in an effort to set suitable common standards for screw threads and have reached the stage where agreed designs are now being tested by the three countries. It is hoped that this will lead to the adoption of uniform designs in due course.

7. If collaboration in design is extended to include a wide range of military equipment, production will be simplified and Canada will benefit accordingly. We will welcome such collaboration between the three countries as an effective step towards equipping the Canadian forces in the most efficient and economical manner.

8. While the Canadian government is prepared to support measures designed to achieve a greater degree of standardization with the United Kingdom and the United States, it is neither intended nor contemplated that discussions to achieve this end should result in any political arrangements ~~of~~ or commitments. Text ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273951
DB-5-D

TELETYPE MESSAGE

TO: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

A.D.P. Heeney

Feb. 15, 1947 229 East Block 6294

CYPHER X

No. EX 440

TOP SECRET Ottawa, February 15th, 1947.

1. The Cabinet Defence Committee have had under consideration questions relating to the continuation of Service discussions with the United Kingdom and the United States on standardization of military equipment.

2. As you know this whole matter has been a cause of some concern because of the unauthorized reports and stories which have appeared in the press in recent months and statements on the subject have had to be made in the U.K. House of Commons and by the Under-Secretary of State of the United States.

3. Earlier this week Field Marshal Wilson communicated to the Chief of the General Staff here the view that any formal organization of tripartite committees in this connection would be inadvisable particularly in the light of Field Marshal Montgomery's recent conversations on the subject with Marshal Stalin. He said that it was proposed to continue talks on the present purely informal basis and suggested that any Canadian statement on the subject should be in general terms only.

4. The Cabinet Defence Committee have agreed that in the circumstances no formal organization should be established and no formal agreement made in connection with discussions on

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

A.D.P. Heeney

Feb. 15, 1947

standardization with U.K. and U.S. representatives and that these should be conducted on the present informal basis only. In case it proved necessary or advisable for Canadian authorities to make some statement on the subject a draft has been prepared, the text of which is given in my immediately following telegram.

5. The draft statement has been approved by the Cabinet Defence Committee and the Prime Minister. It is not intended that it will be used unless (as is not unlikely) the government are questioned closely on the subject during discussions of defence questions in the House of Commons. However it was thought wise to have an agreed statement ready and the Cabinet Defence Committee wished to have the text communicated to U.K. and U.S. authorities in advance.

6. Be good enough therefore to communicate this statement to the appropriate authorities of the U.S. government and let us know as soon as possible whether they have any observations to offer.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

(Similar message to Canadian High Commissioner, London, with "U.K." substituted for "U.S." in second line of last paragraph)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBS D 273953

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON.

TOP SECRET
CYPHER- PUBLEX
No. 264

Ottawa, February 15th, 1947.

1. The Cabinet Defence Committee have had under consideration questions relating to the continuation of Service discussions with the United Kingdom and the United States on standardization of military equipment.

2. As you know this whole matter has been a cause of some concern because of the unauthorized reports and stories which have appeared in the press in recent months and statements on the subject have had to be made in the U.K. House of Commons and by the Under-Secretary of State of the United States.

3. Earlier this week Field Marshal Wilson communicated to the Chief of the General Staff here the view that any formal organization of tripartite committees in this connection would be inadvisable particularly in the light of Field Marshal Montgomery's recent conversations on the subject with Marshal Stalin. He said that it was proposed to continue talks on the present purely informal basis and suggested that any Canadian statement on the subject should be in general terms only.

4. The Cabinet Defence Committee have agreed that in the circumstances no formal organization should be established and no formal agreement made in connection with discussions on standardization with U.K. and U.S. representatives and that these should be conducted on the present informal basis only. In case it proved necessary

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273954

or advisable for Canadian authorities to make some statement on the subject a draft has been prepared, the text of which is given in my immediately following telegram.

5. The draft statement has been approved by the Cabinet Defence Committee and the Prime Minister. It is not intended that it will be used unless (as is not unlikely) the government are questioned closely on the subject during discussions of defence questions in the House of Commons. However it was thought wise to have an agreed statement ready and the Cabinet Defence Committee wished to have the text communicated to U.K. and U.S. authorities in advance.

6. Be good enough therefore to communicate this statement to the appropriate authorities of the U.K. government and let us know as soon as possible whether they have any observations to offer.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273955

TELETYPE DBsD

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - TK

WA-585

WASHINGTON, February 18th, 1947.

WA-585. Reference your EX-440 and EX-441 of February 15th.

I have today delivered a copy of the Draft Statement on standardization of arms and equipment under cover of an informal letter to Mr. J.D. Hickerson of the Department of State. I have told Mr. Hickerson that the Canadian authorities would like to know as soon as possible whether the United States authorities have any observations to offer on this Draft. I have also informed him that it is only proposed to issue a statement in the event that questions in the House should make such action desirable or necessary.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd. 6:00 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DBs D

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON, February 24th, 1947.

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 314

No. 314. Top Secret. Your telegrams No. 264 and No. 265 of February 15th.

United Kingdom authorities have no comment to make on proposed draft statement on standardization of military equipment. They would prefer that no further statement at all should be issued on this subject at the present time, but quite recognize that in circumstances contemplated in your telegrams, a statement will become necessary. In that event, they would see no objection to the use of your proposed draft.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 2:38 p.m.
Rec'd: 10:14 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273957 File 225(s)

TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA,
TO THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW.

TOP SECRET Ottawa,
CYPHER-~~MESSAGE~~ O.T.P. April 17, 1947.
No. 99

1. Canadian Government have had under consideration questions relating to the continuation of service discussions with the United Kingdom and the United States on standardization of military equipment. Whole matter has been a cause of some concern because of unauthorized reports and stories which have appeared in the press in recent months. Statements on the subject had to be made in the United Kingdom House of Commons and by the United States Under-Secretary of State.

2. It was learned that United Kingdom military authorities felt that any formal organization of tripartite committees in this connection would be inadvisable, particularly in the light of Montgomery's talks on the subject with Stalin, and that they proposed to continue discussions on the present purely informal basis.

3. Canadian Government concluded that in the circumstances no formal organization should be established and no formal agreement made in connection with discussions on standardization with United Kingdom and United States representatives, which should be conducted on the present informal basis only. In case it should prove necessary or advisable for Canadian authorities to make some statement on the subject a draft was prepared and after approval by the Canadian Government was communicated to United Kingdom and United States Governments, with request for observations. United Kingdom while preferring that no statement should be made saw no objection to draft if one became necessary. United States authorities made certain comments and draft was somewhat revised in consequence. They too felt no statement would be preferable but force of this view was

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

considerably reduced by almost simultaneous publication of a statement on the subject by Admiral Nimitz.

4. Following is text of statement which is being reserved for use if necessary when defence estimates are under discussion in the House. Begins:

(Repeat text as in attached copy.) Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273959 DBs—

File 235(s)

TELEGRAM

M. McKenzie, Pol.2

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

TOP SECRET

Ottawa, 17

CYPHER-PUBLEX

April 15, 1947.

No. 669

My telegram No. 265 of Feb. 15 and your telegram No. 514 of Feb. 24, standardization of military equipment. On March 24 Wrong made following report of United States comments on draft statement. They were given him orally by Hickerson and reflected views of War and Navy Departments as well as State Department. Begins:

2. (a) They hope that it will not be considered necessary to make any statement on this subject. From their point of view, such a statement would serve no useful purpose, but would provide a reason or excuse for further propaganda from Moscow. The developments over aid to Greece and Turkey, which have taken place since the draft was submitted to them, make them emphasize this point. Hickerson said that "too much was going on elsewhere already."

(b) They hope and assume that we shall clear the draft with the United Kingdom before using it.

(c) If the statement is used, they urge that paragraphs 7 and 8 be eliminated. The denial that there is any intention to achieve new political arrangements or commitments is likely in the present atmosphere merely to arouse suspicion in certain quarters that secret arrangements exist or are contemplated. Similarly, in paragraph 7 the reference to collaboration between the three countries would in some minds confirm the belief that a military alliance already exists.

(d) They have no textual comments to offer on the first six paragraphs. Ends.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. It was felt here that these views lost much of their significance as a result of the publication in the United States at about the same time of Admiral ~~Mx~~ Nimitz's statement ~~on~~ relative to standardization of weapons. The draft statement was, however, amended somewhat to meet the views expressed, and is being reserved for use if necessary when the defence estimates are under discussion in the House. The Canadian Ambassador at Washington was instructed on April 14 to communicate to the State Department the text of the revised statement, making it clear that we would make a ~~xxxx~~ statement here only if it was thought necessary. He was asked not to give the impression that we were consulting the State Department further on the matter, but rather that we were informing them of the action proposed.

4. Following changes should be made in draft communicated to you on Feb. 15 to conform with revised text of statement. Begins:

(a) In paragraph 3, after "operational requirements," continue: "This is shown by the fact that of all Canadian production, seventy per cent. was made available by Canada for use by other Allied forces. On the other hand, Canadian forces used almost" etc.

(b) In paragraph 5, after "along United States lines," period should be replaced by comma and sentence should continue: "yet a considerable part of Canadian equipment was of original British design. It therefore follows that the problem of equipping" etc.

(c) In paragraph 7, sentence 1, omit "a wide range of". Sentence 2 should read: "We welcome such collaboration and are prepared to support measures designed to achieve a greater degree of standardization with the United Kingdom and the United States." Paragraph 8 is omitted. Ends.

5. Please inform United Kingdom authorities of situation.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273961 DBeD

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - TK

WA-915

WASHINGTON, March 24th, 1947.

WA-915. Following for Pearson from Wrong, Begins: Your EX-759 of March 21st, draft statement on standardization. Hickerson has this morning given me verbally the following comments on the draft, which reflect the views of the War and Navy Departments as well as the State Department.

1. They hope that it will not be considered necessary to make any statement on this subject. From their point of view, such a statement would serve no useful purpose, but would provide a reason or excuse for further propaganda from Moscow. The developments over aid to Greece and Turkey, which have taken place since the draft was submitted to them, make them emphasize this point. Hickerson said that "too much was going on elsewhere already".

2. They hope and assume that we shall clear the draft with the United Kingdom before using it. I judge from paragraph 5 of your EX-440 of February 15th that this is already in train, if not completed.

3. If the statement is used, they urge that paragraphs 7 and 8 be eliminated. The denial that there is any intention to achieve new political arrangements or commitments is likely in the present atmosphere merely

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

to arouse suspicion in certain quarters that secret arrangements exist or are contemplated. Similarly, in paragraph 7 the reference to collaboration between the three countries would in some minds confirm the belief that a military alliance already exists.

4. They have no textual comments to offer on the first six paragraphs. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 11:39 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273963

SECRET.

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.L.

2nd April, 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I shall endeavour in this preliminary report to make some comments on certain political aspects of the question of the standardization of armaments between nations, with particular reference to the military relations of the United Kingdom with Western European countries. The political problems raised over the standardization of armaments among countries of the Commonwealth and the United States have already been the subject of considerable correspondence. Controversy on the subject has, of course, been instigated by the Communists both inside and outside the U.S.S.R., but it has also exercised a good deal of the non-Communist Left wing in this and other countries. The discussion of standardization between British countries and the United States has subsided, but the Communists of late have been publishing stories of secret endeavours on the part of the United Kingdom to achieve standardization of arms with France, the Low Countries and Denmark.

These stories have originated in the Moscow press and have been echoed in the London "Daily Worker" and, I believe, in the Communist press on the Continent. In one case at least Moscow quoted as the source of its information the London Correspondent of "The Chicago Sun", and I understand that these reports have appeared in other American papers. The principal Moscow reports are as follows:

(1) Britain has been speeding up negotiations for unification of arms with France, and the subject was discussed with General de Lattre during a recent visit to London. Unification will embrace all types of weapons for land forces and include training of officers. France has recently obtained from Britain arms and equipment for one airborne division. Britain seeks not merely the sale of arms to France but insists on collaboration between armament firms. British industrial circles are anxious to forestall French plans for production of non-standardized arms and make the French armament industry dependent on Britain.

(2) Standardization of arms with Belgium was to be discussed with the Belgian Minister of Defence on his visit to London. M. Defraiteur, in an

/interview

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

interview with the London Correspondent of "the Belgian paper Soir", said that arms standardization with Great Britain had long been achieved, and Belgian-British military co-operation was the result of the war and continuing at the present time.

(3) Arms standardization is being agreed with Holland. A recent official Dutch denial of Anglo-Dutch negotiations for a military alliance is not to be taken seriously.

(4) According to Copenhagen Tass, many Western European countries, including Denmark, now buying arms in Britain would be obliged to join the Anglo-American standardization plans.

In view of the suspicions consistently voiced by the Russians about a "Western bloc", it is not surprising that charges of this kind would follow conclusion of the Anglo-French Alliance. They were no doubt stimulated by Mr. Bevin's reported statement in Brussels on his way to Moscow that he hoped soon to sign treaties of alliance with Belgium and other Western countries. This statement, made to the press in the railway station, was variously reported. The United Kingdom Embassy in Brussels admitted that they themselves were not quite certain what the Foreign Secretary said, but their official version was as follows:

"I am happy to spend a few moments in Belgium en route to Moscow. I have just signed a treaty of alliance with France. I hope soon to sign a similar one with Belgium and with all our good neighbours in the west. The Labour Government will do everything possible to prevent misunderstandings arising from which aggression might result. We have suffered from two wars. You have twice been occupied in two wars and England has twice had to fight very hard. Great Britain is conscious of the important role she still has to play. She will do everything possible to prevent a new conflict in the west, whether it should come from Germany or elsewhere".

As you have already been informed in Dominions Office telegram No. D. 266 of 20th March, M. Spaak has approached the United Kingdom Ambassador in Brussels about the "integration" of Belgium into the Anglo-French Alliance, and has been informed that although the United Kingdom was prepared to consider alliances with Belgium and Holland they did not wish to rouse Russian suspicions by starting negotiations so soon after the agreement with France. The Netherlands, on the other hand, had indicated that they were not in a hurry to conclude anything in the nature of an

Anglo-Netherlands

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273965

Anglo-Netherlands political understanding and would prefer some form of closer economic co-operation. In considering this explanation, you should bear in mind, I think, the fact that the alliance in which the United Kingdom is above all others interested is the Four Power Treaty proposed last summer by Mr. Byrnes, and at this stage they are anxious to take no step which would interfere with the consummation of that agreement.

On the more restricted question of standardization of arms with the Western European countries, I have asked the Canadian Liaison Officer (Army) to investigate the situation, and I have received from him the following report:

"France.

"With regard to France, a Commission for the reform of the Army was set up in October, 1945, to consider effects of the latest weapons upon the organization, and weapons and tactics of the future French Army. It is understood that the Commission received a Directive that no re-organization or re-equipment of the new French Army would commence until 1950, in order to give the Commission sufficient time to consider what latest type of weapons should be adopted generally. 1950 was the target year which was set when all decisions should have been made on what equipment was necessary and production commenced in that year and completed by 1955. It is quite true that Britain has supplied equipment for one Airborne Division and also lent Staff Officers to the Division as Instructors, and in this connection the recent French Mission that was in London came over to discuss and arrange details for the supply of such Airborne equipment. The terms of reference of the Mission covered only the supplying of airborne equipment for this one division and I am informed that there have been no discussions on the supply of equipment generally to the French Army as a whole. Further there has been no suggestion of standardization. I should also inform you that, out of necessity, the French Army is presently equipped with 20 per cent of German equipment and the French realize that they will have to make do with partly French, German and American equipment for training purposes until 1950.

"Holland.

"With regard to Holland, it is quite true that Britain has fully equipped and trained three Dutch Divisions which are presently in the Netherlands East Indies, because of the emergency of the situation in the N.E.I. and the fact that the Dutch Army had no

"suitable

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

suitable equipment. However, shortly one Division will be returning to Holland, leaving two light Divisions in the N.E.I. in an occupational role It is considered that the equipment and reserves of the Division returning should allow the Dutch Army in Holland to carry on adequate training, although Britain have to supply the Dutch Army with further equipment from time to time, although this would, of course, be commensurate with the supply of equipment in this country and her other undertakings.

"Belgium.

"The British Military Mission in Belgium is very active in assisting the Belgian Army to re-organize and re-equip completely, and it is understood that Britain will supply the Belgian Army with suitable equipment.

"Comment.

"It is obvious that Britain is very limited in the arms and equipment that she can supply to foreign countries and it is in Britain's interests therefore to supply the Belgian and Dutch Armies with equipment first, before considering any other countries, for the following reasons:-

(a) Economic - as it is understood that equipment sold to these countries is being paid for in cash. Further, it should be appreciated that Britain imports a considerable quantity of goods from Holland and Belgium and the export of such equipment balances such imports.

(b) Strategic- as in the event of war these two countries will be dependent upon Britain for equipment and spare parts, and it must be appreciated that Britain would rather supply these two countries with equipment before considering supplying the French Army, as there could be some doubt as to who France would fight with in the future, in view of her political instability. Further I understand there has been no suggestion of any standardization between Britain and these three countries."

/This

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

suitable equipment. However, shortly one Division will be returning to Holland, leaving two light Divisions in the N.E.I. in an occupational role It is considered that the equipment and reserves of the Division returning should allow the Dutch Army in Holland to carry on adequate training, although Britain have to supply the Dutch Army with further equipment from time to time, although this would, of course, be commensurate with the supply of equipment in this country and her other undertakings.

"Belgium.

"The British Military Mission in Belgium is very active in assisting the Belgian Army to re-organize and re-equip completely, and it is understood that Britain will supply the Belgian Army with suitable equipment.

"Comment.

"It is obvious that Britain is very limited in the arms and equipment that she can supply to foreign countries and it is in Britain's interests therefore to supply the Belgian and Dutch Armies with equipment first, before considering any other countries, for the following reasons:-

(a) Economic - as it is understood that equipment sold to these countries is being paid for in cash. Further, it should be appreciated that Britain imports a considerable quantity of goods from Holland and Belgium and the export of such equipment balances such imports.

(b) Strategic- as in the event of war these two countries will be dependent upon Britain for equipment and spare parts, and it must be appreciated that Britain would rather supply these two countries with equipment before considering supplying the French Army, as there could be some doubt as to who France would fight with in the future, in view of her political instability. Further I understand there has been no suggestion of any standardization between Britain and these three countries."

/This

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

This report conforms the information from the Foreign Office, reported to you in my despatch No. A.70 of 28th January, that close military co-ordination with France, similar to that practised with the United States was not contemplated by the United Kingdom. So long as the Communist Party plays so powerful a part in the French state, the military and political authorities in this country are unlikely to change their minds. The same anxieties do not affect policy to so great an extent with regard to the other Western countries. Furthermore, because of the integration of the Belgian, Dutch, and Norwegian forces into the British military effort during the War, there is still a good deal of common use of similar arms which would in fact mean that co-operation could be resumed without great difficulty. The fact that Belgian, Norwegian, and in a short time Danish, forces occupy sectors of the British Zone of Germany under British direction must also contribute to "standardization".

This whole question of "standardization" is, I am inclined to think, a matter on which there is a great deal of confusion. The Communists have exploited with considerable success a word which seems to have in reality little meaning. The non-Communist Left in this country is making a great fuss over "standardization" with the United States, of which they disapprove, and "standardization" with France and Western Europe which most of them desire. I gather from the Service Advisers in this Office that very little progress at all has been made towards standardization of arms between the United Kingdom and the United States. There could not be standardization on any important scale until there was agreement on strategy, and there were still wide differences on this subject. The close collaboration achieved between British and American forces in the European campaigns was not on the basis of the use of standard weapons but on having available parts and equipment for the separate British and American equipment used. The British and other Allies did use many weapons, tanks, and planes made by the Americans, but the Americans, although they did make use of such British developments as radar, hardly ever used British-made material. The problem is essentially an industrial problem. As the Americans are not disposed to use any arms but their own, "standardization" would probably mean that the British would have to switch over almost entirely to American models. It is obvious that in the present state of British industry no such transformation is remotely possible. For this reason there has not, therefore, been any appreciable progress even towards standardization of measurements, threads, or even electric-light sockets.

For commercial as well as strategic reasons the British would no doubt like to standardize their arms with those of the Western European countries. Standardization would also obviate some of the difficulties arising with

/the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the United States over the supply of arms to the Argentine. The United Kingdom, however, has only a limited supply of arms to sell, and for these Belgium and Holland will have a priority. For the time being most countries seem to be using whatever is available. On the Continent there is British, American, and even German equipment in use. Co-ordination or standardization are long-range projects to be achieved, if at all, only when new weapons are developed.

It appears that this problem of standardization affects Eastern European countries as well. One of the arguments advanced at the time of the recent controversy over Anglo-American "standardization", it will be recalled, was that the Russians had no grounds for complaint in view of the fact that they had enforced standardization of arms with Czechoslovakia. From the Liaison Officer (Army) I learn, however, that this is far from being the case. The Czechs have decided to depend eventually on their own industry entirely for arms. During the next ten years, before their own armament industry is capable of supply them, they will use a mixture of Russian, British, and German equipment. The Russians were supposed to have provided them with equipment for ten divisions, but they have produced sufficient for only two.

This letter represents a tentative endeavour to clarify the issues in a subject which has been, and may continue to be, the source of a good deal of international and domestic political controversy, in which Canada is involved. I realize that my impressions may be subject to correction by technical experts, and I should, therefore, be interested in receiving any comments from you or from the military authorities in Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) N.A. Robertson.

P.S. Since writing the above letter I have heard through the Foreign Office that the Russians seem to have taken their own press reports on standardization of arms between France and the United Kingdom very seriously. Vyshinsky raised the matter with General Catroux, and remained very suspicious in spite of General Catroux's assurances that there was no such agreement, and the Russians had nothing to be alarmed about. This report, which came from French sources in Moscow, also cited another example of the suspicious Soviet mentality. It concerned the recent French Government crisis. The Russians apparently suspected that M. Ramadier had received instructions from the British Labour Party to provoke a Government crisis in order to get rid of the Communists, and so substitute a Government which would be more amenable to British influence at the Moscow Conference.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273369 DBs

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET WASHINGTON, May 12, 1947.

CYPHER - TK

WA-1478

WA-1478. Top Secret. Reference Mr. Pearson's EX-945 to the Ambassador, and EX-946 of April 14th.

We have received the following letter from Mr. Hickerson of the State Department to whose attention the draft statement on the standardization of military equipment, given in your EX-946, was drawn informally, Begins:

"I refer to your letter to me of April 14th, transmitting the text of a revised statement on standardization of military equipment by the armed forces of the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States.

"I have dicussed this statement with the appropriate officers of the War and Navy Departments. All of us hope that it will not be necessary for any statement on this subject to be released by the Canadian Government. If, however, the Canadian Government feels that it is necessary to issue such a statement, we do not object to the issuance of the statement which you sent me. If it becomes necessary for the statement to be issued, I suggest the following two minor drafting changes:

Paragraph 5, last sentence - delete the words "were in use in the United Kingdom and the United States" and substitute "could be adopted".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273970

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Paragraph 7, last sentence - delete the words "with the United Kingdom and the United States"."

Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd: 1:42 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Épreuve illisible

C273071

"E"

Recruitment of Former R.C.A.F. Personnel for Service with R.A.F.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY/JAG

C273972

Office of the High Commissioner
for the United Kingdom,
Earnscliffe,
OTTAWA.

No. 44

2nd August, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to Mr. Wrong's note No. 86 of the 13th October, 1945 and Mr. MacDonald's note No. 55 of 18th October, 1944 regarding the possibility of qualified and war experienced personnel of the Royal Canadian Air Force both officers and airmen being recruited for service with the Royal Air Force.

2. The Air Ministry are now desirous of receiving applications from such men for service under the general conditions of the extended scheme for Royal Air Force Personnel set out in Air Ministry Orders A775/45 and A1153/45.

2. The relevant provisions of these orders, as modified to meet the positions of Canadian officers and men, are as follows:

Officers: (a) Only non-regular officers of General Duties (i.e. flying) branch and those trained up to at least Operational Training Unit standard will be invited to apply, but those already repatriated and demobilised as well as those still in the United Kingdom will be eligible to apply.

(b) Appointments will be in substantive rank according to the following table:-

Officers with less than 6 months' commissioned service	Pilot Officer
Officers with over 6 months' but less than 3½ years' commissioned service	Flying Officer
Officers with more than 3½ years' commissioned service	Flight Lieutenant
Officers who have reached age 27 and have attained temporary or acting rank of Wing Commander or above	Squadron Leader

Officers will be allowed to retain existing war substantive and/or temporary rank and be eligible for promotion to substantive, acting and temporary ranks under the same conditions as those laid down for permament officers so long as current

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

promotion rules obtain.

(c) Appointments will be for 4 years on active list followed by 4 years on the reserve, with gratuity of £ 500 payable on transfer to reserve on satisfactory completion of full active service list period. Reserve liability to be performed either in R.A.F. Reserve (in case of these electing to remain in this country after active list service) or by transfer to R.C.A.F. Reserve Force (in case of those returning to Canada). (No question arises, as in pre-war short-service scheme, of an adjustment of training costs as personnel engaging will already be trained, nor will there by any adjustment as regards gratuity in case of those doing their reserve service in the R.C.A.F. Reserve force).

(d) Medical categories are pre-war standards of A1B for pilots and A3B for other categories. Repatriated applicants to be medically examined locally and be given travel warrants at R.A.F. expense for this purpose.

(e) Cost of passages and of return passages at end of active list period (as case may be) will be borne by the R.A.F. There would also be an entitlement to free family passages both ways where necessary, but, while serving, family passages to and accommodation at stations abroad would be subject to normal regulations for R.A.F. families (see A.M.O. A992/45 and A.M.O.A327/46).

(f) Personnel appointed to R.A.F. Commissions would be eligible for outfit allowance at the rate and under the conditions applicable to R.A.F. Officers. Current rate is £ 50. While this rate is payable officers appointed to R.A.F. commissions within three years but after more than one year of termination of previous commission would receive up to £ 50 on production of evidence of purchases to appropriate scale of outfit for R.A.F. officers. Officers appointed within one year of termination of earlier commission who were not then required to provide uniform of R.A.F. officer pattern would receive an allowance of £ 42 but if they were then required to provide R.A.F. officer pattern uniform they would receive only difference between £50 and outfit allowance paid in respect of earlier commission if less. (£50

(g) Officers appointed to commissions in R.A.F. under this scheme would be eligible for consideration for permanent commissions in R.A.F.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(g) Applications to be submitted via R.C.A.F. headquarters in case of repatriated personnel and via R.C.A.F. overseas headquarters in London in case of personnel still serving with the R.A.F.

Airmen: Provisions as at (a), (d), (e) and (h) above will apply also to applications by airmen. Other conditions as follows:

(a) Period of service will be for 3 years' regular service followed by four years in the reserve, reserve liability being performed in one of the two ways described in (c) above.

(b) Advance of gratuity of £25 will be payable on enlistment.

(c) Gratuity payable on transfer to reserve on satisfactory completion of full active list period will be at the following rates over and above advance under (b) above:-

(i) If holding the rank of sergeant as aircrew on 1st January, 1946, or on demobilisation if earlier £ 125

(ii) If holding the rank of flight sergeant as aircrew on 1st January, 1946, or on demobilisation if earlier £ 150

(iii) If holding the rank of warrant officer as aircrew on 1st January, 1946, or on demobilisation if earlier £ 175

(d) Rank on enlistment in R.A.F. will be determined in accordance with the rules governing tranfer of serving ~~mem~~ members of R.A.F. to new ranks being introduced for aircrew with effect from 1st July, 1946. Aircrew with more than 7½ years' service as qualified aircrew (i.e. having passed S.F.T.S. or corresponding course and having been awarded the flying badge, war service as qualified aircrew before 2nd September, 1945, being counted as double) will become Aircrew I (equals flight sergeant). Aircrew with less qualifying service than above will become Aircrew II (equals sergeant), and will be promoted aircrew I subject to satisfactory service on completing 7½ years' qualifying service.

(e) Airmen will be eligible for selection for commissions in accordance with normal policy. If so selected, their period of service will be 4 years on active

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

list (reckoned from date of first appointment under these proposals) followed by 4 years in reserve. The gratuity payable on passing to reserve on satisfactory completion of 4 years' service will be as follows:-

(i) for airmen qualified as aircrew on or before 2nd September, 1945, pro rata, at the appointment rate quoted in (c) in respect of airman service and at the rate of £125 a year in respect of officer service.

(ii) for airmen qualified as aircrew after 2nd September, 1945, pro rata, at appropriate rate quoted in (c) in respect of airman service and at rate of £ 100 a year in respect of officer service.

(f) Airmen appointed to R.A.F. under this scheme would be eligible for consideration for further service as aircrew, in the case of pilots and navigators, or on ground, in case of other categories, subject to general conditions of paragraph 15 of A.M.O. A492/46.

4. A copy of each of the A.M.O.'s mentioned above is enclosed.

5. I should be glad to learn of these proposals are acceptable to the Canadian Government. If so, it is suggested that the arrangements for bringing them to the notice both of former members of the R.C.A.F. and of those serving members of the R.C.A.F. whose services are not required in that force could suitably be discussed by members of my staff with the appropriate Canadian authorities.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

s/ "P. A. Clutterbuck"

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C 273976 WB

DBH/ME

Ottawa, August 31st, 1946.

No. 68

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to your note No. 44 of August 2nd, concerning the recruitment of Royal Canadian Air Force personnel for service with the Royal Air Force.

This matter was referred to the Department of National Defence for Air which has now replied that the proposals contained in your note of August 2nd are satisfactory.

Wing Commander M. Lipton of the Division of the Air Member for Personnel, Department of National Defence for Air, has been nominated as the Officer with whom members of your staff should discuss more detailed arrangements.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) H. H. Wrong

for Acting Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

The High Commissioner for
the United Kingdom in Canada,
Earnscliffe,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C 273976 WB

DBH/ME

Ottawa, August 31st, 1946.

No. 68

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to your note No. 44 of August 2nd, concerning the recruitment of Royal Canadian Air Force personnel for service with the Royal Air Force.

attached

This matter was referred to the Department of National Defence for Air which has now replied that the proposals contained in your note of August 2nd are satisfactory.

Wing Commander M. Lipton of the Division of the Air Member for Personnel, Department of National Defence for Air, has been nominated as the Officer with whom members of your staff should discuss more detailed arrangements.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) H. H. Wrong

for Acting Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

The High Commissioner for
the United Kingdom in Canada,
Earnscliffe,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

For 65 Briefs - also for Harry Salmon

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C 273977

Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date October 17, 1946

Subject

Britain Seeks Demobilized RCAF Fliers

Want Trained Aircrew In New Agreement

Attention, trained aircrew, former members of the RCAF! After a taste of civvie street do you yearn to continue service flying as a career which may take you to any part of the world? The way is now open.

It has been announced by Hon. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Defence for Air, that, under an agreement with Britain, the RAF will accept applications from former RCAF officers and airmen in aircrew trades who have trained up to at least OTU standard. Operational experience will be considered an added asset.

If you are interested, address your applications to the Secretary, Department of National Defence for Air, Ottawa, and mark on the envelope, "Attention, Director of Selection and Manning."

In making the announcement, Col. Gibson said that "Canada has a considerable reservoir of aircrew trained during the war and this agreement will help both the RAF and a considerable number of young Canadians who would like to continue flying as a career."

All wartime aircrew trades will be considered for extended service in the RAF. If accepted, you can look forward to: The scale of pay and allowances, higher than that of the war years and comparing favorably with pay in the postwar RCAF; retention of temporary or war substantive ranks as long as wartime promotion regulations are in force; generous gratuities on satisfactory completion of the active service period; passage to Britain and return for you and your families, where required; and, if commissioned, a uniform allowance of £50 and consideration for permanent RAF commissions.

Equivalent Trades

RAF trades provide for signallers, flight engineers, and gunners, in addition to pilots and navigators, which means that a Canadian air gunner might be retrained as a navigator and a wireless air gunner might be transferred to signaller, the RAF equivalent.

The granting of short service commissions will be with substantive rank as follows:

An RCAF officer with less than six months commissioned service, RAF pilot officer; with over six months but less than 3½ years commissioned service, RAF flying officer; with more than 3½ years commissioned service, RAF flight lieutenant; and, having attained temporary or acting rank of wing commander or above and having reached the age of 27 years, RAF squadron leader.

RAF rank for Canadian NCO aircrew will be determined by the rules governing RAF transfers introduced in July, 1946.

Officers' appointments will be or four years active service ,plus four years on either the RAF reserve, or the RCAF reserve should they choose to return to Canada. Airmen's appointments will be for three years, with another four years in the reserve.

Medical categories are the prewar RAF standards: A1B for pilots and A2B for other aircrew.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C 273977 Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication: Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date: October 17, 1946

Subject:

Britain Seeks Demobilized RCAF Fliers

Want Trained Aircrew In New Agreement

Attention, trained aircrew, former members of the RCAF! After a taste of civvie street do you yearn to continue service flying as a career which may take you to any part of the world? The way is now open.

It has been announced by Hon. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Defence for Air, that, under an agreement with Britain, the RAF will accept applications from former RCAF officers and airmen in aircrew trades who have trained up to at least OTU standard. Operational experience will be considered an added asset.

If you are interested, address your applications to the Secretary, Department of National Defence for Air, Ottawa, and mark on the envelope, "Attention, Director of Selection and Manning."

In making the announcement, Col. Gibson said that "Canada has a considerable reservoir of aircrew trained during the war and this agreement will help both the RAF and a considerable number of young Canadians who would like to continue flying as a career."

All wartime aircrew trades will be considered for extended service in the RAF. If accepted, you can look forward to: The scale of pay and allowances, higher than that of the war years and comparing favorably with pay in the postwar RCAF; retention of temporary or war substantive ranks as long as wartime promotion regulations are in force; generous gratuities on satisfactory completion of the active service period; passage to Britain and return for you and your families, where required; and, if commissioned, a uniform allowance of £50 and consideration for permanent RAF commissions.

Equivalent Trades

RAF trades provide for signallers, flight engineers, and gunners, in addition to pilots and navigators, which means that a Canadian air gunner might be retrained as a navigator and a wireless air gunner might be transferred to signaller, the RAF equivalent.

The granting of short service commissions will be with substantive rank as follows:

An RCAF officer with less than six months commissioned service, RAF pilot officer; with over six months but less than 3½ years commissioned service, RAF flying officer; with more than 3½ years commissioned service, RAF flight lieutenant; and, having attained temporary or acting rank of wing commander or above and having reached the age of 27 years, RAF squadron leader.

RAF rank for Canadian NCO aircrew will be determined by the rules governing RAF transfers introduced in July, 1946.

Officers' appointments will be or four years active service ,plus four years on either the RAF reserve, or the RCAF reserve should they choose to return to Canada. Airmen's appointments will be for three years, with another four years in the reserve.

Medical categories are the prewar RAF standards: **A1B** for pilots and **A3B** for other aircrew.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W. Mackenzie King Papers
Please note
Secret & Personal
20-10-46

CANADA

C 273978

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

OTTAWA October 18th, 1946.

The Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. King,

At the meeting of Cabinet yesterday you raised the question of an agreement being entered into with the United Kingdom for the recruiting of Canadian personnel in this country for the R.A.F. without the matter having been brought before the Cabinet.

I have gone through the correspondence in this matter and find that in August last the United Kingdom High Commissioner wrote to the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs proposing that Canadians should be permitted to join the R.A.F. and that if this was approved that arrangements be entered into for bringing the terms of service to the notice of Canadians whose services were not required in the R.C.A.F.

On August 13th I received a copy of the above letter from the Department of External Affairs, asking me to advise whether the proposals were satisfactory to my Department. On August 27th the Department of External Affairs was informed that the proposals were considered satisfactory. On September 30th the Secretary of State for External Affairs informed the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom that "the terms of the proposed inter-governmental agreement were satisfactory to the Canadian Government", and agreed that "the High Commissioner's note and the reply shall place on record the acceptance by our two Governments of the conditions as set forth in the Agreement". This letter was signed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273979

I bring these facts to your attention because the proposals were not initiated with the R.C.A.F., and beyond expressing a willingness to co-operate, and the fact that we had no objections to the proposal, my Department has not been concerned in the negotiations.

The Press Release that was issued by this Department was published as part of the arrangements entered into with the United Kingdom.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Mason

O-2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y WB

C 273680

DBH:JBW
18th October, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER-SECRETARY:

Recruitment of Former R.C.A.F. Personnel
for Service with the R.A.F.

1. A tentative inquiry was received from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in a note dated April 17, 1944, as to whether the Canadian Government would agree in principle to officers in the R.C.A.F. being afforded an opportunity to offer their services in the postwar Royal Air Force. On the advice of the Department of National Defence for Air, we informed the High Commissioner on May 19, 1944, that as plans for the postwar R.C.A.F. were then under active consideration it was desired to withhold a decision in regard to this question.

2. At the end of June 1944, we asked National Defence for Air if they wished this question raised by the U.K. authorities to remain open, and they replied on July 14, 1944, as follows:

> "This Department agrees in principle to officers in the R.C.A.F. being afforded an opportunity of offering their services in the postwar Royal Air Force. However, it is desired that the United Kingdom Government withold any action to publicize this matter or circularize members of the R.C.A.F. until such time as Canadian postwar plans are further advanced and the Canadian Government has signified their willingness to proceed."

This decision was communicated to Earnscliffe in a note dated July 17, 1944.

3. The United Kingdom High Commissioner raised the question again on October 18, 1944, outlining a procedure which might be followed for R.C.A.F. officers wishing to apply for service with the R.A.F. when the Canadian Government judged that the time was right to permit such application. This was also

...2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273981

referred to National Defence for Air who replied that, when it was found in order to permit R.C.A.F. personnel to apply for commissions in the R.A.F., the procedure suggested would be followed.

4. The matter rested for a year and on September 28, 1945, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald wrote again to ask whether the Canadian authorities were now able to agree that R.C.A.F. officers might be given an opportunity to apply for permanent commissions in the postwar R.A.F. This was referred to the Department of National Defence for Air and the following reply, dated October 6, 1945, was received from the Minister of National Defence for Air:

> "The question of R.C.A.F. personnel being offered permanent commissions in the Royal Air Force has been considered. In this connection will you please refer to the letter of October 3rd, from the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.
>
> "There is no objection to R.C.A.F. personnel being canvassed to determine whether they, as individuals, wish to apply. However, I should like to emphasize that there must be no question of any subsequent transfer from the R.A.F. to the R.C.A.F. It is most important that this be clearly understood by both Services and the personnel concerned."

5. It was assumed in this Department from this letter of October 6th that the principle of allowing R.C.A.F. personnel, as individuals, to join the R.A.F. had received Government approval. The U.K. authorities came forward with a detailed procedure for recruiting former R.C.A.F. personnel in a note from their High Commissioner, dated August 2, 1946; a copy of this note was sent to the Department of National Defence for Air asking whether the procedure was satisfactory to them. The Deputy Minister for Air replied on August 27th as follows:

> "Note No. 44 dated 2nd August, from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, in which are contained the relevant provisions of Air Ministry Orders A.775/45 and A.1153/45 as modified to meet the positions of Canadian officers and men, would appear to cover all points and the proposals are considered satisfactory"

...3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273982

6. We informed the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom that the proposals were satisfactory in the attached note No. 68, dated August 31, 1946. Since that date direct discussions have been proceeding between members of the High Commissioner's Air Liaison Staff and officers of the Department of National Defence for Air, as a result of which, it is presumed, the recent press statement was made.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C 273983

WB

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

Ottawa October 18th, 1946.

The Right Honourable L. St. Laurent,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

My dear Colleague,

At the meeting of Cabinet yesterday the Prime Minister raised objections to a Press Release issued by my Department announcing that applications for service in the R.A.F. would be received from Canadians, and pointed out that any such agreement should have the approval of Cabinet.

At that time I expressed the view that the negotiations had been conducted by External Affairs, to which statement I felt you rather took exception.

On going over my file in this matter, I find that the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom made certain proposals to your Department in Despatch No. 44, dated 2nd August, 1946, and in a letter dated the 13th of August my Deputy Minister was asked whether these proposals were satisfactory to this Department. In the reply from my Deputy Minister, dated 27th August, he stated that "the proposals as modified are considered satisfactory", and in your letter to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Despatch No. 78, dated 30th September, you stated that "the terms of the proposed inter-governmental agreement are satisfactory to the Canadian Government. It is agreed that your note and this reply shall place on record the acceptance by our two Governments of the conditions as set forth in the Agreement."

While my Department expressed a willingness to co-operate, and took no objections to the terms of the proposal, we had no part in negotiating the Agreement that was entered into.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273984

The reason that a Press Release was issued by my Department was because the Agreement contemplated the terms of service being brought to the notice of members and ex-members of the R.C.A.F.

I would point out that further negotiations are at present under way concerning the acceptance of applications of Canadian candidates to enter the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell, for five University graduates for permanent commissions, and twenty-four aircraft and administration apprentices. My Deputy Minister, in a letter to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, dated October 15th, has indicated that there is no objection in principle to Canadians joining the R.A.F., and stating the willingness of the R.C.A.F. to co-operate. In view of the remarks of the Prime Minister, it would appear that these proposals should be brought to the attention of Cabinet before the United Kingdom proposal is accepted.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Colin Gibson.

O-2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C273985

WB

DBH:MH

OTTAWA, October 22, 1946.

Dear Colonel Gibson,

In the absence of Mr. St. Laurent, I am replying to your letter of October 18th regarding the question of applications from Canadians for service in the R.A.F., which was referred to at the meeting of Cabinet on Thursday of last week.

I am attaching herewith a report on this matter made in the Department of External Affairs, which corresponds with the facts outlined in your letter. I should perhaps point out, however, that the "inter-governmental agreement" referred to in paragraph 3 of your letter refers to a formal agreement relating to the service of R.C.A.F. personnel on loan to the R.A.F. during and after the war, and not to the question of postwar recruitment of ex-R.C.A.F. personnel for the R.A.F. Our communications with the United Kingdom High Commissioner on this latter subject were not on quite so formal a level, and our agreement to the United Kingdom proposals was contained in our note No. 68, dated August 31, 1946, attached to the enclosed report.

I think that the misunderstanding in this matter arose over the fact that the Department of External Affairs assumed that this was a question primarily for the Department of National Defence for Air, and that approval by your Department of the United

The Honourable Colin Gibson,
Minister of National Defence for Air,
O t t a w a.

....2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273986

Kingdom prpposal implied approval after Cabinet consideration. I am sorry that this misunderstanding occurred.

I agree that the further question of acceptance of applications of Canadian candidates to enter the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell might be brought to the attention of the Cabinet for consideration. I shall take steps to see that this is done.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) L. B. Pearson

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

LBP/WB C273987
NOV. 1/46.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Recruiting of Canadian
Personnel for the R.A.F.

With reference to the attached letter from the Minister of National Defence for Air, Mr. Gibson also wrote Mr. St. Laurent on this subject. I am attaching a copy of the correspondence and also of a memorandum which the Department made for Mr. St. Laurent and which shows that there was a misunderstanding between the two Departments as to which was responsible for bringing the question to the Cabinet.

C B Macdonald

clipping from
Ottawa Citizen
Oct 17/46 also
attached / By

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

C 273988

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 11.

LONDON, January 4th, 1947.

No. 11. Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson, Begins:

Anglo-American Defence Agreements.

You have no doubt seen press reports of announcement concerning an Agreement for exchanges of airmen between the R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. In view of continued rumours of a firm military alliance that have been persistently denied by the Government, this announcement has caused some excitement in the press. The "Daily Worker", of course, sees the confirmation of all its allegations. Most of the press stories on the subject came from New York. The "News Chronicle" New York correspondent says this step is part of a long range plan for Anglo-United States land, sea and air cooperation made following Montgomery's visit. The "Manchester Guardian" New York correspondent hints that the White House and the State Department may not have known what the War Department was up to. The correspondent says that the United States are reticent about discussing the close cooperation which undoubtedly goes on between the United States and United Kingdom military establishments and that the same reticence applies in respect to co-operation with Canada.

When we asked the Dominions Office, they said they had been taken completely by surprise by the announcement. They said that Clutterbuck had asked for information as a result of enquiries you had made to him concerning reports of agreement on standardization. They are securing full information on both these matters, that is standardization and the Air Forces

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 273989

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

Agreement from the Service Departments, and will send Clutterbuck a full statement on whole subject as soon as it is available. They will give us the same information, along with text of the statement on the Air Forces Agreement. Ends.

8-1-47

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Sent - 3:35 p.m.,
Received 11:32 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Secret

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

C 273990

Ottawa, January 18/47

To THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR INFORMATION

Defence Under
Section E

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C273991

TELETYPE MESSAGE

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON

Ottawa, January 6th, 1947.

No. EX-20
CYPHER

Following for Wrong from Pearson, Begins:

I am sending you below an interesting message from Robertson on Anglo-American Defence Agreements. We were very surprised here when the report in question appeared in the British newspapers. Can you throw any light on it in Washington?

Telegram is as follows, Begins:

"No.11. Secret. Following for Pearson from Robertson Begins:

Anglo-American Defence Agreements.

You have no doubt seen press reports of announcement concerning an Agreement for exchanges of airmen between the R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. In view of continued rumours of a firm military alliance that have been persistently denied by the Government, this announcement has caused some excitement in the Press. The "Daily Worker", of course, sees the confirmation of all its allegations. Most of the press stories on the subject came from New York. The "News Chronicle" New York correspondent says this step is part of a long range plan for Anglo-United States land, sea and air cooperation made following Montgomery's visit. The "Manchester Guardian" New York correspondent hints that the White House and the State Department may not have known what the War Department was up to. The correspondent says that the United States are reticent about discussing the close cooperation which undoubtedly goes on between the United States and United Kingdom military establishments and that the same reticence applies in respect to cooperation with Canada.

When we asked the Dominions Office, they said they had

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

been taken completely by surprise by the announcement. They said that Clutterbuck had asked for information as a result of enquiries you had made to him concerning reports of agreement on standardization. They are securing full information on both these matters, that is standardization and the Air Forces Agreement from the Service Departments, and will send Clutterbuck a full statement on whole subject as soon as it is available. They will give us the same information, along with text of the statement on the Air Forces Agreement. Ends. High Commissioner." Message Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

CANADIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

C 273993

SECRET

Washington, D.C.,
January 15, 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

I am sorry that I have not written to you sooner in reply to your message of January 6th, EX-20, in which you forwarded a telegram from Robertson on Anglo-American defence agreements. Stone had a talk about the announcement, to which Robertson referred, with Hickerson three or four days ago. According to Hickerson, the State Department was as surprised by the announcement as the Dominions Office was. He said that some time ago he had had inconclusive talks with Admiral Sherman on the general question of the exchange of officers. The only concern that had been expressed either by him or by the Admiral was that the practice, if not carefully scrutinized from time to time, might lead to the exchange of undesirably large numbers of officers. Hickerson did not seem to be particularly concerned, although he seemed to think that the R.A.F. announcement in London was rather inept. Most of the press reports on this matter in the United States, I notice, made little of the announcement. In some it was brought in incidentally with stories of Montgomery's visit and a few papers like the New York Times printed rather full summaries of the Pravda story of January 6th.

At the fortnightly meeting at the British Embassy on January 4th, the Air Member, British Joint Staff Mission, mentioned the matter and said that it was much ado about nothing, and that not more than a hundred officers were concerned in the existing agreement providing for the exchange, which agreement merely continued former practices. He said that an announcement had apparently been made in the United Kingdom to counter exaggerated stories which were getting around, not only as to the extent of these exchanges, but also as to other matters such as standardization of weapons, and even military alliances.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H.H. Wrong

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273994

SECRET

Washington 6, D. C.,
January 16, 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

As a supplement to my letter of yesterday concerning the exchange of officers between the R.A.F. and the United States A.A.F., I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum dated January 3rd issued by the British Information Office here for the background guidance of British officers. In this you will find the text of a statement prepared by the United States A.A.F. for confidential information which gives their version of the arrangements. You will note that the maximum number of personnel involved on each side would be one hundred officers, and we have learned that at present there are thirty-four R.A.F. officers in the United States and forty-two United States A.A.F. officers in the United Kingdom, pursuant to the agreement. For the most part these officers are attending courses and receiving training in specialist trades, although a few are attached to staffs for the purpose, as the United States A.A.F. statement puts it, of observing personnel training problems.

It is clear that a great deal has been made in the United Kingdom over a minor matter little above the routine level. The British Air Attaché believes that the publicity was begun by stories sent from Washington by the correspondents here of the London Daily Mail and Telegraph, and that these correspondents received some information from United States sources.

This small flurry has attracted little notice here. This is indicative of the changed positions of the United Kingdom and the United States. A few years ago an announcement such as that issued by the Air Ministry in London (the text of which is also given in the British guidance paper) would have given rise to charges here that the United States was being inveigled into the arms of Britain to act as a tool of British Imperial policy. Now the situation is reversed, and the charges come from the

/left

L. B. Pearson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273995

left wing in the United Kingdom that the United Kingdom is being led astray to serve the aims of the United States. One cannot say how long this attitude of the press and public will last, but it appears to show that at present there was more substance behind the revolt of the left wing members of the Labour Party against Mr. Bevin's policies than there was behind Mr. Henry Wallace's campaign of last summer. One may perhaps derive some satisfaction from noting two things; first, that the lack of public turmoil here over reports of this nature shows acceptance of the role of the United States as a world power and, secondly, that it also indicates the extent to which the old suspicions of Great Britain have lost their public appeal. How all this will be affected by yesterday's announcement of the intention to conclude an Anglo-French military alliance as soon as possible remains to be seen.

Yours sincerely,

H. H. WRONG

HHW/mgm

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273996

COPY

BACKGROUND GUIDANCE

For the information of British Officials

G.388
Information Office,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.
January 3rd, 1947.

R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F.

The U.S.A.A.F. have prepared the following statement. It is not for release or publication, but is issued to you so that, if you receive any queries on the subject, you will be i in a position to reply. The statement is not an official document: it is background.

You will note that the plan is merely a continuation of war-time policy; and this, if possible, should be stressed when replying to enquirers.

---

1. Army Air Forces have submitted to the War Department a plan for the continuation of the war-time programme of exchanging students and observers with the Royal Air Force to permit a wider review of mutual personnel training problems.

2. The plan if approved would eventually involve an exchange of a maximum of 100 officers from each of the two forces. Some of these officers would attend various schools and training courses being conducted by either the A.A.F. or the R.A.F. Others will observe personnel training problems by working with staff members of the opposite forces.

3. The plan does not include divulging military secrets concerning weapons or techniques by either the R.A.F. or the A.A.F. It is designed solely to provide officers of both the R.A.F. and the A.A.F. with additional training and background on problems of a mutual nature to both forces.

The following statement was issued for publication by the Air Ministry in London on December 31st, 1946.

We give it here, although it has been widely reproduced, for your information.

The Air Ministry announces that an agreement has been reached with the United States authorities covering the exchange of officers between the R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. as students on courses or on attachment to Commands and Staffs. The training given under this agreement will cover staff methods, tactics, equipment and research. The number of officers to be exchanged will initially be about thirty or forty on each side which may later be increased to not more than one huhdred.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C273997 WB

Office of the
High Commissioner for Canada,
Canada House,
London, S.W.1.

In reply please refer
to AR.440/1

11th January, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I should like to refer to my telegram No. 11 of 4th January concerning the agreement between the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F. for the exchange of personnel.

Attached is a copy of the Overseas Publicity Message of the "London Press Service" for 3rd January on this subject. The London Press Service is compiled by Government departments in London for use on overseas broadcasts. Its intention, needless to say, is to spread the official point of view, or at least to give listeners an interpretation of the news which is in conformity with the wishes of the Government. We find the Diplomatic Programme interesting on many occasions because of its reflection of official views.

It is obvious from the attached message that the Government is anxious to go to a considerable length to play down the significance of the Air Forces agreement, and to deny that an extensive Anglo-American military pact is projected. You will note that the message also points out specifically that the agreement does not embrace Dominions Flying Officers.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) N. A. Robertson.

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

121/33

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C273998 WB

OVERSEAS PUBLICITY MESSAGE

LONDON PRESS SERVICE. THIRD JANUARY TRANSMISSION FIVE.

DIPLOMATIC PROGRAMME stop ITEM ONE stop Communique issued by Air Ministry evening first January bracket see LPS First January Transmission Seven bracket should help to dispose of irresponsible reports which have appeared intermittently during recent weeks of extensive Anglo hyphen American military pact alternatively alleged to be in existence or to be projected para.

There is of course no truth in such reports and existence or contemplation of any such pact has been officially denied both London Washington para.

As Air Ministry communique makes clear agreement reached between British USA Govt solely relates to exchange of very small number of officers of RAF and US Army Airforce for training in staff methods tactics equipment and research stop Number of officers to be exchanged will initially be about thirty or forty on each side and may later be increased to not more than one hundred para

No officers or rank higher than that of group captain in RAF bracket equivalent to colonel in US Airforce bracket will included in exchange and majority of trainees will be officers of ranks of wing commander and flying officer respectively equivalent to lieutenant colonel and lieutenant in USA para.

Agreement does not embrace Dominions flying officers para

This exchange which is expected to be put into effect shortly is continuation of cooperation which existed between British USA airforces during war and since stop For example few American airforce officers have since close of hostilities attended RAF college para

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C273999

Such is extent of quote military pact unquote concluded between British USA Govts. para.

There is also under discussion between two Govts question of standardisation of armaments looking more particularly to future cooperation of British American forces in international force to be created and placed at disposal of Security Council stop Attlee explained this in House Commons eighteenth November stop Everybody was aware comma he said comma that during war Britain USA integrated their armaments to very large extent stop If there was to be standardisation which was extremely difficult thing to do that must involve discussion stop In any case standardisation could only be effected and implemented under security arrangements which they were endeavouring to make under United Nations Organisation stop Attlee emphasised then and repeated in reply to supplementary question in Commons tenth December that HMG would welcome parallel discussions on same lines with Russian Govt. which HMG had so far been unsuccessful in obtaining para

Herbert Morrison Lord President Council in reply to another supplementary question ninth December said no decision had been reached in informal exchanges between British USA Govts on subject of standardisation of armaments para.

Out of molehill of Attlees Morrisons statements has apparently been constructed mountain of alleged military pact covering army navy airforce stop Air Ministry communique may serve as object lesson in perspective para

ITEM TWO stop Press telegrams from Vienna disclose that Austrian Govt has within past few days approached Russian Govt with view to opening direct negotiations regarding disposal of industries in Russian zone of Austria which Russia has taken over for reparations stop It is suggested that Austrian Govts idea is to buy back proportion of these industries dash about one third of them dash from Russian Govt either immediately or

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 273999A

on basis of five years purchase stop Industries which Austrian Govt would wish to recover include important Zisterdorf oilfields para

British Govts view is that question which Austrian Govt desires to raise directly with Russian Govt is matter for decision by four Occupying Powers stop Ultimate disposal of Austrian industries for reparations involves interpretation of Potsdam agreement and such interpretation must be quadripartite not unilateral stop Question raised by Austria involves difficult problem of definition of German assets in Austria which has still to be solved and will come up before Council Foreign Ministers in Moscow stop Subject is further complicated by fact that it is linked up with separation of Austria from Germany comma that Austria is split in two comma East West comma for purpose of reparations comma some firms straddling both areas comma and that Vienna is under quadripartite govt para

It may be added that both British American draft treaties for Austria which will be before Special Deputies for Austria specifically envisage Four Power settlement of problem of German assets in Austria para

END DIPLOMATIC PROGRAMME LPS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

DB s A F C 274000

Office of the High Commissioner
for Canada, Canada House,
London S.W. 1

27th January 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I should like to refer to my letter of 11th January concerning the agreement between the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F. for the exchange of personnel.

In the House of Commons at Westminster on 22nd January Mr. Piratin, a Communist M.P., asked the Prime Minister if he would detail those parts in British territory where the United States had military or naval bases, and those parts where the bases were used jointly by British and United States Forces. The following is the reply given by the Minister of Defence, and his answer to a subsequent question by Mr. Piratin.

> "I have been asked to reply. The United States of America have no bases in territory under United Kingdom administration other than those in the West Indies and Bermuda covered by by the Bases Agreement concluded with the United States of America during the war; and in certain areas in the Pacific such as the Ellice and Solomon Islands, where the United States of America have constructed certain installations, the future of which has not yet been decided. There are no military or naval bases in territory under United Kingdom administration which are used jointly by British and United States Forces.
>
> "Mr. Piratin: Can the Minister say whether it is the intention of the Government to conclude these arrangements whereby the U.S.A. is using bases in the Pacific so that we can look after the matter ourselves?
>
> "Mr. Alexander: I would require to have notice of that question."

On the same day Mr. G. Jeger, a Labour Member, submitted the following written question:

> "Mr. G. Jeger asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what official proposals the United States Fovernment had addressed to His Majesty's Government asking for the lease of bases on, or the transference of sovereignty over, or the extension of a joint administration over any British islands in the Pacific; and which islands are concerned in such requests".

Mr. Bevin's answer was as follows:

> "No proposals have been addressed to His Majesty's Government on these subjects during recent months."

Yours sincerely,

N.A. Robertson /S/

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CONFIDENTIAL C 274001

Office of the

High Commissioner for Canada

Canada House, London S.W.1

22nd January 1947.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I should like to refer to my letter of 11th January concerning the agreement between the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F. for the exchange of personnel.

Although the excitement on this subject has now died down, you may be interested in a brief report on what happened, as interpreted to us by the United Kingdom political authorities concerned.

The position was, they say, that exaggerated stories appeared in the United States and United Kingdom press as a result of the U.S.A.A.F. press release regarding the exchange of officers with the R.A.F. The U.S.A.A.F. announcement covered the training agreement in terms which referred to the continuation of war-time co-operation in staff methods, tactics, equipment and research between the two Air Forces; press reports greatly exaggerated the numbers concerned and suggested that the agreement formed the basis of an Anglo-United States military pact covering all three Services.

Press conferences were called at very short notice on 1st Jan. at No. 10 Downing Street, and in the Foreign Office, to try to put the matter into proper perspective, and the Air Ministry issued an announcement on the same day in the following terms:

> "The Air Ministry announces that an agreement has been reached with the United States authorities covering the exchange of officers between the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F. as students on courses or an attachment to Command and staff posts. The training given under this agreement will cover staff methods, tactics, equipment and research.
>
> The Number of officers to be exchanged will initially be about 30 or 40 on each side, which may later be increased to not more than 100".

The line taken at the press conferences was that the position as regards military co-operation and standardization between the two countries was as stated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 18th November (repeated in the Secretary of State's telegram to the Department of External Affairs No. 217 of the 6th December, 1946) and by the Lord President of the Council in reply to Questions in the House of Commons on the 9th, 10th and 11th December; that no question of a political or military agreement arose, and that all the discussions fell fully and completely within the United Nations policy of the United Kingdom Government.

Yours sincerely,

N.A. Robertson /S/

L.B. Pearson, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274001A

"F"

Defence (Publicity)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274002

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject

Advises Canadians Be Military-Wise

EDMONTON, Nov. 20—(CP)—Maj.-Gen. E. G. Weeks, adjutant-general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today that it would be wise for Canadians to maintain an interest in military affairs because if war should come again, it might come with great suddenness to Canadians.

Gen. Weeks, in Edmonton visiting western army command officers, said the Canadian Army at present has an active strength of 25,000 with reserve forces totalling 18,000. He added the army plans an educational campaign to explain to taxpayers the necessity for maintaining Canada's military strength.

Early next year an extensive recruiting campaign would be launched.

He said the army plans the bulk of the large funds from canteens and regimental mess surpluses shall go into an army benevolent fund. Such a fund should be on a 75-year self-liquidating basis in order that veterans who built it up will benefit from it.

He added the army plan is only one of several being considered. Any plan would have to be ratified by Parliament before being put into effect.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274002

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject

Advises Canadians Be Military-Wise

EDMONTON, Nov. 20—(CP)—Maj.-Gen. E. G. Weeks, adjutant-general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today that it would be wise for Canadians to maintain an interest in military affairs because if war should come again, it might come with great suddenness to Canadians.

Gen. Weeks, in Edmonton visiting western army command officers, said the Canadian Army at present has an active strength of 25,000 with reserve forces totalling 18,000. He added the army plans an educational campaign to explain to taxpayers the necessity for maintaining Canada's military strength.

Early next year an extensive recruiting campaign would be launched.

He said the army plans the bulk of the large funds from canteens and regimental mess surpluses shall go into an army benevolent fund. Such a fund should be on a 75-year self-liquidating basis in order that veterans who built it up will benefit from it.

He added the army plan is only one of several being considered. Any plan would have to be ratified by Parliament before being put into effect.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS 274003

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Nov 7/46

Subject Pontiac is proud of Admiral Wallis enthusiastic over his fine service and high attainments."

Pontiac Native Son Admiral Reid Honored

BRISTOL, Que., Nov. 7—(Special)—In quiet tones' Vice-Admiral L. H. Emmerson Reid, native of Pontiac, honored by the County Council of Pontiac said at the complimentary banquet in Pine Lodge, Bristol, Wednesday night: "You people of Pontiac by the work of your boys in the navy and your production of materials for the navy did your part well in the past war. If another war comes we will have to be even more prepared, for if a war comes we will not have three years to prepare with Great Britain holding the lines for us.

"We must have forces ready and trained and to this end we are planning a navy of 10,000 active personnel with 18,000 on reserve and a strong task force on each coast. Already 8,000 of the permament force has been enlisted, and by spring it is hoped to have the navy up to full strength."

At the head table were S. W. McKechnie, toastmaster; E. C. Lawn, M.L.A. and Mrs. Lawn; Vice-Admiral Reid; Lt.-Cmdr. L. C. Audette of the RCNVR of Ottawa; Lt.-Cmdr. L. C. Collins, the Admiral's Flag-Officer; Dr. S. J. McNally of Campbell's Bay and Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Eades.

Mr. McKechnie is mayor of South Onslow and E. C. Lawn mayor of Campbell's Bay and other mayors present were Hugh Proudfoot of Fort Coulonge; Gordon Gibbon of Portage du Fort; E. Gerald Leblanc of Mansfield; C. W. Schwartz of Shawville; James Peever of Letchfield and Earl Fulford of Clarendon.

Spirit of Navy

In responding to a toast to the navy Lt.-Com. L. C. Audette said that the navy is a force difficult to describe or define, and different from any other main source. It is made up, he said, of human beings and ships, and the close life of a sailor on board ship creates something of a communal spirit not found elsewhere. The sailor on a battleship knows that the safety of his comrades and his ship against the twin hostile forces of sea and enemy lays a great responsibility on every man, for even a minor carelessness may mean disaster. If this spirit of the navy could be carried to the world courts, many of our problems would soon be solved. At the same time a condition of responsibility that otherwise wolud be unendurable is allayed by the fact that the captain knows every man's heart and body is given to the task in hand.

The ship is a part of himself, and can be in no way injured without each man feeling it, until a man's ship seems for him to possess a soul of which he is a part. "This", he said in conclusion, "is the creed of the navy."

Recalls Old Family

Dr. S. J. McNally of Campbell's Bay, who is 80 years of age, and has known the Reid family in Portage du Fort for three generations told of the stalwart grandfather of the vice-admiral who carved out the largest mercantile business of the day in the country. He said this was taken over by his son, and continued with great succes; and it was from such pioneer ancestry with their determination, loyalty and perseverance that there came a product in their son the vice-admiral. He gave a vivid picture of the admiral in his teens entering the navy, playing an admirable part in the First World War.

He told of his service on destroyer and later on the famous battleship 'Warspite," and how in the Second War be became Flag-Officer of the Newfoundland Force. For his services he was honored by the King who made him a companion of the Order of the Bath; and now he was Chief of Staff for the Canadian Navy; "Canada is proud of him,' he said, "and his friends in Pontaic are enthusiastic over his fine service and high attainments."

Vice-Admiral Reid replied briefly, but with deep feeling. He felt that in this gathering of his friends, he had been done the highest honor of his career and and met so many old friends that the banquet was like an Old Home Night.

No Future Worry

He declared that, as he thought of how well boys from all parts of Canada had served in the navy, Canada need not worry about her future, but would with such youths carve out a high place in the world. He declared our navy must be strengthened, and the extent of this re-enforcement could be judged by the fact that United States, with twelve times our population is planning on a navy of 500,000 men.

He thanked his friends for their kind welcome, and regretted that his mother was unable to be present to see the honor he had received.

Others who spoke included Mayor Hugh Proudfoot of Fort Coulonge who proposed a toast to the ladies and Miss Abbie Pritchard, president of Pontiac County Women's Institutes who fittingly replied; E. C. Lawn, MLA who spoke in high terms of the County of Pontiac, its resources and its fine service in the war; Alphonse Martineau, of the Superior Court of Pontiac who congratulated the vice-admiral on the high honor he had so gallantly won for himself and his county and R. P. Eades of Shawville who spoke of the growth of the Canadian Navy from a neglected child on the doorstep of the political parties until now it was an institution vital to Canadian safety.

He declared that this growth was in no small part due to the ability and talents of such men as our honored native son of Portage du Fort.

During the evening music was furnished by an Ottawa orchestra; and solos were sung by John Grace and Allan Martin of Ottawa and Joseph Russell of Montreal.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS 274003 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Nov 7/46

Subject Probably in preface Mollie

Pontiac Native Son Admiral Reid Honored

BRISTOL, Que., Nov. 7—(Special)—In quiet tones Vice-Admiral L. H Emmerson Reid, native of Pontiac, honored by the County Council of Pontiac said at the complimentary banquet in Pine Lodge, Bristol, Wednesday night: "You people of Pontiac by the work of your boys in the navy and your production of materials for the navy did your part well in the past war. If another war comes we will have to be even more prepared, for if a war comes we will not have three years to prepare with Great Britain holding the lines for us.

"We must have forces ready and trained and to this end we are planning a navy of 10,000 active personnel with 15,000 on reserve and a strong task force on each coast. Already 8,000 of the permanent force has been enlisted, and by spring it is hoped to have the navy up to full strength."

At the head table were S. W. McMullin, Speakmaster; E. C. Lawn, M.L.A. and Mrs. Lawn; Vice-Admiral Reid; Lt.-Cmdr. L. C. Audette of the RCNVR of Ottawa; Lt.-Cmdr. A. C. Collins, the Admiralty Area Officer; Dr. S. J. McNally of Campbell's Bay and Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Bedes.

Mr. McMullin is mayor of South Onslow and E. C. Lawn mayor of Campbell's Bay and other mayors present were Hugh Proudfoot of Fort Coulonge; Gordon Gibson of Portage du Fort; E. Gerald Leblanc of Mansfield; C. W. Schwartz of Shawville; James Feever of Litchfield and Earl Fulford of Clarendon.

Speech of Navy

In responding to a toast to the navy Lt.-Cmdr. L. C. Audette said that the navy is a force difficult to describe or define, and different from any other main source. It is made up, he said, of human beings and ships, and the close life of a sailor on board ship creates something of a communal spirit not found elsewhere. The sailor on a battleship knows that the safety of his comrades and his ship against the twin hostile forces of sea and enemy lays a great responsibility on every man, for even a minor carelessness may mean disaster. If this spirit of the navy could be carried to the world courts, many of our problems would soon be solved. At the same time a condition of responsibility that otherwise would be unendurable is allayed by the fact that the captain knows every man's heart and body is given to the task in hand.

The ship is a part of himself, and can be in no way injured without each man feeling it, until a man's ship seems for him to possess a soul of which he is a part. "This", he said in conclusion, "is the creed of the navy."

Recalls Old Family

Dr. S. J. McNally of Campbell's Bay, who is 86 years of age, and has known the Reid family in Portage du Fort for three generations told of the stalwart grandfather of the vice-admiral who carved out the largest mercantile business of the day in the country. He said this was taken over by his son, and continued with great success; and it was from such pioneer ancestry with their determination, loyalty and perseverance that there came a product in their son the vice-admiral. He gave a vivid picture of the admiral in his teens entering the navy, playing an admirable part in the First World War.

He told of his service on destroyer and later on the famous battleship "Warspite," and how in the Second War he became Flag-Officer of the Newfoundland Force. For his services he was honored by the King who made him a companion of the Order of the Bath; and now he was Chief of Staff for the Canadian Navy: "Canada is proud of him," he said, "and his friends in Pontiac are enthusiastic over his fine service and high attainments."

Vice-Admiral Reid replied briefly, but with deep feeling. He felt that in this gathering of his friends he had been done the highest honor of his career and and met so many old friends that the banquet was like an Old Home Night.

No Future Worry

He declared that, as he thought of how well boys from all parts of Canada had served in the navy, Canada need not worry about her future, but would with such youths carve out a high place in the world. He declared our navy must be strengthened, and the extent of this re-enforcement could be judged by the fact that United States, with twelve times our population is planning on a navy of 500,000 men.

He thanked his friends for their kind welcome and regretted that his mother was unable to be present to see the honor he had received.

Others who spoke included Mayor Hugh Proudfoot of Fort Coulonge who proposed a toast to the ladies and Miss Abbie Pritchard, president of Pontiac County Women's Institutes, who fittingly replied; E. C. Lawn, MLA who spoke in high terms of the County of Pontiac, its resources and its fine service in the war; Alphonse Martineau, of the Superior Court of Pontiac, who congratulated the vice-admiral on the high honor he had so gallantly won for himself and his county and R. P. Bedes of Shawville who spoke of the growth of the Canadian Navy from a neglected child on the doorstep of the political parties until now it was an institution vital to Canadian safety.

He declared that this growth was in no small part due to the ability and talents of such men as our honored native son of Portage du Fort.

During the evening music was furnished by an Ottawa orchestra, and solos were sung by John Grace and Allan Martin of Ottawa and Joseph Russell of Montreal.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C 274004

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject

Advises Canadians Be Military-Wise

EDMONTON, Nov. 20—(CP)—Maj.-Gen. E. G. Weeks, adjutant-general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today that it would be wise for Canadians to maintain an interest in military affairs because if war should come again, it might come with great suddenness to Canadians.

Gen. Weeks, in Edmonton visiting western army command officers, said the Canadian Army at present has an active strength of 25,000 with reserve forces totalling 15,000. He added the army plans an educational campaign to explain to taxpayers the necessity for maintaining Canada's military strength.

Early next year an extensive recruiting campaign would be launched.

He said the army plans the bulk of the large funds from canteens and regimental mess surpluses shall go into an army benevolent fund. Such a fund should be on a 75-year self-liquidating basis in order that veterans who built it up will benefit from it.

He added the army plan is only one of several being considered. Any plan would have to be ratified by Parliament before being put into effect.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C 274004

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject

Advises Canadians Be Military-Wise

EDMONTON, Nov. 20—(CP)—Maj.-Gen. E. G. Weeks, adjutant-general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today that it would be wise for Canadians to maintain an interest in military affairs because if war should come again, it might come with great suddenness to Canadians.

Gen. Weeks, in Edmonton visiting western army command officers, said the Canadian Army at present has an active strength of 25,000 with reserve forces totalling 18,000. He added the army plans an educational campaign to explain to taxpayers the necessity for maintaining Canada's military strength.

Early next year an extensive recruiting campaign would be launched.

He said the army plans the bulk of the large funds from canteens and regimental mess surpluses shall go into an army benevolent fund. Such a fund should be on a 75-year self-liquidating basis in order that veterans who built it up will benefit from it.

He added the army plan is only one of several being considered. Any plan would have to be ratified by Parliament before being put into effect.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPING No. 274005

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject Re purchase of Regina Armoury

To Intensify Army Recruiting

EDMONTON, Nov. 20. — (CP) — More intensive efforts will be made in the new year to increase army recruitment with special attention being drawn to career possibilities for young men. Major Gen. E. G. Weeks of Ottawa, adjutant general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today. The officer said he is making a Western trip to confer with general and district officers commanding on various problems. He conferred with Major Gen. F. F. Worthington, general officer commanding Western Army Command.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPING No. 274005

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date November 21, 1946.

Subject H. Lumbers Defeat.

Weekly

To Intensify Army Recruiting

EDMONTON, Nov. 20. — (CP) — More intensive efforts will be made in the new year to increase army recruitment with special attention being drawn to career possibilities for young men, Major Gen. E. G. Weeks of Ottawa, adjutant general of the Canadian Army, said in an interview here today. The officer said he is making a Western trip to confer with general and district officers commanding on various problems. He conferred with Major Gen. F. F. Worthington, general officer commanding Western Army Command.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date November 23, 1946.

Subject

Blunt Warning On Effect Of Atomic Attack

Canada Must Be Ready Defence Group Told

A blunt warning that Canadian cities will be destroyed and thousands of Canadians killed in attacks by the dreaded atomic bomb in the next war was sounded Friday by Dr. O. M. Solandt of Toronto, youthful director-general of defence research for the armed forces.

Calling for the elimination of war as the only defence against the atomic bomb, Dr. Solandt said Canadians "must face the fact that should there be another war we will be bombed and that people will be killed."

Dr. Solandt spoke before members of the Defence Medical Association of Canada, the physicians who in such an attack would have the task of seeking to save the thousands who would be burned and scarred. The meeting was held in the Chateau Laurier.

Must Be Ready

Dr. Solandt stressed he was not suggesting that "we are going to be bombed immediately" but that he did want to warn that "war is possible and we must be ready for war."

He added:—

"Much has been written about Canada's immunity to attack in the next war being reduced; that an attack on this country is certain. We must be prepared for such attacks and we must face the fact that in another war we will be bombed and people killed.

"We must make sure that such attacks will not demoralize the country and that we will keep our eye on the ball. We must make sure that we are able to put up an effective fight against the attack."

Best Defence Ending War

Dr. Solandt said the "only possible defence" against either atomic and biological warfare was to stop war. There was no doubt that "we could fight it and probably win" but there would be "terrible destruction." The best defence would be to try to stop war itself.

He told of the results of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, where thousands were burned to death in the sudden, searing blast and other thousands died later from the penetrating gamma rays, and said that a similar bomb would cause only "slightly lower" casualties in a typical Canadian city.

In round figures, 50,000 Canadians would be killed in such an attack while another 50,000 would require prolonged treatment. A "great many others" would need first aid treatment.

That typical Canadian city also would suffer the destruction of 3,000 houses while 35,000 would require extensive repairs. Another 40,000 to 50,000 houses would be uninhabitable for a short period. The effect of such an attack in the dead of a Canadian winter could well be imagined.

Dr. Solandt was introduced by Maj.-Gen. C. P. Fenwick, executive member of the association and the chairman, Brig. C. A. Rae expressed the thanks and appreciation of those present, for his address.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274006

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date November 23, 1946.

Subject

Blunt Warning On Effect Of Atomic Attack

Canada Must Be Ready Defence Group Told

A blunt warning that Canadian cities will be destroyed and thousands of Canadians killed in attacks by the dreaded atomic bomb in the next war was sounded Friday by Dr. O. M. Solandt of Toronto, youthful director-general of defence research for the armed forces.

Calling for the elimination of war as the only defence against the atomic bomb, Dr. Solandt said Canadians "must face the fact that should there be another war we will be bombed and that people will be killed."

Dr. Solandt spoke before members of the Defence Medical Association of Canada, the physicians who in such an attack would have the task of seeking to save the thousands who would be burned and scarred. The meeting was held in the Chateau Laurier.

Must Be Ready

Dr. Solandt stressed he was not suggesting that "we are going to be bombed immediately" but that he did want to warn that "war is possible and we must be ready for war."

He added:—

"Much has been written about Canada's immunity to attack in the next war being reduced, that an attack on this country is certain. We must be prepared for such attacks and we must face the fact that in another war we will be bombed and people killed.

"We must make sure that such attacks will not demoralize the country and that we will keep our eye on the ball. We must make sure that we are able to put up an effective fight against the attack."

Best Defence Ending War

Dr. Solandt said the "only possible defence" against either atomic and biological warfare was to stop war. There was no doubt that "we could fight it and probably win" but there would be "terrible destruction." The best defence would be to try to stop war itself.

He told of the results of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, where thousands were burned to death in the sudden, searing blast and other thousands died later from the penetrating gamma rays, and said that a similar bomb would cause only "slightly lower" casualties in a typical Canadian city.

In round figures, 50,000 Canadians would be killed in such an attack while another 50,000 would require prolonged treatment. A "great many others" would need first aid treatment.

That typical Canadian city also would suffer the destruction of 3,000 houses while 35,000 would require extensive repairs. Another 40,000 to 50,000 houses would be uninhabitable for a short period. The effect of such an attack in the dead of a Canadian winter could well be imagined.

Dr. Solandt was introduced by Maj.-Gen. C. F. Fenwick, executive member of the association and the chairman, Brig. C. A. [illegible] expressed the thanks and appreciation of those present, for his address.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C 27:007

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Ottawa, September 9th, 1946.

TOP SECRET

Notes re conversation at Laurier House today Monday, September 9th, between the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Montgomery, Lieutenant General Foulkes, and the Minister of National Defence.

Field Marshal Montgomery stopped over in Ottawa on his flight from Winnipeg to Quebec, and visited the Prime Minister at Laurier House for about an hour. During this stop over C.G.S. and I were present and the Field Marshal discussed with the Prime Minister various matters which he had gone over with C.G.S. and myself in conversations during his previous visit to Ottawa a week or ten days ago.

He outlined in general terms his views as to the possibilities and probabilities of a war, and expressed the firm conviction that the only possible enemy against whom we must prepare in the foreseeable future was Russia and stated he considered that there was no possibility of Russia attempting to invade the North American Continent at any time during the next fifteen years, but that she might attempt air raids either direct or from a base, or bases, established in the Arctic Islands. He felt that if war came the attack would fall on Western Europe and on the British Isles, and possibly down through the Middle East.

He stressed his view that there should be the closest possible collaboration between the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. He expressed himself as strongly in favour of standardization of weapons and manufacturing techniques, and stated that he proposed to take this matter up with the President and with General Eisenhower in Washington during the next few days. He expressed the view that if approval in principle of such standardization were indicated at a high Government level the details and further working out of specific plans could be arrived at by round-table conferences at the official level.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

His thought was that there should be frequent round-table discussions between the Military experts of the three countries going on almost continously but with no publicity so far as the outside world was concerned. The Prime Minister, C.G.S., and I intimated that we were in complete sympathy with any steps that could be taken to further a standardization of equipment between the three countries, andthe closest possible collaboration and exchange of information in defence matters.

Concerning proposals for defence of the North American continent against attack through the Arctic regions, the Field Marshal expressed the view that this could best be achieved by a suitable series of air warning stations in the far Northern areas. He agreed that such stations should be under Canadian control and also expressed the view that the cost and expense should be shared by all the other parties who would benefit.

Other matters discussed included the importance in any future war of the use of bacteriological and atomic weapons.

The matter of the employment of Lietuenant General Simonds was discussed and the Prime Minister expressed his agreement in thesuggested plan whereby General Simonds would be loaned to the British Army as an instructor at the Imperial Defence College in exchange for Major General Whiteley, who would be loaned to Canada for instruction at the Staff College at Kingston.

D. C. A.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET.

NOTES ON CONFERENCE
PRIME MINISTER - FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY

C 274009

Informal talks held on 9 Sep 46 between Prime Minister, Field Marshal Montgomery, Minister of National Defence and Chief of the General Staff.

1. The Field Marshal had a private talk with the Prime Minister, followed later by informal talks attended by the Minister of National Defence and Chief of the General Staff.

2. The Field Marshal outlined the situation, as he saw it, in Europe today. He took a very grave view of the Russian attitude towards world peace, and he felt that no matter how much we desired world peace there was no doubt we should be prepared for another war with a period of between ten and fifteen years. He went on to describe the general situation, including the effect of atomic weapons, biological warfare, gas, etc. The Field Marshal stated that it would be unsound to assume that because gas and bacteriological warfare were not used in the last war they would not re-appear on the battle field in future. He emphasized that the Germans had two new gases which were tasteless, had no smell, but were very lethal. These were ready for use in the last year of the war. They were not used because the Germans felt that we had a much better weapon, which we had not. They were busy experimenting on the best methods of delivering these gases and had filled a certain number of shells and cluster-bombs when the war ended.

These gases are now in our possession, but it is altogether likely that they are also in the possession of the Russians. Our respirators are proof against these gases, but since there is no way of detecting their presence protection against these gases is still very nebulous.

As far as bacteriological warfare is concerned the Field Marshal considered this to be one of the weapons of the future. He emphasized that a great deal had been done during the war, jointly and separately by the three countries. They had developed in England a great deal on Malta fever, Anthrax and paralysis. He also referred to the work that had been done in Canada and the United States leading to the discovery of the antidote for Rinderpest. He pointed out that in his opinion this weapon could be used against the civilian population even before the Military forces had got in contact. He suggested that it was a weapon that could be used at varying degrees to must make people ill, or if required, to do them in completely. He stressed that this was a field in which we all must work together, not only to provide means of defensive warfare but for immunizing the population. He stated that he thought the time had now come when we could no longer drift along patting

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

each other on the back, but that the United States, Great Britain and Canada had to get together around the table to plan how they would deal with this next business, if and when it should happen.

3. If this could be accomplished, he had very few fears for the future, but without this common understanding, without this exchange of ideas and careful planning, he felt that there were grave difficulties.

4. He asserted that if the Leaders of State, such as Mr. Attlee, Minister for Defence, Mr. Truman, Commander-in-Chief American Forces, and the Canadian Prime Minister and Defence Minister could give approval for this general expression and exchange of views, the soldiers could work the thing out very easily. He further emphasised that it was not only necessary to standardize on equipment, but on the stratgical concept of the plans for the future. He emphasized that the English speaking nations were well placed in the world to deal with the Russian threat.

5. He then went on to elaborate on what he expects from the United States. He mentioned specially the oil situation, which he viewed as serious. He emphasized that the bulk of oil supplies for the United Kingdom come from Southern Persia and Iraq, part of these, at least, are now under Soviet influence. He mentioned that Great Britain was developing new oil fields in Southern Arabia, but the would not be ready for ten years. He stated it was essential now to know if the Americans would support Great Britain in protecting the oil fields of Southern Persia and Iraq.

6. He was going to find this out when he was down in Washington. There was considerable talk regarding the American view to such an approach. It was generally felt that the Americans were just as alive to this serious sitation as we were, but it was felt that the Americans would do nothing to weaken the position of the U.N.O. However, both the Prime Minister and the Field Marshal expressed grave doubts as to whether anything could be accomplished at the UNO as long as the power of veto existed.

7. The Field Marshal then gave the picture of the way he saw the new conflict taking place. He was quite sure that it would be fought in Europe, and that the Russians intended to get their satellite nations in line, to infiltrate throughout all the countries of Europe and the Middle East, with agents to prepare the way for the future conflict. He saw the conflict beginning with a very vigorous attack on Great Britain by guided missiles

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET
C274011

and atomic weapons, and a great surge forward in Europe. This surge forward might reach the channel coasts very quickly. He mentioned that if it was to happen now there was nothing there to stop it. He saw the Middle East, Persia and Iraq being quickly overrun. He emphasized the necessity of holding the Middle East, Palestine, Egypt and the Sudan, of establishing there within the next short period large airfields to accommodate large airforces in case of the conflict. He felt that the main effort in the early stages would be from the Middle East and he hoped that the American Air Forces would be available from the outset to destroy the Russian oil resources around the Caspian, and particularly around Baku, and to harass the precarious lines of communication through the Caucasus towards Persia. He expressed the wiew that he hoped the Americans and Canadians would not be held in their respective countries, but would be prepared to aid Great Britain at the outset.

The Field Marshal asked the Prime Minister whether he agreed with this general policy of close collaboration. The Prime Minister replied "of course I agree on standardization".

8. . The Prime Minister asked the question as to whether there was not any other way out of this situation of competitive armament. He recalled that after the War of 1812 both the United States and Canada commenced competitive armament, on the Great Lakes. Both countries saw the folly in this and as a result of the Rush-Bagot Treaty both countries agreed to have no warships whatsoever on the Great Lakes. The Prime Minister wondered why this could not be done with Russia and the United States. The Field Marhsla's reply was, "Neither country would trust the other, and no one knows what goes on behind the iron curtain".

9. The Prime Minister then referred to the espionage case and he suggested that the Field Marshal should read a copy of the report. I have undertaken to have a copy of the report delivered to the Field Marshal in London.

10. The conversation then turned to standardization, which was dealt with rather rapidly. The Prime Minister confirmed our views that Canada favoured standardization, and would go to any limit to bring about standardization between the three countries. He pointed out that both Churchill and Roosevelt had talked about this many time throughout the war. It was agreed that no formal approach would be made, but that an informal approach could be made to the Americans and that the Field Marshal could say that Canada was in complete agreement to this approach.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

11. The question of security in regard to these talks on standardization was then discussed, and the Field Marshal asked if the Prime Minister would be agreeable to these meetings being held in Ottawa, if desired by the Americans. The Prime Minister asked to be allowed to think that one over. I interjected that these meetings could be held quite easily under the aegis of our present organization in Washington, i.e., the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Canadian Staff Mission, or they might be held on rotation similar to the meetings of the Canadian Defence Board.

12. The question of the joint American-Canadian Defence Plan was discussed. The Field Marshal reiterated his view that an adequate Air Defence Scheme, well up in the Arctic, was essential so as to prevent the odd raid interfering with the preparations of Canada and America to come to Great Britain's aid. The Field Marshal pointed out that invasion of Canada was not feasible for many years to come. The Prime Minister then interjected that he would like to know whether, in the Field Marshal's view, it was feasible for this country to be invaded by air forces, and that in the next ten or fifteen years air forces may have so progressed that invasion of this country by air was a feasible proposal. The Field Marshal replied that in his opinion the question of invasion by air was not on; that invasion could only be feasible when an adequate supply and maintenance plan could be worked out. This was not feasible in the Canadian North, especially if we refrain from building large air fields which could be used by the enemy in that area. In other words, he considered that the inaccessability of our Canadian North is our best defence. He did, however, consider that raids were possible and in order to carry out these raids, either by guided missiles or by aircraft, that the enemy may attempt to established bases in the Canadian Arctic and we therefore must be in a position to reject anyone attempting to establish a base in the Canadian Arctic. The question of establishing an Air Defence Scheme was discussed, and it was emphasized by the Field Marshal that he considered Canada's sovereignty should be maintained. The Field Marshal appeared to have a rather loose apprecation of the Canadian fianancial position, and, as the Prime Minister pointed out, all development in the Canadian North was frightfully expensive, and he also explained the difficulty of securing large appropriations from Parliament for this purpose without disclosing the reason these appropriations were necessary. The Field Marhsl made the remark that he thought Canada was a very rich country and not groaning under a burden of taxation like the Englishmen.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TOP SECRET 274013

However, the Prime Minister mentioned that the people of Canada were not "Defence Minded" at the moment, and were demanding Social reforms which were costing the country a great deal of money. The Field Marshal ended up by again offering the warning that we should not become too "static defence minded", and we should not allow these preparations to prevent spasmodic raids on this country, to interfere with the main object of being able to defeat the Russians in Europe.

The conversation then switched to the urgency for liaison now that Canadian Military Headquarters in London was closing down. It was more or less agreed that a liaison mission would be established in London in which the Head of the mission could deal with the British Chiefs of Staff on a liaison level only. Question of policy must continue to be decided by the Government.

13. The Simonds-Whiteley exchange was agreed to as part of the common policy of exchanging officers on all levels between the two countries. Details were left to be worked out by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and Chief of the Canadian General Staff.

Charles Foulkes,
Lieut. General.

10 Sep 46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Wednesday, September 4, 1946

Non remis
à Canada Steamships

"I then put in a call for the G.G. who is at the Citadel. Asked for his secretary and said that I wanted to have a word with His Excellency. I then sent for Wrong who was a few minutes in coming in. In the meantime, the ticker had recorded a statement which had come from Moscow to the effect that Montgomery's visit to Canada and his speeches; the presence of Alexander as G.G. and other matters; defence of the North, etc., made it apparent that Canada was getting ready for offensive operations against Russia or something to this effect. That Russia would have to take immediate steps to fortify her position along the frontier of the Dominion. This apparently was the outcome of the visit of Molotov to Stalin. "

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

A43

C 274015

ATTN OTT

LONDON, SEPT. 4-(REUTERS)-MOSCOW RADIO IN A REPORT TODAY ON FIELD MARSHAL LORD MONTGOMERY'S CANADIAN TOUR SAID:

"THE CHARACTER OF STATEMENTS MADE BY MONTGOMERY IN CANADA CLEARLY SHOWS THE TOUR HAS MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE--AND THIS IS ALSO EVIDENT FROM THE PLACES HE HAS VISITED.

"HIS MESSAGE TO THE CANADIANS WAS: 'IF YOU WANT PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR'.

"IT IS THE OPINION OF MANY CORRESPONDENTS THAT THE VISIT SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN THE LIGHT OF THE STRATEGIC PROBLEM OF CANADA'S ARCTIC FRONTIER AND CANADA'S PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE WAR.

"CANADIAN PAPERS HAVE COMMENTED THAT IN THE LIGHT OF MONTGOMERY'S SPEECHES IT IS OBVIOUS CANADA IS TAKING SERIOUS MEASURES IN THOSE AREAS LYING OPPOSITE HER 'NORTHERN NEIGHBOR', BUT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THIS 'NEIGHBOR' THAT THESE MEASURES ARE 'INNOCENT' AND HENCE IT MUST SURPRISE NO ONE 'IF THAT NEIGHBOR TAKES COUNTER MEASURES.'"

DD824A

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4PN27 Sept 4 11.30 am C 274016

WITH MONTY

LONDON--MOSCOW RADIO CHARGED TODAY THAT THE TOUR OF FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY THROUGH CANADA HAS MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE. IN A BROADCAST PICKED UP IN LONDON BY REUTERS, THE SOVIET RADIO WARNED THAT RUSSIA MIGHT TAKE "COUNTER MEASURES" IN AREAS CLOSEST TO CANADA."

SAID RADIO MOSCOW: "THE CHARACTER OF STATEMENTS MADE BY MONTGOMERY IN CANADA CLEARLY SHOWS THE TOUR HAS MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE --AND THIS IS ALSO EVIDENT FROM THE PLACES HE HAS VISITED."

IT ADDED: "HIS MESSAGE TO THE CANADIANS WAS--"IF YOU WANT PEACE, PREPARE FOR WAR."

MOSCOW RADIO SAID THAT MANY CORRESPONDENTS FELT THAT MONTGOMERY'S CANADIAN VISIT SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN THE LIGHT OF THE STRATEGIC PROBLEM OF CANADA'S ARCTIC FRONTIER, AND CANADA'S PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE WAR.

CANADIAN PAPERS, SAID THE SOVIET BROADCASTER, HAVE COMMENTED THAT IT IS OBVIOUS FROM MONTGOMERY'S SPEECHES THAT CANADA IS TAKING "SERIOUS MEASURES" IN AREAS LYING OPPOSITE HR "NORTHERN NEIGHBOR." HE ADDED THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THIS "NEIGHBOR" THAT THESE MEASURES ARE INNOCENT. HENCE, THE BROADCASTER CONCLUDED, IT MUST SURPRISE NO ONE IF THAT NEIGHBOR TAKES COUNTER MEASURES.

PK848AED

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C 274017

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Journal

Date Sep 4/46

Subject

Moscow Quotes Ottawa Newspaper And 'Next War'

LONDON, Sept. 4.—(BUP)—The Moscow radio today linked the Canadian visit of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery with Canadian military moves in the Arctic and preparations "for the next war".

Stressing the military significance of Montgomery's tour, the Moscow broadcast quoted an editorial comment by the Ottawa Citizen about Canadian defence plans in the Far North.

The broadcast said, "the paper writes that it will, however, be difficult to convince Canada's nearest neighbor, the Soviet Union, that Canada's preparations on the northern front are harmless. It will not be surprising, therefore, if the Soviet Union takes counter-measures with its defences".

Radio Moscow stated that in the opinion of several correspondents Montgomery's visit to Canada was "closely connected with defence of the Canadian Arctic region and with problems of converting her equipment and preparing Canada for the next war".

According to press reports, the Moscow broadcast said, Montgomery has stressed the military significance of his visit and urged good leadership, unity and strength in solving world problems. It added:

"At a dinner in Ottawa, Montgomery spoke of the possibility of a new war, insisting on the necessity of keeping the armed forces in readiness . . . Montgomery stated that by being ready for war, the British Commonwealth of Nations may safely face the future."

(Document)
11

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C 274017

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Journal

Date Sep 4/46

Subject

Moscow Quotes Ottawa Newspaper And 'Next War'

LONDON, Sept. 4.—(BUP)—The Moscow radio today linked the Canadian visit of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery with Canadian military moves in the Arctic and preparations "for the next war".

Stressing the military significance of Montgomery's tour, the Moscow broadcast quoted an editorial comment by the Ottawa Citizen about Canadian defence plans in the Far North.

The broadcast said, "the paper writes that it will, however, be difficult to convince Canada's nearest neighbor, the Soviet Union, that Canada's preparations on the northern front are harmless. It will not be surprising, therefore, if the Soviet Union takes counter-measures with its defences".

Radio Moscow stated that in the opinion of several correspondents Montgomery's visit to Canada was "closely connected with defence of the Canadian Arctic region and with problems of converting her equipment and preparing Canada for the next war"

According to press reports, the Moscow broadcast said, Montgomery has stressed the military significance of his visit and urged good leadership, unity and strength in solving world problems. It added:

"At a dinner in Ottawa, Montgomery spoke of the possibility of a new war, insisting on the necessity of keeping the armed forces in readiness . . . Montgomery stated that by being ready for war, the British Commonwealth of Nations may safely face the future."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C271018

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Sep 4/46

Subject

Moscow Sees "Monty" Visit Significant

Arctic Strategy Held as Behind Tour

LONDON, Sept. 4—(Reuters)—Moscow radio in a report today on Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour said:

"The character of statements made by Montgomery in Canada clearly shows the tour has military significance—and this is also evident from the places he has visited.

"His message to the Canadians was: 'If you want peace, prepare for war'.

"It is the opinion of many correspondents that the visit should be interpreted in the light of the strategic problem of Canada's Arctic frontier and Canada's preparation for a future war.

"Canadian papers have commented that in the light of Montgomery's speeches, it is obvious Canada is taking serious measures in those areas lying opposite her 'northern neighbor', but it will be difficult to convince this 'neighbor' that these measures are 'innocent', and hence it must surprise no one 'if that neighbor takes counter measures'."

No Comment Here

No comment was immediately available from government sources today on this London dispatch.

Defence Minister Abbott is out of town on a holiday and is not expected to return until next week.

However, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a press conference in Halifax Saturday on his arrival from the Paris peace conference that it would be a "great pity for people to imagine" that such events as Viscount Montgomery's visit or last winter's military operation Muskox had any "sinister significance."

He made the statement in reply to a reporter who asked if the visit of the chief of the Imperial General Staff or the experimental operation had any special significance from the standpoint of hemispheric defence.

"I invited the field marshal last year to come to Canada," replied Mr. King. "It hadn't any relationship to anything. As for Muskox, it was part of the general desire of the Defence Department to go on experimenting."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274018

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Sep 4/46

Subject

Moscow Sees "Monty" Visit Significant

Arctic Strategy Held as Behind Tour

LONDON, Sept. 4—(Reuters)—Moscow radio in a report today on Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour said:

"The character of statements made by Montgomery in Canada clearly shows the tour has military significance—and this is also evident from the places he has visited.

"His message to the Canadians was: 'If you want peace, prepare for war'.

"It is the opinion of many correspondents that the visit should be interpreted in the light of the strategic problem of Canada's Arctic frontier and Canada's preparation for a future war.

"Canadian papers have commented that in the light of Montgomery's speeches, it is obvious Canada is taking serious measures in those areas lying opposite her 'northern neighbor', but it will be difficult to convince this 'neighbor' that these measures are 'innocent', and hence it must surprise no one 'if that neighbor takes counter measures'."

No Comment Here

No comment was immediately available from government sources today on this London dispatch.

Defence Minister Abbott is out of town on a holiday and is not expected to return until next week.

However, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a press conference in Halifax Saturday on his arrival from the Paris peace conference that it would be a "great pity for people to imagine" that such events as Viscount Montgomery's visit or last winter's military operation Muskox had any "sinister significance."

He made the statement in reply to a reporter who asked if the visit of the chief of the Imperial General Staff or the experimental operation had any special significance from the standpoint of hemispheric defence.

"I invited the field marshal last year to come to Canada," replied Mr. King. "It hadn't any relationship to anything. As for Muskox, it was part of the general desire of the Defence Department to go on experimenting."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sept. 4/46

Subject

Moscow Sees Sinister Aim In Monty Trip

Ottawa Government Comment Withheld

OTTAWA, Sept. 4 — (C.P.) — No comment was immediately available from government sources today on a London dispatch which quoted the Moscow radio as saying Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour has "military significance."

Hon. Douglas Abbott, Defence Minister, is out of town on a holiday and is not expected to return until next week.

Premier Mackenzie King told a press conference in Halifax Saturday on his arrival from the Paris peace conference that it would be a "great pity for people to imagine" that such events as Viscount Montgomery's visit or last winter's military Operation Musk Ox had any "sinister significance."

He made the statement in reply to a reporter who asked if the visit of the chief of the Imperial General Staff or the experimental operations had any special significance from the standpoint of hemispheric defence.

"I invited the Field Marshal last year to come to Canada," replied Mr. King. "It hadn't any relationship to anything. As for Musk Ox, it was part of the general desire of the Defence Department to go on experimenting."

The Musk-Ox exercise was a 45-man expedition which made a 3,000-mile swing through Canada's northland to test the durability of equipment that might be used in the development of that part of the country.

Moscow Radio Sees Military Motives

LONDON, Sept. 4—(Reuters)—Moscow radio in a report today on Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour said:

"The character of statements made by Montgomery in Canada clearly shows the tour has military significance—and this is also evident from the places he has visited.

"His message to the Canadians was: 'If you want peace prepare for war.'

"It is the opinion of many correspondents that the visit should be interpreted in the light of the strategic problem of Canada's Arctic frontier and Canada's preparation for a future war.

"Canadian papers have commented that in the light of Montgomery's speeches it is obvious Canada is taking serious measures in those areas lying opposite her 'northern neighbor', but it will be difficult to convince this 'neighbor' that these measures are 'innocent' and hence it must surprise no one 'if that neighbor takes counter measures.'"

Monty Flies To Victoria, B.C.

CALGARY, Sept 4—(C.P.)—Flying over the Rockies to Victoria today, Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery was relaxing after an exhausting prairie tour yesterday that saw him responding to the cheers of Winnipeg, Regina and this city within a space of 10 hours and still with enough energy left to help in his own welcome arrangements here.

At Victoria the "Monty Flight" will have reached the western turning point of the 17-day tour. On the way back across Canada the famous soldier will stop at Vancouver, Jasper, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Quebec.

At Ottawa he will briefly see Premier Mackenzie King and at Quebec he will stay overnight with his famous war-time fellow soldier, Field Marshal Viscount Alexander, the Governor-General. Then he will go to West Point, N.Y. to meet General of the American Army Eisenhower.

Calls Out Orders

His hand in the welcoming ceremonies here occurred when an informal group of veterans in a legion hall all crowded around him to shake his hand. Monty started calling out orders with a smile and a wave and had them in a neat and tidy line in two shakes and had started a marathon handshake. Then he directed them to go to the back of the hall and find seats so that he could speak briefly to them.

He had looked at the great, golden wheat country he said and had found it a man's country and he told the sunburned wheat farmers wearing legion buttons that they were "men after me own heart." He uses the "me" instead of the "my" for emphasis as is the case with many Irishmen.

The reason the vets were men after his own heart was that they had come 10,000 miles to join his 8th Army in the Mediterranean theatre to fight for freedom and they "were real proper men."

Another feature of his stop here was his presentation to Capt. William J. McLeod, 24 year old armored corps officer, of a Military Cross the young officer had won for taking an enemy position at the risk of his own life in the April, 1945, fighting in Northwest Europe.

The special presentation was arranged because the Field Marshal in 1944, in presenting a Sam Browne belt to McLeod as the leading cadet at Sandhurst Military Academy had told him he hoped the next time they met he would be pinning a medal on him.

Lady Montgomery's Condition Unchanged

MOVILLE, County Donegal, Eire, Sept. 4—(C.P. Cable)—Lady Montgomery's condition was unchanged today. Last night attendants reported the 82-year-old mother of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery was "slightly improved." Lady Montgomery was taken ill at her home 11 days ago.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274019 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sept. 4/46

Subject

Moscow Sees Sinister Aim In Monty Trip

Ottawa Government Comment Withheld

OTTAWA, Sept. 4 — (C.P.) — No comment was immediately available from government sources today on a London dispatch which quoted the Moscow radio as saying Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour has "military significance."

Hon. Douglas Abbott, Defence Minister, is out of town on a holiday and is not expected to return until next week.

Premier Mackenzie King told a press conference in Halifax Saturday on his arrival from the Paris peace conference that it would be a "great pity for people to imagine" that such events as Viscount Montgomery's visit or last winter's military Operation Musk Ox had any "sinister significance."

He made the statement in reply to a reporter who asked if the visit of the chief of the Imperial General Staff or the experimental operations had any special significance from the standpoint of hemispheric defence.

"I invited the Field Marshal last year to come to Canada," replied Mr. King. "It hadn't any relationship to anything. As for Musk Ox, it was part of the general desire of the Defence Department to go on experimenting."

The Musk-Ox exercise was a 45-man expedition which made a 3,000-mile swing through Canada's northland to test the durability of equipment that might be used in the development of that part of the country.

Moscow Radio Sees Military Motives

LONDON, Sept. 4—(Reuters)—Moscow radio in a report today on Field Marshal Lord Montgomery's Canadian tour said:

"The character of statements made by Montgomery in Canada clearly shows the tour has military significance—and this is also evident from the places he has visited.

"His message to the Canadians was: 'If you want peace prepare for war.'

"It is the opinion of many correspondents that the visit should be interpreted in the light of the strategic problem of Canada's Arctic frontier and Canada's preparation for a future war.

"Canadian papers have commented that in the light of Montgomery's speeches it is obvious Canada is taking serious measures in those areas lying opposite her 'northern neighbor', but it will be difficult to convince this 'neighbor' that these measures are 'innocent' and hence it must surprise no one 'if that neighbor takes counter measures.'"

Monty Flies To Victoria, B.C.

CALGARY, Sept. 4—(C.P.)—Flying over the Rockies to Victoria today, Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery was relaxing after an exhausting prairie tour yesterday that saw him responding to the cheers of Winnipeg, Regina and this city within a space of 10 hours and still with enough energy left to help in his own welcome arrangements here.

At Victoria the "Monty Flight" will have reached the western turning point of the 17-day tour. On the way back across Canada the famous soldier will stop at Vancouver, Jasper, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Quebec.

At Ottawa he will briefly see Premier Mackenzie King and at Quebec he will stay overnight with his famous war-time fellow soldier, Field Marshal Viscount Alexander, the Governor-General. Then he will go to West Point, N.Y. to meet General of the American Army Eisenhower.

Calls Out Orders

His hand in the welcoming ceremonies here occurred when an informal group of veterans in a legion hall all crowded around him to shake his hand. Monty started calling out orders with a smile and a wave and had them in a neat and tidy line in two shakes and had started a marathon handshake. Then he directed them to go to the back of the hall and find seats so that he could speak briefly to them.

He had looked at the great, golden wheat country he said and had found it a man's country and he told the sunburned wheat farmers wearing legion buttons that they were "men after me own heart." He uses the "me" instead of the "my" for emphasis as is the case with many Irishmen.

The reason the vets were men after his own heart was that they had come 10,000 miles to join his 8th Army in the Mediterranean theatre to fight for freedom and they "were real proper men."

Another feature of his stop here was his presentation to Capt. William J. McLeod, 24 year old armored corps officer, of a Military Cross the young officer had won for taking an enemy position at the risk of his own life in the April, 1945, fighting in Northwest Europe.

The special presentation was arranged because the Field Marshal in 1944, in presenting a Sam Browne belt to McLeod as the leading cadet at Sandhurst Military Academy had told him he hoped the next time they met he would be pinning a medal on him.

Lady Montgomery's Condition Unchanged

MOVILLE, County Donegal, Eire, Sept. 4—(C.P. Cable)—Lady Montgomery's condition was unchanged today. Last night attendants reported the 82-year-old mother of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery was "slightly improved." Lady Montgomery was taken ill at her home 11 days ago.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name of Publication

Date NOV 21 1946

Subject

MOLOTOV SHIES AT U.S. QUERY

Hedges on Giving All Facts on Troops at Home and Abroad

Lake Success, N.Y., November 20. —(CP)—Russia today shied away from a United States proposal that Allied Powers reveal complete data on existing armed forces at home and abroad.

Foreign Minister Molotov offered the United Nations political committee a resolution calling for publication of such information on forces stationed away from home.

But he said the more sweeping proposal of the United States, covering forces anywhere, could be left to the forthcoming consideration of a world arms reduction program.

Mr. Molotov's resolution went a bit farther than the original Russian resolution rejected by the Security Council earlier this year—calling for information on Allied forces on alien, non-enemy soil.

At the suggestion of the United States today's resolution was enlarged to cover troops and bases maintained in any alien country.

In a speech milder than has come to be expected from the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov nevertheless plainly implied that Russia believed the existence of United States and British forces abroad was for no good purpose.

And he commented in passing that the United States was showing considerable interest in the Arctic.

After a long review of the troop dispositions, Mr. Molotov put the following resolution before the committee:

"The General Assembly recommends to the Security Council to take a decision to the effect that states-members of the United Nations organization should submit the following information to the secretary-general and to the Security Council within a month:

"1. At what points in the territory of members of the United Nations or other states with the exception of former enemy territories and in what number are armed forces of other members of the United Nations.

"2. At what points in the former enemy states and in what number are armed forces of the Allied powers and other members of the United Nations.

"3. At what points in the above-mentioned territories are air and naval bases and what is the size of their garrisons belonging to the armed forces of states members of the United Nations.

"The information to be provided under paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 should refer to the situation as it existed on November 1, 1946."

Senator Tom Connally (Dem.-Texas) was quick to deny that United States troops anywhere were a threat to any peaceful people or country.

He said facts on United States dispositions were available and would be provided readily. "We should all lay our cards on the table," he said. The resolution should cover all troops at home and abroad.

The United States had 5,000,000 troops abroad when the fighting ended and at present the total abroad was 800,000. Senator Connally said.

Mr. Molotov sat listening intently to his interpreter's running account of the American speech but made no attempt to reply.

Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary in New York for the Council of Foreign Ministers, is expected to reply in the morning, after considering the complete translation of the Molotov speech.

Meanwhile, Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent U.N. delegate from Britain, said he was not prepared to speak but wondered just what purpose Mr. Molotov hoped to achieve by his resolution.

Other committees made little headway today and officials of the secretariat said that unless there was an extraordinary burst of speed within the next fortnight there was no possibility of finishing by the deadline set for December 11, without postponing many important items on the agenda.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274020 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date NOV 21 1946

Subject

MOLOTOV SHIES AT U.S. QUERY

Hedges on Giving All Facts on Troops at Home and Abroad

Lake Success, N.Y., November 20. —(AP)—Russia today shied away from a United States proposal that Allied Powers reveal complete data on existing armed forces at home and abroad.

Foreign Minister Molotov offered the United Nations political committee a resolution calling for publication of such information on forces stationed away from home.

But he said the more sweeping proposal of the United States, covering forces anywhere, could be left to the forthcoming consideration of a world arms reduction program.

Mr. Molotov's resolution went a bit farther than the original Russian resolution rejected by the Security Council earlier this year—calling for information on Allied forces on alien, non-enemy soil.

At the suggestion of the United States today's resolution was enlarged to cover troops and bases maintained in any alien country.

In a speech milder than has come to be expected from the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov nevertheless plainly implied that Russia believed the existence of United States and British forces abroad was for no good purpose.

And he commented in passing that the United States was showing considerable interest in the Arctic.

After a long review of the troop dispositions, Mr. Molotov put the following resolution before the committee:

"The General Assembly recommends to the Security Council to take a decision to the effect that states-members of the United Nations organization should submit the following information to the secretary-general and to the Security Council within a month:

"1. At what points in the territory of members of the United Nations or other states with the exception of former enemy territories and in what number are armed forces of other members of the United Nations.

"2. At what points in the former enemy states and in what number are armed forces of the Allied powers and other members of the United Nations.

"3. At what points in the above-mentioned territories are air and naval bases and what is the size of their garrisons belonging to the armed forces of states-members of the United Nations.

"The information to be provided under paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 should refer to the situation as it existed on November 1, 1946."

Senator Tom Connally (Dem.-Texas) was quick to deny that United States troops anywhere were a threat to any peaceful people or country.

He said facts on United States dispositions were available and would be provided readily. "We should all lay our cards on the table," he said. The resolution should cover all troops at home and abroad.

The United States had 5,000,000 troops abroad when the fighting ended and at present the total abroad was 800,000, Senator Connally said.

Mr. Molotov sat listening intently to his interpreter's running account of the American speech but made no attempt to reply.

Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary in New York for the Council of Foreign Ministers, is expected to reply in the morning, after considering the complete translation of the Molotov speech.

Meanwhile, Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent U.N. delegate from Britain, said he was not prepared to speak but wondered just what purpose Mr. Molotov hoped to achieve by his resolution.

Other committees made little headway today and officials of the secretariat said that unless there was an extraordinary burst of speed within the next fortnight there was no possibility of finishing by the deadline set for December 11, without postponing many important items on the agenda.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Épreuve illisible

C 274020A

"G"

Montgomery Visit to Canada

U.S.S.R. Reactions.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274021

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET MOSCOW, January 11th, 1947.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 10

No. 10. January 11th. Secret. Visit of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery.

2. British feel visit was a great success. Field Marshal is first foreigner to visit all military academies. All his questions were answered frankly and even latest Soviet tank shown him.

3. In talks with Vasilevsky, Field Marshal denied Britain had a military treaty with United States of America or any kind of agreement for standardization of arms or training. When Vasilevsky asked about Combined Chiefs of Staff, Montgomery said it would be dissolved as soon as questions it still had to relegate, such as joint occupation of Italy, were settled. According to United Kingdom Ambassador, Molotov later suggested to him that Control Council for Italy be abolished.

4. Field Marshal invited Soviet Army to exchange officers with British Army. Vasilevsky delayed answering, but Stalin in last night's interview said he thought suggestion was premature.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Sent 4:25 p.m.
Rec'd 2:25 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

ON HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE

C274022

Via Mr. Boyce

Dr. J.A. Gibson,
Laurier House

FROM THE
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA, CANADA

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 389, pages C273027-C274022

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 390

Pages C274023-C274736

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274023

THE RYERSON PRESS,
299 Queen Street West,
Toronto 2-b, Canada.

Please send the following books:

_____ copies of AT THE LONG SAULT, Lampman, @ $1.29, postage .06¢
_____ copies of BABY BONUSES: Whitton @ .10¢, postage .2¢
_____ copies of CANADA AND WORLD SECURITY, Price @ .10¢, postage .02¢
_____ copies of CANADA AND THE WORLD TOMORROW, Anderson @ .39¢, postage .06¢
_____ copies of CIVVY STREET, Williamson @ .10¢, postage .01¢
_____ copies of COLLECTED POEMS, Scott, @ .49, postage .13¢
_____ copies of COOPERATION FOR WHAT? Scott, @ .15¢, postage .02
_____ copies of DOMINION PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, THE, Cohen @ .15, P...

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

ESPIONAGE

For other papers see Blue Report and 4 ring binders on Shelf 522
Tall Ring Binder on Shelf 526

C274024

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C74025

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

RE: Royal Commission of Enquiry into unauthorized disclosures of secret and confidential information:

I have, as you requested, made a chronology and commentary, which are included in the attached black cover, together with certain exhibits cited in the chronology.

I have added certain arguments along the lines you suggested; these appear at pp. 9 - 13.

W.L.M.K.

31 1 47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

J.A.G.
30.1.47

ESPIONAGE C274026

Royal Commission of Enquiry
into unauthorized disclosures of
secret and confidential information.

CHRONOLOGY AND COMMENTARY

1945

Sept.7 Disclosures by Igor Gousenko, attaché of Embassy of U.S.S.R. in Ottawa to Department of Justice, information examined by Department of Justice and R.C.M.P.

Oct.6 Order in Council P.C.6444 passed (under authority of War Measures Act) (EXHIBIT Y)

giving power to Acting Prime Minister or Minister of Justice ~~power~~ to issue order to interrogate or detain persons and to enter and search their premises, with a view to preventing

"any particular persons from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a foreign power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or to the safety of the state".

Between Oct.6 and Feb.5, 1946

the Government sought independent opinion from Mr. E. K. Williams, K.C. (then President of the Canadian Bar Association) as to proceedings consequent upon the certainty that secret and confidential information had been disclosed in unauthorized fashion to agents of a foreign power,

Mr. Williams recommended that full and complete enquiry should be undertaken by a Royal Commission appointed under Part 1 of the Inquiries Act.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1946

Feb.5 Order-in-Council P.C.411 passed appointing as Commissioners (EXHIBIT X)

Mr. Justice Robert Taschereau) of the Supreme
Mr. Justice R. L. Kellock) Court of Canada

to report on public officials and others in positions of trust communicating information inimical to the safety and interests of Canada to agents of a foreign power.

The powers given to the Commissioners under this Order were in substance those recommended by Mr. Williams, e.g. the

summoning of witnesses
hearing of evidence
production of papers

and in addition that the Commissioners might

"adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time."

The Commissioners subsequently retained as Counsel to the Royal Commission

Mr. E. K. Williams, K.C. of Winnipeg
Mr. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., of Montreal
Mr. D. W. Mundell, of the Dept. of Justice

Feb.15 In a statement to the press (EXHIBIT A)
5 hours after

the Prime Minister gave the first public intimation of events since the previous September

The statement made it clear

(a) that there had been disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1946

(b) that a Royal Commission had been appointed together with Counsel to the Commission (see above)

(c) that in view of the serious nature of the evidence already adduced, the Commissioners had recommended Counsel to apply to the Minister of Justice for orders for the detention and interrogation of a number of persons known or suspected to be implicated

(d) that after reports of the Commission had been received, prosecution would be instituted in cases where the evidence so warranted

(e) that the whole matter should be treated with caution and reserve until it were possible to issue a fuller statement

Feb. 23

The Counsel to the Royal Commission wrote to the Minister of Justice reporting

(a) that additional oral and documentary evidence placed before the Commissioners confirmed the serious nature of the disclosures on which orders for detention had been based

(b) Orders had so far been made under Order-in-Council PC 6444 (Exhibit Y) for the interrogation of 11 men and 2 women; further orders might be required for the interrogation of additional persons;

(c) "a great deal of evidence" had still to be placed before the Commissioners, and the reasons for proceeding in camera became more apparent every day

(d) though the Commissioners desired to make a report which would contain at least some of their findings, they felt the evidence had not yet advanced to a stage where an Interium Report should be made

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274028

1946

March 2	First Interim Report of Commission named 4 persons:	
	Mrs. Emma Woikin - since convicted	and sentenced to two-and-a-half years imprisonment, (plus six months for contempt of court)
	Capt. Gordon Lunan- " "	and sentenced to five years (appeal pending)
	Edward Wilfred Mazerall " "	and sentenced to four years (appeal dismissed)
	Miss Kathleen Mary Willsher " "	and sentenced to three years
March 14 (made public March 15)	Second Interim Report of Commission named 4 persons:	
	Dr. Raymond Boyer - proceedings pending	
	Harold Samuel Gerson - since convicted	and sentenced to five years - appeal pending
	S/L Matt Simons Nightingale - since acquitted	
	Dr. David Shugar - since acquitted	
March 12	Counsel to the Commission requested Hon. F.P.Brais, K.C., to furnish an opinion (see below under March 15)	(EXHIBIT B) Item 8
March 14	Statement in House of Commons by the Prime Minister (unrevised Hansard) p.3)	(EXHIBIT C)
	tabling certain documents	(EXHIBIT B)
	1. Statement of Feb.15, 1946 (Exhibit A)	
	2. Text of Order in Council PC 411 of Feb.5, 1946	(Exhibit X)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. Letter of Commission Counsel to Minister of Justice, Feb. 23, 1946

4. Text of Order in Council PC 6444 of October 6, 1945 (Exhibit Y)

5. First Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 2, 1946

March 14 — Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 14, 1946 (made public March 15) — (EXHIBIT B) Item 6

March 15 — Statement in House of Commons by the Prime Minister (unrevised Hansard, p.5) — (EXHIBIT D) (also Ex.B. item 7)

including

Letters of Counsel

a) to the Minister of Justice, March 14/46 (EXHIBIT B) Item 8

b) to Hon.F.P.Brais, K.C., to Commission Counsel, March 12, 1946

Commission Counsel reported to the Minister of Justice the gist of the evidence against Dr. Raymond Boyer which seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament

The Minister of Justice asked Commission Counsel

1) whether a Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act could be arrested either during the coming session or before the opening on March 14;

ii) whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a Warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain information.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

To these two questions, Commission Counsel replied:

i) Yes;

ii) It would not only be advisable, but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Mr. Brais' opinion confirmed these answers and set out the authorities on which the opinion was based.

1946

March 15. In this statement, the Prime Minister explained that on advice that the effective prosecution of Dr. Boyer required similar action in respect of

Fred Rose, then Member for Cartier

an appropriate information had been laid against Rose and a warrant for his arrest executed.

In this statement the Prime Minister also quoted from the concluding paragraph of the Second Interim Report regarding the length of time certain persons had been detained.

The point was, that as ramifications of unauthorized disclosures of information might be continuing through the organization constituting at least a threat to the safety and interests of the state, the Commissioners were of opinion that should the persons then detained "be allowed communication with outsiders or between themselves until their activities had been fully investigated, some of the basic purposes of this enquiry would be entirely defeated".

On the point whether persons still to be interrogated should not be detained because no charge had been laid against them, the Prime Minister said that the purpose of the interrogation was to see whether a charge should be laid. All who had been taken into custody had had an opportunity to appear, with counsel, before the Commissioners.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274032

1946

March 18. Statement by the Prime Minister in the debate on Address in Reply (Unrevised Hansard pp. 47-57; 58. EXHIBIT E.

This statement reviewed all developments from September, 1945, onward, including references to Prime Minister's visits to Washington and to the United Kingdom. EXHIBIT F.

March 29. Third Interim Report of the Royal Commission.

Commission named 5 persons:

Eric Adams (subsequently acquitted),

Israel Halperin (proceedings pending),

Durnford Smith, (subsequently convicted and sentenced to 5 years; appeal pending),

J. S. Banning, (subsequently convicted and sentenced to 5 years; appeal pending),

Squadron Leader F. W. Poland, (subsequently acquitted).

The publication of this Report completed the hearing of evidence of those persons who were detained under Order in Council P.C. 6444.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274033

1946

June 27. Main Report of the Royal Commission published.

In addition to those persons named in previous reports, the following persons against whom proceedings had been instituted, were now named:

Fred Rose - subsequently convicted and sentenced to 6 years; appeal ~~pending~~. dismissed

Allan Nunn May - subsequently convicted on proceedings instituted in the United Kingdom and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Agatha Chapman - subsequently acquitted.

John Soboloff, M.D. - subsequently convicted and fined $500.00.

Henry Harris - subsequently convicted and sentenced to 5 years.

W. M. Pappin - Subsequently acquitted.

(Note: All the foregoing references to acquittal relate to acquittal on the actual charge proceeded with. In some cases persons were charged on more than one count; but there has been no indication thus far whether the Crown intends to proceed with the additional charges).

See Exhibits G, H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274034

GENERAL

ARGUMENT

Once the power to make orders to detain and interrogate had been given and Commission had been appointed

> the matter was then out of the hands of the government.

The Commission felt certain precautions were necessary

> detaining persons
> preventing communication with others

and, in fact

> the Commission had power to vary the procedures set out if it deemed such changes necessary to the conduct of the inquiry.

There were two possible choices as to procedure:

(I) to have informations laid against a number of persons whose conduct was suspect, but who might in fact be innocent of any breach of e.g., the Official Secrets Act, or conspiracy to communicate secret information to unauthorized persons; or

(2) to make sure before laying any information that there was a prima facie case made out; and then to lay an information if justification for such action was felt to exist.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COURT PROCEEDINGS

At this date proceedings have been instituted in Canada against 18 persons.

Of these 9 were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Appeals were taken in 7 cases, in two of which the appeal was dismissed; 5 appeals still are pending.

1 person was convicted and fined.

6 persons were acquitted on the first charge on which they were tried (if indicted on more than one count).

2 trials are still proceeding or have not been completed.

10 out of 16 convicted & sentenced to goal 47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274036

Seriousness of the Situation

Secret information was being improperly communicated

to unauthorized persons
at a time when war was still in progress;

one Member of Parliament was believed to be implicated.
(Subsequently found guilty by the Courts).

Government was anxious to protect the whole body of Civil Servants entrusted with secret information at a time of unusual anxiety.

What would anyone else have done if confronted with a situation

in which he knew a "Fifth Column" was operating in Canada,

in which men highly placed in official service were giving confidential information to representatives of a foreign power.

Could all of this have been passed over without comment or notice?

Could any government have tolerated such a situation without the most searching enquiry?

Having given) certain powers
taken (

Government was bound to see those powers acted upon unless willing to see less than justice done.

This was the first instance of the kind.

If a similar situation were to arise again, the Government might act differently;

but, in September 1945, could Government afford to deal differently with the matter in the urgency of that moment.

There might have been grave international complications.

(Disclosures of information made before U.S.S.R. declared war on Japan).

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

months before there was any certainty the U.S.S.R. would join in the war against Japan;

it was known that certain information of strategic importance had passed into the hands of one foreign power;

there was the possibility that it might have reached other unauthorized hands.

We were then at an advanced stage of the war:

the war in Europe was at an end (May 8, 1945)

1945 but there still was the war in the Far East -

August Canada was committed at that moment to the despatch of considerable forces to the Pacific area

which, if they had gone, would have involved the expenditure of considerable sums of public money

We were also interested in the building of peace

not in a perpetuation of conditions out of which war might arise again

I repeat: would anyone, placed as we were in those critical weeks in August and September, 1945, have proceeded differently when confronted with the facts as we knew them?

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re Detention and Court Proceedings

Argued that the ends of justice could have been served equally well through the ordinary operation of the courts of law

without the intervention of a Royal Commission vested with extraordinary powers.

Answer, that if this had been done, some persons suspected to be implicated might have been enabled to escape the ends of justice altogether;

e.g. one person named in the final report known to have left the country;

another person for whose arrest a warrant was issued has not so far been apprehended.

Why then were persons held incommunicado for varying periods?

Evidence before the commission revealed the existence of a number of networks, operating more or less independently of each other;

there was a purpose to be served in exposing all of the activity directed to improper ends;

until the whole of the evidence had been heard the Commission felt they could not permit unlimited communication among the group of persons suspected to be implicated.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274039 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date February 27, 1946

Subject

Text of Order

Text of order-in-council passed Oct. 6, 1945, opening inquiry into espionage activities:

Whereas it has been ascertained that agents of a foreign power have been engaged in a concerted effort to obtain from public officials and other persons in positions of trust secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada and friendly powers and that secret and confidential information has been communicated, directly or indirectly, by certain persons to the agents of the aforesaid foreign power to the prejudice of the public safety or interests of Canada and of friendly powers;

And whereas it is deemed necessary for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada that the acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice should be authorized to order the detention of such persons in such places and under such conditions as the acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice may from time to time determine;

Therefore His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of Hon. J. L. Ilsley, acting Prime Minister, and pursuant to the powers conferred by the War Measures Act, being chapter 206 of the revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. The acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a foreign power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine.

2. Any person shall, while detained by virtue of an order made under this order, be deemed to be in legal custody.

3. The minister of justice if satisfied that the detention of any person so detained is no longer necessary for the public safety or the safety of the state may make an order releasing him.

4. The acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice may authorize any member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to enter any premises occupied or used by a person whose detention is ordered at any time or times and to search the premises and every person found therein and to seize any article found on the premises or any such person which the said member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has reasonable grounds for believing to be evidence that secret and confidential information has been communicated to agents of a foreign power.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274039

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date February 27, 1946

Subject

Text of Order

Text of order-in-council passed Oct. 6, 1945, opening inquiry into espionage activities:

Whereas it has been ascertained that agents of a foreign power have been engaged in a concerted effort to obtain from public officials and other persons in positions of trust secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada and friendly powers and that secret and confidential information has been communicated, directly or indirectly, by certain persons to the agents of the aforesaid foreign power to the prejudice of the public safety or interests of Canada and of friendly powers;

And whereas it is deemed necessary for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada that the acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice should be authorized to order the detention of such persons in such places and under such conditions as the acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice may from time to time determine;

Therefore His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of Hon. J. L. Ilsley, acting Prime Minister, and pursuant to the powers conferred by the War Measures Act, being chapter 206 of the revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. The acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a foreign power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine.

2. Any person shall, while detained by virtue of an order made under this order, be deemed to be in legal custody.

3. The minister of justice if satisfied that the detention of any person so detained is no longer necessary for the public safety or the safety of the state may make an order releasing him.

4. The acting Prime Minister or the minister of justice may authorize any member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to enter any premises occupied or used by a person whose detention is ordered at any time or times and to search the premises and every person found thereon and to seize any article found on the premises or any such person which the said member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has reasonable grounds for believing to be evidence that secret and confidential information has been communicated to agents of a foreign power.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS

C274040

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date February 27, 1946

Subject

X

PC 411

Minute of Meeting.

Text of minute of a meeting of the committee of the Privy Council, approved Feb. 5, 1946:

The committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated Feb. 5, 1946, from the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, representing:

That it has been ascertained that secret and confidential information has been communicated directly or indirectly by public officials and other persons in positions of trust to the agents of a foreign power to the prejudice of the safety and interests of Canada;

That by order-in-council P.C. 6444 dated Oct. 6, 1945, the acting Prime Minister and the minister of justice were authorized to make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as the minister might from time to time determine if the minister were satisfied that it was necessary so to do;

That it now seems expedient in the public interest that a full and complete inquiry be made into all the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by such public officials and other persons in positions of trust of such secret and confidential information to the agents of a foreign power.

The committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, advise that the Honorable Robert Taschereau, a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Honorable R. L. Kellock, a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, be appointed commissioners under part 1 of the Inquiries Act, chapter 99, revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and any other law thereto enabling, to inquire into and report upon which public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a foreign power and the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication.

The committee further advise:

1. That for all such purposes and all purposes properly incidental thereto the said commissioners shall without limiting the powers conferred upon them by the said part 1 of the said Inquiries Act, have and possess the power of summoning and that they be empowered to summon before them any person or witness and of requiring them to give evidence on oath or affirmation, orally or in writing, and of requiring them to produce such documents and things as the commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of matters into which they are appointed to examine;

2. That the said commissioners be directed that a record shall be made of all the evidence which shall be given or produced before them as to the matters of the said inquiry and that the oral evidence of witnesses before the said commissioners shall be taken in shorthand by a shorthand writer, approved and sworn by the said commissioners or one of them and shall be taken down question and answer and it shall not be necessary for the evidence or deposition of any witness to be read over to or signed by the person examined and said evidence shall be certified by the person or persons taking the same as correct;

3. That the said commissioners may adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time;

4. That the said commissioners be empowered in their discretion from time to time to make interim reports to the governor in council on any matter which in their judgment is the proper subject of such a report together with the evidence then before them and their findings thereon;

5. That the said commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel and of such technical officers, and experts, and other experienced clerks, reporters and assistants as they may deem necessary and advisable; and

6. That all the privileges, immunities and powers given by order-in-council, P.C. 1639 passed on March 2, 1942, shall apply.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C274040 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication: Ottawa Citizen

Date: February 27, 1946

Subject:

PC 411

Minute of Meeting.

Text of minute of a meeting of the committee of the Privy Council, approved Feb. 5, 1946:

The committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated Feb. 5, 1946, from the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, representing:

That it has been ascertained that secret and confidential information has been communicated directly or indirectly by public officials and other persons in positions of trust to the agents of a foreign power to the prejudice of the safety and interests of Canada;

That by order-in-council P.C. 6444 dated Oct. 6, 1945, the acting Prime Minister and the minister of justice were authorized to make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as the minister might from time to time determine if the minister were satisfied that it was necessary so to do;

That it now seems expedient in the public interest that a full and complete inquiry be made into all the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by such public officials and other persons in positions of trust of such secret and confidential information to the agents of a foreign power.

The committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, advise that the Honorable Robert Taschereau, a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Honorable R. L. Kellock, a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, be appointed commissioners under part 1 of the Inquiries Act, chapter 99, revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and any other law thereto enabling, to inquire into and report upon which public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a foreign power and the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication.

The committee further advise:

1. That for all such purposes and all purposes properly incidental thereto the said commissioners shall without limiting the powers conferred upon them by the said part 1 of the said Inquiries Act, have and possess the power of summoning and that they be empowered to summon before them any person or witness and of requiring them to give evidence on oath or affirmation, orally or in writing, and of requiring them to produce such documents and things as the commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of matters into which they are appointed to examine;

2. That the said commissioners be directed that a record shall be made of all the evidence which shall be given or produced before them as to the matters of the said inquiry and that the oral evidence of witnesses before the said commissioners shall be taken in shorthand by a shorthand writer, approved and sworn by the said commissioners or one of them and shall be taken down question and answer and it shall not be necessary for the evidence or deposition of any witness to be read over to or signed by the person examined and said evidence shall be certified by the person or persons taking the same as correct;

3. That the said commissioners may adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time;

4. That the said commissioners be empowered in their discretion from time to time to make interim reports to the governor in council on any matter which in their judgment is the proper subject of such a report together with the evidence then before them and their findings thereon;

5. That the said commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel and of such technical officers, and experts, and other experienced clerks, reporters and assistants as they may deem necessary and advisable; and

6. That all the privileges, immunities and powers given by order-in-council, P.C. 1639 passed on March 2, 1942, shall apply.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274041

For release at 5.00 p.m. Friday, February 15th.

A

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PRESS RELEASE

No.17 Ottawa, February 15th, 1946.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, made the following statement this afternoon:

Information of undoubted authenticity has reached the Canadian Government which establishes that there have been disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons, including some members of the staff of a foreign mission in Ottawa. In order to make possible the full investigation which the seriousness of this information demands, the Government has appointed Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock of the Supreme Court of Canada to act as Royal Commissioners to hear evidence and to present a report which will be made public. The Commissioners have appointed as their Counsel Mr. E.K. Williams, K.C., of Winnipeg, Mr. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., of Montreal, and Mr. D.W. Mundell of the Department of Justice; the Commission has already commenced its investigation, which is proceeding in camera.

Upon the application of Counsel, and having regard to the serious nature of the evidence already adduced before the Commission, the Commissioners recommended Counsel to apply to the Minister of Justice for orders for the interrogation and detention for that purpose of a number of persons known or suspected to be implicated. This action has been taken today. The persons involved include some now employed or who have been employed in a number of Departments and agencies of the Government.

It is the intention of the Government that, after the report of the Royal Commissioners has been received, prosecution will be instituted in cases in which the evidence warrants it. It would not be proper at this stage to make a more complete statement or, in particular, to make public the names of those concerned. Some of them appear to have been far more deeply and consciously involved than others. Some will probably be found to be more or less innocent instruments in furthering activities much more serious than they may have imagined. Obviously, the whole matter should be treated with caution and reserve, pending the time when it will be possible to issue a fuller statement. Until the investigation by the Royal Commissioners has been completed the case remains sub judice.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274042

DOCUMENTS

relating to the proceedings

of the

ROYAL COMMISSION

established by Order in Council P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946, including the First and Second Interim Reports of the Royal Commission

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274042a

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. Prime Minister's Statement of February 15, 1946	5
2. Text of Order in Council, P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946, establishing the Royal Commission	6
3. Letter of Commission Counsel to the Minister of Justice, February 23, 1946	8
4. Text of Order in Council P.C. 6444 of October 6, 1945	9
5. First Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 2, 1946	11
6. Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 14, 1946	15
7. Prime Minister's Statement on tabling the Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission, House of Commons, March 15, 1946	22
8. Letters of Counsel tabled by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, March 15, 1946	23
(a) Letter of Commission Counsel to the Minister of Justice, March 14, 1946	23
(b) Letter to Commission Counsel from F. P. Brais, K.C., March 12, 1946	24

58202—2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1. PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 15, 1946

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, made the following statement this afternoon:

Information of undoubted authenticity has reached the Canadian Government which establishes that there have been disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons, including some members of the staff of a foreign mission in Ottawa. In order to make possible the full investigation which the seriousness of this information demands, the Government has appointed Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock of the Supreme Court of Canada to act as Royal Commissioners to hear evidence and to present a report which will be made public. The Commissioners have appointed as their Counsel Mr. E. K. Williams, K.C., of Winnipeg, Mr. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., of Montreal, and Mr. D. W. Mundell of the Department of Justice; the Commission has already commenced its investigation, which is proceeding in camera.

Upon the application of Counsel, and having regard to the serious nature of the evidence already adduced before the Commission, the Commissioners recommended Counsel to apply to the Minister of Justice for orders for the interrogation and detention for that purpose of a number of persons known or suspected to be implicated. This action has been taken to-day. The persons involved include some now employed or who have been employed in a number of Departments and agencies of the Government.

It is the intention of the Government that, after the report of the Royal Commissioners has been received, prosecution will be instituted in cases in which the evidence warrants it. It would not be proper at this stage to make a more complete statement or, in particular, to make public the names of those concerned. Some of them appear to have been far more deeply and consciously involved than others. Some will probably be found to be more or less innocent instruments in furthering activities much more serious than they may have imagined. Obviously, the whole matter should be treated with caution and reserve, pending the time when it will be possible to issue a fuller statement. Until the investigation by the Royal Commissioners has been completed the case remains sub judice.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

2. TEXT OF ORDER IN COUNCIL, P.C. 411 OF FEBRUARY 5, 1946, ESTABLISHING THE ROYAL COMMISSION

P.C. 411

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 5th February, 1946.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated 5th February, 1946, from the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, representing:—

That it has been ascertained that secret and confidential information has been communicated directly or indirectly by public officials and other persons in positions of trust to the agents of a Foreign Power to the prejudice of the safety and interests of Canada;

That by Order in Council P.C. 6444 dated the 6th day of October, 1945, the Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice were authorized to make an Order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as the Minister might from time to time determine if the Minister were satisfied that it was necessary so to do;

That it now seems expedient in the public interest that a full and complete inquiry be made into all the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by such public officials and other persons in positions of trust of such secret and confidential information to the agents of a Foreign Power.

The Committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, advise that the Honourable Robert Taschereau, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Honourable R. L. Kellock, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act, Chapter 99, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and any other law thereto enabling, to inquire into and report upon which public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a Foreign Power and the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication.

The Committee further advise,—

1. That for all such purposes and all purposes properly incidental thereto the said Commissioners shall without limiting the powers conferred upon them by the said Part I of the said the Inquiries Act, have and possess the power of summoning and that they be empowered to summon before them any person or witness and of requiring them to give evidence on oath or affirmation, orally or in writing, and of requiring them to produce such documents and things as the Commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of matters into which they are appointed to examine;

2. That the said Commissioners be directed that a record shall be made of all the evidence which shall be given or produced before them as to the matters of the said inquiry and that the oral evidence of witnesses before the said Commissioners shall be taken in shorthand by a shorthand writer, approved and sworn by the said Commissioners or one of them and shall be taken down question and answer and it shall not be necessary for the evidence or deposition of any witness to be read over to or signed by the person examined and said evidence shall be certified by the person or persons taking the same as correct;

3. That the said Commissioners may adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time;

4. That the said Commissioners be empowered in their discretion from time to time to make interim reports to the Governor in Council on any matter which in their judgment is the proper subject of such a report together with the evidence then before them and their findings thereon;

5. That the said Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel and of such technical officers, and experts, and other experienced clerks, reporters and assistants as they may deem necessary and advisable; and

6. That all the privileges, immunities and powers given by Order in Council, P.C. 1639, passed on the 2nd March, 1942, shall apply.

(Sgd.) A. D. P. HEENEY,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

58202—3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. LETTER OF COMMISSION COUNSEL TO THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, FEBRUARY 23, 1946

OTTAWA, 23rd February, 1946.

The Right Honourable L. S. ST. LAURENT, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

DEAR SIR,—1. Since the Commissioners on our advice recommended that you should be requested to issue orders for the interrogation, and for that purpose detention, of certain persons a considerable amount of additional evidence oral and documentary has been placed before the Commissioners which confirms the serious nature of the disclosures on which the orders for interrogation were based.

2. Orders have been made to date under Order in Council P.C. 6444, dated the 6th day of October, 1945, and passed under the provisions of the War Measures Act and continued under the provisions of the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, 1945, for the interrogation of eleven men and two women and it is apparent that it may be necessary to request that additional persons may be interrogated under similar orders.

3. A great deal of evidence is still to be placed before the Commissioners and the reasons for proceeding in camera become more apparent every day.

4. The Inquiry is proceeding as rapidly as possible especially considering the difficult circumstances under which the work is being done (it obviously must be done with the greatest discretion) and the Commissioners desire to make a report which will contain at least some of their findings within as short a time as possible which, however, as appears at present cannot be less than two or three weeks from now.

5. The Commissioners feel, however, and have authorized us to advise you that in their opinion the evidence has not advanced to the stage where an Interim Report should now be made. They do think, however, that it should be possible to report upon the completion of the evidence now in contemplation as above as soon thereafter as that is physically possible leaving such further matters as may later have to be dealt with for subsequent report. This is as the matters appear to the Commissioners at the moment. It may be that as the result of the evidence not yet heard the above proposed procedure might prove to be inappropriate.

6. The Commissioners have authorized us to state further that notwithstanding their order that their proceedings be conducted in camera, the information communicated to you in this letter may be made public at once if you see fit to do so.

(Sgd.) E. K. WILLIAMS,
(Sgd.) GERALD FAUTEUX,
(Sgd.) D. W. MUNDELL,
Counsel to the Royal Commission.

4. TEXT OF ORDER IN COUNCIL P.C. 6444 OF OCTOBER 6, 1945

P.C. 6444

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 6th day of OCTOBER, 1945.

PRESENT

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS it has been ascertained that agents of a Foreign Power have been engaged in a concerted effort to obtain from public officials and other persons in positions of trust secret and confidential information the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada and friendly Powers and that secret and confidential information has been communicated, directly or indirectly, by certain persons to the agents of the aforesaid Foreign Power to the prejudice of the public safety or interests of Canada and of friendly Powers;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed necessary for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada that the Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice should be authorized to order the detention of such persons in such places and under such conditions as the Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice may from time to time determine;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Honourable J. L. Ilsley, Acting Prime Minister, and pursuant to the powers conferred by The War Measures Act, being Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. The Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a Foreign Power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an Order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine.
2. Any person shall, while detained by virtue of an order made under this Order, be deemed to be in legal custody.
3. The Minister of Justice if satisfied that the detention of any person so detained is no longer necessary for the public safety or the safety of the State may make an order releasing him.

58202—3½

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4. The Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice may authorize any member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to enter any premises occupied or used by a person whose detention is ordered at any time or times and to search the premises and every person found thereon and to seize any article found on the premises or any such person which the said member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has reasonable grounds for believing to be evidence that secret and confidential information has been communicated to agents of a Foreign Power.

(Sgd.) A. M. HILL,
Asst. Clerk of the Privy Council.

5. FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, MARCH 2, 1946

OTTAWA, Ontario,
2nd March, 1946.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

Pursuant to Order in Council P.C. 411, dated the 5th day of February, 1946, we have been conducting the investigation thereby provided for, having commenced our sittings on Wednesday, the 13th day of February, 1946. We have now reached a stage in the hearing of evidence which permits us and renders it advisable for us to make an Interim Report.

The evidence establishes that a network of under-cover agents has been organized and developed for the purpose of obtaining secret and confidential information particularly from employees of departments and agencies of the Dominion Government and from an employee of the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada. The evidence reveals that these operations were carried on by certain members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow. The person directly in charge of these operations was Colonel Zabotin, Military Attaché of the Embassy, who had as his active assistants in this work Lieutenant-Colonel Motinov, Chief Assistant Military Attaché, Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov, Assistant Military Attaché Air, Major Sokolov, of the staff of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy, Lieutenant Angelov, one of the Secretaries of the Military Attaché as well as other members of the staff of the Military Attaché, all of whom, as well as the agents whom they employed in the pursuance of their activities, were, in the interests of secrecy, known by under-cover names. We have noticed that each of the dossiers compiled by the staff of the Military Attaché with respect to the Canadian agents contains this significant question: "Length of time in net." We think that the word "net" well describes the organization set up and under development by Colonel Zabotin and his predecessor.

We have had before us a former employee of the Russian Embassy at Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, the cipher clerk of the Military Attaché, who has described this organization and its functioning, and who has produced original documents, the authenticity of which we accept.

As shown by these documents, the specified tasks committed to Colonel Zabotin were the following:—

(1) As described in telegrams from "The Director" at Moscow addressed to Colonel Zabotin under his cover name of "Grant", in August, 1945.

(*a*) The technological processes and methods employed by Canadians and the English for the production of explosives and chemical materials.

(*b*) Instructions as to which of the Members of the Staff of the Military Attaché should contact particular Canadian agents and the suggestion of names of persons in the Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs who might act as agents.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(c) Information as to the transfer of the American troops from Europe to the United States and the Pacific also the Army Headquarters of the 9th Army, the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 13th Army Corps, the 18th Armoured Division, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 28th, 30th, 44th, 45th, 104th Infantry Divisions and the 13th Tank Division, together with the dates of their moves, the location of the Army Headquarters of the 8th and 16th Armoured Corps, the 29th and 89th Infantry Divisions, the 10th Tank Division and the location of the Brazilian Infantry Division. Whether or not there had been organized a staff for the American Troops in Germany and, if so, its location and the name of the Officer-in-Command.

The location of the 1st Parachute Troops and the plans for their future use.

(d) Instructions to take measures to obtain particulars as to the materials of which the atomic bomb is composed, its technological process and drawings.

(2) As described in writings under the hands of Zabotin, Motinov and Rogov, during the period March to August, 1945.

(a) To obtain from the National Research Council models of developed radar sets, photographs, technical data, periodic reports characterizing the radar work carried on by the Council and future developments planned by the Council.

(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the National Research Council "Give more details of organization of Research Council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do."

(d) Particular work of specified employees of the Research Council.

(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the National Research Council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the National Research Council.

(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk River, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the "V" bomb.

(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

(k) A list of the Army Divisions of the Canadian Army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the Divisions which have been divided, or re-shaped, or undergoing re-shaping.

(l) The number of troops in the Canadian Army in the post-war period, together with the system of its organization.

(m) Information from the Department of Munitions and Supply of various kinds relating to guns, shells, small arms, ammunition for small arms, arsenals, optical and radio appliances, automobiles and tanks, apparatus for chemical warfare and particulars of plants producing same.

(n) Information as to electronic shells used by the American Navy.

(o) To endeavour to keep agents in Government Departments threatened with discharge as a result of shrinkage in size of the Departments, in order to maintain their usefulness for the future.

(p) Information with regard to depth bombs and double charge shells for cannon.

(q) Information as to telegrams passing into and out of the Department of External Affairs and the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

It must not be assumed that the above list is exhaustive, but it illustrates the nature of the objectives of these operations.

It has been stated to us by Commission Counsel that the method of presentation of the evidence before us is with the object of ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents, but the question of the relative importance of the above subject matters has not been dealt with to an extent where we are yet able to pronounce upon it. To proceed in any other manner might have been prejudicial to the ultimate attainment of the purposes of the investigation.

It has taken considerable time to hear the evidence relating to the general scheme of the operations being carried on, which evidence it was necessary to hear before dealing with the activities of particular agents. The evidence heard so far, however, establishes that four persons, namely,

Mrs. Emma Woikin
Captain Gordon Lunan
Edward Wilfred Mazerall
Miss Kathleen Mary Willsher

all employees of the Dominion Government, except Kathleen Mary Willsher, who is an employee of the Government of the United Kingdom, have communicated directly or indirectly secret and confidential information to representatives of the U.S.S.R. in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1939, 3 Geo. VI, Cap. 49.

Emma Woikin

This person was employed as a cipher clerk in the Department of External Affairs, having taken the usual oath of secrecy required in such cases. Taking advantage of the position she occupied, she communicated to Major Sokolov the contents of secret telegrams to which she had access in the course of her duties.

Captain Gordon Lunan

This man, a Captain in the Canadian Army, on loan to the Wartime Information Board, now the Canadian Information Service, was the head of a group of agents acting under the personal direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov. In the course of his own particular duties with the Information Board, no secret information came to him, but he was the intermediary through whom the information furnished by the group reached Rogov, which information was, in our opinion, furnished and transmitted in violation of the statutory provisions already referred to. The members of the group headed by Lunan were scientists employed by the National Research Council and the Department of National Defence, Research Division, and their concern under Lunan, was to obtain for Rogov information on technical matters in connection with the work of those agencies. Some of the information obtained and transmitted to Rogov related to the latest developments in radar. Through this group also secret documents in the library of the National Research Council were handed over.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Edward Wilfred Mazerall.

He is an electrical engineer in the National Research Council working in the field of radar, who also had taken an oath of secrecy. He was one of the group headed by Lunan and he furnished to the latter on one occasion, for transmission by the latter, two reports of the National Research Council on certain developments, actual and projected, in the field of radar, at a time when the disclosure of these documents was still unauthorized. The fact that these reports were shortly thereafter presented to the Third Commonwealth and Empire Conference on Radio for Civil Aviation should be considered as an extenuating circumstance in Mazerall's favour.

Kathleen Mary Willsher.

She was employed in the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom as Deputy Registrar, having subscribed to a document in which she acknowledged having read the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom. She had access to practically all secret documents in that office and made disclosure of the contents of some secret documents from that office.

In our final report we shall deal more fully with the evidence and our findings with regard to the above named persons. Each of these persons has given evidence before us and has admitted the substance of the above. To each, in accordance with the provisions of Sections 12 and 13 of The Inquiries Act, R.S.C., cap. 99, an opportunity was given to have counsel, but none desired to be represented by counsel or to adduce any evidence in addition to his or her own testimony.

We propose from time to time, as circumstances permit, to make further interim reports before reporting finally. We are reporting now with regard to the above named persons as we have concluded our investigation as to their part in the activities mentioned, and we have been assured by Commission Counsel that they have no further evidence to offer which can affect the opinion we have formed on the evidence regarding these persons.

As already pointed out, we have been able to review the complete activities of four only of the agents used by the officers of the Soviet Embassy. The evidence indicates that, in addition, many other agents were active and that information more intrinsically important has been disclosed. We are not, however, as yet in a position to report with regard thereto, as the evidence has not been fully developed.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) ROBERT TASCHEREAU,
Royal Commissioner.

(Sgd.) R. L. KELLOCK,
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor General in Council,
Parliament Buildings,
OTTAWA.

6. SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL MARCH 14, 1946

(Made Public March 15, 1946)

OTTAWA, Ontario,
14th March, 1946.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

Re: *Order in Council P.C. 411*

Since the date of our interim report of the 28th of February last, we have heard a great deal of evidence without as yet having been able to hear all the witnesses whom it will be necessary to hear to complete the investigation with which we have been charged. Forty-eight witnesses have been heard in some forty-four different sittings of evidence which affects an additional number of persons concerning whom we now report.

Dr. Raymond Boyer, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at McGill University, was, since 1940, under an oath of secrecy, engaged in secret research on explosives under the National Research Council, the most important part of which concerned the making, by a process different from that previously employed anywhere else, of the explosive known as R.D.X. While so engaged, Dr. Boyer was secretary of a sub-committee of the Associate Committee on Explosives of the National Research Council, which was directly charged with the project. This sub-committee was at first called the Research sub-committee and later the Research and Development sub-committee.

This project, carried on between the years 1940 and 1945, was successful and resulted in the building of a substantial plant in Canada where the product was manufactured in substantial quantities. Large quantities were also manufactured in the United States.

All the reports on the progress of this project were secret reports prepared for the National Research Council and they are still secret, their distribution being limited to a comparatively few persons. Most of these reports were written by Dr. Boyer himself.

His name, and the fact that he had disclosed information with regard to this secret project, appear in documents in the Russian Embassy produced before us by the witness Gouzenko. We have now heard Dr. Boyer and he has told us that commencing early in 1943, and continuing into 1944, he gave, for transmission to the Soviet Union, full information with regard to his work which he himself admits was secret. He said that with this information competent persons would be in a position to design a plant to produce the material in quantity.

Harold Samuel Gerson was employed from January, 1941, to July, 1944, by Allied War Supplies, Limited, a Crown Company incorporated to supervise the construction of facilities for the production of chemicals and explosives, and later the production of these materials. Gerson was assistant to the head of the production control department. Following this Gerson was employed by the Department of Munitions and Supply until in or about November, 1945, when he became an employee of the War Assets Corporation, also a Crown Company. In the Department of Munitions and Supply he was Secretary and Chief of the Records Division of the Ammunition Production Branch. While still with Allied War Supplies, Limited, he was on loan to the Department of Munitions

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and Supply on occasion and, after going to War Assets Corporation, had still some duties to perform in the Department. In connection with all of these positions he was under an oath of secrecy.

In the notebook of Colonel Zabotin there is a page which reads in part:—

"GRAY . . . . chief of the branch of the Directorate for procuring war material for the allies. Taken to work on 1.9.42. Works well. Gives material on shells and cannon on photos."

"GRAY" is the cover name used by the Embassy for Gerson. The material Gerson supplied was not, however, later on limited to photos.

Gouzenko also produced a document from the Embassy in the handwriting of Gerson, as he admits to be a fact, which is a copy of part of a report dealing with the testing of certain projectiles in England by the United Kingdom authorities. These reports were sent regularly to the Canadian authorities from England and were secret documents.

In a telegram of August 25, 1945, from Colonel Zabotin to "The Director" in Moscow it is stated:—

"GRAY was earlier given the task of taking all necessary measures for staying on his old job. At the last contact the latter stated that in the near future great reductions will begin. In the event that it will be impossible to remain on the old job GRAY proposes to form a geological-engineering consultative office in Ottawa. GRAY is a geological engineer by profession and therefore can head this office. The expenses for organizing the office are as follows: rent of premises 600 dollars a year; wages for one clerk, $1,200 a year; office equipment, $1,000; payment of GRAY as director—$4,200 a year; altogether it needs $7,000 dollars a year. GRAY said that Canada is entering a 'boom' period in the mining industry and it is therefore very likely that within two years the office will be in a position to support itself. The initial expenditure of its operation will be returned in the future.

GRAY thinks that it is necessary to begin establishing the office gradually, that is, prior to his completion of the work at the old place. I beg to get your decision."

In August, 1945, reductions in the staff of the Department of Munitions and Supply were being made on an increasing scale and Gerson did discuss with his superior staying on in the Government service. He is an M.Sc. in geology of McGill University and contemplated going into private practice if he could not remain in the Civil Service. The figures mentioned in the telegram, he admits, constitute expenses he would incur in setting up private practice, $4,200 being his then salary in the Department. Gerson's continuance in the public service was evidently desirable to the U.S.S.R. so as to ensure the continuance of the flow of information from him.

In a further telegram from Moscow, "The Director" telegraphed Colonel Zabotin as follows:—

"In the mail of 23.8.1944 were received from you GRAY's two materials, the monthly reports on the research of technological questions in the field of production of war materials. On the basis of short and unrelated data it is impossible to judge the method and work of the Canadian and English production of explosives, powders and chemical materials. It is therefore desirable to obtain the following information:

1. The method and technological process of the production of munitions, explosives. 2. The formula for plastic explosives, the production of T.H. and H.S. (their composition, purpose and specific qualities). 3. The application of picrite and nitro-guanidine. 4. The technic of producing the capsules of detonators and igniting capsules. Wire to whom do you consider it possible to give the said task.

If BACON still keeps on working in the Artillery Committee, this task should be handed over to him."

Colonel Zabotin replied to this telegram as follows:—

"(1) The tasks will be detailed to GRAY, BACON and the PROFESSOR through DEBOUZ. The PROFESSOR is still on duty away from home. DEBOUZ will meet at the end of the month.

(2) MARTIN received reply from DEKANOZOV with permission to return home. As a result of MARTIN's work at the San Francisco Conference and his sickness about a month, the latter was unable to write all his reports on your task. The question of the current situation in Canada after the elections and the interruption of the class forces in the country, he will write at our place and we will send them to you by courier, while the remaining questions of the task he will write at the centre."

The "PROFESSOR" was the cover name for Dr. Boyer. "BACON" was the cover name for one of the persons detained whom we have not as yet been able to hear, while "DEBOUZ" is the cover name for the intermediary who obtained the information, already referred to, given by Dr. Boyer. "MARTIN" was the cover name of Zheivinov, the head of the Tass agency in Ottawa.

Another telegram from Zabotin to "The Director", bearing date 28.4.44, reads in part as follows:—

"GRAY's wife has relatives in Bukovina and Bucharest. Apart from the relatives she has many acquaintances among doctors and other specialists. Recently GRAY handed DAVIE a reply of the Canadian Red Cross of March, 1942, wherein it is announced that the relatives of GRAY's wife are in their own places, that is in Roumania. GRAY's wife, through GRAY, asks advice as to whether it is possible to send them money or other things.

DAVIE replied that this was a complicated and difficult question, and that he could not promise anything. He suggested he be furnished with addresses and letters from GRAY's wife for these acquaintances. In the letters it could be proposed (that is through GRAY's wife—he will agree to that) that they contact the man who delivers the letter. If you agree to such an idea we shall receive the addresses and letters from the wife of GRAY. Roofs of the doctor and other specialists."

"DAVIE" is the cover name of Major Sokolov. "Roofs" is a cover expression indicating secret activities. Gerson's wife, or her family, he has told us, did receive a letter from the Canadian Red Cross in reply to inquiries made regarding relatives in Europe. The telegram indicates that Mrs. Gerson's acquaintances among professional people in Bukovina and Bucharest might be employed to receive and transmit letters in secret.

Another document produced before us by Gouzenko shows that correspondence on one single subject handed over by Gerson amounted to one hundred and fifty pages.

On all the evidence, including certain admissions made by Gerson himself, it is clearly established that the latter has communicated, over a considerable period, secret information to the representatives of the Soviet Union in violation of the Official Secrets Act and we so report.

Squadron Leader Matt Simons Nightingale attended Military School in Mobile, Alabama, and graduated from McGill University in 1928 with the degree of B.Sc. in engineering. He also attended a private course at the same institution on transmission and engineering telephone work, and later was months of 1945 when he returned to the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada on his facturing telephone equipment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In 1928 he joined the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada as telephone transmission engineer, where he remained until 1942, when he enlisted in the R.C.A.F. and was posted to the Branch Land Lines, Technical Section, until the early months of 1945 when he returned to the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada on his discharge.

While in this special branch of the R.C.A.F. he was mainly concerned with land lines communication on both the east and west coasts and also worked on the Gander project, which embodies one of the main systems of communication on the east coast. He acknowledged the secret nature of the duties entrusted to him throughout.

The original telegrams from the Russian Embassy to Moscow give, as to Squadron Leader Nightingale, known in these telegrams under the cover name of "LEADER", items which he admitted having supplied, to wit, his photograph and information as to the nature of his experience with the Bell Telephone Co. and the R.C.A.F. One document from the Embassy reads in part as follows:—

"Squadron Leader

Mat Nantingale, 155 O'Connor St., Apt. 1, Telephone 2-4545. SAM is known to him as WALTER. The first meeting took place 19.12.44 at 21 o'clock at the house.

Possibilities: 1. Network of Aerodromes in the country (both coasts).
2. Map of the coast.

Prior to the war he worked with the Bell Telephone Co. On 21.1.45 he advised BRENT about his demobilization. He is going to the Bell Company. Next contact on 24.2.45 at 20.30 at the corner of Elgin-Macleod Sts. At the contact on 24.2.45 he gave the address Montreal, 1671 Sherbrooke 57 (51). Telephone 1.1684. Next contact 24.3.45 at 20.30 Metcalfe-Somerset. He will give the coast (RAF) and listening-in on the telephone.

Task—1. Recruiting (call-up).
2. Materials of the company.
3. DUBOX—GINI—how."

"BRENT" is the cover name for Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov. "DUBOX" means a hiding place. "GINI" is a cover name for an individual.

Heard as a witness, Nightingale said that after meeting Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov by accident on a train between Ottawa and Montreal, he had several meetings with Rogov at his own apartment and on the street in Ottawa and Montreal and in Rogov's room in Montreal on one occasion. In these conversations he says various subjects were referred to in a general way amongst which were the following, namely, listening-in telephonic devices, linking up of airports, land lines communications, network and location of aerodromes, maps of the R.C.A.F. and, possibly, the Gander project, some of which matters were of a secret nature.

His interview with Rogov, his explanation of those interviews which we are unable to accept, his association with other persons involved in the matter which is the subject of the present investigation, the references to him in the documents found in the Russian Embassy, as well as the fact that documents of a secret nature belonging to the R.C.A.F. which he should not have retained were found in his possession after his discharge, suggest to us that, if he did not in fact give to the U.S.S.R. secret and confidential information, he may very well have conspired to furnish such information. Furthermore, his unauthorized retention of the above mentioned documents would appear to have been in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act.

Dr. David Shugar is a Ph.D. in physics, McGill University, having been born in Poland in 1915. From January, 1941, until February, 1944, he was employed at Research Enterprises, Limited, Toronto, when he entered the Navy, becoming a Lieutenant in the Directorate of Electrical Supply. He remained in the Navy until his discharge January 31, 1946. Subsequently he was employed in the Department of Health and Welfare. While in the Navy, Shugar was engaged on research with respect to certain equipment used in anti-submarine detection. In the course of his duties he had to visit various naval establishments, including laboratories, in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

Although Gouzenko had never seen him, he knew who Shugar was and the work in which he was employed. In a document produced by Gouzenko headed "Assignment No. 1, SAM to SHUGAR" outlining information desired from Shugar, seven subjects of inquiry relating to anti-submarine detection are laid down, all of which information, Shugar has told us, was either in his possession in connection with his work, or accessible to him at Naval Headquarters.

In a later document headed "Task No. 2", assigned to the same agent, the following item appears:—

"Communicate how the matter stands of the former assignment for Lieutenant Shugar."

The answer made by the agent to Rogov is indicated by what Rogov wrote on the document against the above item, namely,

"At the present time he is working maritime staff. He has consented to work for us but with special caution. He has been under observation."

SHUGAR admitted having met the agent to whom we have referred above on at least three occasions, and that the agent was inquisitive.

A telegram from Colonel Zabotin to Moscow No. 232 reads in part as follows:—

"We have agreed with SAM about the transfer of connections to us with PROMETHEUS. The latter is at present in Florida. The transfer will take place in the town of SAM. I consider it expedient to give BRENT the connection with PROMETHEUS. SAM promised to give us several officers from central headquarters of the active forces. At the present time it is fairly difficult to do this, as changes in the staffs are taking place by officers returning from overseas."

"PROMETHEUS" is the cover name used to denote Shugar and "BRENT" was Rogov.

In reply the "Director" telegraphed to Zabotin:—

"To Grant.

Your telegram No. 232

(1) In my telegram of 19.7, I have advised that until the information is received from PROMETHEUS and until his possibilities in the Navy Department are established, contact with him should be maintained through FRANK. Should it prove that PROMETHEUS is a truly valuable man to us, direct contact may then be established with him. However, it is not desirable to entrust BRENT with making the contact. If you should find no objection, it is better to let CHESTER make this contact. Have in mind that we have here almost no other information on PROMETHEUS except his family name and his place of employment.

Wire in full his name and family name, his position in the Navy Department and the address of this residence. Collect the remaining data and send by mail.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(2) As for obtaining persons from the said departmental services, we are interested. Let FRANK, after the staffs have been set up, recommend one or two candidates for our consideration."

"CHESTER" was the cover name for Captain Gorshkov who acted as chauffeur for the Soviet Military Attaché in Ottawa.

Shugar denies having given, or having agreed to give any secret information, but has no explanation for the existence, in the documents above referred to, of the references to himself. We were not impressed by the demeanour of Shugar, or by his denials, which we do not accept. In our view we think he knows more than he was prepared to disclose. Therefore, there would seem to be no answer on the evidence before us, to a charge of conspiring to communicate secret information to an agent of the U.S.S.R.

These four persons are or were all government officials, or persons holding positions of trust. All have been heard before us as witnesses and, in accordance with Sections 12 and 13 of the Inquiries Act, Cap. 99, R.S.C. 1927, have been offered the opportunity of having counsel. Two of them declined and two others, after consultation with counsel, stated that they did not wish to call evidence or to have representations made to the Commission by counsel on their behalf. Accordingly we have been free to report with regard to them as above.

We may also point out that under P.C. 411, which is our authority for the present inquiry, we are required to report not only "upon which public officials and other persons in trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information", but also upon "the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communications".

The evidence discloses that one of these circumstances is that other Canadians, who are not government officials, have been the intermediaries through whom secret and confidential information has reached the Russian Embassy, as in the case of Dr. Raymond Boyer. As the evidence develops, we shall be in a better position to deal with these intermediaries at a later stage.

In conclusion, we may add that we regret not having been able to complete as yet the hearing of evidence with regard to the five other persons who are detained under the provisions of P.C. 6444, passed on October 6, 1945, but we hope that we will be able to do so shortly. On February 14 last we concurred in the advice given by counsel for the Commission to the Honourable the Minister of Justice that certain named persons should be detained, and we did so because of the serious nature of the disclosures then indicated by the evidence we had heard, and the fact that cover names of persons who had not been identified appeared in the evidence which indicated that the ramifications of the disloyal practices and the persons engaged therein might be even greater than then appeared and might well be continuing. In effect the matters with which the inquiry was concerned appeared to us to be of so serious a nature from the national standpoint that we believed the course advised by counsel should be pursued in the exceptional circumstances existing. The further evidence which we have heard has not caused us to change this view but, on the contrary, has confirmed it.

In a case of this nature where the evidence has revealed the existence of an organization constituting at least a threat to the safety and interests of the state, as evidenced by the fact that some witnesses holding strategic positions have made the significant statement under oath that they had a loyalty which took priority over the loyalty owed by them to their own country, and for that reason they acted as they did, and would unquestionably have continued so to act had they not been detected, we are of opinion that should

these persons be allowed communication with outsiders or between themselves until their activities have been fully investigated, some of the basic purposes of this inquiry would be entirely defeated.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) ROBERT TASCHEREAU,
Royal Commissioner

(Sgd.) R. L. KELLOCK,
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor General in Council,
OTTAWA.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

7. PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON TABLING THE SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION, HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 15, 1946

In the statement which I made public on February 15th I said that it was the intention of the Government that prosecution would be instituted in cases in which the evidence warranted it. I have been advised by the Attorney General of Canada that charges have been laid against the four men named in the Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission, namely Dr. Raymond Boyer, Harold Samuel Gerson, Squadron Leader Matt Simons Nightingale, and Dr. David Shugar.

The charge against Dr. Boyer alleges conspiracy with an intermediary who was not named in the Commission's Report because he had not been examined by the Commission. The intermediary, referred to in the Report by the cover name Debouz, is believed to be the Honourable Member for Cartier.

I am further informed by the Attorney General of Canada, who has taken the advice of Counsel whose opinions I wish to lay on the table of the House, that effective prosecution of the charge against Dr. Boyer requires similar action in respect of the Member for Cartier, against whom an appropriate information has been laid and a warrant for his arrest executed.

8. LETTERS OF COUNSEL TABLED BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 15, 1946

(A)

OTTAWA, 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L. S. ST. LAURENT, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Minister,—

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Dr. Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:—

(*a*) Whether a Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(*b*) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are:—

(*a*) Yes.

(*b*) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the Royal Commission made it impossible to consider this question as thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F. P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) E. K. WILLIAMS

(Sgd.) GERALD FAUTEUX

(Sgd.) D. W. MUNDELL,
Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(B)

BRAIS & CAMPBELL

Royal Bank Building
360 St. James Street West,
Montreal, March 12, 1946

E. K. Williams, Esq., K.C.,
G. H. Fauteux, Esq., K.C.,
Justice Building,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Secret and Confidential

Dear Sirs:

You have asked my opinion whether:

(*a*) A Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(*b*) if question (*a*) is answered in the affirmative, whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

(*a*) I have not been informed of any of the activities of the Member in question save what appears from the deposition of the individual whose arrest we discussed over the week-end.

That statement does clearly show that the Member obtained important information and declared that it was for the use of a foreign power.

It would appear clearly, therefore, that a charge could be laid against the Member under Section 3C and probably 4(1)A and B, 4(2), 4(3), of the Official Secrets Act.

No specific penalty is provided in the Act for the commission of the above offences and the offender would therefore be subject to Section 14 which declares them to be indictable.

Chapter 147, R.S.C., "An Act Respecting the Senate and House of Commons," Sections 4 and 5 provide:

"4. The Senate and the House of Commons respectively, and the members thereof respectively, shall hold, enjoy and exercise,

(*a*) such and the like privileges, immunities and powers as, at the time of the passing of the British North America Act 1867, were held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and by the members thereof, so far as the same are consistent with and not repugnant to the said Act; and

(*b*) such privileges, immunities and powers as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, not exceeding those at the time of the passing of such Act held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and by the members thereof respectively, R.S., c. 10, s. 4.

5. Such privileges, immunities and powers shall be part of the general and public law of Canada and it shall not be necessary to plead the same, but the same shall, in all courts of Canada, and by and before all judges, be taken notice of judicially. R.S., c. 10, s. 5."

Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure, Third Edition, Page 143, Chapter 2, under the heading "Privileges and Powers of Parliament," discusses "the privileges, immunities and powers" to be enjoyed by Members. After discussing the origin of privileges, he declares that it is a general principle of English Parliamentary law that... "the privilege has been always held to protect Members from arrest and imprisonment under civil processes, whether the suit be at the action of an individual or of the public, but it is not claimable for treason, felony, breach of peace or 'any indictable offence'."

Bourinot further states that a Member may be committed for Contempt of Court when it is of a quasi criminal nature, "and the English House has not of recent years deemed it expedient to interfere in cases of an open or gross character."

The right of Courts to enquire into the question of privilege is discussed by Bourinot at Page 147 as follows:

> "As Parliamentary privileges rest on statutory as well as customary law it follows that they can be inquired into and determined by courts of law like any other rights. In the words of an authority: 'It seems now to be clearly settled that the courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of Parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the House, courts of law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privilege, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application' (o)."

It would appear clear that a Member who has committed an indictable offence is therefore liable to arrest at any time and any place except on the floor of the House when it is sitting.

(*b*) Would it be advisable or inadvisable to charge the Member at the same time as the individual from whom the information was obtained.

The failure to charge the Member at the same time would appear highly inadvisable. The origin of the trouble, the cause of the temptation and downfall of the individual in question arises entirely and exclusively from the actions of the Member. The failure to charge the latter at the same time and bring him before the Courts if possible would inevitably give rise to a reaction which in my opinion would be entirely prejudicial to the proper disposal of the complaint.

Obviously at the present time and insofar as my information goes, the only evidence against the Member would be the testimony of the individual who gave him information. The Member might see fit to offer his own testimony and deny the whole story. The court might then have to decide between the credibility of a witness and an accused. The fact, however, that the witness has incriminated himself by the story and is himself separately charged should, in my opinion, lead any judge to conclude that the version cannot be untrue, the more so in that there is nothing to indicate any unfriendliness whatsoever between the two persons.

Obviously they would have to be separately charged. There should be in my opinion, added a count of conspiracy referring to the substantive offences themselves.

I have not before me all the information arising out of the cases and it is quite possible that certain facts may lead one to another conclusion, but relying for the moment solely on the deposition which I now have, I feel quite definitely that the non-arrest of the Member would not only be prejudicial to the other case but to the interest of justice in general.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. P. BRAIS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PROCEEDINGS OF ROYAL COMMISSION

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): No doubt the house will wish to have as early as possible the documents relating to the proceedings of the royal commission established by order in council P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946. For the convenience of hon. members I have arranged to have these documents printed in advance of an order by the house, but I assume that the house will be agreeable to ordering copies once the documents have been tabled. The documents included in the booklet I have in my hand contain the statement which was made by myself on February 15, 1946, with reference to the appointment of the commission to investigate alleged violations of the Official Secrets Act; text of order in council P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946, establishing the royal commission; letter of the commission counsel to the Minister of Justice of February 23, 1946; text of order in council P.C. 6444 of October 6, 1945; and the first interim report of the royal commission to His Excellency the Governor General in council, of March 2, 1946.

Mr. COLDWELL: Does the Prime Minister intend to make a statement to the house on this situation within the next few days?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I had expected the house would be anxious to have a statement at as early a date as possible. I shall be speaking on the address on Monday next and will avail myself of that occasion to make a statement to the house.

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting the Prime Minister on having arranged to let us have these documents. I believe he mentioned first the documents having to do with the loan to Britain. I was about to ask as a matter of fact that copies of the agreement be made available to us. I am satisfied with the provision which the Prime Minister has made. We are glad to have as well copies of the documents in connection with the espionage matter.

I had planned also to ask the Prime Minister a question with respect to that. Perhaps I might ask it now; he has partly answered it by intimating that he would have something to say about it when he comes to speak on Monday. My question is this, and I ask it because of a feeling of unrest and criticism which is abroad through lack of understanding of the procedure followed by the government in this case. My question was this—perhaps the Prime Minister will take it into account and deal with it when he comes to speak on Monday, if not before:

In view of the extraordinary procedure followed by the government in holding certain Canadians incommunicado in connection with this matter, will the Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice take an early occasion to clarify if possible their justification of this procedure?

Everyone in Canada will want to support the government in trying to stamp out espionage in this country, but some of us find it difficult to explain, let alone to justify, the extraordinary character of the procedure followed.

I would like the Prime Minister to take that into consideration. I trust he will see the wisdom of making a clear explanation because a great many thoughtful and honourable people in Canada find it difficult to understand why that particular type of procedure has been followed.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the request which has just been made by the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) is one which I anticipated he would make, and I share with him the feeling that it is desirable that the country should be given the fullest explanation of the reasons which have caused the commission to detain a certain number of persons before making their final report. I understand, in fact I know, that the commission has made a second interim report to His Excellency the Governor General. That report has been made to-day, and I hope to be in a position to table it to-morrow. The house will then have before it two reports from the commission before this matter is discussed by the house generally.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274065

The house met at three o'clock.

OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT

ARREST OF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT—SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, before we proceed with the business of the house I wish to rise to a question affecting the privileges of this parliament. I do not intend to discuss their historic background, or to refer to the usages of the British parliament or the statutes of this parliament by which they are established. They will be found sufficiently outlined in the introduction to Beauchesne's "Parliamentary Rules and Forms", third edition, 1943, part of which I will quote:

> Several acts suspending for a time the Habeas Corpus Act have been passed in Great Britain with the special provision that no member of parliament shall be imprisoned during the sitting of parliament until the matter in which he stands suspected shall be first communicated to the house and the consent of the house obtained for his commitment, or if parliament be not sitting, then immediately after it reassembles in like manner as if he were arrested on a criminal charge. This is the general rule. The house is usually appraised of the cause of commitment of a member after his arrest and whenever he is in custody, in order to be tried by naval, military, air or courts-martial, or after he has been committed for any criminal offence by a court or a magistrate.

The newspapers report today that Mr. Rose, representative in this House of Commons of the division of Cartier in the province of Quebec, has been taken into custody by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. This house has no knowledge of the charge or charges against him. If the suspected offence is indictable under our criminal law, either under the criminal code or by a special statute, then I submit that this house should be informed now of the nature of the charge, in conformity with the established usage.

If the newspapers are correct in stating that the action arises out of a disclosure of secret information laid before parliament during the war, the offence would appear to be a breach of the privileges of this house and should be a subject of inquiry by the appropriate committee. I am confident that no member of this house, certainly not I or any member of our party, would condone improper or illegal action by any other member. But the privileges of this parliament must be safeguarded no matter who may be involved.

In my opinion the house should require a satisfactory statement from the government now, and I therefore raise the question so that we may receive it today.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, before coming into the house I received word from my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) that he intended to ask a question which I believe would be very similar to the one which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Coldwell) has just put to me. Naturally I anticipated that a question of the kind would be immediately raised when the house met this afternoon, and therefore I shall proceed at once to make a brief statement—not the statement to which I referred yesterday, but a statement which I hope will help to explain the circumstances attending the absence of an hon. member from his accustomed place in the house.

Perhaps I might be permitted to proceed by first of all tabling the second interim report of the royal commission that has been appointed to investigate the unauthorized disclosure of secret confidential information. I have now copies of that report in printed form, in both English and French, and I should like to table them immediately so that they will be before the house at this time.

In the statement which I made on February 15 in reference to the investigation by the royal commission, I said it was the intention of the government that prosecutions should be instituted in cases in which the evidence warranted it. I have been advised by the Attorney General of Canada that charges have been laid against the four men named in the second interim report of the commission, namely, Doctor Raymond Boyer,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Harold Samuel Gerson, Squadron Leader Matt Simons Nightingale, and Doctor David Shugar.

The charge against Doctor Boyer alleges conspiracy with an intermediary, who was not named in the commission's report because he had not been examined by the commission. The intermediary referred to in the report by the cover name Debouz is believed to be the hon. member for Cartier, Montreal. I am further advised by the Attorney General of Canada, who has taken the advice of counsel whose opinions I wish to lay on the table of the house, that effective prosecution of the charge against Doctor Boyer requires similar action in respect of the hon. member for Cartier, against whom an appropriate information has been laid and a warrant for his arrest executed.

In accordance with parliamentary practice, I have taken this first opportunity of communicating to the House of Commons the reason why the hon. member for Cartier is prevented from taking his seat in the house. I may say that I had intended to make this statement before being asked any question. I intimated yesterday that I would table today the second interim report and the proceedings that have arisen therefrom.

Perhaps I should now read the letter to which I have just referred, namely, that from counsel consulted by the Attorney General of Canada with reference to the question of the possible arrest of an hon. member of this house.

I have in my hand a letter signed by the counsel for the commission, E. K. Williams, Gerald Fauteux, and D. W. Mundell, addressed to the Right Hon. L. S. St. Laurent, K.C., Minister of Justice, Ottawa. It is dated March 14, which was yesterday. This letter must help to answer in part at least the question that has just been addressed to me:

Ottawa, 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L. S. St. Laurent, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Minister,—

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Doctor Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a member of parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:

(a) Whether a federal member of parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are:

(a) Yes.

(b) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the royal commission made it impossible to consider this question as thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F. P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

E. K. Williams,
Gerald Fauteux,
D. W. Mundell,
Counsel for the Commission.

I have attached to this letter the legal opinion given by Mr. Philippe Brais, K.C. Perhaps I need not read it at the moment. I should like however to table it, and have it printed and appear with the other documents, with the interim report and the communication from the commission's counsel.

Mr. COLDWELL: Even if the Prime Minister does not read that important opinion, I think it should appear in *Hansard* with the general discussion.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I had better read it:

Brais & Campbell

Royal Bank Building,
360 St. James Street West,
Montreal, March 12, 1946

E. K. Williams, Esq., K.C.,
G. H. Fauteux, Esq., K.C.,
Justice Building,
Ottawa, Ontario.
Secret and Confidential

Dear Sirs:

You have asked my opinion whether:

(a) A federal member of parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of parliament or within the few days which remains before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) If question (a) is answered in the affirmative, whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(a) I have not been informed of any of the activities of the member in question save what appears from the deposition of the individual whose arrest we discussed over the week-end.

That statement does clearly show that the member obtained important information and declared that it was for the use of a foreign power.

It would appear clearly, therefore, that a charge could be laid against the member under section 3 C and probably 4(1) A and B, 4(2), 4(3), of the Official Secrets Act.

No specific penalty is provided in the act for the commission of the above offences and the offender would therefore be subject to section 14 which declares them to be indictable.

Chapter 147, R.S.C., "An Act Respecting the Senate and House of Commons," sections 4 and 5 provide:

> "4. The Senate and the House of Commons respectively, and the members thereof respectively, shall hold, enjoy and exercise,
>
> (a) such and the like privileges, immunities and powers as, at the time of the passing of the British North America Act 1867, were held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and by the members thereof, so far as the same are consistent with and not repugnant to the said Act; and
>
> (b) such privileges, immunities and powers as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, not exceeding those at the time of the passing of such act held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and by the members thereof respectively, R.S.C., 10, s.4.
>
> 5. Such privileges, immunities and powers shall be part of the general and public law of Canada and it shall not be necessary to plead the same, but the same shall, in all courts of Canada, and by and before all judges, be taken notice of judicially. R.S., c. 10, s.5."

Bourinot's "Parliamentary Procedure", third edition, page 143, chapter 2, under the heading "Privileges and Powers of Parliament," discusses "the privileges, immunities and powers" to be enjoyed by members. After discussing the origin of privileges, he declares that it is a general principle of English parliamentary law that . . . "the privilege has been always held to protect members from arrest and imprisonment under civil processes, whether the suit be at the action of an individual or of the public; but it is not claimable for treason, felony, breach of peace or 'any indictable offense'."

Bourinot further states that a member may be committed for contempt of court when it is of a quasi-criminal nature, "and the English house has not of recent years deemed it expedient to interfere in cases of an open or gross character."

The right of courts to enquire into the question of privilege is discussed by Bourinot at page 147 as follows:

> "As parliamentary privileges rest on statutory as well as customary law it follows that they can be inquired into and determined by courts of law like any other rights. In the words of an authority: 'It seems now to be clearly settled that the courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the house, courts of law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privileges, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application'."

It would appear clear that a member who has committed an indictable offence is therefore liable to arrest at any time and any place except on the floor of the house when it is sitting.

(b) Would it be advisable or inadvisable to charge the member at the same time as the individual from whom the information was obtained.

The failure to charge the member at the same time would appear highly inadvisable. The origin of the trouble, the cause of the temptation and downfall of the individual in question arises entirely and exclusively from the actions of the member. The failure to charge the latter at the same time and bring him before the courts if possible would inevitably give rise to a reaction which in my opinion would be entirely prejudicial to the proper disposal of the complaint.

Obviously at the present time and in so far as my information goes, the only evidence against the member would be the testimony of the individual who gave him information. The member might see fit to offer his own testimony and deny the whole story. The court might then have to decide between the credibility of a witness and an accused. The fact, however, that the witness has incriminated himself by the story and is himself separately charged should, in my opinion, lead any judge to conclude that the version cannot be untrue, the more so in that there is nothing to indicate any unfriendliness whatsoever between the two persons.

Obviously they would have to be separately charged. There should be in my opinion, added a count of conspiracy referring to the substantive offences themselves.

I have not before me all the information arising out of the cases and it is quite possible that certain facts may lead one to another conclusion, but relying for the moment solely on the deposition which I now have, I feel quite definitely that the non-arrest of the member would not only be prejudicial to the other case but to the interest of justice in general.

Yours very truly,
F. P. Brais.

I should like now to table copies of both the communications I have read.

Mr. COLDWELL: I do not think the Prime Minister gave the date of that opinion.

Mr MACKENZIE KING: The first was, Ottawa, 14th March, 1946; the one from Mr. Brais, which I have just read, Montreal, March 12th, 1946. The letter from Mr. Brais, it will be noticed, is in reply to the communication from the commission's counsel. That is how it came to be written before their letter to the Minister of Justice.

While I am dealing with this matter I might perhaps answer, from the report of the commission which I have just tabled, the question which is very much in the minds of us all—I can assure hon. members, in the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

mind of no one more than my own, namely, why it is that certain individuals should have been detained for the length of time that some individuals have been detained in connection with this inquiry. The commissioners themselves have doubtless seen that the public, as well as parliament, wished to be informed on this matter. I shall read the concluding paragraph of the second interim report which I have tabled. It is as follows: I quote from page 20:

> In conclusion we may add that we regret not having been able to complete as yet the hearing of evidence with regard to the five other persons who are detained under the provisions of P.C. 6444 passed on October 6, 1945, but we hope that we will be able to do so shortly. On February 14 last we concurred in the advice given by counsel for the commission to the Honourable the Minister of Justice that certain named persons should be detained, and we did so because of the serious nature of the disclosures then indicated by the evidence we had heard, and the fact that cover names of persons who had not been identified appeared in the evidence which indicated that the ramifications of the disloyal practices and the persons engaged therein might be even greater than then appeared and might well be continuing. In effect the matters with which the inquiry was concerned appeared to us to be of so serious a nature from the national standpoint that we believed the course advised by counsel should be pursued in the exceptional circumstances existing. The further evidence which we have heard has not caused us to change this view but, on the contrary, has confirmed it.
>
> In a case of this nature where the evidence has revealed the existence of an organization constituting at least a threat to the safety and interests of the state, as evidenced by the fact that some witnesses holding strategic positions have made the significant statement under oath that they had a loyalty which took priority over the loyalty owed by them to their own country, and for that reason they acted as they did, and would unquestionably have continued so to act had they not been detected, we are of opinion that should these persons be allowed communication with outsiders or between themselves until their activities have been fully investigated, some of the basic purposes of this inquiry would be entirely defeated.
>
> Respectfully submitted,
> Robert Taschereau,
> Royal Commissioner
> R. L. Kellock,
> Royal Commissioner.

There is a further point which I might clear up, and that is the impression that those who still remain to be interrogated feel that as no charge has been made against them they should not for that reason be detained. May I make it clear that those who are being detained by the commission are being detained for purposes of interrogation, for the purpose of getting their evidence under the section of the Inquiries Act which authorizes the commission to take that course. There is no charge against them at the moment. The purpose of the interrogation is to see whether or not, in the light of all that is known, a charge should be laid. When the commissioners come to the conclusion that a charge should be laid against anyone who has been interrogated, they bring before them the persons being interrogated and so inform them and ask them if they wish to retain counsel and if there is anything further they would like to say to the commission before the commission expresses the view that a warrant ought to be issued for their being taken into custody. All of those who have thus far been taken into custody have had that opportunity before the commission. Those against whom charges have been laid, of course, will have their case investigated by the courts and will have all the opportunities which are accorded to persons so situated to retain counsel and to take the course which they deem most advisable and which may be justifiable in the circumstances. I think that answers what the leader of the opposition had intended to ask and what the leader of the C.C.F. party has asked.

With the permission of the house I should like to introduce a motion which will permit of the printing of the documents which I have just tabled.

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Perhaps the Prime Minister would permit me a word before he makes that motion?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Mr. BRACKEN: The Prime Minister has tabled the interim report of the commission to which he referred yesterday. In doing so he also referred to the arrest of a member of this parliament. He read certain legal opinions with respect to the procedure followed in that arrest, and he referred to a question of which I had given him notice and which I intended to put at the proper time today. I believe everyone will agree that these important developments have justified the bringing up of this matter at this time; therefore, I think I should put on record the question that I had proposed asking. The Prime Minister has only partly answered it. The question was as follows:

> In answer to questions directed to him yesterday, the Prime Minister indicated he would make a statement on Monday next in connection with espionage.
>
> Since that time a letter has appeared in the press, reported to have been directed to certain members of parliament from one of those already detained in this investigation, complaining of a disregard of his constitutional rights; and, in addition, this morning's press carries a report of the arrest

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of a member of parliament, while parliament is in session, in connection with a matter related to this investigation.

My question is: In view of these incidents and in view of the consequent mounting public interest in this matter, will the Prime Minister make to-day the statement he proposes to make rather than delay it until Monday?

As I said, the Prime Minister has made a statement referring to these matters in part. If my question had been answered in the affirmative we would have had a fuller statement. I presume, the matter having gone this far, that the Prime Minister does not feel that he can say any more at the moment. Whether he does or not I should like to say this further word, that the refusal of habeas corpus proceedings, the holding of men without a legal charge against them, without the right of bail and without the right to have counsel, is a serious matter to all who pride themselves on the principles of British justice. The Canadian people will be behind the government in searching out and in punishing crimes against the state, but the Canadian people are not in sympathy with any departure from the regular procedures of our courts, established over long years, for dealing with matters of this kind, unless the circumstances are most unusual, such as, for instance, the safety of the state being in danger.

I am sure the house appreciates the information which the Prime Minister has given us to-day; whether he cares to say anything further now is a matter for him to decide.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I should like to say a further word. I thought I had pretty well answered or adequately answered the questions which my hon. friend had intended to ask me; but may I say to him at once that with what he has said about the importance of securing the freedom of the individual, his right to habeas corpus proceedings and anything else that will seek to preserve individual liberty I am in complete accord, and I would be the last person in this country to wish to see the liberty of any individual curtailed in any way at all that it is possible to avoid, short of, to use my hon. friend's own words, the safety of the state being the main consideration.

Yesterday I stated that I would wish to make a statement at length on Monday purposely in order that hon. members might have an opportunity before my statement is made to read the interim reports of the commissioners, the two reports which have been tabled. One report has been tabled only this afternoon. Hon. members have not yet seen that report. I do not believe they have seen any reference in the press to what it contains, and I do ask that hon. members of this house read that report from beginning to close before Monday's discussion on this very serious matter takes place. I would also ask that hon. members read the first report from beginning to close before we proceed with further discussion. I believe that hon. members will be very deeply impressed by the statements which these reports contain. I would also ask hon. members to remember in reading these reports that they have been prepared by two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada, gentlemen who, above all, would be anxious to maintain in every way possible the full freedom and liberty of individuals in our country.

With the permission of the house, Mr. Speaker, I move:

That two thousand five hundred copies in the English language and one thousand copies in the French language of the documents relating to the proceedings of the royal commission, established by order in council P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946, and including the first and second interim reports of the royal commission, laid on the table of the house on the 14th and 15th of March instant, be printed forthwith, and that standing order 64 in relation thereto be suspended.

As I mentioned yesterday, I arranged to have these reports printed without waiting for the authority of the house, feeling quite sure that authority would be given, inasmuch as I took the course I did for the convenience of hon. members.

Motion agreed to.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274070

be discussed at considerable length, later in the session, and I feel I need not take too much time in discussing any aspect of the measure at this time. I expect the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) will introduce the necessary legislation, and at such time will speak at some length upon it.

My hon. friend touched briefly upon financial and trade matters which, as I have already said, are directly related to the budget. I believe we might well defer consideration of these matters until we are discussing the budget.

Mr. Speaker, I might take considerable time in reviewing other matters discussed by my hon. friend; but, as he has said,—and I believe I have his words before me—the matter which above all others occupies the attention of the people to-day is the deplorable question of espionage and disclosure of secret information to a foreign power which so unfortunately has come to the fore.

Having in mind what my hon. friend has said, namely that it is attracting keen attention throughout the country, I felt I should take it up at the earliest opportunity. With that in mind I announced a day or two ago that I intended to deal with this matter when speaking to the address in reply to the speech from the throne.

As I am about to deal with this new subject, Mr. Speaker, it would I think, meet with the convenience of all hon. members if you would call it six o'clock.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, on Friday afternoon last I expressed the hope that hon. members of this house would read with care the interim report which had been presented by the two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada who were acting as commissioners to make an investigation into the disclosure of secret information to unauthorized persons for communication to a foreign power. This afternoon my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, asked me to take the house and the country into my confidence with reference to matters pertaining to this investigation. May I say at the outset that in this I am necessarily confronted with one serious handicap, one to which I have referred in a statement which I have given to the public, namely, that the whole matter is one which is *sub judice* at the present time. For that reason there is very much that I should like to impart to the house and to the country which unfortunately I will not be able to impart and which cannot be given to the house or the country until those who have been committed for trial have had their trial and evidence has been taken in public upon which verdicts will be based.

I have been asking myself at what point one would necessarily have to draw the line with respect to what is not permissible because of matters being *sub judice* and, up to what point matters might be discussed quite frankly. I am right I believe in assuming that anything that took place of which I had knowledge up to the time of the appointment of the commission and which influenced the government in its action with respect to the course it took in appointing the commission and in acting on the advice of the commission in certain particulars would be a matter that I should be quite free to discuss openly, being careful all the time not to say anything, if that is possible, that would in any way prejudice the trials that may take place.

I do not think I can do better in speaking to the question itself and giving to the house at once some idea of its vast significance and importance than to quote from the first interim report of the royal commission. I am not disclosing anything that should not be disclosed because of *sub judice* reasons if I quote from a published report which is in the hands of all hon. members of parliament. Therefore I would bring immediately to the attention of the house the gravity of this question and its far-reaching significance and importance by reading what the commissioners have said with respect to the inquiry they are holding, what they have found thus far, and what they have felt should be given as soon as possible to the public. On page 11 in the document which was tabled on Friday last relating to the proceedings of the royal commission will be found the following paragraph:

> The evidence establishes that a network of under-cover agents has been organized and developed for the purpose of obtaining secret and confidential information particularly from employees of departments and agencies of the dominion government and from an employee of the office of the high commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada. The evidence reveals that these operations were carried on by certain members of the staff of the Soviet embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow. The person directly in charge of these operations was Colonel Zabotin, military attache of the embassy, who had as his active assistants in this work Lieutenant-Colonel Motinov, chief assistant military attache, Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov, assistant military attache air, Major Sokolov, of the staff of the commercial counsellor of the embassy, Lieutenant Angelov, one of the secretaries of the military attache as well as other members of the staff of the military attache, all of whom, as well as the agents whom

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

they employed in the pursuance of their activities, were, in the interests of secrecy, known by under-cover names.

In the next paragraph will be found the following:

We have had before us a former employee of the Russian embassy at Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, the cipher clerk of the military attache, who has described this organization and its functioning, and who has produced original documents, the authenticity of which we accept.

I need scarcely say that these paragraphs describe as serious a situation as has existed in Canada at any time. If the house has had to wait some little time for the information which I intend to give it this evening, it is because the government have been only too conscious of how serious this situation is and how far-reaching its repercussions may be.

Perhaps I cannot better take the house into my confidence than to begin with an account of how I personally became informed of this situation and how the government became aware of it. Hon. members perhaps recall that when the first session of this house opened on the 6th of September last we met in the morning to choose a Speaker and the proceedings were to begin at eleven o'clock. Hon. members may have noticed that at that time the house was kept waiting, for a few minutes at least, before I found it possible to come in. What had happened was this—I was informed that morning by the under-secretary of state for external affairs that a young man from the Russian embassy had been to the office of the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) asking to see the Minister of Justice. He said that he had most important information to impart to the government, that it disclosed a situation which threatened very seriously conditions in Canada, that it was an extremely serious situation and that he wished to warn the Canadian people with respect to it. He said that he had in his possession documents which would make wholly clear what he was saying and he wished these documents to be in the possession of the government. He said that he had taken these documents from the vaults of the Russian embassy and also from among papers which he had collected over a short time with a view of making the disclosure which he now wanted to make.

I was asked what should be done in these circumstances I replied that I thought this was a case where we could not be too careful or too cautious; that this man represented that he had come from the Russian embassy; that we could not say whether the documents he had in his possession were fabrications or not; that we did not know what his own state of mind might be, or how responsible he was; that we knew nothing of the circumstances which had caused him to leave the embassy and come to the government and that I thought he should be told to go back to the embassy with the papers he had in his possession.

He had been anxious to see the Minister of Justice. He had not seen the Minister of Justice. He told his story to the secretary of the Minister of Justice, who gave a full account to the under-secretary of state for external affairs, and he gave me the particulars which I have just mentioned.

What I felt was most important was to see that nothing should be done which would cause the Russian embassy to believe that Canada had the least suspicion of anything which was taking place there, or which could be regarded by them as unexpected in the circumstances.

This advice was given to the man who came, whose name has been given in the commission report—Igor Gouzenko. He was a cipher clerk in the Russian embassy. He had been in the embassy in Ottawa here for some two years, associated with the military attache. Prior to those two years he had been for a couple of years in the secret service in the U.S.S.R. He had been trained particularly in ciphering and deciphering messages. That, he claimed, was how he had got possession of the documents to which I have referred.

Perhaps at this point I should indicate what I subsequently learned about Gouzenko's movements. Apparently he left the embassy around six-thirty in the evening of the day prior to the one at which he went to call at the office of the Minister of Justice. He left with the papers in his possession and went from the embassy to one of the newspaper offices in this city. It was to the *Journal* that he went and told his story to one of the persons whom he found in the office. He wanted to see the editor. The editor was not present; but, I am told, he gave a fairly full account of what he believed the people of Canada should know, what he wished to impart, and seemed very anxious that full publicity should be given to the statement which he was making. He claimed that his purpose was to let the Canadian people know of a situation about which he felt they should know. I understand that though his story seemed fantastic—as he had documents with him—he was told that he should go and see the mounted police, that if he had information of this kind they were the persons he should see.

He went back to his house that night. Next morning he came to the office of the Minister of Justice. Not seeing the Minister of Justice

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

he then left for other parts. He had his wife and little child with him. During the course of the day—I need not relate all his movements—he visited the office of the crown prosecutor in the city and spoke there about his situation, again wishing to give publicity to the information that he had. During the afternoon he left his little child with a neighbour to be cared for, while he and his wife sought to meet others and discuss the situation with them. Then, at night, he went to his home, and when he was there he asked immediate neighbours, a gentleman and his wife, if they would be kind enough to look after his little child; that he was very fearful that something might happen to him that night, that he felt that by this time it would have been discovered that he had left the embassy and had taken with him certain papers which were of significance, and that he might expect to be killed in the course of the evening unless he got protection. The persons in whom he confided his situation took him into their apartment along with the little child and had them all stay in one of the rooms. Meantime the gentleman whose apartment it was, seeing the fear and the dread which he had, went to the city police and told them of the situation and asked that protection should be given to him. Arrangements were made with the police to be in the near vicinity lest there should be any incidents.

About midnight there was an incident. His apartment was entered by four persons—I believe he maintains that it was broken into. At any rate, the four persons who entered the apartment were from the Russian embassy or connected with it. The city police wanted to know from them just why they were there. They claimed immunity, being members of the embassy. No arrests were made. They were allowed to return to the embassy. In the meantime, Gouzenko had been safe, secreted as he was in the other apartment. Later in the evening another visit was made to his apartment, but nothing came of it and Gouzenko asked the city police if they could put him in contact with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He said that he had information which he thought was of importance to Canada and, indeed, to his own country if it could be disclosed, and that he would like to give this information to the government through the police.

He was promised that he would be taken to the mounted police where he could tell his story. Later in the morning he was taken to the mounted police, and he gave a full statement, producing the documents that he had in his possession, and asked for protection for his life and the lives of his wife and little child. They were given protection by the police.

The documents were then very carefully studied together with other information he gave.

Let me repeat from the outset I felt that the situation with which we were confronted was one that could not be viewed too circumspectly. I felt we must make sure what type of person Gouzenko was, and what the motive was that prompted his action. I have come to the conclusion, from the statement which he gave to the police, that his motives were just as he himself described them, a desire to expose a condition which he thought was intolerable and which was likely to work injury to our country and to his own country as well. To the police he made a very careful statement in which he said that he had been in Canada for a couple of years, had been immensely surprised when he came here to see the freedom of the people, the way in which democratic institutions worked in this country. He said that he had been very greatly impressed with the way in which general elections were conducted, the different political parties speaking freely in the open, having candidates who opposed one another and the like. It impressed him deeply in contrast with what he had seen in his own country. He said he felt that, having witnessed for two years what this country was doing to assist its ally with munitions, money and food, and in every other way, and at the same time affording to himself and to others every facility that could be extended in the way of freedom, he could not stand it very much longer, and he had made up his mind that, regardless of what the consequences might be, even if it were life itself, he owed it to the people of this country and to his own people to reveal the condition of affairs as he had come to know it at first hand. And having made up his mind in this way, he then began to gather some of the documents which he felt would be absolutely convincing in themselves if made public.

I wish the house to note that his actions corresponded with that profession. He did not come to the government in the first instance. He went to a newspaper office, and he paid a second visit to a newspaper office with a view to having the documents published and having his story made public. He later came to the police to give them the full story, and the documents which were in his possession.

One may take what view one wishes of Gouzenko. I have stated my impressions as gathered from what evidence has come

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274073

before me. But what I attach importance to in speaking to the house to-night is not the individual and what he said but the documents which were produced. Some of these documents are in the handwriting of some of the persons who have been examined by the commission, while some are in the nature of transcriptions; many of them are cipher messages that have been sent back and forth; some are messages that have come from Britain to Canada and passed on from Canada to the U.S.S.R., and there is much that relates to plans and records that have to do with the manufacture of munitions, explosives and the like.

It is upon the documents which are in possession of the government now, and which will be made public as the trials proceed, that such subsequent action as was taken by myself and my colleagues are based. We have not acted upon hearsay. We have taken the reports which have been made to us by the police, and which are verified and authenticated by the documents themselves.

These documents disclose among other things that Canada was being made a base to secure information on matters of very great and grave concern to the United States and also to Great Britain; that information was being sought through agents here with respect to many matters that were of the utmost concern to Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

I speak for myself personally because I must take the main responsibility. In fact, I am prepared to take the whole responsibility if necessary for the steps that have been taken, though the Minister of Justice and myself were together in considering and dealing with the questions that had to be considered. There come times, however, in a government when, sooner or later, the decisions as to what course is to be taken has to be made by the head of the administration.

I realized at the outset that this was no small matter, not a domestic matter only, by any means. We could not ignore the evidence that there were in our public service a number of trusted employees who were giving information to agents of a foreign power to be of assistance to the foreign power and that it was clearly necessary that there should be an investigation. It was inevitable that an investigation would have repercussions, having regard to what might be revealed, in many parts of the world, and for that reason one had to consider other nations as well as one's own before taking a step that might come to be considered premature.

I should perhaps have mentioned this as a central feature of the Gouzenko statement. He claimed that what was being created in Canada was a fifth column; that it was being created through Russian agents in contact with the members of the public service and others in this country and that it had extended very far; that the infiltration of this effort had gone in very wide directions and for that reason there was the necessity for the completest investigation. I felt it was my duty, regardless of what might come, immediately to inform both the United States and the United Kingdom of what had been disclosed here and to let those two countries know of the government's intention to have the matter investigated.

My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, asked me to inform the house to-night whether, when I visited the United States and the United Kingdom, I informed the authorities there of what I have told the house this evening. I did. I felt my first duty was to visit our immediate neighbour the United States, to see the President and let him know that there were certain matters being revealed to us here which caused me to feel that Canada might be being used as a base for the discovery and the imparting of information that was of concern to the United States, and I was most anxious to have the President know that we intended to have the whole matter fully investigated.

Before I say anything further I think I ought to let the house know what was the kind of information that was in my possession at the time that I decided to visit the United States and Great Britain, and here again, so that I shall not be imparting any information that might bear on what is *sub judice*, I shall, I think, be safe if I take the statement which appears in the first interim report of the royal commission and quote what is indicated there. I should like to make it clear that it was during pretty much all of the month of September that the investigation was being made by the police. I was being informed of what was being brought to light, and pretty much the whole case as it has since been developed had at that time been worked out at least in outline by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The matters of which I had knowledge in this indirect way are pretty much the same as are set forth by the commission in the documents before us. I quote from the first interim report of the royal commission:

As shown by these documents, the specified tasks committed to Colonel Zabotin were the following:

(1) As described in telegrams from "The Director" at Moscow addressed to Colonel Zabotin under his cover name of "Grant," in August, 1945.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274074

(a) The technological processes and methods employed by Canadians and the English for the production of explosives and chemical materials.

(b) Instructions as to which of the members of the staff of the military attache should contact particular Canadian agents and the suggestion of names of persons in the Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs who might act as agents.

(c) Information as to the transfer of the American troops from Europe to the United States and the Pacific also the army headquarters of the 9th army, the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 13th army corps, the 18th armoured division, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 28th, 30th, 44th, 45th, 104th infantry divisions and the 13th tank division, together with the dates of their moves, the location of the army headquarters of the 8th and 16th armoured corps, the 29th and 89th infantry divisions, the 10th tank division and the location of the Brazilian infantry division. Whether or not there had been organized a staff for the American troops in Germany and, if so, its location and the name of the officer-in-command.

The location of the 1st parachute troops and the plans for their future use.

(d) Instructions to take measures to obtain particulars as to the materials of which the atomic bomb is composed, its technological process and drawings.

(2) As described in writings under the hands of Zabotin, Motinov and Rogov, during the period March to August, 1945.

(a) To obtain from the national research council models of developed radar sets, photographs, technical data, periodic reports, characterizing the radar work carried on by the council and future developments planned by the council.

(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the national research council "Give more details of organization of research council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do."

(d) Particular work of specified employees of the research council.

(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the national research council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the national research council.

(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk river, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the "V" bomb.

(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

(k) A list of the army divisions of the Canadian army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the divisions which have been divided, or re-shaped, or undergoing re-shaping.

(l) The number of troops in the Canadian army in the post-war period, together with the system of its organization.

(m) Information from the Department of Munitions and Supply of various kinds relating to guns, shells, small arms, ammunition for small arms, arsenals, optical and radio appliances, automobiles and tanks, apparatus for chemical warfare and particulars of plants producing same.

(n) Information as to electronic shells used by the American navy.

(o) To endeavour to keep agents in government departments threatened with discharge as a result of shrinkage in size of the departments, in order to maintain their usefulness for the future.

(p) Information with regard to depth bombs and double charge shells for cannon.

(q) Information as to telegrams passing into and out of the Department of External Affairs and the office of the high commissioner for the United Kingdom.

It must not be assumed that the above list is exhaustive, but it illustrates the nature of the objectives of these operations.

The commissioners then make the following statement:

It has been stated to us by commission counsel that the method of presentation of the evidence before us is with the object of ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents, but the question of the relative importance of the above subject matters has not been dealt with to an extent where we are yet able to pronounce upon it. To proceed in any other manner might have been prejudicial to the ultimate attainment of the purposes of the investigation.

I read that now because of another question which the leader of the opposition asked me this afternoon to answer, namely, how far this espionage system extended.

I should like my hon. friend to notice that commission counsel have attached particular importance to ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents. I shall return to that a little later, as one of the reasons why the commission have thought it desirable that certain persons should be kept incommunicado pending their interrogation and the taking of their evidence. It has been with a view to finding out in the most effective manner possible how far-reaching this particular infiltration has been.

I could not very well leave Canada until the end of the debate on the address. It was the first session of the new parliament; there had been no division; I had to make perfectly sure that the government was going to remain in office, so that I felt it advisable to wait until after the first division. However, before leaving I did call into my office the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken), the leader of the C.C.F. party (Mr. Coldwell) and the leader of the Social Credit party (Mr. Low) and told them individually one of the reasons why I was leaving at that time. The house will remember that Mr. Attlee had communicated with me somewhat earlier, asking me to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

come over for purposes of consultation. I had been obliged to reply that I could not leave at least until the session was under way; but this matter coming up in the first month of the session made it important that I should not delay my departure longer.

There was one other reason why I went at that particular time. Part of the information secured by the police was to the effect that a scientist who was quite high in his profession and very much trusted by the British government; who was a citizen of Britain but was engaged in research work in Canada; who had perhaps as much knowledge as anyone of matters pertaining to the release of atomic energy and researches in that connection, was about to leave Canada; that he had taken passage on a plane and would be arriving at a certain time in London, where he would make contact with the agent of a foreign power. Information of this kind cannot be easily trusted to telegraphic communication. I thought I should give to the British government as full information as I could with regard to what we had ascertained.

I left for Washington about the end of September. I called upon the President at the White House and had a short talk with him before leaving for New York to catch the ship on which I was crossing to Britain. I arrived in London on a Sunday evening and immediately, on Mr. Attlee's invitation, spent the evening with him at Chequers, where I told him of what had been discovered here. Later I had talks with Mr. Bevin, the foreign secretary, to whom I gave such information as I thought the British government might wish to have. As hon. members know, I returned later to Washington, in company with Mr. Attlee, where a conference took place with the President in respect of atomic energy, in connection with which a report has already been made. I then came back to Ottawa accompanied by Mr. Attlee and, after Mr. Attlee returned to England, took up anew the question into which I had been looking so anxiously before I went away.

One question that undoubtedly presents itself to the minds of hon. members is why there should have been such a long delay in disclosing this condition of affairs. Why was the commission not appointed at an earlier date? Well, I think I have indicated enough to show that it would have been a very great and grave mistake to take any premature step in regard to the time at which the investigation should take place. The last thing this country would have wished to be responsible for was that in any way it had affected the relations between any of the united nations in a way that might prove prejudical to all. Hon. members will recall that there was a meeting in London of the council of foreign ministers at which the British, American and U.S.S.R. foreign ministers were present. That particular meeting did not get very far. After it was over, there were recriminations of one kind and another. I think it would have been most unfortunate had these disclosures taken place while that meeting was being held. There were other meetings to consider that would be held in the near future. It was a question of what was the wisest step to take, and the best time at which to take it.

In order to be perfectly sure of an objective view being taken of the whole situation, the government decided to secure special counsel and have him go over with the police the whole record they had, and the documents which were in their possession, and advise the government as to the course which in his opinion it would be best to follow. The first question was what counsel to select. Hon. members are now aware that the government chose Mr. E. K. Williams of Winnipeg to be counsel to advise the government in this matter. Mr. Williams was made the choice of the government because of his eminent reputation in his profession and because at the time he was president of the Canadian Bar Association. We were anxious that whoever was chosen to advise the government and later on, it proved, the commission would be one in whom members of the legal profession and the country would have every confidence. We felt that Mr. Williams, being president of the Canadian Bar Association, and occupying such a prominent position in the legal profession, would be the best person upon whom to call.

A report was made by Mr. Williams, which I hope some time later may be given to the public. It cannot be given now because it contains information that would have a bearing on some of the trials about to take place. In that report Mr. Williams recommended that the best course to pursue would be to appoint a royal commission and to obtain as commissioners the best persons it would be possible to secure. It was on that advice that the government came to request the services of Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock, two members of the Supreme Court of Canada. Here, again the government realized that questions as to the liberty of the subject and of individual freedom were certain to arise in the exploration of the extent and development of this system of espionage, and that it would therefore be most desirable and indeed, absolutely necessary to have as commissioners persons who,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274076

above all, would be most anxious to protect the liberty of the subject, and to see that justice was done—and justice only.

I have heard hon. members opposite speak about the importance of upholding justice, and of having justice followed in every step in this matter. That is why, to the exclusion of all others, two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada were selected. The government did not know where in Canada it could find two persons who would be more certain to uphold justice in every particular, or who would be more zealous in protecting the freedom and liberty of the subject than would two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada. I hope this will be kept in mind by hon. members if at any stage they are inclined to criticize some of the methods which necessarily have been adopted to fulfil the purpose of the inquiry.

I said a moment ago that there had been other conferences. Hon. members will recall that in December there was a meeting in Moscow at which the Secretary of State for the United States, and Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, met with Mr. Molotov in Moscow to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern. That would not have been an appropriate moment at which to have gone into this matter. Had an investigation been started at that time in Canada, it might conceivably have been said, or it might have been thought that it had been planned with a view to making difficulties in connection with that particular meeting.

Then there came the united nations meeting in London, the preparatory commission of the united nations organization, the meeting of the assembly and of the security council. It was most important that these bodies should be organized with as little as possible in the way of mistrust, suspicion or recrimination. Here, again, was another factor which entered into the judgment of my colleague, the Minister of Justice and myself as to the time at which it would be most appropriate to begin proceedings.

And here may I make a statement which I think it is important to make. My hope had been that it might be possible to have an inquiry which would attract very little in the way of public attention, at least until matters were in such shape that only those against whom evidence seemed to be conclusive would be apprehended and committed for trial. I thought that possibly we might have members of the public service whose names unfortunately have been brought into this situation examined by deputies and ministers of the departments, in the presence of the Minister of Justice, and that the matter might be dealt with in that way. That illustrates only one of several ways in which we hoped the matter could have been dealt with so as to have as little effect as possible on international relations.

A moment's consideration, however, made it clear that anything of that nature was wholly impossible. In the first place it would not have been possible to have made more than a very limited inquiry. And in this situation, because of its vast proportions, it was all important that if there was anything to it at all we should go into it thoroughly and see that nothing was left undone which could possibly be done to clean up a situation of this kind.

I now come to the question of the apprehension of the persons who have been detained. This afternoon my hon. friend asked me to explain when speaking this evening why the order in council passed on October 6, giving authority to the minister to have individuals apprehended and detained, was not made known to the House of Commons at the time the Emergency Powers Transition Act was passed, and a question was asked as to whether there still remained any secret orders in council under the War Measures Act.

The explanation, in a word, is this: I have spoken about a very trusted official who had left Canada to go to England, who was to make contact there with certain persons, who had, as we have reason to believe, very important information in his possession, and who was in a position to give perhaps as much in the way of information as almost any other with regard to certain aspects of research on atomic energy, and matters pertaining thereto.

Contact was to be made in London on October 7. It was understood that if this person should make contact and thereupon be apprehended and brought before the police for examination, a similar step would have to be taken here with respect to the others in Canada who were believed to be in a similar position. October 7 being the date upon which this man was to be apprehended in London, if caught in the act of making the contact it was thought he might make, it was understood that on the same date we should make similar arrests here.

The War Measures Act was then in force, and the order in council was passed in my absence on the recommendation of the Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice. I would have done exactly the same, had I been here, so as to give authority for the apprehension of persons here the moment it was thought desirable that such steps should be taken.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274077

However, the contact in London did not materialize. One of the reasons it may not have was that it had been known in certain quarters for a couple of weeks at that time that a good deal of information was in the hands of the government here, but it was still thought probable that the expected contact might be made. However, as it did not come at that time, the matter here was also held in abeyance. No steps were taken at all under the order until the time came when in was thought necessary and advisable to take the course recommended by counsel and approved by this Government.

Up to that time use had not been made of the order; it simply lay in abeyance until the beginning of the time at which the commission asked that certain individuals should be apprehended and brought before them for interrogation and to give evidence. I doubt very much—the Minister of Justice will speak for himself—whether the matter was in the mind of the minister as to that particular order still being on the list when he was asked in the house whether there were any other orders. I confess that I never thought of it. I was here, I think, when some one asked if there were any other orders. The order had lain dormant; it had not been used at that time. I imagine that that would be the reason why the minister made no mention of it. Even were we to assume that he had knowledge of it, I think it would have been most unwise for the minister to have disclosed to parliament and to the country at that time that there was such an order, and that under it persons would be apprehended for the purpose of the inquiry that has since taken place. What I would have done and what I think the minister would have done if it had entered into his mind would have been to have told my hon. friend and the leaders of the other parties in confidence that the order was there and that it was being kept intact in case use might have to be made of it a little later on. That is the position as I see it.

Let me emphasize this fact. Before any persons were apprehended at all, the commission had examined carefully the man Gouzenko to whom I have referred and all the documents that had been presented to the police. The commission met in camera for a week before any one was apprehended. The two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada were satisfied in their own minds beyond any doubt that the documents that were before them were authentic, and it was on the basis of the documentary evidence they had that caused them, when the commission counsel expressed the view that these persons ought to be apprehended and detained until they gave their evidence, to recommend to the minister that he issue the orders for apprehension.

May I ask hon. members this question? All that I have described thus far and much more was known to the minister and myself at the time the commission was appointed. While the commission sat we were further informed of what the commission themselves had found with reference to the documents and to the situation generally throughout the country. If, knowing all that, the Minister of Justice, when the commission recommended that in order to get to the bottom of this thing it was necessary to apprehend the different persons whom they named, had refused to accept that, had refused to act and had said, "Well, we will have a political question; the question of the freedom of the subject and the like will come up and for political reasons we had better not take any steps," I ask, what would have been the responsibility the minister would have had upon his head to-day before this house?

It is an easy thing to criticize others for taking particular steps before all the facts are known. I believe that already many criticisms have been made which would not have been made if the facts were fully known or even partly known as I have explained them to-night.

I gave out to the public, at the time the commission asked that certain individuals should be apprehended, a statement which I think I ought to read at this moment because it helps to make clear the caution with which the government was proceeding from beginning to close. This was issued by myself on February 15:

> Information of undoubted authenticity has reached the Canadian government which establishes that there have been disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons, including some members of the staff of a foreign mission in Ottawa. In order to make possible the full investigation which the seriousness of this information demands, the government has appointed Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock of the Supreme Court of Canada to act as royal commissioners to hear evidence and to present a report which will be made public. The commissioners have appointed as their counsel Mr. E. K. Williams, K.C., of Winnipeg, Mr. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., of Montreal, and Mr. D. W. Mundell of the Department of Justice; the commission has already commenced its investigation, which is proceeding in camera.

Let me emphasize that the commission had been sitting a week at that time or longer. They had made prefectly certain that the persons whom they were asking should be apprehended were persons whom, upon the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

evidence before them, they felt justified in asking should be detained. My statement continues:

Upon the application of counsel, and having regard to the serious nature of the evidence already adduced before the commission, the commissioners recommended counsel to apply to the Minister of Justice for orders for the interrogation and detention for that purpose of a number of persons known or suspected to be implicated. This action has been taken to-day. The persons involved include some now employed or who have been employed in a number of departments and agencies of the government.

It is the intention of the government that, after the report of the royal commissioners has been received, prosecution will be instituted in cases in which the evidence warrants it. It would not be proper at this stage to make a more complete statement or, in particular, to make public the names of those concerned. Some of them appear to have been far more deeply and consciously involved than others. Some will probably be found to be more or less innocent instruments in furthering activities much more serious than they may have imagined. Obviously, the whole matter should be treated with caution and reserve, pending the time when it will be possible to issue a fuller statement. Until the investigation by the royal commissioners has been completed the case remains sub judice.

In other words, there again the government was taking every step possible, on the one hand, to make the fullest possible investigation and, on the other hand, to protect persons or the liberty of persons, to protect the names of persons until the very last moment at which some disclosure would have to be made with regard to what had been done by way of violating the Official Secrets Act. This step was in part to protect these persons themselves, some of whom to-day are on trial. Until the last moment everything was done to keep their names out of the press.

The authority granted to the commission was to investigate persons who were or had been in the public service, and that is as far as the commission has been investigating. I must confess that I regret, as every member of the house regrets, very deeply that the work of the commission has taken as long as it has. When the commission was appointed we hoped it might be a matter of only a few days that any of the persons would have to be detained, but perhaps I have told the house enough for hon. members to realize how extensive this inquiry necessarily is. In order that the inquiry might be as thorough as possible the commissioners have gone about the taking of evidence in a way that would leave no stone unturned to establish the facts. We have indeed reason to be grateful to the commissioners for the manner in which they have given unremittingly of their time and thought to their exacting duties. Particularly are we indebted to them for the manner in which they have sought to guard against publicity being given to the names or actions of any persons until this became wholly imperative.

Perhaps I should deal for a moment, before concluding, with some of the international aspects of this matter. The house will have noticed, as the public have, that in the statement I gave out I made no mention of any country by name. But before giving out this statement I did ask the charge d'affaires of the Russian embassy to come to my office: I read to him the statement, and I told him that the country to which reference was made was the U.S.S.R. Hon. members will have noticed that it was the Soviet government itself which was the first to state that Russia was the country that was referred to in that statement. There has been no communication from the government of the U.S.S.R. to our government other than a statement which was handed to our representative to the U.S.S.R. at Moscow and to which much publicity was given in the Russian press. That was the statement which made light of many aspects of the statement I had given out, but which did have this significant paragraph in it, that the Russian government admitted that the military attache had taken a course of action here which was, I think the term used was, "inadmissable", and that he had been recalled. May I say that in the course of this inquiry three or four other persons have since returned to Russia from the Russian embassy; this at the instance of the Russian government itself.

This brings up, of course, a very large question, that of the relations between Russia and Canada. Some persons may feel that we ought to sever relations, as they would say, by having the Russian embassy withdraw from Canada. I hope that no view of that kind will be expressed by anyone in a responsible position. We in Canada want only the best of relations with the U.S.S.R., as we do with every other country, and we must not be too ready to judge until we know all the circumstances connected with the particular situation. I believe it is true that there are agencies working, may I put it, at the side of the Russian embassy which are doing things that possibly are unknown to the ambassador himself and members of his staff. That may be so and it may not be so. At any rate I am not going to be the one to judge as to who has knowledge of this and who has knowledge of that. The time will come when all this can be worked out and, I hope and pray, will be worked out in a manner which will let us get rid of whatever there may be of wrong and evil

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

in the whole business and establish the friendliest of relations on a true and sound basis, which will be above suspicion in every way.

It has I think been said that perhaps I should have smothered up this business altogether, that it was bound to have serious implications and that it might have very serious consequences. May I say, Mr. Speaker, I have done what I thought was right, and I have yet to find that taking the course which is right is doing other than following the course which will prove the best in the end. I cannot imagine anyone in a responsible position wishing to smother up a condition of this kind. That would only help to spread the evil through the country, and extend it through time, until, perhaps, consequences very serious indeed would arise. The best way in which most social ills can be cured is not by penalty but by publicity. The light of day will cure much in the way of evil that nothing else is able to cure. That is a belief which I have held all my life in regard to all questions that have to do with social evils of different kinds. I am sure that as a result of the present inquiry once the whole situation has been cleared up, we shall all be able to breathe more freely, with greater confidence in each other, and in other countries.

I think in this statement issued by the Russian government it was said that I ought first to have let their government know about these facts. Well, I did think at one time of going to Russia myself and of speaking with Generalissimo Stalin in reference to it. What I know, or have learned of Mr. Stalin from those who have been closely associated with him in the war, causes me to believe that he would not countenance action of this kind on the part of officials of his country. I believe that when these facts are known to him and to others in positions of full responsibility, we shall find that a change will come that will make a vast difference indeed.

However, I did ask myself the question, were I to attempt to convey to the Russian government what I knew, without documents which I could myself explain and prove, might not be met with the statement that after all as it was Canadian government officials who were concerned, we had better clean our own house first? If the time should come when it could be of any service in helping to meet this situation, I am prepared to take any step at all that may be deemed advisable with a view to having this cleared up in a manner which will not only maintain but strengthen friendly relations with that great power.

May I add this word. The Russian statement mentions that Canada's action had been taken because of some feeling that Mr. Bevin, the British foreign minister, had as a consequence of discussions which took place at the security council. Let me answer that by drawing the attention of hon. members to the fact that the security council met months after the time at which this information came into the possession of the government. The security council meetings were something else altogether. Our action here had no possible connection with events in the security council.

One other thing which is being said is that the action of the detained persons was due to the secrecy with respect to the atomic bomb. I had a letter only yesterday from the secretary of one of the councils of Soviet-Canadian friendship, stating that all this had grown out of the fact that Russia was being denied information which the United States, Britain and Canada had with respect to the atomic bomb. May I impress this fact upon the house, that the disclosures of which I have been speaking to-night go back to 1943 and 1944. The organization for the purpose of espionage of which I have been speaking has been in existence for three or four years in this country, and the greater part of the information which it obtained was secured before anyone knew anything about the atomic bomb outside of those in the immediate know. The attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were, if I recollect aright, on the 6th of August and at a later date in that month, the 9th of August, I think. Documents in the possession of the government are in large part prior to that time altogether. This espionage business has not arisen out of the atomic bomb in any way or any secrecy in connection with it. Now that the atomic bomb is a known factor, undoubtedly information is being sought in that connection, but the espionage net which has been referred to to-night has been in existence for a much longer time that the past seven months. It was the 8th of September when the documents came into the possession of the government.

I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything about the statements which have been made in reference to myself as being anti-labour and anti-Soviet. My feeling towards the great mass of the people in this and other lands and what should be done to improve their position is well known in this country. In regard to Soviet friendship I recall that a year or two after first coming into office twenty-five years ago or so, the government of which I was then the head was one which promoted an "Aid for Russia" fund, to help the starving children of that country. I did what I could to help further that great movement at that time. I have done what I could

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to further the Soviet-Canadian friendship movement. I have spoken on the platform in Toronto in support of it and on the platform in Montreal in support of it. The government of which I am a member has given aid to Russia in munitions and in food and assistance in other ways. It is the same government that has invited the Russians to come and open a legation here, the same government that has sent an ambassador to Russia. All through, from the beginning to this hour, my attitude and the attitude of those who sit around me and with me on this side has been one of furthering to the utmost the friendliest and best of relations with all countries and may I say that none of us will ever forget the heroism of the Russian people. None of us will ever forget their sacrifices and what we all owe to them, along with those of other countries in saving the freedom of the world. We are not going to let these years of sacrifices and the sacrifice of millions of lives go by in order that allied nations may become separated rather than drawn together into one great family.

I wish to conclude by saying that I hope that members in the course of the further discussion of this question will be very careful not to attempt to judge any country or any one individual until we know all the facts as fully as we can possibly know them.

As far as the Russian people are concerned I am as sure as I am of anything that the Russian people are just as anxious for friendly relations with Canada and with peoples in other parts of the world as our own people are, but in that country as in some others, there are persons who for their own selfish ends will do many things that would not be countenanced by the great majority. We have seen how a few men may get power into their own hands, and, power once secured, they will do with it for selfish and ambitious ends many things that are not approved by their fellowmen. What has happened in this instance may have been the action of a few men which I am certain will not be condoned and would not be countenanced by the Russian people. I intend with whatever little power I have, so far as this matter is concerned, to unearth whatever may be wrong, and for the remainder of my life to devote my time to trying in every way possible to see that the greatest amount of friendship and harmony and good will is promoted between all peoples and between the Russian people and the people of Canada in particular.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, to-night I find myself in a somewhat difficult position. We have heard a story which I think has impressed itself upon the house and will undoubtedly impress itself further, and it is very difficult now to enter into a discussion of the speech from the throne or even of the remarks of the right hon. the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). I realize, however, that we are late in meeting this session, and that there is a desire on the part of the house to proceed with its business. Therefore I shall refrain from doing what I might otherwise have done, ask the house to allow me to call it eleven o'clock, and proceed to say what I have to say to-night.

First I should like to make some comments on the speech which has just been made by the Prime Minister. I think that in view of the very uneasy international situation we should follow his advice and be careful in the phraseology we use in discussing what has been placed before us to-night. If I may say so, the first thing I would remark is that in reality we are discussing events which have led up to charges against Canadians and British nationals in this country in peace time. Espionage is the word that is used in this connection, and I think wrongly used, because espionage can, in my opinion, properly and best be defined as the sending of persons into an enemy's country in order to watch what the enemy is doing. But here we are dealing with persons of our own nationality who, it is alleged, have violated their trust, and who, if found guilty, will invite punishment under our Official Secrets Act. I think this should be kept in mind in discussing this matter, and that is why I try to make that point quite clear.

I say, too, that if the accused are found guilty after a fair and proper trial, they must be dealt with according to the law as laid down by this parliament. It is no excuse, as some cynics in this country are suggesting, to say that all nations employ foreign agents. We are not trying a foreign power; we are charging our own nationals with an offence against their fellow citizens which, if proven, no right-thinking person can possibly condone. That I think should be made abundantly clear, because some sections of the press in our country and in the United States have publicized this matter in a way which I believe has tended to complicate a very difficult international situation.

The Prime Minister's statement of February 15, which he read to the house to-night, was couched in careful and I think unprovocative language, and I regret that some sections of the press did not exhibit that sense of responsibility in discussing the matter which characterized our Canadian newspapers during the war. Such newspapers may

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274081

have overlooked the fact that a violent press campaign directed against Russia would be regarded in a country where there is no free press, as the official attitude of this country. Considerable mischief has arisen because of that. It has lent colour, too, to the charge in the communist Labour Progressive papers in this country, widely quoted in the Soviet union, that Canada and its government are engaged in a plot against what they are pleased to call the left wing of the labour movement or in an anti-Soviet campaign, when I am confident that nothing is farther from the truth. Actually the fact is that everyone with any sense of responsibility realizes that the peace and welfare of the whole world depend upon what? Upon the establishment of friendly relations and confidence among all nations, and particularly between Russia and the English-speaking world. Failing to achieve this, lacking this hope, the united nations organization will be shattered. Upon our understandings and good relations the future of mankind depends.

In this atomic age the united nations organization must be made to work so that we may proceed to the establishment of government at the international level. I believe there is no other way of preventing a terrible catastrophe, a third world war, in which, with the new weapons and scientific knowledge we now possess, millions of people may be wiped out in a single night. And when I make that statement I do not make it as my own. Had I been present in December when the matter of the atomic bomb was discussed—unfortunately I was ill—I would have told the house that early in December I heard some of the leading scientists who were responsible for the discovery of atomic energy and the making of the atomic bomb make that very statement; that with the knowledge they now possess it is possible in a country like the United States, by planting atomic bombs in the industrial centres, to destroy as many as forty million souls in a single night.

Now I want to say something about the method pursued by the government in the handling of this situation. I appreciate the difficulties; I appreciate the defence of the government's procedure which the Prime Minister has offered this evening, but I believe there has been too much secrecy, too much mystery in the government's handling of the matter for the public good. The air has been full of rumours, some wild but many which subsequently proved well founded. This has been bad and, may I say to the government, indicates serious leaks from persons who might be expected to show a greater sense of responsibility. A case in point is that of the arrest of the representative of a constituency in this house. A week before the action was taken a dispatch to a London newspaper quoted in a Montreal newspaper, I believe the Montreal *Herald*, said that such action was about to be taken, that the Prime Minister would denounce a member of parliament in the house when we met. Well, the hon. member for Cartier (Mr. Rose) was arrested the day we met, and the next day the Prime Minister informed the house that the unknown agent who had received information from an accused for the benefit of Russia was believed to be the representative in parliament of the constituency of Cartier, Montreal. There have been other similar news items.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that I saw the item to which he refers, and if my recollection is aright it stated that I was going to complain about something having been revealed in regard to some secret session of parliament. Nothing of the kind that I know of has entered into the present situation. More than that may I say that I had no knowledge that the report would come that was received from the commissioners on Thursday. It was that report which necessitated the arrest of the hon. member. There have been leaks, I admit, but that was not one of them.

Mr. COLDWELL: Well, I am very glad to get the Prime Minister's assurance; but he states there have been leaks, and indeed it was at least quite a coincidence that a week before the action took place a dispatch containing such a story should go from Ottawa to the London *Daily Mirror*, I think it was.

In view of what the Prime Minister said this evening I wish to say that through the ages our forefathers have fought vigorously to prevent secret trials and actions affecting the liberty of the subject without fair and proper trial. During the war hon. members who were here will recollect there was considerable debate in this house. The defence of Canada regulations were modified, but many hon. members were disturbed by the manner in which those regulations and the War Measures Act were used not only against those who endeavoured to assist the enemy but against members of religious sects and, indeed, Canadians of Japanese origin. Quislings and traitors must be punished, but we dare not allow any government to act except in accordance with the established principles of justice.

The persons now held are believed to have violated the Official Secrets Act and betrayed their trust. I repeat that if they are guilty, they must be punished. But I have carefully

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274082

THIRD
INTERIM REPORT
of the
ROYAL COMMISSION

Established by Order in Council
P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946

March 29, 1946

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274084

C 274083

THIRD INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

(Made public March 29, 1946)

OTTAWA, Ontario,
March 29th, 1946.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

Re: P.C. 411

We desire further to report as follows:—

Eric Adams entered McGill University in 1925, graduated in engineering in 1929, and obtained the degree of Master of Business Administration at Harvard in 1931. His first employment was with the advertising agency of Cockfield, Brown and Company, of Montreal. In 1934 he made, as a tourist, an extended trip to Russia, and, after having occupied several positions in Canada, in 1936 he went to the United States for three years, where he was employed as an engineer with Coverdale and Colpitts in New York. In 1940 he joined the Wartime Requirements Board, in 1941 the Foreign Exchange Control Board, in 1944 the Bank of Canada, all in Ottawa, and in 1945 the Industrial Development Bank with residence in Montreal. While occupying these various positions of trust, he was a member of several committees and secretary of the Main Examining Committee of the Inventions Board during the war.

Documents coming from the Russian Embassy show that Eric Adams was known under the cover name of "ERNST". He is referred to as follows in a document written in Colonel Zabotin's handwriting:—

> "He gives detailed information about all kinds of industries, plans for the future. Supplies detailed accounts of sessions. Gives materials daily. Good worker.
>
> He is connected with Foster. Both live in Ottawa. Taken to work at the end of January."

In a mailing list sent by Zabotin to Moscow on the 5th of January, 1945, he is credited with having furnished the following information:—

Name		*Material*	*Date*
ERNST	Review	Despatch of Munitions to England	November
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	Central Branch	July-September
"	Copy	Invention of Waterproofing (Page 5 of original)	8-12-44

59531—2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Name		*Material*	*Date*
ERNST			
"	Manuscript	Notes on the conference	20-12-44
"	Copy	Central Branch	Sept.-October
"	"	Unloading of m. stor. for month of November	14-12-44
"	"	Report of 24-11-44	24-11-44
"	"	Inspection Br.	2-12-44
"	"	Inspection Br.	28-11-44
"	"	Inspection Br.	2-12-44
"	"	Correspondence about contracts	12-12-44
"	"	Correspondence with companies	December
"	"	Corrections	"
"	"	Correspondence with companies	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	(Page 6 of original)	
"	"	Enquiries	"
"	"	"	"
"	"	Correspondence	"

the whole comprising a total of 203 pages.

This list cannot be considered as exhaustive of the information furnished by him, for he appears to have been quite active while in Ottawa, and also after the 1st of January, 1945, when he joined the Industrial Development Bank in Montreal. Miss Willsher has stated before us, very frankly we think, that he asked information about her work at the British High Commissioner's Office, which she gave, not only while he was in Ottawa, in 1942 and 1943 and 1944, but also in 1945.

For that purpose he made special trips to Ottawa in 1945, the contacts being arranged through an intermediary, and the meetings taking place at pre-arranged places, or in his automobile when the information was given. In one instance Adams gave Miss Willsher $25.00 for the purpose of going to Montreal.

Adams has been called by Miss Willsher the leader of an Ottawa group, and it was to him naturally that the information should be given,—

"in the interest of the Communist Party"

when they met with others of the group to discuss the—"theory and practice of socialism and communism and the party program." These meetings were the occasions when she would convey information to Adams.

When confronted with the evidence given by Miss Willsher, Adams gave evasive answers, stating that his questions had been misconstrued by Miss Willsher. He professed throughout his evidence to having a poor memory and attributed to it his hesitancy in answering very many questions. He made no clear denial of the evidence given by Miss Willsher, taking refuge in his professed view that she had misinterpreted the situation.

Adams' conduct and associations with Soviet agents, his personal sympathies dating back at least to 1935 which made him easily receptive to the suggestions of Messrs. Zabotin and Rogov, his endeavours to obtain information of a secret nature, which turned out in many instances to be fruitful, as evidenced by the testimony of Miss Willsher, and the documents from the Embassy, leave little doubt in our minds that he has conspired to commit offences in violation of the

Official Secrets Act, and that he has also committed the substantive offences of obtaining for the benefit of a foreign power, secret information, and of inciting others to commit such offence.

Israel Halperin, of Russian descent, was born in 1911. He is 35 years old and is a professor of mathematics at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario.

At the Russian Embassy, he was known as "BACON", and formed part of the group which was to operate under the direction of Captain Gordon Lunan. In the original assignment given to Lunan by Lieutenant Colonel Rogov, it was Lunan's duty to obtain from Halperin information concerning "Valcartier" and "the formulas of explosives and samples".

Halperin joined the army in 1942. In 1943 he was attached to the Directorate of Artillery, became a Captain in 1944 and a Major in 1945. In that branch of the army, he worked on a considerable number of secret projects, some of which were so important that they were known, even amongst the few who were aware of them, under code names. In his position he had access to all the files and documents concerning explosives and weapons and all the new discoveries made available to the artillery.

Lunan contacted Halperin several times and reported in writing to the Embassy the results of his conversations. At first, according to Lunan, Halperin did not seem sufficiently impressed with the "conspiratorial' nature of the work, but later gave the information asked for including information on the Canadian Army Research and Development Establishment, called C.A.R.D.E. and the various plants and laboratories that would be operated by this organization. This included information about the Pilot Explosives Plant, the Ballistics Laboratory, the Designs Branch and the Field Trials Wing. He emphasized the work done at the Ballistics Laboratory, with particulars as to new explosives. This latter information conveyed to Lunan by Halperin was of a highly secret nature.

Another assignment given to Lunan by the Russian organization was to obtain information through Halperin on the "electro-projector", which was at that time a fuse newly developed by British and Canadian scientists and manufactured by the Americans. Halperin promised to comply with the request made to him, and later informed Lunan of the existence of this new projectile and the general principles of its operation. This device, developed by co-operation between the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, was one of the most devastating projectiles used in the Japanese war, and is of such a secret nature that we have been asked by the military authorities not to report with more particularity than as above.

Halperin had associations with other persons involved in the agency organization. He was known to many of them and kept in a pocket book the telephone numbers of Adams, Boyer, Nightingale, Rose, Shugar and Poland. When Lunan received his first assignment to contact Halperin he did not know him, but it is a significant fact that, on the document written by Rogov, Halperin's name appeared—he was already known at the Embassy.

When Halperin appeared before the Commission, assisted by Counsel, full opportunity was given to him to explain all this direct and circumstantial evidence against him, but his refusal to furnish any explanation and his general demeanor, fully convince us that he violated the Official Secrets Act on more than one occasion.

Durnford Smith is a member of the microwave section of the Radio Branch of the National Research Council. He is an honour graduate of McGill University in mathematics and physics and holds his master's degree obtained for work in connection with radio-activity. In 1936 he applied for a post in the National Research Council, but not until 1942 was he finally successful in obtaining a temporary position as Junior Research Engineer in the radio

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

laboratory. On January 12, 1946, he was engaged for a three year term. Before entering the employ of the National Research Council he was with the Bell Telephone Company for some five years. His work in the Council was secret and on his appointment he took the usual oath of secrecy.

Smith, as the evidence shows, was one of the group of agents reporting through Lunan to Lieutenant Colonel Rogov. He was referred to in the Embassy records under the cover name of "Badeau". In July, 1945, he was brought into direct contact with Rogov. Smith did not admit participation, but a great deal of the evidence he would not deny. From the Embassy two documents, one of them containing notes, formulae and drawings, established to be in the handwriting of Smith, were produced by Gouzenko. The handwriting of these, Smith says, is "like" his. He had no explanation for the presence of the documents in the Embassy. He himself furnished to the Embassy his picture and biographical material for its dossier on him.

Certain definite tasks were assigned to Smith from time to time. As an example, on August 6, 1945, the following memorandum was given to him:—

"Assignment for Badeau, Number 3

Given through Back 6-8-45

Obtain the following literature for photographing: GL 14003, Som. 14032, A.S.V. 14040, B and N.S. 13960.

Note: If the specified material is bulky or if it is not convenient to take such a number of books, then the given number can be reduced at your discretion, but everything must be very careful.

P.S. After reading burn."

The numbers are the numbers of secret documents in the Radio Branch of the National Research Council.

Between August 8th and 22nd, Smith drew from this library ten documents and he had previously drawn fifteen others. All of these remained in his possession till after August 26th. Included in those drawn by him on August 20th were Nos. 14003 and 14032.

Colonel Rogov's notebook contains the following entry:—

"3. 25-8-45	Regular (meeting), everything normal. Handed over a large quantity of radio literature and various reports, all told about ten books.	There was an awful rain. He came, however, gave notice that in future he would not come during such kind of weather—not naturally.
	He gave notice that he was going on a two-week's vacation.	
	Was given the assignment on radio material and other things. (See assignment No. 4).	
	The meeting to return the material will be on 26-8-45 on the corner of Osgood and Cumberland at 22.00".	

The evidence shows that on the evening of August 25th the heaviest rain of the month occurred; Smith himself admits that at that date he was looking forward to his vacation shortly thereafter.

On August 27th, Zabotin wired the "Director" in Moscow as follows:—

"We have received from Badeau 17 absolutely secret and secret documents (British, American and Canadian) on the question of magnet, radio-locators for field artillery, three secret scientific research journals of 1945. Altogether about 700 pages. In the course of the day we were

able to photograph all the documents with the help of the Leica and the photofilter. In the next few days we will receive almost the same amount of documents for 3 to 5 hours and with one film we will not be able to do it. I consider it necessary to examine the whole of the library of the Scientific Research Council.

Your silence on My No. 256 may disrupt our work on photographing the materials. All materials have been sent by mail in turn."

The Embassy records show that these documents were returned to Smith on August 26th.

The "library of the Scientific Research Council" mentioned in the above telegram, is not, as may well be imagined, the library of that body which is open to members of the public, but the library of secret documents kept in the various branches of the Council and notably in the Radio Branch.

We are satisfied on all the evidence, documentary and otherwise, including the evidence of Lunan and Mazerall, as well as the evidence of Smith himself, that Smith was an active agent of the Embassy.

J. S. Benning became an employee of the Department of Munitions and Supply in July, 1942, and was placed in the Ammunition Production Branch. Prior to that for a short time he had been with Allied War Supplies Corporation, a Crown company. In both these positions he took an oath of secrecy. Later in his employment he was transferred to the Economics and Statistics Branch of the Department. In April, 1945, he went to the Department of Reconstruction where he became Assistant Secretary and later Secretary of the Depreciation Committee. While in the Department of Munitions and Supply he was Joint Secretary of the Canadian Munitions Assignment Committee.

On the mailing list for one day, January 5, 1945, which details documents mailed by the Embassy to Moscow on that day, "Foster" is credited as being the source of supply of seventy separate documents. It has not been possible to identify each of these documents from the descriptions given in the mailing list but more than half of this material may be identified either in particular or generally. The evidence establishes that Benning, whose cover name, according to Gouzenko, was "Foster", had to do with this material in connection with his work or was in a position where it was possible for him to have access to such material either by himself or through Gerson, who was his brother-in-law.

Three items on the mailing list may be referred to:—

"No.	*Name*	*Material*	*Date*
155	FOSTER	North Amer. Comm. of Coordin.	Report of 23.11.44
156	FOSTER	D.M. and S.	Report of 24.11.44
157	FOSTER	North Amer. Committee	Notes and Report 23.11.44"

There was put in evidence before us the minutes of a meeting of the North American Co-ordinating Committee of the Joint Gun Ammunition Production Committee held November 23, 1944, and minutes of the same committee of November 24, 1944. These proceedings were secret. H. S. Gerson was the Secretary of these meetings and Benning says that the minutes of this Committee came to him in the Economics and Statistics Branch.

In a column of the list, not copied in the above, it is noted "See who was Secr. Meet." The writer evidently desired to emphasize the source of the material as a guarantee of future supply. For some devious reason it was apparently thought better to have "Foster" deliver these documents rather than Gerson himself.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

A number of items on the mailing list consists of "corrections" or "supplements" to contracts. Benning was, with others, engaged in preparing quarterly production reports in the Economics and Statistics Division which were amended from time to time on the basis of, including other items, cables from the United Kingdom authorities. Several of these "corrections" on the mailing list coincide in date with the dates of certain of these cables.

The evidence also shows that Benning was in communication with Nightingale, Gerson and Shugar as well as with an intermediary not in the Government service, who was engaged in supplying information to the Russian Embassy.

The Official Secrets Act, 1939, Sec. 3 (1) in part is as follows:—

3. (1) "If any person for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State,

.....

(*b*) makes any... note which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power; or

(*c*) obtains, collects, records, or publishes, or communicates to any other person any secret... article, or note, or other document or information which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power

he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

(2) On a prosecution under this section, it shall not be necessary to show that the accused person was guilty of any particular act tending to show a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, and, notwithstanding that no such act is proved against him, he may be convicted if, from the circumstances of the case, or his conduct, or his known character as proved, it appears that his purpose was a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State;.....

(3) In any proceedings against a person for an offence under this section, the fact that he has been in communication with, or attempted to communicate with, an agent of a foreign power, whether within or without Canada, shall be evidence that he has, for a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, obtained or attempted to obtain information which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power.

(4) For the purpose of this section, but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision—

(*a*) a person shall, unless he proves the contrary, be deemed to have been in communication with an agent of a foreign power if—

(i) he has, either within or without Canada, visited the address of an agent of a foreign power or consorted or associated with such agent; or

(ii) either within or without Canada, the name or address of, or any other information regarding such an agent has been found in his possession, or has been supplied by him to any other person, or has been obtained by him from any other person;

(*b*) the expression 'an agent of a foreign power' includes any person who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been employed by a foreign power either directly or indirectly for the purpose of committing an act, either within or without Canada, prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, or who has or is reasonably suspected of having, either within or without Canada, committed, or attempted to commit, such an act in the interests of a foreign power;

(*c*) any address, whether within or without Canada, reasonably suspected of being an address used for the receipt of communications intended for an agent of a foreign power, or any address at which such an agent resides, or to which he resorts for the purpose of giving or receiving communications, or at which he carries on any business, shall be deemed to be the address of an agent of a foreign power, and communications addressed to such an address to be communications with such an agent."

Benning denied giving any information and denied he was the source of the material credited to "Foster" in the mailing list referred to. However, the name and telephone numbers of the intermediary referred to were found in a notebook belonging to him. This intermediary, in our opinion, in the evidence comes clearly within ss. 4 (*b*). Benning has no explanation of any kind for the presence of the name of this person in his book, although he admits the entries are his.

While Benning was giving evidence as to his work there was no reason for us to think he was speaking other than frankly. Other aspects of his evidence, however, were not as satisfactory and his failure to account for the presence in his book of the information pertaining to the intermediary in question, is, in our view, significant. While there is no direct evidence that he gave information, we do not attach any weight to his denial.

Squadron Leader F. W. Poland became in April, 1942 an administrative intelligence officer in the R.C.A.F. in the Directorate of Intelligence, R.C.A.F. Headquarters, Ottawa. As from November 10, 1944 he was seconded to the Armed Forces Section of the Wartime Information Board and from May, 1945 was Executive Secretary of the Psychological Warfare Committee. He sat at all meetings of the Committee, carried out its directions in prisoner of war camps, directives issued by the Political Intelligence Department passed through his hands, and he had access to all documents to which the Committee had access. While in the Directorate of Intelligence he had supervision of security education throughout the R.C.A.F. He drafted orders affecting security information and was secretary of the Security Sub-committee of the Canadian Joint Intelligence Committee, which in turn, was a sub-committee of the Chiefs of Staff. He was also, for a short time, a member of a committee on the grading of documents from the standpoint of security.

On a page from Col. Zabotin's notebook which Gouzenko produced the following appears under the heading:—

"Second Group (Ottawa-Toronto)"

"3. Polland. Ministry of Aviation.
Works in Toronto in the Intelligence Branch. He gave a map of the training schools. Up to the present is not working.

4. Surensen. He works in the Naval Ministry. He works in Intelligence. Gave materials about construction of ships. Left for Overseas.
Both worked up to April."

Gouzenko testified that in a telegram sent by Zabotin to Moscow in 1943, Zabotin suggested that "Polland" be turned over to the N.K.V.D. We have evidence that that organization, the Russian Secret Police, had an organization under its direction working in Canada long before Zabotin arrived in July, 1943. Moscow replied to this telegram that it was not worth while doing so as "Polland" might develop into a good worker. Gouzenko was unable to say whether "Polland" was a cover name or a real name. The evidence shows that on enlistment in the R.C.A.F. Intelligence Poland was in Toronto in May-June, 1942 and was then transferred to the Directorate of Intelligence, Ottawa. The evidence shows that there was no other person by the name of "Polland" or "Poland" who answers to the above.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

There is also other evidence. The names and telephone numbers of Lunan, Nightingale and Pavlov were found entered in the desk telephone directory or desk calendar pad belonging to Poland. The names of Lunan and Nightingale have been mentioned many times. Pavlov is the second secretary and consul of the Russian Embassy and the telephone number in the desk pad is the telephone number of the Embassy on Charlotte Street in Ottawa. Pavlov, according to the evidence of Gouzenko, is one, and perhaps the chief, of the N.K.V.D. men there.

Poland appeared before us with Counsel and refused to be sworn, to answer any questions, or to make any explanation, although offered the opportunity of seeing the evidence referred to above.

Having regard to these circumstances and the provisions of the Official Secrets Act cited in dealing with Benning, it would appear to us that Poland has brought himself within those provisions, although so far as the evidence before us goes, the map indicated by Col. Zabotin's notebook would not appear to have been very important; but with information available to Poland it was capable of being made very useful.

There remain a number of witnesses yet to be heard, many of whose names are mentioned in the documents placed before the Commission by Gouzenko. The names of others appear in other documents filed as exhibits, or in the evidence of the various witnesses whom we have heard. With this report we have completed the hearing of the evidence of those persons who were detained under P.C. 6444.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT TASCHEREAU,
Royal Commissioner.

R. L. KELLOCK,
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor General in Council,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Épreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274091 Office of The Prime Minister G

Name of Publication TORONTO STAR

Date JANUARY 16, 1947

Subject

POLAND IS ACQUITTED SIXTH IN SPY TRIALS

Conspiracy Charge Against R.C.A.F. Officer Fails—Crown Not Likely to Proceed on Second Charge —Hearing of Dr. Henry Harris Begins

Special to The Star

Ottawa, Jan. 16—Squadron Leader Frederick W. Poland was cleared of conspiracy charges today by Carleton County Judge M. C. McDougall when he found the R.C.A.F. officer not guilty of having conspired to furnish Soviet agents with secret and confidential information.

Poland was defended by Arthur Martin of Toronto and Roydon A. Hughes of Ottawa.

Squadron Leader Poland is the sixth man accused by the royal commission on espionage to be acquitted by the courts.

Not Unreasonable

In delivering judgment, Judge McDougall said Poland's explanation of his connection with one, Col. Pavlov, was not unreasonable.

The judge said Poland's explanation as to why he had Pavlov's telephone number on his telephone pad was "quite reasonable" because of Poland's position in the intelligence directorate of the air force. Poland had every right to have such information, he said.

Another reason given for the appearance of the telephone number was that Pavlov was a friend of Poland's.

A second charge of giving secret information to foreign agents was adjourned to March 16, but the crown is not expected to press this charge.

Poland was suspended by the R.C.A.F. and his pay withheld when named by the spy commission. An Air Force source said it was probable since he was cleared, that all back pay would be forthcoming.

Almost immediately the court began hearing the case of the 16th Canadian to face the courts as a result of the dominion's espionage probe first announced 11 months ago, that of Dr. Henry Harris, Toronto optometrist, on conspiracy counts laid under the Official Secrets Act.

Harris pleaded not guilty to a charge of conspiring to obtain a false Canadian passport for a Soviet espionage agent operating in the U.S.

Of the 14 persons who preceded Poland, seven were sentenced to prison, one was fined and five were acquitted.

Acquitted were W. M. Pappin, passport office clerk; Agatha Chapman, Bank of Canada economist; Eric Adams, Industrial Bank of Canada economist; Matt Nightingale, former R.C.A.F. communications expert; Dr. David Shugar, former naval anti-submarine expert, and F. W. Poland, former R.C.A.F. intelligence officer.

Sentenced to prison were: Fred Rose, Labor-Progressive member of parliament, six years; J. Scotland Benning, munitions department official, five years; H. S. Gerson, munitions department official, five years; David Gordon Lunan, Canadian [illegible], five years; Durnford Smith, National Research Council scientist, five years; Edward Mazerall, National Research Council scientist, four years; Kathleen Willshire, British high commissioner's clerk, three years; Emma Woikin, external affairs cipher clerk, two and one-half years plus six months for contempt of court. Appeals by Rose and Mazerall have been turned down, while those of the other men are pending. The two women pleaded guilty.

Fined was Dr. John Soboleff, Toronto doctor.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274091

Office of
The Prime Minister

G

Name of Publication TORONTO STAR

Date JANUARY 16, 1947

Subject

POLAND IS ACQUITTED SIXTH IN SPY TRIALS

Conspiracy Charge Against R.C.A.F. Officer Fails—Crown Not Likely to Proceed on Second Charge —Hearing of Dr. Henry Harris Begins

Special to The Star

Ottawa, Jan. 16—Squadron Leader Frederick W. Poland was cleared of conspiracy charges today by Carleton County Judge M. C. McDougall when he found the R.C.A.F. officer not guilty of having conspired to furnish Soviet agents with secret and confidential information.

Poland was defended by Arthur Martin of Toronto and Roydon A. Hughes of Ottawa.

Squadron Leader Poland is the sixth man accused by the royal commission on espionage to be acquitted by the courts.

Not Unreasonable

In delivering judgment, Judge McDougall said Poland's explanation of his connection with one, Col. Pavlov, was not unreasonable.

The judge said Poland's explanation as to why he had Pavlov's telephone number on his telephone pad was "quite reasonable" because of Poland's position in the intelligence directorate of the air force. Poland had every right to have such information, he said.

Another reason given for the appearance of the telephone number was that Pavlov was a friend of Poland's.

A second charge of giving secret information to foreign agents was adjourned to March 16, but the crown is not expected to press this charge.

Poland was suspended by the R.C.A.F. and his pay withheld when named by the spy commission. An Air Force source said it was probable since he was cleared, that all back pay would be forthcoming.

Almost immediately the court began hearing the case of the 16th Canadian to face the courts as a result of the dominion's espionage probe first announced 11 months ago, that of Dr. Henry Harris, Toronto optometrist, on conspiracy counts laid under the Official Secrets Act.

Harris pleaded not guilty to a charge of conspiring to obtain a false Canadian passport for a Soviet espionage agent operating in the U.S.

Of the 14 persons who preceded Poland, seven were sentenced to prison, one was fined and five were acquitted.

Acquitted were W. M. Pappin, passport office clerk; Agatha Chapman, Bank of Canada economist; Eric Adams, Industrial Bank of Canada economist; Matt Nightingale, former R.C.A.F. communications expert; Dr. David Shugar, former naval anti-submarine expert, and F. W. Poland, former R.C.A.F. intelligence officer.

Sentenced to prison were: Fred Rose, Labor-Progressive member of parliament, six years; J. Scotland Benning, munitions department official, five years; H. S. Gerson, munitions department official, five years; David Gordon Lunan, Canadian Information Services official, five years; Durnford Smith, National Research Council scientist, five years; Edward Mazerall, National Research Council scientist, four years; Kathleen Wilshire, British high commissioner's clerk, three years; Emma Woikin, external affairs cipher clerk, two and one-half years plus six months for contempt of court. Appeals by Rose and Mazerall have been turned down, while those of the other men are pending. The two women pleaded guilty.

Fined was Dr. John Soboloff, Toronto doctor.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274092 Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO STAR

Date January 17, 1947

Subject

A Sixth Acquittal

Another of the "spy trials" has resulted in an acquittal. Of the 18 persons charged, eight have been sentenced, one fined, six acquitted and three are still to be tried.

The man now acquitted—the sixth person found not guilty—is Squadron Leader Frederick W. Poland, a newspaperman who was an administrative intelligence officer in the R.C.A.F., Ottawa, and later with the wartime information board and psychological warfare committee. A second charge against him has been adjourned and is not likely to be pressed.

Of Poland the Taschereau-Kellock commission said, with respect to the communication of secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada: "In our opinion Poland has brought himself within the above provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1939, and has failed completely to rebut the presumption thereby created that he did so communicate."

A statement like that draws attention to the fact that the Official Secrets Act presumes a man guilty of improper communication if he even has in his possession "the name or address of, or any other information regarding" an agent of a foreign power "who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been employed by a foreign power for the purpose of committing an act prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state." Poland had the name and telephone number of such an agent, Pavlov, on his telephone pad, so the act presumed him guilty until he proved his innocence.

In this and other cases before the Taschereau commission, the existence of such a statute, with its presumption of guilt, was in effect a command to "testify or else," although the suspects were not on trial. Poland refused to testify, as he had a perfect right to do, so the commission "reported" him in the language already quoted. But now that he has had a fair trial the judge finds that Poland's explanation of "possessing" the Pavlov name and telephone number is "quite reasonable." Poland's position in the public relations department of the air force gave him every right to have this information in his possession.

But while Poland and five others have now been found not guilty, their supposed guilt has been put into a book and circulated by the government at a dollar a copy.

Since this date Henry Harris has been convicted, and sentencedto five years imprisonment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PRESS CLIPPINGS C 274092 Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO STAR

Date January 17, 1947

Subject

A Sixth Acquittal

Another of the "spy trials" has resulted in an acquittal. Of the 18 persons charged, eight have been sentenced, one fined, six acquitted and three are still to be tried.

The man now acquitted—the sixth person found not guilty—is Squadron Leader Frederick W. Poland, a newspaperman who was an administrative intelligence officer in the R.C.A.F., Ottawa, and later with the wartime information board and psychological warfare committee. A second charge against him has been adjourned and is not likely to be pressed.

Of Poland the Taschereau-Kellock commission said, with respect to the communication of secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada: "In our opinion Poland has brought himself within the above provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1939, and has failed completely to rebut the presumption thereby created that he did so communicate."

A statement like that draws attention to the fact that the Official Secrets Act presumes a man guilty of improper communication if he even has in his possession "the name or address of, or any other information regarding" an agent of a foreign power "who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been employed by a foreign power for the purpose of committing an act prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state." Poland had the name and telephone number of such an agent, Pavlov, on his telephone pad, so the act presumed him guilty until he proved his innocence.

In this and other cases before the Taschereau commission, the existence of such a statute, with its presumption of guilt, was in effect a command to "testify or else," although the suspects were not on trial. Poland refused to testify, as he had a perfect right to do, so the commission "reported" him in the language already quoted. But now that he has had a fair trial the judge finds that Poland's explanation of "possessing" the Pavlov name and telephone number is "quite reasonable." Poland's position in the public relations department of the air force gave him every right to have this information in his possession.

But while Poland and five others have now been found not guilty, their supposed guilt has been put into a book and circulated by the government at a dollar a copy.

Since this date Henry Harris has been convicted, and sentencedto five years imprisonment.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274093

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ESPIONAGE

A. Prime Minister's Statements in House of Commons.

B. Foreign Press Reports.

C. Royal Commission Reports.

D. Reports from U. S. S. R.

E. Persons Involved in Espionage.

F. Miscellaneous.

(For Canadian Press Reports, and
Final Report of Royal Commission
see other Folders on "Espionage".)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274094

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENTS
IN HOUSE OF COMMONS

a. Chronology of events.

b. Copies of Inquiries Act and
Official Secrets Act.

c. Steps taken by Igor Gouzenko.

d. Statement in House of Commons,
March 16, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Igor Gouzenko
Copies Clerk - Embassy Ottawa

Statement - Re matters connected with the disclosure of secret and confidential information to a foreign power contrary to the provisions of the Official Secrets Act.
Organized conspiracy for benefit of a foreign power
Question of sub judice.

Situation can best be stated if I begin with a brief account of my own knowledge of it.

Sept. 7, 1946 -

Robertson's account of word received from the Secretary of the Minister of Justice.

My advice: Beware - might be a plot - might be a fanatic or unbalanced. Send back to Embassy.

Igor Gouzenko's disclosures - How they came to be given.

His day in Ottawa.
His night in Ottawa.

Where Royal Canadian Mounted Police came in.

Given protection by police.
Documents examined.

Gouzenko's position and motives

as given to police - inform govt. of dangers,

borne out by efforts to give publicity to,
borne out by accumulation of documents -
nature and number of.

All examined by experts.

Information given Minister of Justice and myself.

disclosed what Commissioners have since found and set forth -
namely -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

disclosed further that Canada being used as a base from which to secure information concerning matters of great national concern in United States and United Kingdom.

(see report of Commissioners - quote from).

Immediate recognition of international significance of disclosures

Advisable to visit U.S. and U.K.
- more particularly, evidence of relations strained at Conference of Foreign Ministers just held in London.

Visit to Washington and to United Kingdom

Additional reason:

a scientist engaged in research laboratories at Montreal and possessed of highly important information about to leave for England by plane and to make contact with agent of foreign power.

Statement to House re intention to visit U.K.

Mr. Attlee - word with leaders of 3 parties before leaving.

October - November

Re visits to U.S. and U.K.

Gave information as to what we had discovered and was happening in Canada and of intention of govt. to investigate and take necessary action.

Invitation of President to visit Washington with Mr. Attlee to discuss matters related to release of atomic energy.

Washington Conference -

Re atomic energy - position

Industrial processes.

(See report on) - Secret of U.S.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274087

Occasion for delays in investigation.

Conclusion of work of session.

Desirability of having legal opinion to advise Dept. of External Affairs - independent of law officers of Crown.

December

Mr. E.K. Williams, K.C. - eminent counsel of Winnipeg retained

President, Canadian Bar Association (known to leader of opposition)

Complete examination - (Report) - (can be given later)

Advises appointment of Commissioners.

Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow

Meeting of Preparatory Commn. of U.N.O. in London

Meeting of ~~General~~ Assembly, etc. - in London & Security Council -

Canada not to be blamed for any failure.

Appointment of Royal Commission and Counsel for -

Note powers under Inquiries Act.

Conducted (with aid of counsel) inquiry in secret - of Gouzenko and documents.

Reason Supreme Court Judges appointed.

Seriousness of case from national standpoint; liberty of subjects certain to be affected.

Counsel's advice to Commission and Commission's approval of detention of persons in public service.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PART II

Re Apprehension of persons in public service and their detention.

Necessary to go back to situation as it was known to govt. in Sept. 1946 - before I left for England -

Can be no question of security and welfare of State being affected.

Expected that if May arrested in England - there would be request for arrests at same time of other members of public service in Canada.

Which authority to act -

War Measures Act - (See O-in-C. passed)

Why not mentioned in Parlt. when emergency and transitional passed -

Not intentional omission.

Could not have mentioned without endangering whole enquiry.

The liberty of the subject.

As to rights of Magna Carta - Habeas Corpus

Duty of opposition to safeguard;

" " press to be vigilant;

" " government -

All of this present to mind of government;

surprised inquiry taken so long and some persons so long detained.

Commission's duty most important - protect liberty of subject - see that no charge preferred till strongest reasons for.

To meet purposes of inquiry to expose wrong doing.

Keeping in mind need for fullest information and knowledge which Commission itself possessed.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

 C 274099

Nothing to justify detention except security of State,
Judges of Supreme Court,
President, Canadian Bar Association,
Secretary, " " ".

The all important question - should Minister of Justice have declined to accept advice of Counsel, approved by Commission, in light of knowledge he himself possessed - a greater responsibility, had he done so. -
Hard to wait, responsible to Parliament and trust to Parliament approving or disapproving his action.
For this reason - urged reading of two reports.
Members have not yet the knowledge of what has been going on, and can only come to have this as Court trials proceed.
Might be well to withhold judgment till results of trials known.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

PART III

Action taken to inform Public - and to protect, as largely as possible, individuals concerned.

Statement given to press.

Charge d'Affaires informed.

U.S.S.R. identified by itself as country concerned.

Admitted knowledge of certain actions, which were "inadmissible" and recall of Military Attache and other members of.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PART IV

International Aspects

Relation with Russia.

No communication except those to Charge d'Affaires.

" " given Wilgress in Russia.

Re Consequence of Bevin.

Matter taken up in Sept. 1945.

Facts referred to in evidence 1944-45.
(when Russian Allies fighting in war).

Re action of Russia and Civil Servants being Consequence of Secrecy over Atomic Bomb.

Same reply - ~~disclosures re~~ Atomic Bomb came ~~in~~ August 1945. c Camp 9 - "Heronmic - 6 Camp Nepanee - 9 "

Net work - existing and growing since 1943. affiliation comfn

Had there been no atomic bomb - the network would have been in existence.

Re position of myself - anti- Labour, anti-Soviet, etc.

Years ago - Save the Children Fund;

Supplied aid to Russia - munitions, funds, etc.

Have spoken on platform - Toronto and Montreal-
Canada-Soviet Friendship.

Should have smothered up - evil - expose - publicity

Re should have gone to Russia

My attitude remains what it has always been -
Friendship with all nations - good-will, etc.

"Over all Nations is Humanity"

(See "Inudstry and Humanity")

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

No intention to break relations with U.S.S.R. -

but to further friendship.

Must be a two-way street

Must allow visitors

" " press

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

ESPIONAGE

C274103

Royal Commission of Enquiry
into unauthorized disclosures of
of secret and confidential information

1) Chronology of events (including passage of orders in council and publication of official statements)

2) Notes dictated by Prime Minister for guidance in speaking

3) Exhibits to accompany Chronology (marked A to O and W to Z)

4) Statements by members of Government, and member of Liberal, Progressive Conservative, C.C.F., Social Credit and miscellaneous party groups

5) Published reactions in U.S.S.R. (broadcasts and press articles)

note: Editorial Comments from Canada, United States and United Kingdom sources are filed in a separate volume

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274104

Dictated by the Prime Minister
February 21, 1946

FOR GUIDANCE
IN SPEAKING

Copy 2 of 4 copies

qe

A

Begin with statement issued to public (press release No 17 of Feb 15

note copy given to Chargé d'Affaires, Soviet Embassy, before given out to press;

it contains no charge of any kind against individuals or countries

Note also that the investigation is not an investigation of the Soviet Embassy;

investigation confined to investigation of Canadian civil servants. or Canadians only,

to ascertain whether they have been guilty of treasonable or other acts, so that all facts may be ascertained before any charge made against any Embassy;

this one reason why nothing said to Soviet Embassy before getting unquestioned evidence on which to base representations to be made.

To have made representations to Soviet Embassy on basis of statement by CORBY would have led instantly to a repudiation of him and all that he had disclosed, by the Soviet Embassy.

important that statements should be based on evidence given in court and which will not permit of any contradiction.

Personally, when I first spoke to President Truman, I suggested that the course I would like to pursue would be

to inform the Soviet Government of what had been discovered

as an evidence of our desire to maintain closest friendship;

also that the disclosure might help to bring Russia round to the point where the veto would not be insisted upon;

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

also that it would help to remove feeling that might have been aroused through Russia not being made acquainted with atomic bomb development.

took somewhat similar line with BEVIN

6

Note Russia's method of proceeding

secure dates of leaving of Ambassador and who was with him

felt sure he knew then of what had been discovered;

Note statements re his return;

Note time of disappearance of ZABOTIN (Military Attaché); also disappearance of others.

Plenty of time given for Russians to get their house in order;

note that Russia delayed making any statement on my statement for a couple of days.

In advance there came the statement from the Soviet Embassy in Washington preparing the public mind for their being divisions in the Embassy:

one political; the other related to the army end;

also the statement by Ex-Ambassador DAVIES (which I think probably /was/ inspired), putting forth the defence that would be used of

the right of a foreign country to protect itself where it is liable to be attacked by foreign powers.

The text of the Moscow statement (February 20) did not come by ticker until between 4 and 6 pm of that date; (it appeared in morning papers of Feb. 21)

Note: its reference to inquiry having been started here because of "rebuff" given some of my friends at United Nations Organization is fortunate in that

all information collected before United Nations Assembly met

* Pravda Editorial Feb 21 = K Moscow radio re P.M. = N
– attack on PM Feb 24 = L
– re Anti-Soviet Campaign = M

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and was agreed upon while BYRNES and BEVIN and ST.LAURENT were all in England together;

this was before any "rebuffs" had taken place at all.

Note also that all material had been assembled and investigation considered before even BYRNES and others met in Moscdw (Dec. 15).

What Russia is now urging proves wisdom of not having enquiry until Assembly had concluded sittings.

I have felt all along that it would have been made an excuse for Russia not seeking to co-operate in Britain.

Note re witch-hunting and anti-Soviet campaign, that it is

the very thing we have taken care to avoid;

I was particularly strong in not allowing anything to be done which would give the slightest reason for believing we were after Communism ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ in Canada as such.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274107

WLMK/13:iii:46

Espionage Enquiry

1) Distinguish between what is sub judice and what is mdt;

propose first to narrate what is public up to time Commissioners began their enquiry;

(it is for Commissioners themselves to defend their position in detaining employees so long).

2) Note statement issued to public, containing sub judice statement.

3) Outstanding sequence of events

1. Opening day of Session (Sept. 6, 1945)

2. Leaving for U.S. and Great Britain
3. G.B. and Washington re Atomic Bomb matter of concern to U.S. and U.K. because information in our possession showed Canada being made use of as base for information on matters affecting both U.S. and G.B.

(question: how far possible to disclose what had taken place in another country).

4) Reason for delay in beginning investigation

necessity to be absolutely sure of FACTS;

avoid suspicion and injustice to members of civil service

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274108

consider international aspects in timing of enquiry; e.g.

difficulties in Council of Foreign Ministers -
no wish to increase them

consideration of atomic bomb at Washington;

request of U.S. Govt to have time to investigate themselves;

meeting in Moscow of 3 Foreign Ministers;

meeting of Preparatory Commission of UNO (London)

meeting of General Assembly of the United Nations (London)

return of Mr. St.Laurent from U.K.

- - - - - - -

4) Counsel retained: E.K. Williams KC
(Pres.Can.Bar A)
G. Fauteux, KC
D.W. Mundell

report by Williams

5) History of Order in Council (passed under War Measures Act)

appointing Commission
giving power to detain

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(Order in Council, continued)

(a) when PM left Ottawa for England
expected arrest of MAY
and we would have had to apprehend
others at the same time

(b) in England, arrest not made as expected -
(contacts which were to have
been made were not made)
possible disclosure Govt had papers

(c) NOTE that Order in Council (PC 6444)
was not disclosed when War Measures
Act lapsed.

- - - - - - -

6) Attitude towards Embassy of USSR, Ottawa

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274110

Re: U.K. PROCEDURE in Case -

MAY: interrogated by police (no counsel)
- confession

commited for trial

no bail.

CANADA

documents in possession of police and government (authoritative)

no action by police until

(1) Commission appointed
Corby interrogated
documents proved

(2) persons apprehended and detained
names not given

(3) interrogated by Justices of ~~the~~
Supreme Court

grounds for arrest

given right of counsel after interrogation

(4) arrest (counsel ~~permitted~~)

(5) reason not allowed

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274111

Military Secrecy

All must be subordinate to the safety and interests of the nation

No discovery of all who may be involved, or extent of espionage

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

March 14/46

C274112

Counsel retained by Government:

E. K. Williams K.C.,
President,
Canadian Bar Association;

Gerald Fauteux, K.C.

D. W. Mundell.

Retained early in December

(made report December 7, 1945).

(I) Documents in possession;

(2) Counsel retained to examine and report on findings;

(3) Procedure suggested - agreed to serve as counsel in subsequent investigations.

Documents made available by Gosenko.

Made sure documents not fabricated, but genuine.

Council advised found parties to a conspiracy to make documents available -

committed offence against Official Secrets Act and possibly within scope of section of Criminal Code.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re Counsel retained

Criminal proceedings at early stage not advisable

Advisable to proceed by way of Royal Commission of Investigation

'Commission has full control over its own procedure.'

It may and should sit in camera

(not bound by rules of evidence, would not allow counsel for those to be interrogated)

Matter of great importance -

Judges of Supreme Court

Vital nature of matters to be dealt with justify procedure.

(Question of timing of sitting of Commission)

U. S. interest in matter.

Recommend proceedings be delayed a reasonable time

Not to remove persons in service before investigation by Commission -

otherwise might seen confession in advance of proceedings.

Examine Gusenko and get all documents on record before any persons detained and interrogated

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Effort to shorten period of detention.

Only those connected with govt. depts and High Com.'s office be detained

(others involved - not detained yet - confine inquiry at outset to govt. officials and employees)

Delay due to making clear position held identify parties, etc.

Re Gusenko

Govt. justified in refusing to hand him over.

Consider if any action should be taken

international situation tense

(ignore situation, or act on)

Need to ensure U.N.O. function as smoothly & satisfactorily as possible.

Need to act

to prevent infiltration ~~of secret~~ of secret organization into all govt. depts. and positions of greatest trust & responsibility -

other officials may be corrupted an and infection spread widely.

Not affect international relations on the higher level

if proceedings were taken by men of Royal Commission

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Punishment of offenders least important phase of matter

Prosecutions in courts may have to take place

Council advises <u>against a departmental inquiry</u> - not as satisfactory as Royal Commission

findings not have weight

no suggestion by Royal Commission of undue severity or leniency.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W.L.M.K.
March 15, 1946

The persons who have been detained by the Commission cannot be said to have been arrested. They have simply been detained as witnesses under Section 15 of the Enquiries Act.

The only thing that the Commission could do with them is to release them unless they have reason to feel that as a result of interrogation, there is justification for a charge being laid against them in which event they are informed of this fact and immediately given a right to retain counsel if they so desire and to have any further evidence submitted.

When the warrant is issued, the law takes its course.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274116

CHAPTER 99.

An Act respecting Public and Departmental Inquiries.

SHORT TITLE.

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as the Inquiries Act. R.S., c. 104, s. 1.

PART I.

PUBLIC INQUIRIES.

Governor may cause inquiry into public matters.

2. The Governor in Council may, whenever he deems it expedient, cause inquiry to be made into and concerning any matter connected with the good government of Canada or the conduct of any part of the public business thereof. R.S., c. 104, s. 2.

Appointment of commissioners.

3. In case such inquiry is not regulated by any special law, the Governor in Council may, by a commission in the case, appoint persons as commissioners by whom the inquiry shall be conducted. R.S., c. 104, s. 3.

Powers of commissioners.

4. The commissioners shall have the power of summoning before them any witnesses, and of requiring them to give evidence on oath, or on solemn affirmation if they are persons entitled to affirm in civil matters, and orally or in writing, and to produce such documents and things as the commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of the matters into which they are appointed to examine. R.S., c. 104, s. 4.

Idem.

5. The commissioners shall have the same power to enforce the attendance of witnesses and to compel them to give evidence as is vested in any court of record in civil cases. R.S., c. 104, s. 5.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PART II.

DEPARTMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS.

Appointment of commissioners.

6. The minister presiding over any department of the Civil Service of Canada, may appoint at any time, under the authority of the Governor in Council, a commissioner or commissioners to investigate and report upon the state and management of the business, or any part of the business, of such department, either in the inside or outside service thereof, and the conduct of any person in such service, so far as the same relates to his official duties. R.S., c. 104, s. 6.

Powers of commissioners.

7. The commissioner or commissioners may, for the purposes of the investigation, enter into and remain within any public office or institution, and shall have access to every part thereof, and may examine all papers, documents, vouchers, records and books of every kind belonging thereto, and may summon before him or them any person and require him to give evidence on oath, orally or in writing, or on solemn affirmation if he is entitled to affirm in civil matters; and any such commissioner may administer such oath or affirmation. R.S., c. 104, s. 7.

May issue subpœna or summons.

8. The commissioner or commissioners may, under his or their hand or hands, issue a subpœna or other request or summons, requiring and commanding any person therein named to appear at the time and place mentioned therein, and then and there to testify to all matters within his knowledge relative to the subject-matter of such investigation, and to bring with him and produce any document, book, or paper, which he has in his possession or under his control relative to any such matter as aforesaid; and any such person may be summoned from any part of Canada by virtue of such subpœna, request or summons.

Expenses.

2. Reasonable travelling expenses shall be paid to any person so summoned at the time of service of the subpœna, request or summons. R.S., c. 104, s. 8.

Evidence may be taken by commission.

9. If, by reason of the distance at which any person, whose evidence is desired, resides from the place where his attendance is required, or for any other cause, the commissioner or commissioners deem it advisable, he or they may issue a commission or other authority to any officer or person therein named, empowering him to take such evidence and report the same to him or them.

Powers for that purpose.

2. Such officer or person shall, before entering on any investigation, be sworn before a justice of the peace faithfully to execute the duty entrusted to him by such commission, and shall, with regard to such evidence, have the same

same powers as the commissioner or commissioners would have had if such evidence had been taken before him or them, and may, in like manner, under his hand issue a subpœna or other request or summons for the purpose of compelling the attendance of any person, or the production of any document, book or paper. R.S., c. 104, s. 9.

Witnesses failing to attend, etc.

10. Every person who

(*a*) being required to attend in the manner in this Part provided, fails, without valid excuse, to attend accordingly; or

(*b*) being commanded to produce any document, book or paper, in his possession or under his control, fails to produce the same; or

(*c*) refuses to be sworn or to affirm, as the case may be; or

(*d*) refuses to answer any proper question put to him by a commissioner, or other person as aforesaid;

shall, on summary conviction before any police or stipendiary magistrate, or judge of a superior or county court, having jurisdiction in the county or district in which such person resides, or in which the place is at which he was so required to attend, be liable to a penalty not exceeding four hundred dollars. Penalty.

Judge to be J.P.

2. The judge of the superior or county court aforesaid shall, for the purposes of this Part, be a justice of the peace. R.S., c. 104, s. 10.

PART III.

GENERAL.

Employment of counsel, experts and assistants.

11. The commissioners, whether appointed under Part I or under Part II of this Act, if thereunto authorized by the commission issued in the case, may engage the services of such accountants, engineers, technical advisers, or other experts, clerks, reporters and assistants as they deem necessary or advisable, and also the services of counsel to aid and assist the commissioners in the inquiry.

Experts may take evidence and report.

2. The commissioners may authorize and depute any such accountants, engineers, technical advisers, or other experts, or any other qualified persons, to inquire into any matter within the scope of the commission as may be directed by the commissioners.

3. The persons so deputed, when authorized by Order in Council, shall have the same powers which the commissioners have to take evidence, issue subpœnas, enforce the attendance of witnesses, compel them to give evidence, and otherwise conduct the inquiry.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274119

4. The persons so deputed shall report the evidence and their findings, if any, thereon to the commissioners. 1912, c. 28, s. 1.

Parties may employ counsel.

12. The commissioners may allow any person whose conduct is being investigated under this Act, and shall allow any person against whom any charge is made in the course of such investigation, to be represented by counsel. 1912, c. 28, s. 1.

Notice to persons charged.

13. No report shall be made against any person until reasonable notice shall have been given to him of the charge of misconduct alleged against him and he shall have been allowed full opportunity to be heard in person or by counsel. 1912, c. 28, s. 1.

OTTAWA: Printed by FREDERICK ALBERT ACLAND, Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

C 274120

CHAP. 37.

An Act to amend the Inquiries Act.

[*Assented to 28th June, 1934.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:— R.S., c. 99.

1. The *Inquiries Act*, chapter ninety-nine of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is amended by adding thereto the following Part:—

"PART IV.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS AND TRIBUNALS.

Authority to confer powers upon.

14. (1) The Governor in Council may, whenever he deems it expedient, confer upon an International Commission or Tribunal all or any of the powers conferred upon commissioners under the provisions of Part I of this Act.

Exercise of powers in Canada.

(2) The powers, so conferred, may be exercised by such Commission or Tribunal in Canada, subject to such limitations and restrictions as the Governor in Council may impose, in respect to all matters which are within the jurisdiction of such Commission or Tribunal."

OTTAWA: Printed by JOSEPH OSCAR PATENAUDE, Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274121

77996

3 GEORGE VI.

CHAP. 49.

An Act respecting Official Secrets.

[*Assented to 3rd June, 1939.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

SHORT TITLE.

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as *The Official Secrets Act.*

INTERPRETATION.

Interpretation.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,

Reference to His Majesty.

(a) Any reference to His Majesty means His Majesty in right of Canada or of any province;

Communicating or receiving.

(b) Expressions referring to communicating or receiving include any communicating or receiving, whether in whole or in part, and whether the sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information itself or the substance, effect, or description thereof only be communicated or received; expressions referring to obtaining or retaining any sketch, plan, model, article, note, or document, include the copying or causing to be copied the whole or any part of any sketch, plan, model, article, note, or document; and expressions referring to the communication of any sketch, plan, model, article, note or document include the transfer or transmission of the sketch, plan, model, article, note or document;

"Attorney General".

(c) The expression "Attorney General" means the Attorney General of Canada;

"document".

(d) The expression "document" includes part of a document;

"model".

(e) The expression "model" includes design, pattern and specimen;

"munitions of war".

(f) The expression "munitions of war" means arms, ammunition, implements or munitions of war, military, naval or air stores, or any articles deemed capable of being converted thereinto, or made useful in the production thereof;

5/65

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274122

"offence under this Act".

(g) The expression "offence under this Act" includes any act, omission, or other thing which is punishable hereunder;

"office under His Majesty".

(h) The expression "office under His Majesty" means any office or employment in or under any department of the Government of Canada or of any province;

"prohibited place".

(i) The expression "prohibited place" means

(i) any work of defence belonging to or occupied or used by or on behalf of His Majesty including arsenals, naval, military or air force establishments or stations, factories, dockyards, mines, minefields, camps, ships, aircraft, telegraph, telephone, wireless or signal stations or offices, and places used for the purpose of building, repairing, making or storing any munitions of war or any sketches, plans, models, or documents relating thereto, or for the purpose of getting any metals, oil or minerals of use in time of war;

(ii) any place not belonging to His Majesty where any munitions of war or any sketches, models, plans or documents relating thereto, are being made, repaired, gotten or stored under contract with, or with any person on behalf of, His Majesty, or otherwise on behalf of His Majesty; and

(iii) any place which is for the time being declared by order of the Governor in Council to be a prohibited place on the ground that information with respect thereto or damage thereto would be useful to a foreign power.

"sketch".

(j) The expression "sketch" includes any mode of representing any place or thing;

"senior police officer".

(k) The expression "senior police officer" means any officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police not below the rank of Inspector; any officer of any provincial police force of a like or superior rank; the Chief constable of any city or town with a population of not less than ten thousand; or any person upon whom the powers of a senior police officer are for the purposes of this Act conferred by the Governor in Council.

Spying.

3. (1) If any person for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State,

(a) approaches, inspects, passes over, or is in the neighbourhood of, or enters any prohibited place; or

(b) makes any sketch, plan, model or note which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power; or

(c) obtains, collects, records, or publishes, or communicates to any other person any secret official code word, or pass word, or any sketch, plan, model, article, or note, or other document or information

000

which

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274123

which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power;

he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

Accused person may be convicted if purpose prejudical to the safety of the state.

(2) On a prosecution under this section, it shall not be necessary to show that the accused person was guilty of any particular act tending to show a purpose prejudical to the safety or interests of the State, and, notwithstanding that no such act is proved against him, he may be convicted if, from the circumstances of the case, or his conduct, or his known character as proved, it appears that his purpose was a purpose prejudical to the safety or interests of the State; and if any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information relating to or used in any prohibited place, or anything in such a place, or any secret official code word or pass word is made, obtained, collected, recorded, published or communicated by any person other than a person acting under lawful authority, it shall be deemed to have been made, obtained, collected, recorded, published or communicated for a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State unless the contrary is proved.

Communication with agent of foreign power, etc. sufficient evidence.

(3) In any proceedings against a person for an offence under this section, the fact that he has been in communication with, or attempted to communicate with, an agent of a foreign power, whether within or without Canada, shall be evidence that he has, for a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, obtained or attempted to obtain information which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power.

When person deemed to have been in communication with agent of a foreign power.

(4) For the purpose of this section, but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision—

(a) a person shall, unless he proves the contrary, be deemed to have been in communication with an agent of a foreign power if—

(i) he has, either within or without Canada, visited the address of an agent of a foreign power or consorted or associated with such agent; or

(ii) either within or without Canada, the name or address of, or any other information regarding such an agent has been found in his possession, or has been supplied by him to any other person, or has been obtained by him from any other person;

"an agent of a foreign power" defined.

(b) the expression "an agent of a foreign power" includes any person who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been employed by a foreign power either directly or indirectly for the purpose of committing an act, either within or without Canada, prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, or who has or is reasonably suspected of having, either within or without Canada, committed, or attempted to commit, such an act in the interests of a foreign power;

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274124

When address deemed that of an agent of a foreign power.

(c) any address, whether within or without Canada, reasonably suspected of being an address used for the receipt of communications intended for an agent of a foreign power, or any address at which such an agent resides, or to which he resorts for the purpose of giving or receiving communications, or at which he carries on any business, shall be deemed to be the address of an agent of a foreign power, and communications addressed to such an address to be communications with such an agent.

Wrongful communication, etc. of information.

4. (1) If any person having in his possession or control any secret official code word, or pass word, or any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information which relates to or is used in a prohibited place or anything in such a place, or which has been made or obtained in contravention of this Act, or which has been entrusted in confidence to him by any person holding office under His Majesty or which he has obtained or to which he has had access owing to his position as a person who holds or has held office under His Majesty, or as a person who holds or has held a contract made on behalf of His Majesty, or a contract the performance of which in whole or in part is carried out in a prohibited place, or as a person who is or has been employed under a person who holds or has held such an office or contract,—

(a) communicates the code word, pass word, sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information to any person, other than a person to whom he is authorized to communicate with, or a person to whom it is in the interest of the State his duty to communicate it; or

(b) uses the information in his possession for the benefit of any foreign power or in any other manner prejudical to the safety or interests of the State; or

(c) retains the sketch, plan, model, article, note, or document in his possession or control when he has no right to retain it or when it is contrary to his duty to retain it or fails to comply with all directions issued by lawful authority with regard to the return or disposal thereof; or

(d) fails to take reasonable care of, or so conducts himself as to endanger the safety of the sketch, plan, model, article, note, document, secret official code word or pass word or information;

that person shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

Communication of sketch, plan, model, etc.

(2) If any person having in his possession or control any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information which relates to munitions of war, communicates it directly or indirectly to any foreign power, or in any other manner prejudical to the safety or interests of the

State,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274125

State, that person shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

(3) If any person receives any secret official code word, or pass word, or sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information, knowing, or having reasonable ground to believe, at the time when he receives it, that the code word, pass word, sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information is communicated to him in contravention of this Act, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act, unless he proves that the communication to him of the code word, pass word, sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information was contrary to his desire. **Receiving code word, sketch, etc.**

(4) If any person,—

(a) retains for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State any official document, whether or not completed or issued for use, when he has no right to retain it, or when it is contrary to his duty to retain it, or fails to comply with any directions issued by any Government department or any person authorized by such department with regard to the return or disposal thereof; or **Retaining official document, etc.**

(b) allows any other person to have possession of any official document issued for his use alone, or communicates any secret official code word or pass word so issued, or, without lawful authority or excuse, has in his possession any official document or secret official code word or pass word issued for the use of some person other than himself, or on obtaining possession of any official document by finding or otherwise, neglects or fails to restore it to the person or authority by whom or for whose use it was issued, or to a police constable; **Allowing other to have possession.**

he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

5. (1) If any person for the purpose of gaining admission, or of assisting any other person to gain admission, to a prohibited place, or for any other purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State,— **Unauthorised use of uniforms; falsification of reports, forgery, personation and false documents.**

(a) uses or wears, without lawful authority, any naval, military, air force, police or other official uniform or any uniform so nearly resembling the same as to be calculated to deceive, or falsely represents himself to be a person who is or has been entitled to use or wear any such uniform; or

(b) orally, or in writing in any declaration or application, or in any document signed by him or on his behalf, knowingly makes or connives at the making of any false statement or any omission; or

(c) forges, alters, or tampers with any passport or any naval, military, air force, police or official pass, permit, certificate, licence or other document of a similar character, (hereinafter in this section referred to as an

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274126

official document), or uses or has in his possession any such forged, altered, or irregular official document; or

(d) personates, or falsely represents himself to be a person holding, or in the employment of a person holding, office under His Majesty, or to be or not to be a person to whom an official document or secret official code word or pass word has been duly issued or communicated, or with intent to obtain an official document, secret official code word or pass word, whether for himself or any other person, knowingly makes any false statement; or

(e) uses, or has in his possession or under his control, without the authority of the Government department or the authority concerned, any die, seal, or stamp of or belonging to, or used, made, or provided by any Government department, or by any diplomatic, naval, military, or air force authority appointed by or acting under the authority of His Majesty, or any die, seal or stamp, so nearly resembling any such die, seal or stamp as to be calculated to deceive, or counterfeits any such die, seal or stamp, or uses, or has in his possession, or under his control, any such counterfeited die, seal or stamp;

he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

(2) If any person without lawful authority or excuse, manufactures or sells, or has in his possession for sale any such die, seal or stamp as aforesaid, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

Interfering with officers of the police or members of His Majesty's forces.

6. No person in the vicinity of any prohibited place shall obstruct, knowingly mislead or otherwise interfere with or impede any constable or police officer, or any member of His Majesty's forces engaged on guard, sentry, patrol, or other similar duty in relation to the prohibited place, and, if any person acts in contravention of, or fails to comply with, this provision, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

Power to require the production of telegrams.

7. (1) Where it appears to the Minister of Justice that such a course is expedient in the public interest, he may, by warrant under his hand, require any person who owns or controls any telegraphic cable or wire, or any apparatus for wireless telegraphy, used for the sending or receipt of telegrams to or from any place out of Canada, to produce to him, or to any person named in the warrant, the originals and transcripts, either of all telegrams, or of telegrams of any specified class or description, or of telegrams sent from or addressed to any specified person or place, sent to or received from any place out of Canada by means of any such cable, wire, or apparatus and all other papers relating to any such telegram as aforesaid.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274127

(2) Any person who, on being required to produce any such original or transcript or paper as aforesaid, refuses or neglects to do so shall be guilty of an offence under this Act, and shall for each offence, be liable on summary conviction to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding three months, or to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, or to both such imprisonment and fine. **Refusing or neglecting to produce original, etc.** **Penalty.**

8. If any person knowingly harbours any person whom he knows, or has reasonable grounds for supposing, to be a person who is about to commit or who has committed an offence under this Act, or knowingly permits to meet or assemble in any premises in his occupation or under his control any such persons, or if any person having harboured any such person, or permitted to meet or assemble in any premises in his occupation or under his control any such persons, wilfully omits or refuses to disclose to a senior police officer any information which it is in his power to give in relation to any such person, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act. **Harbouring spies.**

9. Any person who attempts to commit any offence under this Act, or solicits or incites or endeavours to persuade another person to commit an offence, or aids or abets and does any act preparatory to the commission of an offence under this Act, shall be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall be liable to the same punishment, and to be proceeded against in the same manner, as if he had committed the offence. **Attempts, incitements, etc.**

10. Any person who is found committing an offence under this Act, or who is reasonably suspected of having committed, or having attempted to commit, or being about to commit, such an offence, may be arrested without a warrant and detained by any constable or police officer. **Power to arrest without warrant.**

11. (1) If a justice of the peace is satisfied by information on oath that there is reasonable ground for suspecting that an offence under this Act has been or is about to be committed, he may grant a search warrant authorizing any constable named therein, to enter at any time any premises or place named in the warrant, if necessary by force, and to search the premises or place and every person found therein, and to seize any sketch, plan, model, article, note or document, or anything which is evidence of an offence under this Act having been or being about to be committed, which he may find on the premises or place or on any such person, and with regard to or in connection with which he has reasonable ground for suspecting that an offence under this Act has been or is about to be committed. **Search warrants.**

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274128

In case of great emergency.

(2) Where it appears to an officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police not below the rank of Superintendent that the case is one of great emergency and that in the interest of the State immediate action is necessary, he may by a written order under his hand give to any constable the like authority as may be given by the warrant of a justice under this section.

Prosecution only with consent of Attorney General.

12. A prosecution for an offence under this Act shall not be instituted except by or with the consent of the Attorney General: Provided that a person charged with such an offence may be arrested, or a warrant for his arrest may be issued and executed, and any such person may be remanded in custody or on bail, notwithstanding that the consent of the Attorney General to the institution of a prosecution for the offence has not been obtained, but no further or other proceedings shall be taken until that consent has been obtained.

Where offence deemed to have been committed.

13. (1) For the purposes of the trial of a person for an offence under this Act, the offence shall be deemed to have been committed either at the place in which the same actually was committed, or at any place in Canada in which the offender may be found.

Public may be excluded from trial.

(2) In addition and without prejudice to any powers which a court may possess to order the exclusion of the public from any proceedings if, in the course of proceedings before a court against any person for an offence under this Act or the proceedings on appeal, application is made by the prosecution, on the ground that the publication of any evidence to be given or of any statement to be made in the course of the proceedings would be prejudicial to the interest of the State, that all or any portion of the public shall be excluded during any part of the hearing, the court may make an order to that effect, but the passing of sentence shall in any case take place in public.

If guilty person a company or corporation.

(3) Where the person guilty of an offence under this Act is a company or corporation, every director and officer of the company or corporation shall be guilty of the like offence unless he proves that the act or omission constituting the offence took place without his knowledge or consent.

Penalties.

General.

Indictable offence.

Summary conviction.

14. Where no specific penalty is provided in this Act, any person who is guilty of an offence under this Act shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence, and shall on conviction be punishable by fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years, with or without hard labour, or by both fine and imprisonment; but such person may, at the election of the Attorney General, be prosecuted summarily

000 in

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274129

in the manner provided by Part XV of the *Criminal Code*, and if so prosecuted, shall be punishable by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, with or without hard labour, or by both fine and imprisonment. R.S., c. 36.

Repeal.

15. (1) The Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, chapter twenty-eight of the statutes of 1911 (1 and 2 Geo. V.) the short title of which is "the Official Secrets Act, 1911" is repealed in so far as it is part of the law of Canada.

Sections 85 and 86 of Criminal Code repealed.

(2) Sections eighty-five and eighty-six of the *Criminal Code*, chapter thirty-six of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, are repealed.

OTTAWA: Printed by JOSEPH OSCAR PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

International Aspects:

The enquiry now being conducted is essentially a matter of domestic house cleaning. There are inevitably, however, certain international aspects of such a matter. On these aspects I should like to say this.

It is to me, and I am sure to the whole Canadian people, a matter of the profoundest disappointment that improper activities incompatible with the interests of Canada should have been organized and carried on by officials of a country--of an ally-- for whom we have so genuinely felt friendship and admiration. I need hardly remind this House of the efforts which the Canadian people have made, through Mutual Aid, through the private endeavours of such organizations as the Aid to Russia Fund, and in innumerable other ways with which members of this House will be familiar, to assist the Russian people and to prove to them our admiration, sympathy and solidarity in our terrible joint struggle against the aggression of totalitarian Germany.

But I would say, too, that these revelations of improper activities carried on by certain members of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa on behalf of certain agencies in Moscow, have in no sense shaken our admiration for the heroic Russian peoples nor our desire for real and lasting friendship with them and their government.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C
Letters re Canada-USSR

C 274131

Friendship not a one-way Street:

But friendship is not a one-way street. Friendship, to be real and lasting, must be based on frankness, openness and reciprocity.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the Soviet-Canadian Friendship Council, a society whose objects I have been glad to support. This society has many branches in Canada and organizes many meetings attended by thousands of Canadians of all political persuasions. Similar societies have sprung into existence in many other countries of East and West. I am glad that this is so. But we must not close our eyes to the absence of any comparable bodies in all the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet-Canadian Friendship Council

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

One-Way Street -- The Press:

Let me mention one other example, the treatment of newspaper correspondents. This is very important for the functioning of a free society such as ours, since it is on information collected and reported by press and radio correspondents that our people depend for the basis of their judgments on international matters; and in a democracy this judgment must be the arbiter of national policy.

Canada has never refused an entry visa to a Soviet news correspondent who has applied for it, or ever kept an applicant waiting more than a few days for his visa. The representatives in Canada of the Soviet press and radio are free, like all persons in Canada, to travel where they will, to interview whom they will, and to report as they will. Not only are these press representatives free to do this, but I say we welcome them doing it.

In the Soviet Union the press and radio correspondents on whose reports our people

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274132A

depend for their information on conditions and developments in that great country, do not have comparable facilities. Travel has been severely restricted in all directions. The existence and methods of censorship--not only of technical facts and figures but of the most general or ordinary matters of daily life and opinion--are well known.

But the most serious restrictions on the free exchange of information by press correspondents, is a policy of withholding visas from many press applicants; and the impression given to those correspondents who are fortunate enough to obtain them is that any reports which run seriously counter to the views which the Soviet authorities desire to have propagated may result in failure to obtain a Soviet re-entry visa, and may thus entail loss of the privilege--the real privilege--of visiting the Soviet Union again.

For those who desire to see a fuller

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

exchange of information of all types between our peoples--and I am one of them--there is here an important field for constructive improvement.

This lack of reciprocity--this one-way street--is found in many other fields in the relations between Canada and other Western democracies on the one hand, the Soviet Union on the other. It would be a poor service to our hopes of friendship to ignore it.

Since Canada opened a diplomatic mission in the Soviet Union at the beginning of 1943, we have made repeated efforts to organize open inter-Governmental exchanges of scientific, technical and other information on a broad basis. To say that in these matters the initiative has been with us and the other Western democracies, and that we have offered and given more than we have received in return, would be an understatement. I still believe, however, not only in the necessity but in the possibility of fruitful and mutually advantageous exchanges of technical and other information, and this Government intends to continue

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

its efforts in this regard.

I have stated that the relative lack of reciprocity in the means of consolidating friendship--in scientific contacts, in access to public opinion in the respective countries, in the open exchanges of technical information, in communication facilities, and in other fields--that this lack of reciprocity is regrettable. I am not, of course, suggesting that this balance should be adjusted downward on our side. I would hope that a balance could be obtained through upward adjustments on the other. I do assert however that, in the long run, reciprocity in these fields is desirable and that he would be a poor architect of friendship who ignored this. Let me state once more, and categorically, that measures calculated to increase the open contacts for friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of Canada and the Soviet Union will meet with our whole-hearted approval and support.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

But Certain Activities Inadmissible:

But let it be clearly understood that such activities as organized attempts to undermine the loyalty of Canadian citizens and then to seduce some such Canadians into acts of disloyalty are intolerable.

I am glad that the Soviet Government have themselves stated in their public release of February 20th that they recognize these activities as inadmissible. I should add that during the four months succeeding the day last September when Igor Gousenko first came to the Justice Building to make the disclosures on which the present enquiry is based, several officials of the Soviet Embassy who were engaged in organizing these inadmissible activities seem to have been withdrawn at various dates from Ottawa.

Finally, I should like to make an

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

observation about the international aspects of the suggestion that we should have hushed up an unpleasant matter such as this investigation has revealed. There is always the temptation, to those charged with the heavy responsibilities of administering the external relations of a nation, to sidestep or ignore particularly distasteful problems. It would have been easy to rationalize such a course, by adducing diplomatic considerations in the international field. There would have been short-run diplomatic advantages in adopting such a course, if it had been possible.

But, as I have stated, to have remained silent about this matter was impossible for domestic reasons.

I should add that in my opinion maintaining silence would, over a period of time, have been unhelpful also to the cause of international friendship. In the long run a Government which disguises its real feelings or opinions on important aspects of the relations between nations, is rendering a grave disservice to mankind's hopes

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of lasting understanding and genuine cooperation.

Before any public statements were issued by the Canadian authorities on the existence of this conspiracy, it became clear to us that the Soviet Government realized that we had learned of its existence. The Soviet Government has itself stated in an official release of February 20th that Colonel Zabotin had been recalled from Canada in view of the inadmissibility of the activities which he and members of his staff had been carrying on. I understand that he left for Russia some three months ago.

For the Canadian Government to have maintained silence on this conspiracy in such circumstances would, I say, have been not only harmful deception of our own people but a serious misrepresentation to foreign countries, including the Soviet Union, of what Canada is and expects. Such silence on our part could only have encouraged rather than discouraged the use of improper and inadmissible techniques in international relations. Mankind's best hopes in the future of international

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

cooperation under the aegis of the newly created United Nations lie in frankness and moral courage.

I have heard the question raised in certain circles whether the Canadian Government should break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, and should take steps to close the Embassy whose diplomatic immunities and privileges some of its members have so greatly abused.

I take this opportunity to state that a breach in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government is no part of the intention of the Canadian Government. Indeed, it is our hope and our belief that genuine--not merely formal or apparent or one-sided--friendship between our two countries and peoples can and must be furthered by every legitimate means. These means include the maintenance of diplomatic missions in our respective capitals, for legitimate purposes of representation, of negotiation, and of the open and mutually advantageous exchange of technical and other information.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

On the general subject of relations with the Soviet Union I have only this to add. The conduct of certain Soviet officials in Canada has certainly not been such as to inspire feelings of trust and friendship towards their country. Yet mutual trust and friendship remain as essential as ever, not only between Canada and the Soviet Union, but between all the allies who in common contributed so recently and at such a cost to the defeat of our enemies. It is one of the lessons of history that in the period after a great victory there is always danger that the bonds uniting victorious allies may be weakened and that contentions may arise among them. These are the dangers which face us today. They are likely to be increased by activities of the kind for which some members of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa have been responsible. This manner of conducting international relations is hardly compatible with the spirit of good neighbourhood. The United Nations Charter commits all the members of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Organization "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours."

Moreover, such methods tend to produce that very atmosphere in which difficulties are magnified and intensified, but the need of our times remains the need for co-operation among all the United Nations. That is the object which we must continue to pursue despite all the obstacles in the way. Nor is the cause of peace served by alarmist rumours, whether such rumours originate at home or abroad. We must keep cool heads and a steadfast purpose. The tasks of creating conditions of world peace and prosperity are immense and urgent. The United Nations Organization has been set up to deal with these world problems. It can only succeed if all the United Nations are willing to work together to advance its purposes within the framework of the principles contained in the Charter. The Government and people of Canada

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

are committed to this great constructive effort. We hope to find at our sides in the struggle to attain world peace and prosperity all those United Nations who shared with us the trials of war and rejoiced with us in the common victory.

That is all that I wish to say at present regarding the international aspects of this distasteful and unpleasant subject.

Domestic aspects

There are, as members of this House will realize, also certain domestic, political aspects, of very great importance. It would be tempting to discuss the techniques of recruiting and persuasion by which some Canadian citizens were led to adopt a course against their duty to their own people and government, but I cannot add to the evidence published in the reports of the Royal Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the political opinions

I need hardly emphasize to this House that in Canada all lawful political opinions are the legitimate privilege of those who wish to hold them, or to advocate them. It is to protect this freedom that we have fought. It is to protect this freedom that the Government has set up the Royal Commission and intends to proceed to prosecutions where evidence warrants.

Let me say also that there is a world of difference between the honest holding or advocacy of political opinions as such and the conscious manipulation of such opinions by designing men to serve the interests of a foreign state.

A final word of caution. The Royal Commission which is investigating the domestic aspects of this espionage conspiracy has not yet concluded its labours. Honorable members will therefore understand me when I ask them to exercise the restraint and caution on this

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

subject which is necessary so that the Royal Commission may without prejudice complete at the earliest possible moment its full investigation.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274144

Sept 7. 1946

Memorandum

Memorandum concerning certain cases of disclosure of secret and confidential information to a foreign power involving the provisions of the Official Secrets Act

Introduction

Introduction can briefly be stated if I begin with a brief account of my own knowledge of the matter.

Brief account of moral reasoning from the standpoint of the Government of Canada in dealing with cases of disclosure of secret information to a foreign power. Any admissible Statement, might be affected by considerations of the following kind.

Duty of Government to safeguard against disclosure. How duty may arise.

Duty on Citizen

Duty on Citizen

Illustrations of Canadian Government Policy in cases of disclosure of secret information.

Government and Disclosure

as guide to Judicial - uniform sort of dangers

Some sorts of effects of prior publicity to

Some sorts of accumulation of documentary evidence of.

All required to establish guilt in cases of disclosure of secret information

found to be set forth namely, -

1. fact that Canada being one of a group of nations exchanging secret information concerning matters of national concern is entitled to expect that such information will be kept secret. (see report of Commissioner from)

Recommendation of International Agreement for disclosure

Sept -

Advantages of Canada U.S. & U.K. more particularly. Explanation of Statement. Reference to Agreement of United Kingdom

date of conference of Foreign Ministers first held in London

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

additional reasons.

Parliament expected to remain in session at Montreal
throughout the winter, important important
also a place for England & place to meet with
other Commonwealth Premiers

Statement to Press re visit to Washington —
on return — must meet wishes of Opposition
before leaving.

Oct - to NY — Re visit to U.S. Capital

Some explanation as to what we had discussed & was
hoping to accomplish by visit of Ministers of
to Washington — other matters relating

Invitation of President & Mrs Truman to visit us at Kingsmere
Address to be given on matters related to relations
of Canada & United States.

Washington Conference
NOV. Re atomic energy — position. industrial processes.
(see report on) Secret of U.S.

Occasion for delays in investigation
Necessity of having legal opinion independent
of administration
Law — Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Counsel
Privy Council Canada Bar Association (Hours & Terms of Appointment)
Complete examination. (Report) (Canada-United States)
administration of Commissioners.

Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow
Meeting of Assembly of UNO — in London
Meeting of United Nations Security Council — Canada not a member
for any portion.

General

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3/.

Appointment of Royal Commission (Note powers under inquiry act.
Amendment enquiring in French — of documents
Person Supreme Court Judge appointed
Commission of Can from National Standpoint
Limit of subject matter of the Inquiry
Counsel's address re Govt Commission appointed
of investigation of persons in Canada Service

re appointment of persons
Part II

re Appointment of persons in public service
& their detention

Knowing of his last situation as it was known
to Govt in Sept 1946. — steps taken & left for England —
can be Emergency Powers Security & welfare of State defined

Extent also if Many amendments — Must would be
required to amend at some time if Main purpose
of Public Servants in a Country

With authority to act.

War Measures Act — Have O. in C. passed

Why such measures in peace time Emergency Commission
passed

(Not all inconsistent provisions
Cannot Not have measures sections
endangering whole regime.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

4/

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Secretaries have only got the knowledge of what has been done. I can only come to them when the court trials proceed. Might be made a recorded judgment with extracts from which known

Part III

Action taken to expose persons & to punish, undermine as far as possible

~~subject~~ warranted

See — Statement from Press:

Charges of Affairs exposures

~~Russia~~ U.S.S.R. ~~since~~ identities & views on

Country concerned

Admitted immorals & certain actions, ~~since~~

since "in addition" & reasons ~~military~~ attitude

other members of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Part 6/IV C 274149

Documents annexés

Relation entre Memoire
du commandant en chef avec le Chemin d'Alaska.
" avec le règlement à Memoire

re arrangement of Memoire

matter then up in Sept 1943.

Facts reported to me ~~in~~ in winter 1944-45.
Certain American officials
Right in near
a plan of Memoire & Quick Removal being
re Consignment of Liberty ships Atomic bombs

Source reply ^ — Six bombs or
Atomic bombs ready
in Aug. 1945 —
and work ~~in~~ assembling & growing
since 1943.
had been made 50 atomic bombs — this
estimate which seems reasonable

Source

Re protection of myself and colleagues at
or anti-Communist
Dispersed and to remain a hundred, funds of
from Ottawa or Halifax
Persons & Properties
Source
Should have Communist Canada - Communist Fascist Party
ent - agents - Canada
re Planned bomb from 5 Memoirs

Any accurate resume ~~is~~ must to-day always have
~~Immediately~~ regard all relations — food-aid re
Russ all nations in Memory !!
(Sec Industry & Humanity)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

W. o mariners & ships relations between U.S.A.
and Japanese friendship
should do a step very secret
until all our military
& naval forces

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274151

GOUZENKO STATEMENT

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274152

ACCOUNT OF STEPS TAKEN BY ~~CORBY~~ IN OTTAWA
ON SEPTEMBER 5th,6th and 7th,1945.

After turning over in my mind a hundred times the question of where I should go with my statement, I came to the conclusion that this must be made to a newspaper, in order that the whole matter become known to the Canadian people and that public opinion in Canada should demand action from the Canadian Government.

(I knew that the system of military intelligence had not its own agent on the staff of the R.C.M. Police in Ottawa, but I did not know whether or not the system of the NKVD had its own agent there. Therefor I considered that it was dangerous for the whole undertaking to turn to the R.C.M.Police at first as,under the worst circumstances,if there were a Soviet agent there and all this subject were turned over to him,he would be able to direct it into a channel favourable to the Soviet intelligence and to the benefit of the agent himself.)

Taking all ~~these~~ circumstances into account, when I came out of the Soviet Embassy building at 8.30 p.m. on September 5th,I boarded a street car and arrived at the building of the newspaper "Ottawa Journal". On asking the lady on duty on the first floor where the Chief Editor of the paper was located, I received the reply that he was on the sixth floor.

On arriving at the sixth floor,however,I was undecided about submitting my statement and went down in the elevator and walked home. There I told my wife that I had definitely decided to make a statement. After drinking a cup of tea I returned to the building of the "Ottawa Journal",this time with the firm intention of making my statement.

However,the Chief Editor was not there then and only junior employees were there. I turned to an elderly man(rather thin,small,bald) who was pointed out to me as the senior among those present at that time.

I told him the gist of the matter,indicating the importance of my statement. After hearing me he said that he had no authority to print my statement and that it would be best to go to the Justice Building to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or to wait until morning when the Chief Editor would come. He showed me the address of the Justice Building and how to go there. I decided to go to the Justice Building. There I asked the man on duty on the first floor(he was in the uniform of the R.C.M.Police) where I could see the Minister of Justice.

He told me that only the secretary of the Minister of Justice knows where the Minister may be found. But in view of the lateness,and as the secretary was not present,it would be better to come tomorrow morning. Thus I left the Justice Building that evening without seeing the Minister.

On the following morning I came to the Justice Building with my wife and child. On learning from the man on duty where the office of the Minister of Justice was located we went there. Only a secretary of the Department of Justice(a French-Canadian) was there. He said that the Minister of Justice was probably in the Parliament Buildings.

He conducted us to the office of the Minister of Justice in the Parliament Buildings where he introduced us to the personal secretary of the Minister of Justice(a French-Canadian,dark hair, small) to whom I outlined briefly the gist of the matter,pointing out that I wished to make a statement to the Minister of Justice personally. He asked me if I knew the French language. On

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

learning that I did not know the French language, he began to talk to someone on the telephone in French. Then he told me that the Minister of Justice would be in the Justice Building.

Placing us in an automobile he drove us to the Justice Building and conducted us to the previously mentioned office of the secretary of the Department of Justice and, after telling us to wait, went out somewhere. We waited about two hours. Eventually the secretary of the Department of Justice returned and said that the Minister of Justice could not receive us.

After leaving the secretary my wife and I decided to to again to the editorial office of the newspaper the "Ottawa Journal". At that time the Chief Editor was not there. We were met by a lady reporter whom I informed that I wished to break away from the Soviet regime and pointed out my reasons. She turned for advice to one of the employees who, evidently, was the senior there.

He advised me to apply to the bureau of naturalization of the R.C.M.Police. On arriving at the bureau of naturalization I again repeated the gist of the matter to the head of this bureau. The head of the bureau advised me to go to a Magistrate's office on Nichol Street. I asked him to give me protection. He did not give me any. During our conversation a young man, apparently one of the employees in this bureau, was present.

As it was already mid-day and our child had not been fed yet and was very tired and sleepy, we went home. We did not go into our apartment, as we considered it dangerous to do so, but to the apartment of an English acquaintance, Mrs.Bourke, who lives in the neighbouring house on Lion Street.

We did nottell her anything except that we said we had decided to go to the city together to shop and asked that our child might sleep with her and if she would look after him during that time.

Arriving by street car on Nichol Street we entered the Magistrate's building. The man to whom we had been sent was not there. His office was locked, as it was the lunch hour.

A little later his secretary came. She is a French-Canadian lady with dark hair who at that time was wearing a red dress. She listened to us and then said she would consult with someone. During our conversation there was present a young man, apparently a relative or acquaintance of the Secretary.

For a long time she tried to come to some arrangement with acquainted editors, correspondents of newspapers(Citizen, Ottawa Journal and a French newspaper) and with a Catholic Priest. Not one of them decided to print my statement. (However, one correspondent(from the Ottawa Journal) came himself and listened to me. He asked me to show him the documents. I showed him the dossier of SAM CARR He advised me to go to Inspector Leopold and gave me his address:)

The Secretary asked me if I had good acquaintances in Canada with whom I could hide while she obtained for me a "landing card". I replied that such acquaintances could hardly be found. She explained to me the whole procedure of naturalization, supplied me with an application and told me to complete it and to submit two photographs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274154

When we left the building of the Magistrate it was already about 5 o'clock p.m. of September 6th. We hurried home to get the child as quickly as possible. When we came to our neighbour we found that the child had awakened. The neighbour served us tea.

After a little while my wife entered our apartment through the back door on the balcony. On her return she told me that she had found nothing suspicious there and that I could go in with the child. I went over with the child to our apartment, in like manner by the door on the balcony. In the apartment I lay down on the bed, extremely tired. After lying for about 15 minutes I got up and looked out of the window. On a bench in the park I saw two people who once in a while glanced at the windows of my apartment.

Some time later (about 6 to 6.30) someone knocked on the door of my apartment. I did not answer. The knocking continued for about 10 to 15 minutes. As the child ran across our living room, whoever was knocking was convinced that we were at home. In the end he called me by name--just once. I did not reply. From the voice I recognized (LAVRENTIEV,) a young man who arrived recently to work in Canada in the apparatus of the Military Attache as the second chauffeur. (light-coloured hair, medium height, simple kind of face. In those days he wore a light grey suit.) On receiving no reply he went away.

My wife and I decided that it was dangerous to leave the child in our apartment. She suggested leaving the child for the night with our neighbour in the same house. Leaving our apartment by the back door on the balcony I climed over to the balcony of our neighbour, who was at that time on the balcony with his wife and child. My neighbour was a military man; I did not know him well previously. I told him briefly what was the matter and asked him if we could leave the child with him for the night. He agreed with readiness.

I climbed back over the balcony to my apartment and my neighbour came out on his balcony. At that moment a tall man in a dark suit approached my balcony from Lion Street. He took in the balcony with a glance and, on seeing there was another door there, went away.

When he saw this, my neighbour said: "I shall go and call the police". He mounted his bicycle and went for the police.

The other neighbour, a lady in the apartment opposite mine in the same house, invited us to spend the night in her apartment. Together with the child we went into her apartment. By that time the police arrived. After listening to what was involved he said that a police car would be on duty in the park all night. If anything should happen, we must give a signal--snap the light out in the bathroom.

We went to bed. At approximately 12 o'clock the noise of an arriving car was heard. We jumped up; however the child continued to sleep peacefully. The lady of the house snapped off the light in the bathroom, thus giving the police the signal. Together with the lady of the house I looked out of the window and saw that the police car had not arrived. We snapped the light on and off again. (As it was explained later, the policemen had gone for lunch.)

My wife, who was looking through the key-hole saw how (PAVLOV, ROGOV, ANGELOV and FARAFONTOV) broke the lock of our apartment, looking about them fearfully the while.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

After breaking the lock they entered my apartment, switched on the light and a little later put it out. The police car arrived just at that moment. The police opened the door of my apartment, switched on the light and saw how (PAVLOV, ROGOV, ANGELOV and FARAFONTOV) crawled out from behind the furniture where they had been hiding.

The policeman asked them for their names and after looking at their documents remained in doubt. We heard how he repeated several times: "I don't know what to do with you," to which (PAVLOV) replied: "Let us go and that is all." Finally the policeman allowed them to go. The policeman remained on duty with us after their departure.

An interesting detail: All the time while (PAVLOV) and company were breaking the lock and hid in the apartment, an individual, whom I had never seen before, was on duty in the car which brought them. The police did not ask this individual for his documents. When I later interested myself as to why the police had not asked for his documents, the policeman replied that this man was a Canadian as he spoke English well. (It might be worth while to find out who this man is.)

Soon after this an Inspector of the City Police arrived. He listened to me and on learning that I wished to make a statement to the R.C.M.Police, said that he would drive me himself to the building of the R.C.M. Police at 11 o'clock next morning.

At 4 o'clock in the morning again someone knocked at the door of my apartment. The policeman came out to see what was the matter. This time it was GORSHKOV, the chauffeur of the Military Attache. The policeman looked at his certificate and allowed him to go.

In the morning of September 7th the Inspector of the City Police escorted by two policemen drove me to the R.C.M. Police where I finally was able to make my statement.

The statement was made by myself to Inspector Leopold, Inspector Williams and Superintendent Rivett-Carnac.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Complete in this issue — The New Novel by Robert Nathan

C274156

HEARST'S INTE... ...ED WITH

Cosmopolitan

February 35¢



Beginning THE YEAR'S MOST STARTLING

CONFESSION

A Soviet agent tells an exclusive, inside story of Red espionage in North America and an attempt to get atomic bomb secrets . . .

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Épreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274157

For your delight I bring in haste
The whiskey with the sunny taste



SMOOTH—AND MELLOW AS MORNING SUNSHINE

You'll find *more* than just rich, satisfying smoothness in Schenley Reserve. You'll find a *plus* . . . an *extra* measure of enjoyment in its famous Sunny Morning flavor. Try Schenley Reserve . . . America's most popular whiskey!

PRE-WAR QUALITY

SCHENLEY
RESERVE

RARE BLENDED WHISKEY 86 PROOF. 65% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. COPR. 1947, SCHENLEY DISTILLERS CORP., N. Y. C.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274024-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

I WAS INSIDE STALIN'S SPY RING

The Soviet agent who exposed Russia's attempt to get our atomic bomb secret through a Red espionage network in Canada tells his own story. This is the first of four exciting articles which are also important documents in modern history

BY IGOR GOUZENKO

It really started the night I came home and told Anna they were sending us back to Moscow. It had been in my head a long time before that, ever since the first day when I got out of the plane at Fairbanks in Alaska and noticed how well kept and efficient the airfield was in comparison with the one I had just left in Siberia and how courteously the Americans treated us. And how many oranges were on sale for everybody in the stores downtown.

But that night I started moving it around in my head and began to make plans with Anna.

I was late getting home to our apartment. I had been walking around the streets of Ottawa, delaying because I hated to tell her.

She met me at the door. I closed it behind me and looked at her.

"Bad news," I said. She waited.

"Moscow says we must return. A telegram came to Zabotin this afternoon."

Anna fell to her knees on the rug and began to cry. She shook her head.

"We won't go back," she said. "We can't. We can't let the child grow up in that country."

It was the first time we had spoken of it to each other, but she knew she didn't have to explain or argue with me and we both knew then what we were going to do. I picked her up from the floor and kissed her, and we sat down on the sofa and started talking about how and when we would do

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274158

FEBRUARY COSMOPOLITAN 1947

I WAS INSIDE STALIN'S SPY RING

The Soviet agent who exposed Russia's attempt to get our atomic bomb secret through a Red espionage network in Canada tells his own story. This is the first of four exciting articles which are also important documents in modern history

BY IGOR GOUZENKO

It really started the night I came home and told Anna they were sending us back to Moscow. It had been in my head a long time before that, ever since the first day when I got out of the plane at Fairbanks in Alaska and noticed how well kept and efficient the airfield was in comparison with the one I had just left in Siberia and how courteously the Americans treated us. And how many oranges were on sale for everybody in the stores downtown.

But that night I started moving it around in my head and began to make plans with Anna.

I was late getting home to our apartment. I had been walking around the streets of Ottawa, delaying, because I hated to tell her.

She met me at the door. I closed it behind me and looked at her.

"Bad news," I said. She waited.

"Moscow says we must return. A telegram came to Zabotin this afternoon."

Anna fell to her knees on the rug and began to cry. She shook her head.

"We won't go back," she said. "We can't. We can't let the child grow up in that country."

It was the first time we had spoken of it to each other, but she knew she didn't have to explain or argue with me and we both knew then what we were going to do. I picked her up from the floor and kissed her, and we sat down on the [illegible] and started talking about how and when we would do

REPEAT
REPETER

W. L. M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 320, pages [illegible]

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 27.4159



it. It was a long time before either of us noticed that I hadn't yet taken off my hat and coat.

That was in September, 1944. For the tremendous amount of work it was expected to do, the Soviet embassy in Ottawa was undermanned. I had been doing better with my English studies than most of the others on the staff. I took a chance and asked Colonel Zabotin, the chief of military intelligence for whom I worked as cipher clerk, to ask Moscow to reconsider and let me remain in Canada either as an interpreter or in information work.

Moscow granted his request to postpone my return but specified that I must remain in my present assignment as cipher clerk. That took a load off my mind. When I had first heard about Moscow ordering my return, I wondered if one of the Soviet secret police, or NKVD, agents in Canada had been reading my mind and had seen the comparisons it had been making between democracy as it had been depicted in discussions at the Young Communist League in Moscow and democracy as I had seen it in this country. I thought that my return might mean liquidation or a trip to the salt mines. But the work of a cipher clerk consists entirely in the handling of secret and important messages. Only trusted persons are allowed in that position. Moscow's order that I continue as a cipher clerk meant that I was still rated highly as a loyal Soviet citizen.

But all that winter and through the next spring Anna and I continued to make our plans. They were not easy plans to make. We knew they would bring suffering to our parents in Russia.

"It is hard but we must try to think of our boy first," Anna said. "When Andrei gets older and we tell him he was born in Canada and what it was like to live here, he'll damn us for ever taking him back to Russia. How will we be able to face him?"

Then, the following June, Koulakov arrived in Ottawa to replace me as Colonel Zabotin's cipher clerk. Moscow asked again about my return. I began to get ready to make my move.

At first I had thought merely of taking my wife and son and disappearing, fleeing somewhere in Canada or the United States and changing my name. But after I had definitely made up my mind to stay in America, the things I saw and heard during my work in the Soviet embassy began to bother me. I began to feel that the American democracies, Canada and the United States, were my countries

Through the keyhole, I saw the police catch the Russians in the act.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA



it. It was a long time before either of us noticed that I hadn't yet taken off my hat and coat.

That was in September, 1944. For the tremendous amount of work it was expected to do, the Soviet embassy in Ottawa was undermanned. I had been doing better with my English studies than most of the others on the staff. I took a chance and asked Colonel Zabotin, the chief of military intelligence for whom I worked as cipher clerk, to ask Moscow to reconsider and let me remain in Canada either as an interpreter or in information work.

Moscow granted his request to postpone my return but specified that I must remain in my present assignment as cipher clerk. That took a load off my mind. When I had first heard about Moscow ordering my return, I wondered if one of the Soviet secret police, or NKVD, agents in Canada had been reading my mind and had seen the comparisons it had been making between democracy as it had been depicted in discussions at the Young Communist League in Moscow and democracy as I had seen it in this country. I thought that my return might mean liquidation or a trip to the salt mines. But the work of a cipher clerk consists entirely in the handling of secret and important messages. Only trusted persons are allowed in that position. Moscow's order that I continue as a cipher clerk meant that I was still rated highly as a loyal Soviet citizen.

But all that winter and through the next spring Anna and I continued to make our plans. They were not easy plans to make. We knew they would bring suffering to our parents in Russia.

"It is hard but we must try to think of our boy first," Anna said. "When Andrei gets older and we tell him he was born in Canada and what it was like to live here, he'll damn us for ever taking him back to Russia. How will we be able to face him?"

Then, the following June, Koulakov arrived in Ottawa to replace me as Colonel Zabotin's cipher clerk. Moscow asked again about my return. I began to get ready to make my move.

At first I had thought merely of taking my wife and son and disappearing, fleeing somewhere in Canada or the United States and changing my name. But after I had definitely made up my mind to stay in America, the things I saw and heard during my work in the Soviet embassy began to bother me. I began to feel that the American democracies, Canada and the United States, were my countries

Through the keyhole, I saw the police catch the Russians in the act

REPEAT
REPETER

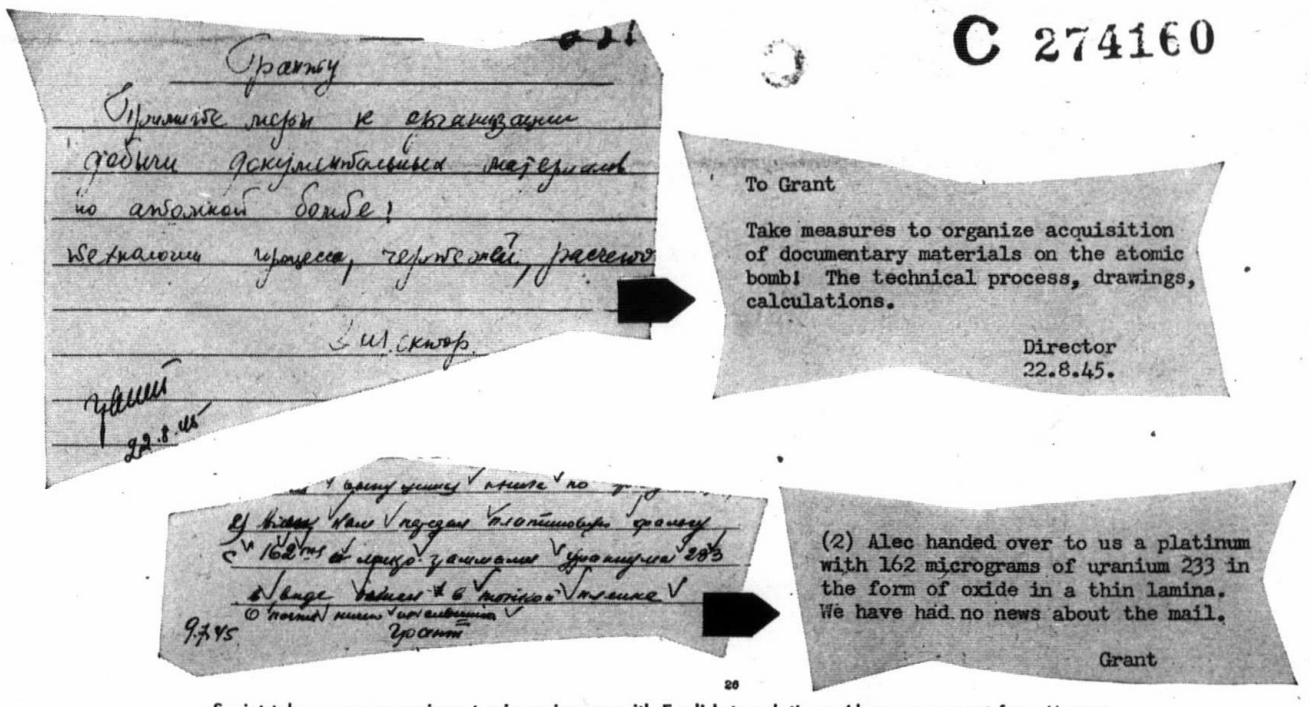
M. . . King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 320, pages 227401 - 227[illegible]

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274160



To Grant

Take measures to organize acquisition of documentary materials on the atomic bomb! The technical process, drawings, calculations.

Director
22.8.45.

(2) Alec handed over to us a platinum with 162 micrograms of uranium 233 in the form of oxide in a thin lamina. We have had no news about the mail.

Grant

Soviet telegrams concerning atomic espionage with English translations: Above, a request from Moscow to Zabotin, leader of Canadian spy ring who uses the cover name of "Grant." Below, part of Zabotin's reply. "Alec" is Dr. Allan Nunn May, British atomic scientist who gave the Russians samples of uranium.

About the Author

Igor Gouzenko is the twenty-eight-year-old Russian who dropped a bombshell on the postwar international scene last year by exposing Soviet espionage in Canada, Great Britain and the United States. Gouzenko, a former Red Army lieutenant, came to Canada from Russia in 1943 to handle communications between the chief of military intelligence in the Soviet embassy at Ottawa and intelligence headquarters in Moscow. On September 5, 1945, deciding "to warn the democratic countries of the danger that hangs over them," he risked his life by fleeing from the embassy with more than a hundred secret telegrams and documents which revealed, among other things, secret information concerning the atomic bomb sent to Moscow by Russian spies and the presence of an active Communist fifth column in North America and Great Britain.

For the past year and a half Gouzenko has been living in secrecy with his Russian wife and their two small children under the protection of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The younger child was born under dangerous circumstances after his family went into hiding.

Between appearances in court, where he has been testifying against Canadians whom he exposed as Soviet secret agents, Gouzenko wrote this series of four articles exclusively for Cosmopolitan. This first one describes his dramatic flight from the Soviet embassy. In succeeding issues he will tell his own story of Russian espionage and his reasons for performing what the Canadian Royal Commission, investigating his case, calls "a great public service to this country."

and that I owed loyalty to them. The reports of Zabotin's Canadian agents, to which I had paid little attention before, now took on a new meaning for me while I coded them for transmission to Moscow.

I could not forget it when I heard Pavlov, second secretary and head of NKVD at the embassy, warn us one day, "Remember that here in Canada you are surrounded by enemies." I lay awake all night after I worked on a message to Moscow relaying information that Zabotin had obtained from Dr. Allan Nunn May, a British scientist in the Montreal and Chalk River Atomic Energy Project. This was the spring of 1945, months before the world knew of the atomic bomb. The message described the whole setup of the American atomic bomb project—naming Major General Leslie R. Groves as its director and Oppenheimer as "the brains," listing the other scientists engaged in the work and locating the plants and experimental stations at Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Los Alamos, New Mexico; Chicago University, Chicago, Illinois and Hanford, Washington. I also saw that day Dr. May's lengthy and highly technical description of scientific methods being used to solve the atomic bomb problem. It covered ten sheets of paper with single-spaced typing and because it was too involved for coding, it was sent to Moscow by diplomatic mail instead of by telegraph. I listened to Zabotin and Lieutenant Colonel Motinov, his shrewd first assistant, discuss the samples of uranium 233 and uranium 235 which Dr. May had given them. Motinov, flying back to Moscow for reassignment to espionage work in Washington, carried the uranium with him.

If I still had any doubt after that about (*Continued on page 162*)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

THE Divided Heart

The memory of a lost love can be a heart-warming thing. It can also be a slow poison

When the strange thing happened to Alison Barnaby it was her birthday, though apparently she alone remembered the day. . . Thirty-eight, she said to herself, was a no-man's age, possessing neither the bounce of youth nor the resignation of senility.

In the middle of the long dark drawing-room she stood still. It was a narrow high-ceilinged room in a New York house inherited by Horace, her husband, from his grandmother. Standing there, a slight, absent-minded figure, surrounded by solid mahogany and intricate rosewood which she had dusted a thousand times, Alison Barnaby had for an instant the oddest feeling of being lost. Lost in a forest of furniture she had not chosen, in an old house she had never quite liked, in a life she had not yet begun to live.

I suppose I'll get over it, she thought. Get over what? This odd and benumbing feeling of waiting for something? For the curtain to go up on the play? For an eye that would look at her as if it really saw her, for an ear that really heard—in brief, for life to begin.

Unfolding her dustcoth she exhorted herself. "Really, Allie, you must get over these queer feelings. Remember your Aunt Mattie who talked to herself? Also remember how much you have—the children and Horace. . ."

Ah, yes, all well and good, but growing ever stronger was the suspicion that if Horace and the children came into the room at that moment they would not see her, for she was fading out, she was becoming practically invisible.

Moreover, and still worse, there persisted a strange feeling that on this her birthday she was not only unseen and unsung but she was about to (*Continued on page 172*)

ILLUSTRATED BY COBY WHITMORE

By Grace Sartwell Mason

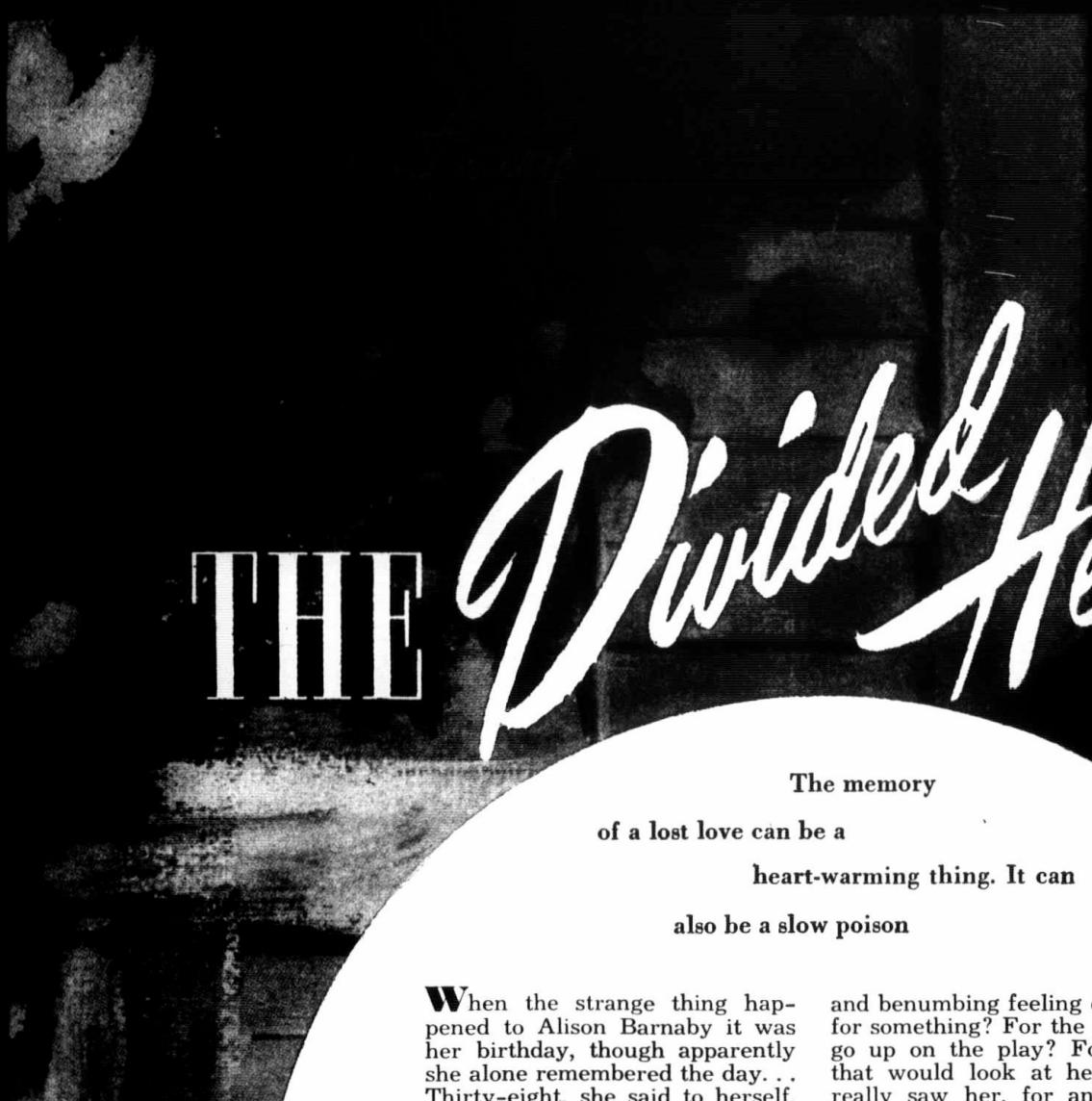
C 274161

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR



THE *Divided Heart*

The memory of a lost love can be a heart-warming thing. It can also be a slow poison

When the strange thing happened to Alison Barnaby it was her birthday, though apparently she alone remembered the day. . . Thirty-eight, she said to herself, was a no-man's age, possessing neither the bounce of youth nor the resignation of senility.

In the middle of the long dark drawing-room she stood still. It was a narrow high-ceilinged room in a New York house inherited by Horace, her husband, from his grandmother. Standing there, a slight, absent-minded figure, surrounded by solid mahogany and intricate rosewood which she had dusted a thousand times, Alison Barnaby had for an instant the oddest feeling of being lost. Lost in a forest of furniture she had not chosen, in an old house she had never quite liked, in a life she had not yet begun to live.

I suppose I'll get over it, she thought. Get over what? This odd and benumbing feeling of waiting for something? For the curtain to go up on the play? For an eye that would look at her as if it really saw her, for an ear that really heard—in brief, for life to begin.

Unfolding her dustcoth she exhorted herself. "Really, Allie, you must get over these queer feelings. Remember your Aunt Mattie who talked to herself? Also remember how much you have—the children and Horace. . ."

Ah, yes, all well and good, but growing ever stronger was the suspicion that if Horace and the children came into the room at that moment they would not see her, for she was fading out, she was becoming practically invisible.

Moreover, and still worse, there persisted a strange feeling that on this her birthday she was not only unseen and unsung but she was about to (*Continued on page 172*)

ILLUSTRATED BY COBY WHITMORE

By Grace Sartwell Mason

C 274161

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274162

ment. She shrank back, drawing the drapes across her face and breast, her eyes staring with crafty, animal-like wariness around the edge of them.

All at once the ceiling lights flickered, brightened and stayed on. She saw that he had her knife clutched in his hand, held forward like a sword. Then it was he who had taken it out of the rack, left it and gone back for it. She watched him from behind the shrouding curtain. He was dull-eyed and crouching, glaring in fright at the sudden light. He lurched toward the staircase just as the elevator began to hum, to move.

He hesitated, turning stupidly toward the sound, standing uncertainly with half-lifted head, his arms hanging and simian. The steady hum grew louder.

The creature came rapidly toward her, his bullet head bent, and she thought for one nightmare instant that he had seen her, but he passed her, reached the top step.

He was going to escape.

As loathsome and subhuman as he was, he had still been able to do this to her—to enter her lovely apartment—and now he was going to get away.

Her heart raced wildly, and her hand tightened about the candlestick. *He wasn't going to get away.*

She moved out of the shelter of the curtains, stepped soundlessly behind him, her hands raised. With all her strength she brought the ponderous chunk of bronze down upon the back of his ugly skull.

His breathing, as he lay on the floor an instant later, was like a revolting snore. For a moment she stared down at him in intense, proud distaste, and then she ran toward the elevator.

Her bleeding finger, pressed against the elevator button, hurt, but she kept it there insistently. The humming increased, and the cage came to a smart stop.

Jimmy slid the door open and gaped at her, swaying there in her thin, torn nightgown. I must look to him just like the blonde on the magazine cover, she thought, and had a sudden wild impulse to laugh. She could hardly see Jimmy through the spangled blackness that was swirling up all around her.

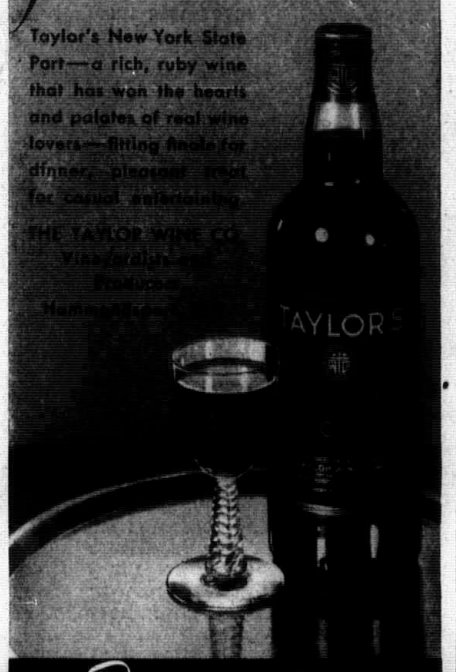
"My gosh, Miss Haller, you ain't got hardly nothing on!" she heard him gasp in a shocked voice just before she fainted for the first time in her life.

THE END

CAPTURED FLAVOR
from NEW YORK STATE

Taylor's New York State Port—a rich, ruby wine that has won the hearts and palates of real wine lovers—fitting finale for dinner, pleasant treat for casual entertaining.

THE TAYLOR WINE CO.
Vinegrafers and Producers
Hammondsport, N.Y.



TAYLOR Wines
FROM THE FAMOUS CELLARS AT HAMMONDSPORT, NEW YORK

IN MARCH

Cosmopolitan presents with pride

the first installment of a new serial

COLORADO

a stirring novel of the old days

in the New West—from the gifted pen of

Louis Bromfield

In Québec



all winter sports are at their best!

Treat your family to a winter vacation in Quebec—the wonderland of North America. Here you will enjoy old-world French-Canadian hospitality in comfortable modern inns and hotels. For help in planning your vacation, write to The PROVINCE OF QUÉBEC TOURIST BUREAU, QUÉBEC CITY, CANADA.

LA PROVINCE DE Québec

23

I Was Inside Stalin's Spy Ring (*Continued from page 25*)

my determination to break with the Soviets, it was dispelled by the tone of the Russian opinion that prevailed in the embassy on V-J Day. I heard no mention of the hope of international control of the atomic bomb. All the higher ranking officers said the same thing: "Now that the Americans have invented it, we must steal it."

Zabotin, in a merry mood, drank a toast to the Americans: "Yesterday our allies, today our neighbors, tomorrow our enemies."

During the three weeks after V-J Day, I made careful mental notes of the structure of the Soviet spy rings and the identity of their fifth-column agents. I selected from the secret files telegrams, notes, memorandums, that named names and described plans. I marked the documents that I wanted by folding and creasing each upper right corner. This would enable me to pick them out quickly when the time came and even a few moments might matter.

I had no more desire to slip away and disappear quietly without leaving a trace behind me. I made up my mind to make plenty of noise.

Anna and I were careful about selecting the date. We decided that early in that September of 1945 would be about right. I had delayed my scheduled return to Moscow as long as I could without arousing suspicion. I was afraid that Zabotin would relieve me of my duties at any moment and thereby prevent me from getting into the secret cipher chamber on the second floor of the embassy where the important documents were kept in the safe.

And then there was Anna's pregnancy. September was her sixth month. We wanted to escape from the Russians before the baby was born. If we had waited until late in September or until October, it would have been too difficult for her to travel with Andrei and me.

I had to pick the right day in the week. Saturday would have been ideal. Most of the embassy staff do not work on Sunday. That would have given me a day before my absence was noted. But I

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

at her own clownlike reflection. Now aren't you glamorous in the candleshine? she jeered, smearing cream over her face.

Then her hand paused, frozen against her cheek. Something had moved in the closet, and the door leading from it into the living room sounded as though it were opening, although she had closed it with such care. She could hear its deliberate creak as it swung outward, and then, a second later, she imagined she heard a single clicking sound, which seemed to come from farther to the left—almost as though someone were in the kitchenette.

"I'm scared," she said in a half-audible whisper. "I'm just scared."

Her lips moved stiffly, and her head felt tight with fear. She listened, sitting stiffly in front of the mirror until her muscles and her ears ached, but there wasn't any other sound. She breathed harshly. There wasn't anyone out there, of course. The door had just opened by itself again.

"I'll lock the bedroom door anyhow," she whispered to herself, getting to her feet and starting to twist the key in the lock. What was coming over her that she was going about mumbling to herself? a part of her mind demanded critically. Her fingers turned the key firmly, and then, as she looked down, she saw the door handle begin slowly to move.

Her eyes riveted on it, fascinated, so wide open she felt she could never shut them again. The handle of the locked door turned soundlessly at first and then with a sharp rattle. She stared at the turning knob, not daring to move.

Outside a gobbling voice was saying, "Open it. Open it t'up."

She tried to scream and could not. The muscles of her throat seemed paralyzed. And even if she did scream, some remote detached part of her brain told her, no one would hear her.

Her soundless lips said, "No. No." She could feel her knees giving way under her, and she reached out her hands, bracing herself against the dressing table. Her grease-covered palm felt slippery on the varnished top, and her eyes swam in growing blackness. Good Lord, was she going to pick this time to faint? She never had, and this, she told herself grimly, was no occasion to start the habit. She jerked her head back sharply, and the darkness began to clear.

The voice began again, slobbering out sounds that were completely unintelligible. The door shook again violently.

ALL at once she was wide awake, released from the dreadful powerless inertia that had gripped her. She grasped the heavy dressing table with desperate strength, pushing and dragging it until it was braced against the quivering door. The heavy candles shook, their flames flickering crazily, but their solid bases held them so that they did not fall.

Her breath came in quick gasps as she worked, and because her slippery hands were unable to get a real grip on what she seized, she rubbed them against her thinly clad thighs, wiping off most of the grease before she returned to her frantic activity.

The door shook with the blows being rained on it, but the lock, reinforced by the wedged dressing table, held for the moment. In crazy panic she pushed the small chair against the table, too, and stood back, panting and trembling. The blows on the door stopped, and she could hear stumbling feet moving to the right.

Oh, God, the other door into the bedroom! The closet door. She rushed to it, seized the little knob and pulled the door tight shut. Then she dragged the bed against it, shoving the high headboard across the door, which opened back into the closet.

But could he open it from inside?

She could hear his nails scratching at the door, could even hear the grunting sound of his breathing. What if he were able to open it with his fingernails, pull it toward him, push aside the bed on its rolling casters, and be there in the doorway, be *in?*

WILDLY she ran to the window and threw it wide open. A blast of chill fall wind flowed through her thin gown, closing about her body with a steadying shock of cold. Behind her the candles flickered violently, as though fighting a shadow battle with the wind, and then, one after the other, the flames went out. The door shook again with the sound of tearing wood.

She turned back toward the room, seized one heavy candlestick—anything, anything for a weapon—kicked off her quilted house slippers for surer footing, and stepped out barefoot onto the narrow rough window ledge. Clinging tightly to the rough stone at the side, she pushed the window down with the hand that held the candlestick. Its being down would give her an extra moment, perhaps, and, in any event, she would never go back in that way. No matter what happened, she would never go back. Breathing heavily, she stood slowly upright. In her hand the weight of the candlestick was comforting, in spite of the awkwardness of holding it.

Cautiously she inched along the chill wall until she was out of sight, she hoped, from inside. Already her teeth were chattering with the cold, or fear, as she half clung, half lay against the wall, the wind flapping her long gown about her bare ankles. Yet, in spite of its piercing cold, the wind was good to her, for it drove squarely against her back, almost like a great hand supporting her. If the hand were not there, if the wind stopped, she thought, she would surely fall. The agonized forward impulse of her body against the sheer wall would be too strong, would upset her equilibrium, would send her swaying backwards.

She must not let anything into her mind but thought of the wall against which she was pressed, she told herself. Just thinking of the sheer drop, straight down to the pavement, made her giddy. Already her feet were numb from contact with the freezing stone, and her fingers ached from her desperate grip on the wall.

Inside the room there was a crash and a sound of something heavy being overturned. Her beautiful, gleaming dressing table! She felt the fingers of her left hand losing their grip on the wall. The hand that held the candlestick seemed to have no feeling at all.

A dark shadow moved past the window on the inside and then lurched out of sight. He was searching for her in there, groping about for her in the dark. When he found she was not there, would he guess her hiding place? Would he come to the window? Would she have to see it open, inch by inch, until his reaching hands could almost touch her . . . until she couldn't get away . . . until she fell?

Appalled she moved her bare feet along the ledge, sliding along the wall farther out of sight from inside the room. The silk threads of her gown kept catching and tearing on the rough surface with small shivering sounds as she drew herself along, cautiously, step by step. How far beyond the window did the ledge extend? She couldn't remember, and she dared not look down to see. Each time her foot moved forward, she expected it would touch emptiness. She was tensed against being dislodged whenever her foothold should finally encounter nothingness, as surely it would in an inch or two. In spite of herself she let the candlestick shift, and it grated against the wall. She was appalled lest whoever was inside hear, look out, and see her telltale fingers clenched there.

But the ledge went on. Narrower—eight inches or so—it continued, and she remembered then the design of parallel lines above and below the top-story windows. The lower line was this ledge. It led past the windows of all the apartments.

Reaching up with a surge of hope, she felt for the upper ledge with her left hand, touched it, almost hung upon it for one breathless moment. Then carefully, holding the weighty candlestick between her thumb and little finger, she raised her right arm, too, and clung with the remaining fingers to the upper ledge.

Her aching fingers, digging into the bare stone above her head, felt wet and sticky and oddly warm. If only they did not slip, if only they could keep their grip on the upper ledge!

FOR a moment she remained still, resting; then she set her teeth and forced herself to leave this momentary safety and go on. Her bare feet seemed scarcely to move, but she felt sure she must be making some progress.

Her right hand, holding the candlestick, ached with the double strain, and she thought for a moment that she must drop the useless thing. But her heart began to pound terribly at the vision of its falling, down, down, clanging and rebounding from the wall as it dropped. If it fell, she would fall, too, she knew. Nothing could save her if once she let herself really admit what was behind her.

"I can't break the pair," she whispered to herself. "What would Tod say if I broke the pair?" The thought strengthened her, and the horrible picture of the familiar candlestick that had become like a part of herself falling downward through the unresisting air grew vague and unreal. She must keep the pair to place on the table in the midst of the yellow and bronze chrysanthemums. Slowly, moving her hands and feet one at a time, her torn gown lashing about her in the stinging wind, she went on.

Under her feet the stone widened again. There was a window, and it was open. To bend down, she must let go of the upper ledge, and, although she moved with slow care, she grew momentarily giddy without its support. Her hands flew forward and caught the inside of the raised window casing, the candlestick making a dull clang as it struck against the wood. She drew herself in to safety, her breath coming in great sobbing gulps.

Once inside she staggered against the wall to the left of the open window. She stood there, her whole body shaking uncontrollably with relief and with cold, while the blowing floor-length drapes brushed across her body in the riddled nightgown. At first in the pitch-darkness she couldn't see. She blinked, rubbing her eyes with her clenched hand, until after a while she could perceive that she was in the corridor.

Of course. The window to the left of her door had been open when she had come in. She remembered now. Was that as far as she had come? Just those few feet that, inside the apartment, she could have covered in five steps? She shook with anger at the senselessness of it. And still this wasn't safety, this crouching in the dark beside an open window.

A key turned in a door close to her. Someone was coming out of her apart-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274164

wanted to go straight to the newspapers and to the Canadian government when I took the documents. I was afraid that those offices might be closed Saturday night and Sunday.

I decided that Wednesday, the fifth of September, would be the best day.

Zabotin and Rogov, my superior officers, were planning to spend that evening at a moving picture in the National Film Board Theater in Ottawa. Because I was a cipher clerk whose work was highly secret, the embassy staff, with one exception, knew little of the hours I was supposed to be on or off duty. The one exception was Koulakov, the other military intelligence cipher clerk who was working with me and preparing to replace me when I returned to Moscow. Wednesday was Koulakov's night to stay on watch at the home of the military attaché on Range Road, a few blocks from the embassy. I knew that he would be there until Thursday morning and that he would sleep until Thursday noon. He would not notice that I was missing until around one o'clock Thursday afternoon.

That would give me about sixteen hours before the NKVD started after me.

Wednesday afternoon I left some messages to Moscow unfinished in my desk so that I would have an excuse to come back and work in the secret cipher chamber that night. Then I went home. Anna had the door locked. I knocked on it three times, then twice and then three times again. For the past month she had unlocked the door only when she heard this special signal. We were living in constant fear that someone in the embassy would discover our plan before we had a chance to execute it. We had taken precautions against that. Two weeks before I had taken two telegrams from the files. One was a request from Moscow for information on the atomic bomb and the other was a report from Zabotin to Moscow on the election of Fred Rose, Communist leader in Montreal and secret Soviet agent, to the Canadian Parliament. I wrote two routine official telegrams concerning cipher pads to the cipher division chief in Moscow and substituted my telegrams for the others so that anyone casually glancing through the file would not notice anything missing.

Then I took the telegrams about Rose and the atomic bomb to my home and hid them in my kitchen pantry. If anything went wrong and I was not able to pick up the documents that were marked and waiting in the embassy safe, I figured that I would escape with these two telegrams anyway. If I were killed or captured before I could get away, Anna would take them from the pantry and turn them over to the Canadians and seek protection for herself and Andrei. We also kept a box of matches on the pantry shelf, next to the telegrams. If everything went wrong and the NKVD surrounded our apartment house, Anna was to burn the telegrams before they broke in the door.

Anna answered the knock and let me into the apartment. Andrei called to me from his high chair in the kitchen where he was eating his supper. I watched him trying to manipulate his spoon.

"Tonight?" Anna asked.

I nodded and told her how I had talked with Rogov that afternoon and had found out that he and Zabotin had not changed their minds about going to the moving picture. I told her that Rogov had asked me again, as he had almost every day for the past month. whether we were packed and ready to return to Moscow.

"Moscow." Anna said. "By this time tomorrow a lot of people in Moscow will



THE MOST LASTING PARFUM IN THE WORLD

The very thought of you is stirred into being by this haunting parfum . . . Toujours Moi! Blended from the rarest of essences, CORDAY created this most distinctive parfum for the woman who dares be herself . . . vivid, feminine. Wear it with your most precious furs . . . wear it for your truly precious moments.

Available in limited quantities at the better shops.

parfums CORDAY

15 RUE DE LA PAIX, PARIS

Other fine fragrances by CORDAY—one of the world's great French parfumeurs
JET • TZIGANE • POSSESSION • L'ARDENTE NUIT • FRENZY

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274165

COMPLETELY DEPENDABLE
Crawford WATCHES

The ultimate achievement in superb timepieces
AT BETTER SHOPS EVERYWHERE
BEAUTY Crawford ACCURACY
WATCH CORP.

Throat Soothing


Relief from coughs, throat irritations, huskiness due to colds comes fast with Vicks Medicated Cough Drops. So effective because they're *really medicated* with throat-soothing ingredients of Vicks VapoRub. Try 'em!

be talking about you. And envying you."

Both of us felt glad that the whole thing would finally be finished in a few hours—for better or for worse. The suspense of the past few weeks had been nerve-racking.

I went over the plan again with Anna, just to double check each detail, and then I looked at my watch. It was only a quarter of six. I wanted to go to the military attaché's residence first to make sure that Koulakov had started his night's duty there. Then to the embassy. I didn't want to get to the embassy until seven o'clock at the earliest. I lifted Andrei out of his high chair and played with him for a while. I wondered if I would ever see him and Anna again. But I didn't want to start thinking about that. I got up and said good-by and went out. Anna locked the door behind me.

It had been a hot day and the early evening was still warm. I took a street car to Range Road and walked down to Zabotin's house. Zabotin's official position in Ottawa was that of military attaché at the embassy. His home, where a great deal of official work was done, was a few doors away from that of the American military attaché. In the front hall, I met Galkin and some of the other young men on the embassy staff. While they were asking me to go to a movie with them, I looked around and saw that Koulakov had signed in for duty and was sitting at the night watch desk. I waved to him.

"What movie are you going to?" I asked Galkin.

He mentioned a theater in the neighborhood. I walked up Range Road with them. "I think I've seen that picture," I said. "I'll catch a street car and go to a show downtown."

I waited at the street car stop until they had walked away around a corner. Then I walked to the embassy. Of all people, Pavlov, the chief of the NKVD, was sitting in the reception room inside the front door, but he paid no attention to me. I went upstairs to the secret cipher chamber on the second floor.

The secret cipher chamber in the Soviet embassy was built like a safe-deposit vault in the basement of a bank. Only a few of us, cipher clerks and high-ranking embassy officials, were allowed to enter it. The man on duty inside could not, of course, hear any knocks on the double steel doors. To get in, you pressed a secret button hidden under the banister of the stairs that approached the door. Then you went up the stairs, pulled aside a curtain and put your face before a small opening on the door. The man inside, if he recognized you, would unlock and unbar the first steel door, let you through it and lock the door again. Then he would unlock a second steel door and let you into the chamber itself where you could always hear dance music from the radio in the chief cipher clerk's office. The chief cipher clerk did not keep the radio going because he liked music. It was to make it difficult to overhear conversations in the chamber.

There was a narrow corridor down the middle of the chamber with three offices on each side of it. In the two end offices there were incinerators for the burning of documents. Anyone who worked in the chamber had access to the smaller incinerator in the office at the left. Only the chief cipher clerk was allowed to use the incinerator at the right which was equipped with a powerful fan to generate heat and was big enough to consume a man's body instantly. I'm inclined to think it was designed with this idea in view.

The man on duty in the chamber that night was an old friend of mine, Ryazanov, the commercial attaché's cipher clerk, and I noticed that he was alone.

"Working overtime again?" he said.

"I'm not working late tonight. I'm going to get out of here in time to catch the eight-thirty show at the movies."

Ryazanov said something about everybody in the embassy except him going to the movies that night. I went into my office, the first one on the right, opened my desk and took out Zabotin's cipher pouch which I had put there that afternoon. I took out of it the documents with the creased corners. I looked them over again.

There were almost a hundred documents, some of them small scraps of paper and others covering several large sheets of stationery. To show the terrific volume of Zabotin's espionage work I took a typewritten list which recorded each item of material received from spies and sent to Moscow during one week in January, 1945. There were one hundred and nine items on the list. They included confidential reports from Dana Wilgress, Canadian Ambassador in Russia, to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, which Zabotin obtained from Kathleen Willsher, a spy who held a government position; reports on secret sessions of Parliament obtained from Fred Rose, spy in the House of Commons; data on plane production; notes on tank and munitions plants. I also had reports on spies and meetings of espionage groups; telegrams concerning atomic research; requests from Moscow for information concerning the movement of various individual American Army infantry, air-borne and armored divisions; information on American electronic shells; instructions on the interchange of spies between various Soviet espionage rings in the United States and Canada and on the financing of spy operations.

I took these documents and hid them inside my shirt. Then I sat down at my desk and coded the telegrams to Moscow that I had left unfinished in the afternoon to serve as an alibi for coming to the cipher chamber that night. The telegrams concerned documents supplied by Emma Woikin, a Russian spy in the Canadian External Affairs Department, which corresponds to the American State Department. They were confidential reports on British government affairs in the Balkans.

I went across the corridor and gave Ryazanov the telegrams for Moscow. I sealed Zabotin's pouch and gave it to him to place in the safe.

I was dying to get out of the embassy at that point. The documents felt as though they weighed a ton and I imagined that they were bulging out from under my shirt. But I had to appear casual. I leisurely washed my hands and joked with Ryazanov.

"Lock the place up and come out to the movies with me. What the hell, nobody will know the difference."

"Oh, sure. Didn't you hear about the twenty-dollar repair job that was done on our Buick the other day? A full, itemized report was sent to Moscow that night."

I put on my hat and asked him once more if he didn't want to change his mind. He said he didn't. He let me out through the double doors. I noticed when I went out that Pavlov was not in the reception room. I took a street car downtown and went to the building where the Ottawa Journal offices were located. I was nervous. I stood outside wiping the perspiration from my face and trying to see if I was being followed.

Finally I went inside and asked the man who was running the elevator where I could find the editor. "Sixth floor," he said, looking me over.

On the sixth floor I found a door which had "Editor" painted on it. I started to knock on the door. Then I stopped. I began to wonder if I was making the right move. Knowing the NKVD and how it operated, I wondered if they didn't have at least one agent planted in the various big Canadian newspapers. I turned away from the door and went back to the elevator.

The elevator door slammed open and I walked in. The car dropped a few floors, stopped and more people crowded in beside me. I glanced up and saw a woman in the elevator nod and smile at me. Her face was familiar. My stomach turned over with fear. She was a Canadian but, although I could not remember who she was, I knew that I had seen her at a social function in the Soviet embassy and I knew she had recognized me.

I must have blushed. She leaned over toward me curiously and said, "What brings you here? Is there some big news breaking at the embassy?"

The elevator stopped at the ground floor and the people pushed out, taking us with them. "No, no," I said. "No news. Nothing at all."

She started to say something else but before she could say it, I stammered a good night and hurried out the door to the street and away from her. I walked for a few blocks in a daze. Then I went home.

Anna opened the door after I gave the three-two-three knock. She stared at me.

"So soon? Is it all done? Or did something go wrong?"

I told her everything that had happened, finishing up with the woman in the elevator at the newspaper building. Anna listened eagerly to the whole story. When I stopped, she sat back in her chair. She was very calm.

"Everything is all right," she said. "Go back to the newspaper right now. See the editor and tell him everything. What if there is an NKVD man there? That is one of the chances you must take. Don't worry about the woman. Most likely she is a journalist who writes for that newspaper. That's why she was in the elevator. And that's why you saw her at the embassy. You know they invited many newspaper people to their receptions during the war. She has probably forgotten about you already. You must go back and talk to the editor now. Remember that you only have a few hours before Zabotin discovers that the documents are gone."

I saw that she was right. I unbottoned my shirt, took out the documents and looked at them. Even if it had been possible for me to replace them in Zabotin's brief case in the safe behind the double steel doors in the secret cipher chamber at the embassy, I couldn't do it now. The papers were soaked with perspiration.

I left Anna again and went back to the newspaper office. The same elevator man was on duty but he paid no attention when I asked for the sixth floor. I went to the door of the editor's office, paused, trying to swallow the lump of excitement in my throat, and then knocked.

There was no answer. I knocked again and waited. Then I knocked a third time loudly. I tried the door and found it was locked. I turned and walked down the hall. The other offices seemed to be empty. Then I found myself standing at the door of the crowded and noisy city room of the newspaper. It was full of reporters, editors and rewrite men. Everybody seemed to be busy. Nobody paid the slightest attention to me.

I stopped an office boy and asked if I

C 274166

LOOK WHAT WE'VE JUST DISCOVERED! SPRING IN
Southern California
"What a place for a Spring vacation! We'll thaw the chill out of our bones ...wade in wild flowers, eat with chopsticks, dance at night spots till closing time..."
Yes, Spring in Los Angeles County and all Southern California is chock-full of color...sunshine...and exciting things to do. Send the coupon for our FREE COLOR FOLDER.

SURE THE DESERT LOOKS LIKE THIS! Get a pre-season sun tan swimming at a palm-shaded oasis... ride desert trails through a sea of Spring wild flowers... or just relax under a palm.

DANCE YOUR WAY through fabulous night spots where movie and radio stars add glamour to exotic settings.

THAT'S THE PACIFIC OCEAN, all the way to China! Explore sandy coves, broad beaches, or go sailing in protected bays.
ALL-YEAR CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, LTD.
* *This advertisement sponsored by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors for the citizens of Beverly Hills, Glendale, Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Pomona, Santa Monica and 182 other communities. Copyright 1947 by All-Year Club of Southern California, Ltd.—a non-profit community organization serving vacationists.* THIS IS VICTORY VACATION YEAR. YOU'VE EARNED IT; NOW ENJOY IT!
FREE FOLDER • MAIL TODAY!
All-Year Club of Southern California, Dept. A-2
629 S. Hill St., Los Angeles 14, California
Please send me your free vacation folder "WHAT TO DO AND SEE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA."
Name
Street
City Zone
State
(PLEASE PRINT NAME AND ADDRESS)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274167



FEEL HEAVENLY IN A Starlight BRA

with the patented INNER-CONTROL

Skillful designing and quality fabrics combine to enhance your figure and give you that heavenly feeling of freedom from restraint. There is a Starlight Bra for every figure type including long line and teen age. Also wired bras with detachable straps.

Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping

At leading stores everywhere

L. & W. BRASSIERE CO., NEW YORK 10



CLEAN HAIR *in 10 minutes* WITHOUT WATER

★ No soap • No rinsing • No drying
★ Removes oil, dirt, hair odors
★ Retains wave; restores sheen
★ Grand between water shampoos
★ Ideal during colds and illness

30 SHAMPOOS WITH MITT 100 *Plus tax.*
At all good drug and department stores.

MINIPOO DRY SHAMPOO



COSMETIC DISTRIBUTORS, INC., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

C274166

could see the editor. He was in a hurry.

"He's gone for the night," he said.

I started to tell him why I was there but he walked into the hall and disappeared down the stairs before I could call him. I went into the city room and approached the nearest desk. The man who was sitting there looked up at me inquiringly. I explained that I wanted to speak to whomever was in charge on a matter of great importance. The man went across the room and spoke to an older man who was wearing a green eyeshade. The man with the eyeshade asked me to sit down.

I took the documents out from under my shirt and showed them to him. I told him who I was and what the documents were and all about the Soviet espionage connected with the atomic bomb. He glanced at the documents skeptically. They were written in Russian. I could see that he did not believe a single word I had said.

"I can't do anything about this," he said. "Why don't you go to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police? Or, if you don't want to do that, come back in the morning and see the editor."

I tried to explain that I had little time before the NKVD would begin to search for me and that I could not wait until morning. "Sorry," he said. "Nothing I can do now." He stood up and went out of the room.

I left the building, confused and discouraged. I stood in the street, trying to think of what to do next. I was afraid to go to the government because I knew that Zabotin's espionage ring and the other Soviet spy systems were loaded with agents who held official government positions. I could see myself sitting with one of them, telling him my story and then waiting while he went to another office and telephoned the Soviet embassy.

I felt that the only thing for me to do was to talk with one of the highest ranking officials in Ottawa. I decided to see the Minister of Justice. I walked to the Justice Building on Wellington Street. It never occurred to me that it was now almost midnight and that the Minister of Justice was undoubtedly at home and asleep. At the door of the Justice Building, I was stopped by a guard on sentry duty. He was wearing the boots and the wide-brimmed Stetson hat of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

I told him that I had to see the Minister of Justice.

"You can't see him or anybody in the Justice Department at this hour," he said. "Come back in the morning."

I tried to tell him that it was an extremely urgent matter and asked if the Minister could not be reached by telephone. "Impossible," he said.

I saw that there was nothing that could be done so I went home. Anna put the documents in her handbag under the pillow and we tried to sleep, but both of us were too excited. We lay awake until daylight, talking and thinking.

IN THE morning I got up and shaved and put on my brown suit. I was going to make another attempt to see the Minister of Justice, but I decided that this time I would bring Anna and Andrei with me. In a few hours, around one o'clock, the embassy would be in a panic about me and the first place that Pavlov and the NKVD would go in search of me and the documents would be my apartment. I didn't want to leave Anna and the boy there alone.

We started for the Justice Building, Anna carrying the documents in her bag. I felt that if the NKVD found us on the street, they would go for me first and perhaps Anna might be able to escape with the documents. Andrei was only twenty-two months old but he could walk between us, holding our hands.

At the Justice Building we were brought into the office of the secretary to the Minister of Justice. I told him that I could not discuss my business with him and that I wanted to talk only with the Minister himself. I was still afraid of the NKVD. The Minister's secretary said that the Minister was in his other office at the Parliament Buildings. I tried to impress upon him that I had a very important matter. He said he would take us to the Parliament Building.

There I went through the same thing all over again, this time with another secretary to the Minister. I had to explain again that I could talk only with the Minister and nobody else. The second secretary telephoned somebody and talked to him about me in French, which I could not understand. Then they took us back to the Justice Building and we waited there for two hours that seemed to me like two years. Andrei, squirming in Anna's lap, was beginning to get bored and I did not blame him. It was a pretty cold reception.

Finally the first secretary appeared and said, "We are sorry but the Minister is unable to see you."

I looked at Anna and Anna looked at me. "We'll go back to the newspaper," she said.

There didn't seem to be anything else to do so we went. This time there was a different elevator man on duty, just to break the monotony.

They said that the editor was not at his desk and sent a girl reporter out to talk with us. She was an attractive blonde who introduced herself as Lesley Johnstone. She was the first person I had met since I had left the embassy who seemed to pay any attention to me.

I told her the whole story. She went inside and discussed it with the editor but she came out shaking her head.

"I'm terribly sorry," she said. "They don't want your story here. Nobody wants to say anything against Stalin right now."

I explained to Miss Johnstone the danger I was in and asked what she thought I ought to do.

"Maybe the Russians would have a harder time getting you back if you became a Canadian citizen," she said. "Why don't you and your wife take out naturalization papers?"

I was willing to do anything. Miss Johnstone thought that naturalization was handled by the Royal Canadian Mounted police. So we found ourselves back in the Justice Building, talking with the officer in charge of fingerprints at the police identification branch. The officer explained that the Mounted Police had nothing to do with naturalization and suggested that we try the office of the Crown Attorney.

We went out into the hot sun on Wellington Street and waited for a street car. The court house on Nicholas Street, where the Crown Attorney's office was located, was on the other side of downtown Ottawa. I carried Andrei, who was hungry and tired, in my arms. Anna was getting exhausted. Her noticeable pregnancy was making it difficult for her to move around in the heat of the city and, on top of that, she had not slept the night before.

At the Crown Attorney's office we found that the woman clerk who handled naturalization applications was out for lunch and would not be back for two hours. That reminded me that we ourselves had not eaten since early morning. I took Andrei and Anna to a restaurant on Nicholas Street and bought lunch. When I was raising the first forkful of food to my mouth, I stopped and looked at my watch. It was a quarter to two.

By this time Zabotin and Koulakov were probably searching madly through the files in the secret cipher chamber, looking for the missing documents. I wondered if they had told Pavlov yet that I was missing too. And there I was, with my wife and child, eating in a public restaurant only three quarters of a mile from the embassy.

And, I thought, the search for me is starting and I haven't yet found anybody in the government or in the newspaper offices who will listen to me.

Andrei was so tired that he began to fall asleep at the table. We decided to take him to a British woman, a friend of Anna's who lived in the building next to ours. That meant another trip on the street car back to the other side of the city. Anna's friend was glad to take care of Andrei. We explained that we were returning to Moscow in a few days and we had a lot of shopping to do.

"Don't hurry," she said. "I'll take him out in the park after he has his nap."

Anna and I went back again to the Crown Attorney's office. The naturalization clerk was back from lunch and we answered her questions and filled out application forms.

"That's fine," she said. "And now, if you'll both come back tomorrow, we'll arrange to have your photographs taken."

The NKVD is starting to look for me, I thought, and she wants me to come back tomorrow to have photographs taken.

"How long will it be before we become Canadian citizens?" I asked.

"Well, I can't say offhand. If you are lucky, perhaps in a few months."

Perhaps in a few months. I could see that I was getting nowhere fast. I began to feel desperate. The thought passed through my head that, rather than let the NKVD take me alive, I would commit suicide. I forced myself not to lose control. I looked around the Crown Attorney's office and noticed one of the women secretaries watching me. She was a dark woman in a red dress, and I remembered that she had been especially kind to Anna and me when we had first come to the office with Andrei before lunch. I felt that I had to talk to someone and, before I realized what I was doing, I was standing beside her desk explaining who I was and what I was trying to do.

"Sit down," she said. She got up and brought over another chair and motioned to Anna to come and sit with her, too.

"Now," she said. "Let's see if we can't help you."

I don't remember when I ever felt more grateful toward anybody.

She listened while I told everything that had happened in the past two days and she looked at the documents. She was shocked.

"The whole world ought to know about this," she said. She reached for a telephone and called one of the newspaper offices. She explained that there was a man in her office with the material for a big news story of international importance and asked for a reporter to come and talk to me.

"I don't know whether they'll send anybody," she said as she hung up. "They must think it's a practical joke."

Then she called another newspaper and said the same thing.

"Now we'll wait awhile and see what happens," she said.

In about twenty minutes a reporter appeared in the office. The secretary—Mrs. Fernande Joubarne—introduced him to me and I told him what I had told her. I also showed him the documents and translated for him the messages about the atomic bomb and the dossier of Sam

C274168

To kindle the flame in his heart...



Beauty Experts Tell Secret for Lovelier, Softer Hands!



Cream 3 to 1 Favorite!

We asked 51,170 beauticians, "What do you recommend for proper hand care?" Replies prove these experts recommend cream 3 to 1, And of all the creams, their *overwhelming favorite is Sofskin!*

HANDS to be admired . . . hands that are more romantic to touch . . . to hold . . . may now be yours. Do what thousands of beauty experts suggest: Give your hands a quick massage with beauty-rich Sofskin.

Then . . . see the thrilling transformation as Sofskin's special mollescent action works right into surface skin. See how much whiter and younger your hands look . . . how much softer and lovelier!

Do what leading beauty experts recommend. Get Sofskin today at drug and cosmetic counters.

No matter what hand cream or lotion you've ever tried . . . just wait until you use

Sofskin! CREME

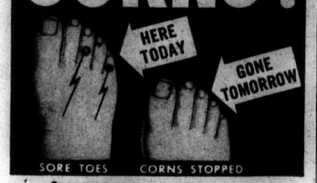
W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

STOP CORNS!



Instant Relief

NEVER wait! ACT at first sign of sore toes from new, tight or stiff shoes! Protect them with Dr. Scholl's Zino-pads. You'll have instant relief. Corns won't have a chance to develop. So, always keep a box handy. But—if you have corns—these thin, soft, soothing cushioning, protective pads will give you almost magical relief—INSTANTLY!

SPEEDILY, GENTLY REMOVE CORNS

You'll marvel, too, how Dr. Scholl's Zino-pads quickly remove corns when used with the separate *Medications* included. Cost but a trifle. Largest selling corn pads in the world. Try them!



Dr Scholl's Zino-pads

Doctor's Formula
PEPS UP
LAZY BILE-

Right Way to Relieve CONSTIPATION and Feel "Tip-Top" In Morning!

If bile doesn't flow freely *every day* from your gall bladder into your intestines—constipation with its headaches and that "half-alive" feeling often result. So pep up your lazy bile secretion and see how much better you should feel! Just try Dr. Edwards' Olive Tablets used so successfully for years by Dr. F. M. Edwards for his patients with constipation and sluggish bile.

Olive Tablets, being *purely vegetable*, are wonderful! They not only stimulate bile flow to help digest fatty foods but *also* help keep you regular. Get a box TODAY. 15¢, 30¢. Follow label directions.



Why SUFFER WITH CHAPS

Millions have used White CLOVERINE Brand SALVE from 1895 for chapped hands, face, lips and legs, surface burns, mild sunburn and tired, tender feet. At your druggist or agent.

Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping

WILSON CHEM. CO.
TYRONE, PA.

Carr, the well-known leader of the Canadian Labor Progressive Party, who served as one of Zabotin's agents. The reporter seemed to be amazed. But he was also afraid to touch the story.

"It's too big," he kept saying. "It's too big. Take it to the police or to the government."

Mrs. Jourbarne was almost as downhearted as we were when the reporter left. I said good-by and thanked her.

"Keep trying," she said. Then she said to Anna, "No matter what happens, let me know if it's a girl or another boy."

ANNA and I went back to our house. She went into the next building to get Andrei while I tiptoed upstairs, listened at our door and, hearing nothing, unlocked it and went inside. Nothing in the house seemed to have been disturbed. I went to the balcony at the back of the apartment. Anna was watching me from her friend's window across the areaway between the two buildings. I waved to her to come in. After she brought Andrei into our apartment, I lay down on my bed and tried to rest.

Fifteen minutes later I got up and looked out one of the front windows. Two men were sitting on a bench in the park across the street. I watched them. Every few minutes they glanced up at my windows.

Then there was a knock on our door. I turned to Anna and held my finger to my lips. There was another knock and then several louder knocks. Anna and I waited without making a sound. Just when it seemed that the person at the door was starting to go away, Andrei came out of the bedroom and ran across the living-room floor to Anna. The clatter of his shoes sounded to me like thunder.

Then the person at the door banged on it with his fist and yelled, "Gouzenko!"

I motioned to Anna to keep Andrei quiet.

"Gouzenko!" he called again.

I recognized the voice at once. It was Lavrentiev, a young lieutenant who had just arrived from Moscow to work at the embassy as Zabotin's chauffeur and contact man. After he called my name a few more times, I heard him go down the stairs. I looked out the front window again. The two men were still sitting on the bench in the park.

I went out on my back balcony and climbed from it to the balcony of the next apartment, which was occupied by a Royal Canadian Air Force sergeant named Main and his wife. They were sitting outside, trying to get some relief from the heat. I asked them if I could talk with them and we went into their apartment. I was in too much of a hurry to go into the whole story but I told them that the NKVD were after me and I asked them if they would take care of Andrei. Main and his wife talked it over and said they would take Andrei whenever we felt that something was going to happen. I thanked them and started to go out on the balcony again. In the doorway, I stopped. There was a man beneath me in the areaway looking at the back of our building.

Main came to my side and watched him, too. After a few minutes, the man sauntered away. "Get your wife," Main said. "The three of you had better stay with us tonight. And I'm going to get the police."

We found Anna with Mrs. Elliot, the woman who lived directly across the hall from us in Apartment Six. Mrs. Elliot listened to us talking.

"Instead of staying with the Mains, why don't you stay with me?" she asked. "My son and my husband are away and I have plenty of room here for you."

Anna and Andrei and I went into Mrs. Elliot's apartment and Main went downstairs and got his bicycle and rode to the police station. I sat in Mrs. Elliot's dining room, wondering what was going to happen next. Then Main returned with two Ottawa police constables. I told them who I was and explained about Lavrentiev and the men in the park and the man behind the building. One of the constables said that a police car would keep the building under observation for the rest of the night.

"Here's what we'll do," he said to Mrs. Elliot. "That bathroom light shows in the front of the building. Keep it on all night. If anything goes wrong, turn it off. When we see it go off, we'll come up."

Mrs. Elliot pulled out a day bed for Anna and me and we put Andrei to sleep in another bed. Anna kept her bag with the documents in it under her pillow. When it got dark, we tried without much success to go to sleep.

Around midnight, we heard somebody in the hall knocking at my apartment door. Mrs. Elliot, Anna and I went to Mrs. Elliot's door and I looked through the keyhole. The keyhole gave me a very clear view of the hall and the door of my apartment which was directly opposite Mrs. Elliot's door.

There were four men at my door. I recognized Pavlov, the NKVD chief, and Rogov, the Red Army Air Force attaché at the embassy who was one of Zabotin's assistants in espionage work. Rogov was wearing his lieutenant colonel's uniform. The third man was Angelov, another member of Zabotin's staff, and the fourth one was Pavlov's cipher clerk, Farafontov. They continued to knock and then we heard Main open his door and talk to them. He told them nobody was home in my apartment. Pavlov thanked him very politely and they all went downstairs making plenty of noise.

We stayed at Mrs. Elliot's door, listening, and then Anna, who was now looking through the keyhole, grabbed my hand and pulled me down beside her. I looked out and saw them coming back upstairs without making a sound. Farafontov and Rogov worked on my door with some kind of an instrument and jimmied it open. The four of them slipped inside and closed the door behind them.

Anna had been in the bathroom turning the light off and on furiously but there was no sign of the police. I whispered to Mrs. Elliot to call them on the telephone. While I stared through the keyhole. I heard her asking central for the police and then reporting that somebody was trying to break into Apartment Four at 511 Somerset Street.

The same two constables who had talked to me earlier in the evening appeared in the hallway within a few minutes. The tall, husky one, whose name was Walsh, threw open my door. The lights were on in my apartment. Through the keyhole I saw the police catch the Russians in the act.

Pavlov did the talking. He said that they were members of the Russian embassy staff and that they were looking for some Russian documents. He said that the owner of the apartment, another member of the embassy staff, happened to be in Toronto that night and they had his permission to enter his apartment and look for the documents.

Walsh picked up from the floor a piece of the broken lock. "Did he also give you permission to break the lock?" he asked. Then he pointed to the jimmy marks on the edge of the door. "Did you do all that with your fingers?"

Pavlov said something about losing the key and, getting indignant, told the constables that the door was Russian property and that he could do what he liked to it. Then Pavlov ordered the constables to leave the apartment.

"Not until our inspector arrives," Walsh said. "In the meantime, show me your identification."

Then a man who was obviously the inspector—I learned later that his name was Macdonald—came upstairs and listened to Pavlov refuse to go to the police station and declare that the diplomatic immunity of the Russians was being violated. The inspector left, asking them to wait in the apartment until he returned. A few minutes later the Russians left, too. The two constables knocked on Mrs. Elliot's door and we let them in. They spent the rest of the night with us. About four o'clock in the morning we heard somebody else in the hall, knocking on my door. But he left immediately.

In the morning, a city police inspector came to Mrs. Elliot's apartment. He had with him a Royal Canadian Mounted Police constable who was to spend the day protecting Anna and Andrei. The city police inspector explained that he was to bring me to the Justice Building. He said that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police which, like the American FBI is the national government's law-enforcement division, had notified him that they wanted to see me.

"At last," Anna said. "Somebody is going to listen to you."

I put on my hat and asked her how she was going to spend the morning.

"Oh," she said, "I have a big washing to do."

I SPENT more than four hours talking to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police investigators. I turned the documents over to them. While I was describing my attempts to give my information to the newspapers, one of the detectives smiled.

"The strong light of truth," he said, "is sometimes blinding."

I learned from the R.C.M.P. that my wanderings around Ottawa the previous day had not been as ignored by the Canadian government as I had assumed. During the two hours I had sat with Anna and Andrei in the Minister of Justice's waiting room, the Department of External Affairs and the R.C.M.P. were discussing the problem of what to do with me and Prime Minister King himself had been told about me. The R.C.M.P. decided to watch me and to make sure that I was a genuine Soviet agent with an important story to tell before listening to the story. They were afraid that I might have been a fake or an eccentric trying to provoke unnecessary trouble between Russia and Canada. Their agents had shadowed me all afternoon and all night. The men I had seen on the park bench were Canadians, not NKVD spies. When Pavlov and the other Soviet agents broke into my apartment, the R.C.M.P. was convinced that I had something worth hearing.

The R.C.M.P. investigators explained to me that my case would have to be handled delicately because of the international repercussions it would cause. They would have to spend several months examining the Soviet espionage ring using the leads and information I had given them. In the meantime, they did not want the Russians to know that the documents were in Canada's possession and that I was working for Canada. And they also wanted to hide and protect me and my family from the NKVD.

This meant that Anna, Andrei and I had to be moved at once to a secret hiding place. The three of us left Ottawa that afternoon with two R.C.M.P detectives. We spent the night in a tourist



"Divided hearts at our house..."

Somehow, somewhere, we'd lost our lovely, thrilling *oneness*. I didn't realize that *I* was at fault. Sure, I knew about feminine hygiene . . . or so I thought. But finally I learned, from my doctor, that the careless, *now-and-then* care I'd trusted to, was a frequent cause of marriage failure. He said a wife can't afford such neglect . . . advised my using "Lysol" brand disinfectant for douching—always.



"Now it's one heart again"

"Two hearts that beat as one"—that's *us* again! I wouldn't have believed *careful* feminine hygiene was so important in married happiness. But my doctor was *right!* I always use "Lysol" for douching, now, and can recommend its thorough yet gentle cleansing. "Lysol" is thorough—far more so than salt, soda or other homemade solutions. It's a proved *germ-killer*—it *works*—and it's so easy and economical to use.

More women use "LYSOL" for Feminine Hygiene than any other germicide . . . for 6 reasons

Reason No. 4: CLEAN ODOR—"Lysol's" clean, antiseptic odor disappears quickly after use. Being an effective deodorant, "Lysol" helps to solve an important problem of personal daintiness.

Note: Douche *thoroughly* with correct "Lysol" solution . . . always!



For Feminine Hygiene use "Lysol" always!
Brand Disinfectant

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274171

"Have you an *Aptitude* for writing?"



Frederick Palmer, Dir. Storycrafters Guild. (Mr. Palmer is not connected with any other school or course).

The successful writers today are the men and women who have developed their *natural aptitude* for writing into a highly skilled technique of story telling.

Find out now whether or not you have an aptitude for a writing career by taking the FREE Storycrafters Guild Aptitude Test.

Upon filling in and returning your Storycrafters Aptitude Test, you will receive without obligation, a personal, detailed report on your potentialities as a writer.

Then, if you wish, the new Storycrafters Guild System will train you in the fundamentals of all creative writing. You learn how to provide the groundwork for your creative thinking...how to construct short stories, articles, novels, radio and motion picture scripts, "fillers" and special material. You can EARN WHILE YOU LEARN through the Storycrafters Guild Sales Advisory Service.

Let Mr. Palmer, who has discovered and developed creative talent in thousands of men and women, tell you frankly if you have the "stuff" of which writers are made. Send for FREE APTITUDE TEST and complete details of EARN WHILE YOU LEARN home-study course. Fill in...mail coupon today.

INQUIRE ABOUT SPECIAL G. I. OFFER

STORYCRAFTERS GUILD,
5617 Hollywood Blvd., Dept. 2B
Hollywood 28, California
Without obligation please send FREE APTITUDE TEST and details of home-study creative writing course.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY or R.F.D._____ STATE_____

ASTHMADOR

THE DEPENDABLE TREATMENT THAT OUTSELLS ALL OTHER INHALANTS

POWDER, CIGARETTE OR PIPE MIX

AT ALL DRUG STORES

Bitter winds... snow, slush... stuffy, overheated houses... no wonder winter usually spells a-g-o-n-y for the asthmatic who has not yet tried Dr. R. Schiffmann's ASTHMADOR! Take pity on the poor sufferer...tell him how ASTHMADOR'S rich, aromatic fumes cut right through congestion, let in life-giving air, help reduce the severity of the attack. Tell him to ignite ASTHMADOR powder when he's too stuffed up to sleep, or smoke an ASTHMADOR cigarette anytime, anywhere. No costly sprays to buy—nothing to take internally—just welcome relief the time-tested ASTHMADOR way. The leading inhalant—sold under a money-back guarantee.



BABY CHAFING

For prompt relief use world-known Cuticura. Fragrant, mildly medicated. 60 years success. All druggists. Buy!

CUTICURA SOAP TALCUM OINTMENT

camp, under false names. Then we moved into a part of Canada where we were unknown. We were guarded—and are still guarded now—day and night by the R.C.M.P. But there was one thing that threatened to wreck our secrecy. That was the birth of Anna's second baby.

The NKVD knew of her pregnancy, of course, and we knew that their agents were keeping a close check on the hospitals. They were keeping a particularly close check on maternity cases that involved parents with Russian accents. Once they discovered the hospital where Anna was confined, it would have been a simple matter for the Soviet spies to follow her home and find me.

The R.C.M.P. detectives tried hard to figure out a way of providing Anna with medical attention and not letting the doctor know who she was. At that time, in the fall of 1945, the people in Canada who knew where we were living numbered only thirteen. Twelve of them were R.C.M.P. detectives. The thirteenth was the wife of one of the detectives. She stayed in the same house with Anna. But the doctor, who was selected carefully, had to be taken into our confidence. He arranged for her to be taken into a hospital without letting anyone on the hospital staff know her real identity.

We arranged to have one of the R.C.M.P. detectives pose as the nervous, prospective father. They were supposed to be a Polish couple, not long in this country. When Anna started to have labor pains one night early in December, the detective took her to the hospital and put on an act which seemed convincing. He paced the hospital corridors, stopping every nurse and doctor that he saw and begging in broken English for the latest word about Anna's condition. He kept pulling his wallet from his pocket, explaining that he had saved his money to make sure that she had the best of care and that he was ready to pay the bill as soon as possible.

The delivery went smoothly. It was a girl. Seven pounds and twelve ounces.

The proud father visited Anna and the child regularly, bringing candy and flowers. Whenever Anna was asked a question about her family or her home that she couldn't answer fictitiously, she pretended that she could not understand the English language.

We were all elated about the success of our efforts to maintain complete secrecy. Then one day a new nurse walked into Anna's hospital room. Anna took one glance at her and felt her blood run cold.

"Why, hello," the nurse said pleasantly. "Don't you remember me?"

Anna was too terrified to reply.

"Oh, come now," the nurse said. "You must remember me. I took care of you in Ottawa when your first child was born."

Igor Gouzenko continues his story in next month's Cosmopolitan with a detailed description of Soviet atomic-bomb espionage

Some of the People (*Continued from page 18*)

automobile manufacturers and radio and movie stars. Such people are either very busy or have to pretend to be.

Bob Hope, we needn't say, doesn't have to pretend to be. And we have been jealously guarding this story about him from assorted columnists. He got back late one night to his suite at the Waldorf-Astoria to find a question in a form that irresistably demanded answering. The question was properly attached to the left leg of a carefully boxed homing pigeon, name of Horace, and there was a blank space below the question for the answer. Seems the man had to know right away whether or not Hope could appear that night on a very late radio show, but he couldn't be reached by phone.

Hope wrote in a friendly answer (who wouldn't?) and gently tossed Horace out of the twenty-second-floor window. That's all—except then he hollered after it: "Collect!"

For Men Only

There is such a thing as "a man's man." He is usually a noisy chap with a hearty voice and a regrettable tendency to express camaraderie by slapping people on the back or tapping them on the far shoulder in the pixie hope that they'll look the wrong way. That is a man's man, though he doesn't happen to be our man.

But you have never heard of a woman's woman, have you, fellows? Try and think of some woman whom others sincerely consider the loveliest, most beautiful, most thrilling, charming and inspiring. Don't try too long, because you're wasting your time. She doesn't exist.

We've taken notes now for some time on the comments of women about other women. They say "utterly beautiful" to describe some drab girl who is no competition for anyone. "A beautiful complexion" is the standard gambit to describe in advance a girl who has trouble getting her six-feet-four and two hundred pounds through the door. But when some glorious, bouncy creature sweeps into the room, and all the men there begin automatically to show off like silly little boys, the other women present, when asked their opinion, always say she is "attractive." The way they say it suggests that being attractive is a lead-pipe cinch if anyone cares to stoop to that sort of thing.

The point of all this is that we have found an infallible method of locating Miss America for 1947. Take a national poll of women. Don't ask them the obvious question—"Who do you think is most attractive?" That way you'll go to a lot of trouble and expense to elect someone who makes good cookies and likes to take care of other women's children.

The question to ask will produce an infallibly correct answer. It is: "If you were rescued on a desert island, what woman would you least prefer to be photographed with by Associated Wire Service, if you were both wearing bathing suits?"

A FRIEND of ours who specializes in light wines and character assassination was recently discussing a famous columnist.

"I do not say that he is a plagiarist, understand," he mused to us. "I simply believe that he should end every one of his sentences with the word 'unquote.'"

The Game

You've probably played it. If you haven't, we'll explain very briefly that it is a sort of supercharged charades, in which each actor in turn tries to convey a phrase to his teammates, strictly in pantomime, and against a deadline.

Unlike the stately, old-fashioned game of charades, in The Game, speed is the main thing. The spectacle, properly played, looks like a combination of charades, ice hockey, and election night at party headquarters.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274171

"Have you an *Aptitude* for writing?"



Frederick Palmer, Dir. Storycrafters Guild. (Mr. Palmer is not connected with any other school or course).

The successful writers today are the men and women who have developed their *natural aptitude* for writing into a highly skilled technique of story telling.

Find out now whether or not you have an aptitude for a writing career by taking the FREE Storycrafters Guild Aptitude Test.

Upon filling in and returning your Storycrafters Aptitude Test, you will receive without obligation, a personal, detailed report on your potentialities as a writer.

Then, if you wish, the new Storycrafters Guild System will train you in the fundamentals of all creative writing. You learn how to provide the groundwork for your creative thinking... how to construct short stories, articles, novels, radio and motion picture scripts, "fillers" and special material. You can EARN WHILE YOU LEARN through the Storycrafters Guild Sales Advisory Service.

Let Mr. Palmer, who has discovered and developed creative talent in thousands of men and women, tell you frankly if you have the "stuff" of which writers are made. Send for FREE APTITUDE TEST and complete details of EARN WHILE YOU LEARN home-study course. Fill in... mail coupon today.

INQUIRE ABOUT SPECIAL G. I. OFFER

STORYCRAFTERS GUILD,
5617 Hollywood Blvd., Dept. 2B
Hollywood 28, California
Without obligation please send FREE APTITUDE TEST and details of home-study creative writing course.

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
CITY or R.F.D._____ STATE_____

ASTHMADOR

Bitter winds... snow, slush... stuffy, overheated houses... no wonder winter usually spells a-g-o-n-y for the asthmatic who has not yet tried Dr. R. Schiffmann's ASTHMADOR! Take pity on the poor sufferer...tell him how ASTHMADOR'S rich, aromatic fumes cut right through congestion, let in life-giving air, help reduce the severity of the attack. Tell him to ignite ASTHMADOR powder when he's too stuffed up to sleep, or smoke an ASTHMADOR cigarette anytime, anywhere. No costly sprays to buy — nothing to take internally — just welcome relief the time-tested ASTHMADOR way. The leading inhalant — sold under a money-back guarantee.

THE DEPENDABLE TREATMENT
THAT OUTSELLS ALL OTHER INHALANTS
POWDER, CIGARETTE OR PIPE MIX
AT ALL DRUG STORES



BABY CHAFING
For prompt relief use world-known Cuticura. Fragrant, mildly medicated. 60 years success. All druggists. Buy!
CUTICURA SOAP, TALCUM OINTMENT

camp, under false names. Then we moved into a part of Canada where we were unknown. We were guarded—and are still guarded now—day and night by the R.C.M.P. But there was one thing that threatened to wreck our secrecy. That was the birth of Anna's second baby.

The NKVD knew of her pregnancy, of course, and we knew that their agents were keeping a close check on the hospitals. They were keeping a particularly close check on maternity cases that involved parents with Russian accents. Once they discovered the hospital where Anna was confined, it would have been a simple matter for the Soviet spies to follow her home and find me.

The R.C.M.P. detectives tried hard to figure out a way of providing Anna with medical attention and not letting the doctor know who she was. At that time, in the fall of 1945, the people in Canada who knew where we were living numbered only thirteen. Twelve of them were R.C.M.P. detectives. The thirteenth was the wife of one of the detectives. She stayed in the same house with Anna. But the doctor, who was selected carefully, had to be taken into our confidence. He arranged for her to be taken into a hospital without letting anyone on the hospital staff know her real identity.

We arranged to have one of the R.C.M.P. detectives pose as the nervous, prospective father. They were supposed to be a Polish couple, not long in this country. When Anna started to have labor pains one night early in December, the detective took her to the hospital and put on an act which seemed convincing. He paced the hospital corridors, stopping every nurse and doctor that he saw and begging in broken English for the latest word about Anna's condition. He kept pulling his wallet from his pocket, explaining that he had saved his money to make sure that she had the best of care and that he was ready to pay the bill as soon as possible.

The delivery went smoothly. It was a girl. Seven pounds and twelve ounces.

The proud father visited Anna and the child regularly, bringing candy and flowers. Whenever Anna was asked a question about her family or her home that she couldn't answer fictitiously, she pretended that she could not understand the English language.

We were all elated about the success of our efforts to maintain complete secrecy. Then one day a new nurse walked into Anna's hospital room. Anna took one glance at her and felt her blood run cold.

"Why, hello," the nurse said pleasantly. "Don't you remember me?"

Anna was too terrified to reply.

"Oh, come now," the nurse said. "You must remember me. I took care of you in Ottawa when your first child was born."

Igor Gouzenko continues his story in next month's Cosmopolitan with a detailed description of Soviet atomic-bomb espionage

Some of the People (*Continued from page 18*)

automobile manufacturers and radio and movie stars. Such people are either very busy or have to pretend to be.

Bob Hope, we needn't say, doesn't have to pretend to be. And we have been jealously guarding this story about him from assorted columnists. He got back late one night to his suite at the Waldorf-Astoria to find a question in a form that irresistably demanded answering. The question was properly attached to the left leg of a carefully boxed homing pigeon, name of Horace, and there was a blank space below the question for the answer. Seems the man had to know right away whether or not Hope could appear that night on a very late radio show, but he couldn't be reached by phone.

Hope wrote in a friendly answer (who wouldn't?) and gently tossed Horace out of the twenty-second-floor window. That's all—except then he hollered after it: "Collect!"

For Men Only

There is such a thing as "a man's man." He is usually a noisy chap with a hearty voice and a regrettable tendency to express camaraderie by slapping people on the back or tapping them on the far shoulder in the pixie hope that they'll look the wrong way. That is a man's man, though he doesn't happen to be our man.

But you have never heard of a woman's woman, have you, fellows? Try and think of some woman whom others sincerely consider the loveliest, most beautiful, most thrilling, charming and inspiring. Don't try too long, because you're wasting your time. She doesn't exist.

We've taken notes now for some time on the comments of women about other women. They say "utterly beautiful" to describe some drab girl who is no competition for anyone. "A beautiful complexion" is the standard gambit to describe in advance a girl who has trouble getting her six-feet-four and two hundred pounds through the door. But when some glorious, bouncy creature sweeps into the room, and all the men there begin automatically to show off like silly little boys, the other women present, when asked their opinion, always say she is "attractive." The way they say it suggests that being attractive is a lead-pipe cinch if anyone cares to stoop to that sort of thing.

The point of all this is that we have found an infallible method of locating Miss America for 1947. Take a national poll of women. Don't ask them the obvious question—"Who do you think is most attractive?" That way you'll go to a lot of trouble and expense to elect someone who makes good cookies and likes to take care of other women's children.

The question to ask will produce an infallibly correct answer. It is: "If you were rescued on a desert island, what woman would you least prefer to be photographed with by Associated Wire Service, if you were both wearing bathing suits?"

A FRIEND of ours who specializes in light wines and character assassination was recently discussing a famous columnist.

"I do not say that he is a plagiarist, understand," he mused to us. "I simply believe that he should end every one of his sentences with the word 'unquote.'"

The Game

You've probably played it. If you haven't, we'll explain very briefly that it is a sort of supercharged charades, in which each actor in turn tries to convey a phrase to his teammates, strictly in pantomime, and against a deadline.

Unlike the stately, old-fashioned game of charades, in The Game, speed is the main thing. The spectacle, properly played, looks like a combination of charades, ice hockey, and election night at party headquarters.

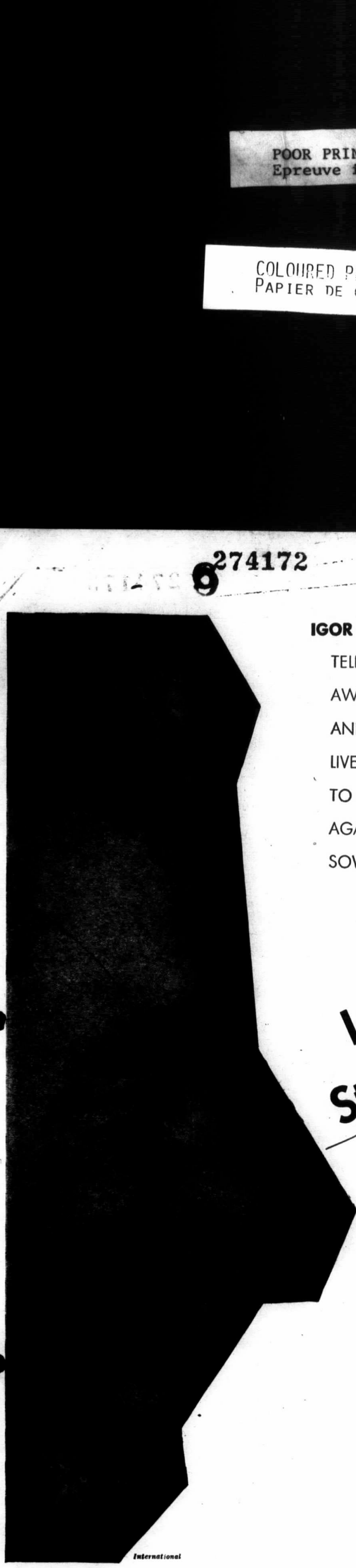
W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274172



International

IGOR GOUZENKO

TELLS WHY HE BROKE
AWAY FROM COMMUNISM
AND RISKED HIS LIFE AND THE
LIVES OF HIS FAMILY
TO WARN THE AMERICAN NATIONS
AGAINST THE DANGER OF
SOVIET ESPIONAGE

I was inside Stalin's Spy Ring

When Colonel Nikolai Zabotin left Moscow in 1943 to take over the direction of one of the Soviet military espionage networks in Canada, he brought with him as his secretary a major in the Red Army named Romanov. Zabotin was warmly attached to Romanov and treated him almost like a son. Nobody else on the military intelligence staff at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, to which I was attached as a cipher clerk, could stand him. Sober, he was cruel and treacherous. When he was drinking, which was almost every night, he became a rough and dangerous sadist.

One evening after we had worked late preparing material from Canadian Communist spies for transmission to Moscow, Zabotin asked Romanov and myself and a few other officers on his staff to help him sample a new bottle of Scotch at his home a few blocks from the embassy. The conversation with the drinks turned, as it often did, toward the war, and Romanov began to monopolize it, as he often did, with his experiences at Stalingrad where he had served as a combat intelligence officer.

I paid little attention to him at first because I felt that I had already (*Continued on page 85*)

PART IV

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274173

England's Elizabeth,
being heiress to the throne,
will have to do the proposing herself.
And when she becomes Queen,
her husband won't be allowed
to say a word about how she should rule the empire.



The Royal Family and the Prince: King George VI, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Margaret, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

By Richard Haestier

It — the Crown

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274173

England's Elizabeth,
being heiress to the throne,
will have to do the proposing herself.
And when she becomes Queen,
her husband won't be allowed
to say a word about how she should rule the empire.
Not officially, at least



The Royal Family and the Prince: King George VI, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Margaret, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

By Richard Haestier

if – the Crown

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274174

I Was Inside Stalin's Spy Ring (*Continued from page 57*)

heard many times over everything that he could possibly say about Stalingrad. But after a while I began to listen. When I realized what he was saying, I straightened up in my chair. Romanov was describing, with relish and amusement, how he personally had shot and killed fifty Red Army soldiers.

"I had several bad assignments that had to be done," he said. "It meant sending men behind the German lines to get information about their positions and troops. Suicide missions, but I had to get somebody to do them. I'd call them out one by one with all the other men standing there, watching me. I kept my pistol in my hand while I told them what had to be done. If they showed the slightest hesitation or nervousness, I'd fire the pistol and tell the men to take the body away and call out another man. After they saw two or three die, they would volunteer for anything, let me tell you. I kept count of the ones I shot. There were exactly fifty in less than one week."

Romanov paused and took a long drink. "As I recall it, forty-three of them were Jews," he said with a smile. "The other seven were Russian. I included them because I didn't want anybody to think I was being anti-Semitic."

What Romanov said next was, to me, even more shocking. He described how the junior officers in his section, feeling that he needed to be restrained, sent a radiogram to Red Army intelligence headquarters, informing the commanding officer of the killings. The reply from headquarters was calm and businesslike. It merely asked if the shootings had been necessary.

Romanov's junior officers, fearing him and realizing from the tone of the reply that headquarters did not encourage disagreement in a combat unit for any reason, radioed the commanding officer that the action had probably been necessary for morale. They were then told not to interfere with Romanov.

When Romanov finished the story with obvious pride, even Zabotin, a man with a strong stomach, was somewhat disgusted. "Let us talk about something else," he said. "For instance, women."

I left Zabotin's house that evening wondering if there were any difference between the conversation I had just heard and a conversation that might have been heard at a gathering of Nazi storm troopers. I was not so much bothered by Romanov himself. There are cruel and degenerate people in every country. But I was deeply disturbed by the official Soviet approval of Romanov's cruelty. Here was the same ruthless lack of respect for the rights of the individual man that I had endured all my life as a citizen of the Soviet Union.

WHEN I am asked today what made me make the break away from the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, which exposed Russian espionage in North America and which placed me and my wife and children in danger for the rest of our lives, I think first of things like the pistol in Romanov's hand at Stalingrad.

Things like that, compared with things I saw on every side of me after I came to Canada, convinced me that the freedom of the individual which exists in the American democracies does not exist in Russia.

Having lived in freedom all your life, you perhaps can't see it or appreciate it as I can. When you get your first taste of it at the age of twenty-four, as I did, after living without it for so many years, it affects you like love or like a strong drug. You would do anything to keep it.

Looking back now on my life in the Soviet Union, it reminds me of life in a prison cell. Picture yourself being born in a cell. And spending your childhood and your early manhood in it. It is a rather comfortable cell, and the warden treats you well. He tells you constantly that you are much better off in this cell with its four gray walls than you would be outside the prison. Never having seen the world outside, you accept the word of the warden and believe him.

Then one day the warden has some business outside the prison, and he asks you to leave your cell and go out and attend to it for him. You see for the first time the blue sky and the flowers. You also discover what it is like to live in a place where you are not hemmed in by four walls, a place where there is plenty of sunlight.

Would you give up all this and return to the prison cell?

THAT was how Anna, my wife, and I felt in the summer of nineteen forty-five when we were ordered to return to Moscow after living in Canada for two years. I had heard Zabotin remark more than once that living abroad spoiled some Russians. It had certainly spoiled Anna and me.

In Ottawa we had a comfortable apartment of our own. In Moscow a place that size would have been shared by four or five families. By Canadian or American standards, it was a modest and cheap place to live, but it was far superior to the three rooms Anna's family had occupied in Moscow while her father, a noted engineer, was directing the construction of a subway. The government allotted him that apartment because of the great importance of his work on the subway. It was considered the height of luxury. In order to keep it, Anna's father had to assume a position of extraordinary responsibility that kept him at work practically day and night for seven days a week. He was not a young man, and the strain affected his health. The government allowed him to take a less taxing position in the construction project. But the change meant that he had to change his apartment too. Anna and her parents and her brothers and sisters moved into two small rooms without bath or toilet.

The thought of giving up the only comfortable home we had ever had in our lives was not as bad, however, as the thought of giving up the food that we had been able to buy in Canada. Our little boy, Andrei, was just beginning to walk. We were thankful that he had been born here. Anna was then expecting our second child. We hated to think of the kind of food that the new baby would have to eat in Moscow. At that time another member of the embassy staff also had been ordered to return. His wife was worried about the health of their daughter. She told Anna that the little girl had broken into tears when they began to prepare for the trip.

"I don't want to go to Russia," the child said. "There's nothing to eat there but potatoes and bread. And not enough of that."

People who have never lived in the Soviet Union have no conception of the scarcity there of the simple necessities of life, such as medicine and clothing. The only fairly presentable suit I ever owned in Russia was one issued to me at Red Army intelligence headquarters shortly before I left for Canada. It was intended to be worn here, but I made the mistake of putting it on in Moscow and going out in it to keep a date I had made with Anna. I was supposed to meet her at a certain subway entrance, and she was late. While I stood there, waiting for her, the people in the street stopped and stared at me as though I was some sort of a curiosity. After a while I noticed that I was being watched by three men who were unmistakably secret-police agents. When I tried to walk away, they stopped me and asked questions about my clothes. I had to produce identification in order not to be arrested.

This suit, incidentally, had not been made in Russia. The factories there are not allowed to produce such luxuries. It had been made in Estonia where it had been either bought or confiscated by Russian intelligence agents and sent to Moscow with the diplomatic mail. Although it had seemed wonderful in Moscow, it was shabby and ill-fitting in America. When I reached Fairbanks, Alaska, on my way to Canada and saw how the people there were dressed, I bought another suit and threw away the one I had been given.

Walking into that store in Fairbanks and being able to buy a suit of my own free choice was an experience I'll never forget. The abundance of so many things we had always wanted but had rarely seen made us think that North America was a dream world. At Edmonton, our next stop on the way to Ottawa, we were so overjoyed with the mere fact that we were able to buy a bottle of cognac that we paid a waiter thirty-five dollars for it. Then we tipped him ten dollars and insisted that he sit down and drink with us.

But, above and beyond these material considerations, Anna and I dreaded the return to Moscow because we knew it would mean the complete loss of personal freedom for us and our children. There isn't even real religious freedom in Russia today, although Stalin in recent years has made a great show of returning the churches to the people. When Koulakov, the cipher clerk who came to Canada to replace me in 1945, arrived in Ottawa, he told me how he had shared a railroad compartment during his trip across Siberia with three young men whom he had known in the Young Communist League. They were wearing the robes and the beards of Russian Orthodox monks but, alone with Koulakov and sharing a bottle of wine with him, they made no pretense of being religious. They explained that they were doing undercover work for the government. The Communists abolished the Church in Russia after the revolution, because they claimed that the aristocratic classes were using it to exploit the people. Now they are using it for the same purpose.

THE superiority of the democratic form of government, with its freedom of enterprise and respect for individual rights, became apparent to Koulakov as quickly as it had to me. Not long after he arrived in Ottawa, I was sitting in a park with him one day. Several workmen were cutting the grass and pruning trees. When it came time for them to go to lunch, they drove away, each in his own automobile.

"What do you make of that?" Koulakov asked. "The lowest workers, who could hardly earn enough for bread in Russia, ride to work here in cars like government officials. I can't understand it."

"There are a lot of things here that are hard for us to understand," I said.

"This country is nothing like I expected," he went on. "Everything is clean and orderly and efficient. I've been here only

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
'Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

a month, and I'm wearing clothes that one of the most important engineers in Russia could not afford after working and saving for ten years."

He pointed across the street. A bakery truck was delivering bread at a grocery store. "There's only one man working on that truck. In Russia, there would be at least three—one to drive, one to give him directions and one to deliver the bread. and maybe a fourth one, with a gun, to protect the bread. How do they do it so easily and simply here? What's their secret?"

"To them, it is no secret," I said. "It's this thing they call free enterprise."

Koulakov glanced at me nervously, realizing that the conversation was moving into forbidden territory. "You think too much," he said.

The ability to recognize the obvious benefits of democracy is not limited to cipher clerks like Koulakov and myself. I am sure that practically every Russian serving in the diplomatic service in America feels the same way, but most of them are too cautious to let their feelings be known. I even heard Romanov mutter one day, "These lucky Canadians." Rogov, the Red Army air attaché who worked as Zabotin's assistant, once remarked to me that he failed to understand the Canadian Communists who served as Soviet spies. "How could anybody be disloyal to a country like this one?" he asked.

I have been asked if I was reluctant to return to Moscow because I feared some sort of punishment might be awaiting me there. Most Russians in foreign service are inclined to suspect that recall to the Soviet Union is a prelude to disciplinary action. I remember one man on the embassy staff at Ottawa who was suddenly returned to Moscow with no advance notice and for no apparent reason. He was not even allowed enough time to take his wife with him. The only Canadian she knew was a grocer on Rideau Street who managed the store where she bought her provisions. She went to him in a panic.

"They will shoot my husband," she cried. "What will become of me and my child?"

The grocer, thoroughly aroused, went to the Soviet embassy and complained about the way the woman's husband was being treated. Pavlov, head of the NKVD, or secret police, at the embassy, whose function it was to guard internal security and to keep a constant check on the loyalty of Soviet subjects in Canada, talked to the grocer and convinced him that the woman was suffering from a nervous ailment. The grocer went away, apologizing for causing so much trouble. As the door closed behind him, Pavlov went into a frenzy. "Bring that silly woman here at once," he shouted.

When she appeared, he screamed at her, "You will leave for the Soviet Union tomorrow!"

Unlike the woman's husband and unlike most returning Soviet diplomatic people, I had no fears about the kind of reception I would receive if I went back to Moscow. My return had first been requested by Red Army intelligence headquarters in 1944. At that time I was nervous about it, and I asked Zabotin if I could not remain in Canada in information work. The embassy was badly undermanned, I pointed out, and my command of the English language was better than that of the other young men on the staff. Zabotin passed my request on to Moscow. He was told that I could remain in Ottawa but that I could not transfer to another line of work; I must continue to be a cipher clerk. Inasmuch as my duties as a cipher clerk involved the handling of highly confidential information, I knew that Moscow had absolutely no doubt about my loyalty. I must have remained on the list of trusted Soviet servants until my last day in the embassy. Otherwise, I would never have been able to perform my last act there—the removal of secret documents which gave the Canadian government the complete outline of the Soviet military espionage network.

The only fear that Anna and I felt about returning to Moscow was not a fear of the Soviet government. It was a fear of and for our own children.

"If we return to Russia now, how can we face them in the years to come?" Anna asked me with tears in her eyes. "They will ask us how it was to live here. We can't tell them lies. We must tell them the truth about this country and about the United States. Then they will ask us why we brought them back to Russia. And they will always hate us for it."

The thought was unbearable. But the thought of what would happen to our parents and our brothers and sisters in Moscow if we did not return was also unbearable. The merciless and completely unjust Soviet law of hostages—which, I believe, should be fought and outlawed by the United Nations—calls for the imprisonment or death of innocent relatives of any Russian who breaks the Soviet code of conduct. Anna and I knew that our families would be sentenced to five years in a concentration camp if we carried out our plan to stay in North America. And nobody in a Soviet concentration camp is able to live much longer than three years.

We weighed our children against our parents. Our children had their whole lives ahead of them. Our parents were not old, but they were aged beyond their years. They had nothing good to look forward to so long as they lived in Russia. It was a hard decision for Anna and me to make, but we made it in favor of our children.

I remember talking to a Royal Canadian Mounted Police detective when I turned over the Soviet espionage plans to the Canadian government on the morn-



My Luckiest Day

By Rosalind Russell

Sometimes you have to tempt luck. Sometimes you have to wave a four-leaf clover under its nose —or a new hairdo. It was really the hairdo that did it, I think. Fired with the fresh assurance it gave me, I strode into George Cukor's office. He was about to make "The Women," and I wanted a part in it. "But, Ros," he protested, "you can't play comedy."

"I did it on the stage," I assured him. "I even make my friends laugh occasionally."

I knew what he was thinking. Rosalind Russell as "Craig's Wife" . . . Russell in drawing-room "drahmas," as much a part of them as the statuary! He had, he explained patiently, signed someone else for the part. I was not the type. But I pleaded, and, more to get rid of me than for any other reason, he consented.

We made that test in two hours and fifty-five minutes. They put a thousand feet of film in the camera and just let it roll. And I played "Sylvia." Complete with jingling bracelets, a fussy dress that I managed to get from the wardrobe department, and a hat that bore semblance to both a banana and a porcupine. I played her in six different ways—using chairs for "the women" and with every gag in the book thrown in. The sixth time I played her for Cukor alone, and I "hammed" all over the set. "*That*," he shouted, "is the way we want it! *That* is Sylvia!" And so it turned out to be.

That day marked my release from the Hollywood pigeonhole. I have never been "typed" since.

There is a very lucky tag to the story, too. "The Women" not only proved the springboard for my screen career—but it also caught me a husband! Or so he says. When a gentleman by the name of Fred Brisson sailed from England on board the S.S. Washington, there was one solitary film on the ship—"The Women." They ran it continuously to entertain the passengers. "My deck chair," my husband later told me, "was right outside the theater window, and for days all I heard was your voice. I got to know every gesture you made, every line of your face. And I fell in love."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274176

ing of September 7, 1945, two days after I had fled from the embassy. He asked me if I wasn't making it hard for my family in Russia. I looked at my wrist watch and calculated the difference in time between Ottawa and Moscow.

"They are in the hands of the secret police right now," I said.

I said it calmly. The detective must have thought that I was the coldest and most heartless person he had ever seen. He did not know that I was then experiencing the most miserable moment of my life.

IF I had left the Soviet regime silently and empty-handed, slipping away with Anna and Andrei to some distant part of Canada or the United States without revealing to anyone my knowledge of Russian espionage in this continent, we might be safer and more peaceful today. The NKVD would be looking for me, of course. The Soviet government would never permit anyone with even a slight knowledge of its spy operations to escape from the boundaries of Russia unwatched and unpursued. But if I had made my break for freedom quietly, my chances of losing my identity and starting a new life in a democracy might have been better.

I did not choose that easier way for a reason that seems to me to be inseparable from my original reason for not returning to Moscow. I did not want to return to Moscow because I fell in love with the freedom of democracy, and I wanted my children to grow up in that freedom. At the same time, I sincerely believe, from my experience in the Red Army intelligence service, that the leaders of the Soviet Union are bent on world conquest. They are devoted to the Communist ideal: a world without capitalistic democracy. Renouncing the Soviet Union in order to give my children the opportunity to live in a free democracy, I felt at the same time a moral obligation to do what I could to warn that democracy of the danger that was hanging over it. And so I made my escape from the embassy, carrying under my shirt documentary evidence of the Soviet Union's secret designs against Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

There is no question in my mind about the Soviet government's intention to fight a third world war. It may not come for many years, but unless there is a drastic and fundamental change in the thinking of the Politburo, the small council of Communist leaders who guide Soviet policy, it will come. Every Soviet move is pointing toward it. Every Soviet citizen in the foreign diplomatic service expects it. The ones who are not devout Communists—and there are many such Russians—fear it and hope that it can be avoided. The others look forward to it quite naturally as a process in the development of the human race that cannot be avoided. They feel that a completely Communistic world is inevitable.

There is not enough space in this magazine to permit me to report all the things I have seen and heard in the Soviet military intelligence service which force me to this conclusion. Here are only a few of them:

First of all, there is the increased activity of the Comintern, or the Communist International, that branch of the Soviet government which supports Communistic action in foreign countries for the purpose of setting the stage for a world revolution against capitalism. Although Stalin announced during the war the abolition of the Comintern, every Russian knows that it was never abolished. If anything, it was expanded.

And there is the increased use of the Communist parties in such countries as the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, China, Australia and the South American republics as Soviet fifth columns.

Soviet espionage networks abroad are also establishing close liason with the diplomatic representatives of nations that are now within the Soviet sphere of influence in Europe, such as Austria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In the United States and in Canada, Soviet military intelligence agents have been ordered by Moscow to contact former spies who worked in those countries during the war for Germany, Japan and Italy. In the spring of 1945, I saw one telegram from Moscow to Ottawa which asked for names of Germans who had served on the military staffs of German embassies and consulates in America before the war. The Soviets planned to locate these people in Germany and to force them to divulge secret information about American and Canadian military plans which they might have obtained in this part of the world.

Any doubt that I might have had about the Soviet plan for world conquest would have been removed by the constant indoctrination that I received from my superiors in the embassy at Ottawa. There was, for instance, the meeting of the military intelligence staff which Zabotin called after V-J Day. He had received an important message from Moscow that day, outlining his work for the remainder of the year.

"The war has ended," Zabotin said to us. "But we must remember that for us a state of war exists continually. During peacetime we must increase our vigilance, extend our activities and perfect our specialties. Recently, I think, some of us have been taking our outward show of co-operation with our allies for something definite and constant. We have forgotten that the alliance between the Soviet Union and the capitalistic countries is merely temporary. We must not forget this. Yesterday they were our allies, today they are our neighbors, and tomorrow they will be our enemies. Nobody knows what the next day may bring."

Another unmistakable piece of evidence that points to the Soviet Union's intention to make war against the democracies is the way that the government in Russia is preparing the minds of its people for such a conflict.

WHEN war comes, the question of guilt arises and, as was the case with Germany, there is always speculation about how much of the responsibilty for the war lies on the heads of the people who support an aggressive government. In most instances the people are responsible. But the situation of the people in Russia, in relation to their government and to the rest of the world, is an extraordinary one. I don't think that the Russian people could be held responsible for a Soviet war because they have no knowledge of world affairs as a whole and very little knowledge of their own government.

This is a difficult statement for an American to accept. The average American, having lived all his life with free access to accurate information about the rest of the world and the freedom to choose between opinions of many different colors, cannot fully understand how a whole nation of people can be shut off completely from news and facts about foreign countries and forced to accept one viewpoint. But it can be done. I know because I lived in such a nation for the first twenty-four years of my life. For those twenty-four years I was convinced that only chaos and misery existed in the democratic countries, that the Soviet Union was the only free and prosperous nation in the world and that the people of all other countries were hostile toward the people of Russia. It was only natural that I was convinced of these things. I had no possible way of knowing anything else.

There is one fact that must be remembered if you want to understand how such a state of ignorance can exist in Russia today. That is the fact that the protective iron curtain has been hanging around the borders of Russia not for a few years but during the whole lifetime of a Russian generation that has now reached an adult age. The men and women in Russia who are now reaching their thirties were born under the Soviet regime. Even those who are now in their forties have had no access to knowledge of the outside world since their very early youth. It isn't as though they had been cut off from the rest of Europe and America in their full maturity.

But despite their limited knowledge, the people of Russia have the same natural longing for freedom as all other human beings. Let them see it, as I did when I was twenty-four, and they will reach for it immediately. The Soviet government, trying to explain the various abuses of personal freedom in Russia, such as the censored press and the absence of opposition political parties and free elections, claims the Russian people have an understanding of freedom and democracy different from that of the American or British people. This is a downright lie. The Russian people have the same understanding of freedom as all the peoples of the world. But in Russia terror and persecution have taken the place of individual freedom and democracy.

WRITING this now in the comfortable home in Canada where I live with Anna and our two rapidly growing children—the little girl who wasn't born until after I fled from the embassy is walking now—and looking back at what I did, I feel proud.

I wanted to tell all the world about the Soviet spies in North America. Judging by some of the clippings of newspaper stories concerning the international repercussions and the trials of Canadian Communist spies that were brought about by my information, I guess I did it. I wanted to open some eyes in the United States and Canada to the danger of Soviet aggression. I hope I did that, too. There is one thing that makes me feel that the risk of death that Anna and Andrei and I faced was really worth taking. That is a statement made in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission which officially investigated the espionage described in the documents from the Soviet embassy. The statement says, "In our opinion, Gouzenko, by what he has done, has rendered a great public service to the people of this country, and thereby has placed Canada in his debt."

I will also be eternally indebted to Canada for the great gift of democratic freedom that it has given to Anna and the children and to me. We are still under the protection of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. There is always the danger of the Soviet NKVD agents. Perhaps this will be read by a Soviet official, with much more important information than I had, who is being held back from following my example only by fear of the NKVD. Let him ask himself—is it not better to live with a little danger in a free democracy than to exist in perfect safety within the four gray walls of a prison cell?

I'll take democracy.

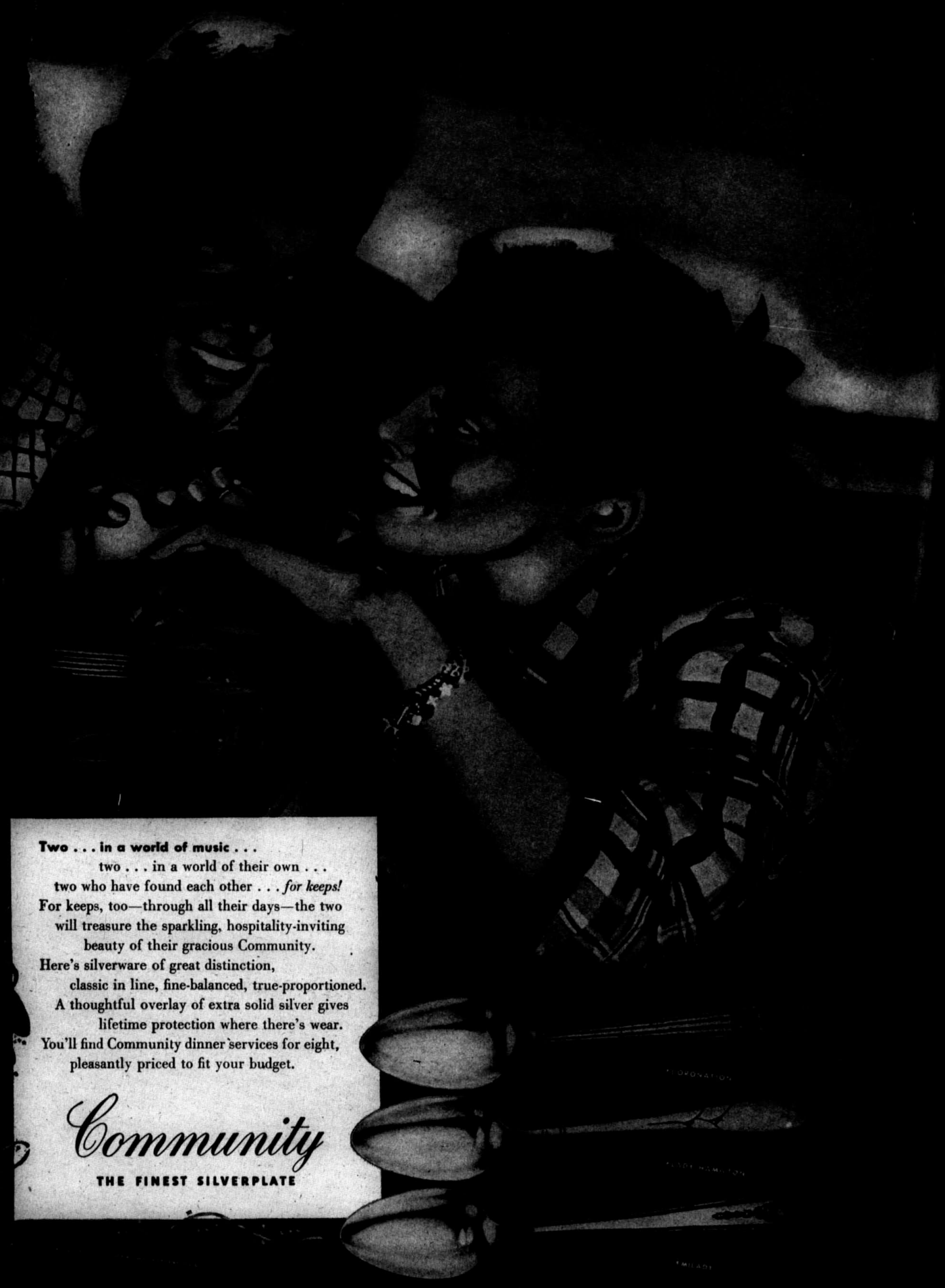
THE END

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR



W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

LOOSE PAGE
PAGE DÉTACHÉE

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274177

"LET'S MAKE IT FOR KEEPS"



Two . . . in a world of music . . .

two . . . in a world of their own . . .
two who have found each other . . . *for keeps!*
For keeps, too — through all their days — the two
will treasure the sparkling, hospitality-inviting
beauty of their gracious Community.
Here's silverware of great distinction,
classic in line, fine-balanced, true-proportioned.
A thoughtful overlay of extra-solid silver gives
lifetime protection where there's wear.
You'll find Community dinner services for eight,
pleasantly priced to fit your budget.

Community
THE FINEST SILVERPLATE

*CORONATION
*LADY HAMILTON
*MILADY

If its Community . . its correct*

*TRADE MARKS OF ONEIDA LTD. COPYRIGHT 1947 ONEIDA LTD.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 399, pages C274021 - C274356

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274177A

FOREIGN PRESS REPORTS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RC/ERA

C 274178

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

MOST IMMEDIATE

CYPHER - PUBLEX

LONDON, February 16, 1946.

NO. 473

No. 473. British press today gives extensive coverage to Prime Minister's statement of leakage of secrets. While "Times", "Herald" and most other morning papers contain only brief and discreet reports of statement, "Daily Mail" and "Daily Express" feature large streamer headlines which were respectively as follows:- "CANADA ORDERS ATOM BOMB ENQUIRY ON LEAKAGE", and "ATOMIC SECRETS TOLD - OFFICERS HELD". All reports refer to authoritative suggestions that foreign mission concerned was Soviet Embassy. Late edition of "Daily Express", under Ottawa dateline, spoke of "Arrest in London of Canadian Information Officer".

Canada House Press Officer was submitted to numerous enquiries this morning, particularly with reference to Information Officer. "Standard" and "Evening News" have still more extensive coverage, with large front page headline in both cases. Both state that 22 men have been arrested. Mr. Howe is reported as saying that secret information does not relate to atomic energy. "Evening News", of which most of front page is devoted to this story, speaks of Canadian official being flown from London in connection with enquiry. "News" also retails latest Pearson broadcast.

MASSEY

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM C 274179

RC/EP
5/4

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 68

PARIS, February 16th, 1946.

No.68. Confidential. Reference your telegram No.60 of February 15th.

Paris evening papers tonight feature front-page headline stories based on Prime Minister's announcement, full text of which was received late today. France-Soir's headline is "SCANDALE ATOMIQUE IN CANADA" with A.P. despatch from Ottawa based on announcement, reports of Drew Pearson's broadcast last Sunday's date, and quoting Exchange Telegraph Agency as declaring that Soviet Embassy was involved, but adding that Soviet Mission said they had no comment. Cite Soir's headline is "LE CANADA DEVANT LE PROCES LE PLUS DRAMATIQUE DE L'HISTOIRE - LE SECRET DE LA BOMBE ATOMIQUE A ETE VIOLE." Paris Presse headlined "A-T-ON VOLE LE SECRET DE LA BOMBE ATOMIQUE" and gives half page to story. Paris Presse also quotes London Daily Express as stating that "UN FONCTIONNAIRE CANADIAN EN MISSION A LONDRES SE TROUVE PARMI LES PERSONNES ARRETEES ET MAINTENUES AU SECRET POUR ETRE INTERROGEES. IL AURAIT ETE RENVOYE AU CANADA PAR AVION". Ce Soir (Communist evening paper) carries small item making no reference to Soviet Embassy, and quoting Mr. Howe's statement that secret divulged did not concern atomic energy. There is no reference to announcement in early editions of Le Monde.

Text of Prime Minister's statement is being made available to Agence France Presse. Ends.

17-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RC/Esp JTL

TELEGRAM

From THE CANADIAN MINISTER IN FRANCE C 274180

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX PARIS, February 17th, 1946.

NO. 71

No. 71. Confidential. Reference my telegram No. 68 of February 16th.

Morning newspapers continue to feature speculative stories following on Prime Minister's statement which is given at length or in form of excerpts. Most newspapers quote United Press despatch that "a Canadian Cabinet Minister has stated that foreign Power implicated is U.S.S.R." and that a Soviet agent named Chimichenko who had returned to Soviet Union had operated in United States as well as Canada as part of a Soviet spy-ring of 1700. Prominence continues to be given to Drew Pearson's broadcast of last Sunday and subsequent articles. Most French commentaries refer to the secret of the atomic bomb as having been stolen despite Mr. Howe's statement, although occasional reference is made to possibility that secrets referred to radar and defence of Arctic zone. In general, headlines in French Press stress Canadian responsibility but several newspapers suggest that United States may be equally concerned. Paris edition New York Herald Tribune headlines "SPY RING GETS CANADIAN WAR SECRETS" and gives lengthy United Press despatch summarizing various reports. L'Humanite this morning contains no reference whatever to the story.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RC/Esp C 274181

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - PUBLEX LONDON, February 18th, 1946.

NO. 481

No. 481. My telegram No. 473, 16th February. Canadian espionage reports continue to be the feature of Sunday and Monday papers, and in popular press there are many lurid details in the Oppenheim manner. The respectable press is still treating the story gingerly, although the "Telegraph" this morning has a front-page headline "Mr. King accuses Russia". Other papers also carry B.U.P. report of views said to have been expressed by the Prime Minister to the effect that he was worried about extent of spy ring and about apparent intention of Soviet policy to split British Commonwealth from the United States. Sensational reports from New York about Soviet spies in United States are given full play, but London papers feature report that Canadian official had been arrested in London and was being flown to Ottawa. This latter report was first brought to our attention on Saturday morning by "Daily Express", whose correspondent, named Johnston, had cabled it from Ottawa. A.P. carries this story today.

2. No paper has yet risked editorial comment. "Times" Washington correspondent suggests that Canadian developments might provoke anti-Russian sentiments in the United States which would assist passage of British loan. Left-Wing press play down reports from Ottawa. "Reynolds" and "Daily Herald" Ottawa correspondents speak of "shrill rumours" and seem nervous lest this be anti-Soviet propaganda. "Daily Worker" headline is "Anti-Soviet campaign gets going" but report is cautiously incredulous. Their feature story and headlines, apparently

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

unconnected with espionage story, deal with evil effects of refusal to disclose atomic secrets. "Express" also reports comments by British scientists, who say that this would never have happened if the United States had been willing to divulge atomic secrets. On the whole there is now less emphasis on the atomic energy aspect and more on radar and Muskox.

18-2-46

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274183

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE WASHINGTON, February 18th, 1946.

WA-815

WA-815. I think I should draw your attention to the United Press despatch, datelined Ottawa today, and appearing in the early afternoon papers in Washington. This despatch links the Prime Minister's announcement concerning the leakage of information with the report, as given in the despatch, that "the Dominion Government cancelled the production of all Canadian supplies for Russia today". The story goes on to say that the cancellation was reportedly the result of the failure of Canada and Russia to agree on credit terms "but it was pointed out that Canadian authorities have been aware for some months of the spy ring's activities and it was believed that this was a factor in halting the production of goods for the Soviets".

The balance of the despatch reports that one more person was taken into custody over the weekend, bringing to sixteen the total known held for questioning by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, whose names are a closely guarded secret. "The barracks" where these people are held is as closely guarded as "Canada's Chalk River atomic energy plant". A guard is reported to have informed the United Press that "no one, not even the Prime Minister, can enter these grounds".

The Washington Daily News carries a headline in 2-inch type on its front page - "Canada stops making goods for Russians".

On page 3 of the Washington Daily News the headlines state - "United States atom secrets leaking; Canada snubs Soviet trade".

The United Press reports in a further story that Army experts here expressed today grave concern at what they term "multiple

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE C 274184

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

leaks" of closely guarded atomic bomb secrets. General Groves is reported to have declared that the nation has lost more security on the bomb during the past four weeks than during the entire wartime development period, but he declined to specify the source of the leaks. The story goes on to say that other Army sources warned that hitherto top secret information is constantly slipping out and contended that the leaks endanger this nation's supremacy in the atomic field. These sources are said to have drawn attention to what they consider two chief ways in which bomb information has slipped out:

(1) Loosely guarded public talk by those connected with the bomb's development, and

(2) Testimony of witnesses in the current hearings on atomic energy before the special Senate Atomic Energy Committee.

I hope to send you later this afternoon a further report on the press reaction in this country since Mr. King's announcement and a note on what the radio commentators had to say over the weekend.

L/C
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274185

FROM: THE CANADIAN MILITARY MISSION, BERLIN

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMPORTANT

SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

NO. 15

BERLIN, February 18th, 1946.

No. 15. Secret and Confidential. Following for Robertson, Begins:

(Reporting espionage investigation)

Your telegram No. 9.

It might interest you to know that today Political Division, British Element, were most caustic in their comments on United States decision not, repeat not, to proceed with joint investigation. It was stated somewhat pungently "Now you see what we are up against. The U.S.S.R. are playing them off against us and the United States are being taken in. The U.S.S.R. are jabbing us with pretty long pins and we are not being given the assistance we feel a right to expect". Ends.

24-2-46

CANADIAN MILITARY MISSION

Recd 3.09 a.m. Feb. 19.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274186

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-824

WASHINGTON, **February 18th, 1946.**

WA-824. Following is a report prepared by the Canadian Information Service at my request on the treatment by radio commentators over this weekend of the Prime Minister's release on leakages of information in Ottawa. This report is based on an analysis of what was said by Lowell Thomas on February 15th; Kenneth Banghart, Leif Eid and Irwin D. Cannon on February 16th; and Lothrop Stoddard, John B. Kennedy, Bill Cunningham, Cedric Foster, Drew Pearson and Gabriel Heater on February 17th.

It is interesting to note that the following commentators did not, repeat not, cover this subject:

John Vandercook, Lyman Bryson, Edward R. Murrow, Elmer Davis, William Shirer, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Walter Winchell.

Canadian Information Service report, Begins:

"Friday, February 15th.

Commentators confined themselves to news coverage of Mr. King's statement. (Lowell Thomas). One or two minor commentators hinted at a Russian attempt to get the atomic bomb.

Saturday, February 16th.

In addition to Mr. King's initial statement, news coverage included speculation on the numbers of those "arrested"; Howe's reported statement to the effect that the espionage activity did not concern the atomic bomb; and White House Secretary Ross's statement to the effect that Mr. King had first broached the matter to President Truman during the atomic bomb discussions in November, and that he (Truman) had been informed of every development since that time.

On the authority of an "unnamed Cabinet Minister", all

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274187

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

commentators by this time assumed that Russia was the country involved. Speculation as to the subject of the spy activity vacillated between the atomic bomb, and radar, or both. Kenneth Banghart claimed the investigation had spread as far as London where "Scotland Yard was rounding up all agents known to have had access to Canada". Leif Eid presaged a struggle between Communism and Capitalism, warning Russia that she "should string along peacefully with the rest of us" if she wants the atomic bomb. Irwin D. Cannon pointed out that the strained relations between Great Britain and Russia explained the reason for the Canadian Government's making the story public at this time. In effect "Canada is saying to Russia 'take it easy'". Russia's invoking her veto powers and the charge that Polish troops were menacing the peace in Yugoslavia constitute, according to Cannon, the Soviet Union's first retaliation to the disclosure.

Sunday, February 17th.

News coverage remained about the same as on Saturday with comments on the lack of official information.

A calm note in the midst of alarmist speculation was sounded by Cedric Foster with the admonition that "we shouldn't be any more perturbed than surprised" since there have always been spies and since we know that Russia, in any event, is only two or three years behind us in developing the atomic bomb. Other commentators, though not surprised continued to be considerably disturbed, and proceeded to line up Russian Communism against Democratic Capitalism as opponents in the next world war. Extremely alarmist was Lothrop Stoddard who saw the disclosure as the first unearthing of the world-wide scope of Russian designs long suspected. Referring to "Exercise Muskox" he pointed out that we were already on guard. Calling for a "Blue Book" on Russia,

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

he pointed to the recent F.B.I. arrest of two Russian agents (which was hushed by the State Department) as conclusive evidence that the spy ring extends to the United States.

John B. Kennedy confined his comment to calling Russia "ungrateful" to the Allies who fought for her. Bill Cunningham saw Mr. King's announcement as an artful propaganda move on the part of a "tired" Britain against an "expanding" Russia. Pleading for understanding and open diplomacy between the Big Three, he advocated that we must show the Russians that there is no need for them to spy and steal; that is, if the story is true. However, the "Britons are past-masters of the art of propaganda" and, admonished Cunningham, "We must not be deflected by scareheads from Ottawa". Not content with resting on his laurels as the predictor of the "world-shaking story", Drew Pearson went on to confirm definitely that the Russian spies were after the atomic bomb. He widened his coverage of the spy story to include the two Russian agents arrested by the F.B.I. and let return to Russia by the State Department, one of whom, apprehended near Seattle, Washington, carried the atomic bomb plans and samples of the metal from which the bombs were made. The whole disclosure, he claimed brings "our relations with Russia to a showdown". Russian reaction has been to withdraw some of its agents from Canada and the United States, and to revise its whole intelligence programme. Especially significant, according to Pearson, is "Exercise Muskox" which was begun on the knowledge that Russia had made a detailed survey of Alaskan and Canadian waterways. In Gabriel Heater's opinion the situation is so ominous that it may well have the effect of an amendment to the United States Atomic Energy Bill taking control out of civilian hands and putting it into the hands

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274189

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

of the military for safeguarding." Canadian Information Service Report Ends.

LB
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

274190

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-826

WASHINGTON, February 18th, 1946.

WA-826. Reference my message containing an analysis of the radio commentators treatment over the week-end of the Prime Minister's statement on the leakage of information in Ottawa. Following is an analysis of the press reaction to this story since Friday evening, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy, Begins:

Confidential

Special Report No. 28

February 18th, 1946.

Press Analysis Section

C.I.S. - Canadian Embassy

Washington, D.C.

Canada's "Spy Ring" Story.

(February 16 - 17, 1946)

News Treatment

Arrest of the 22 spies in Canada for disclosure of secret information has caused a distinct sensation here. The story was frontpaged with considerable prominence in Saturday's papers (February 16th) from every region (Washington Post, New York Times, Times-Herald, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Sun, Des Moines Register, Indianapolis Star, etc. etc.). Headlines appeared in Detroit Free Press, Washington News, Chicago Daily News, New York Journal-American (Hearst) and others.

Almost all headlines and stories assumed that the 'leak' involved atomic energy data and that the foreign country concerned

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

was Russia. "Canada acts to plug atom leaks to Reds", in the un-sensational Evening Star, typified the general reaction. AP's coverage, which proved to be the most popular, credited "sources which cannot be named" with the statement that the information concerned atomic energy and that the Soviet was involved. Another version quoted "reliable sources" to the same effect, but added that there was no indication that the secret of the atomic bomb was involved. The rumour that the investigation had been continuing for some time - one report said that the Prime Minister had discussed the leak with President Truman in Washington last fall - and that the number of suspects, their prominence and the extent of their guilt were unknown, added to the "spy thriller" atmosphere to intrigue the popular imagination.

A UP story appearing on the frontpage of Indianapolis Star and - amusingly - in a lower back page corner of the Daily Worker, discussed in more sober tones the gravity of the situation indicated by Mr. King's announcement. Though no mention of the nature of information disclosed appeared in the UP text, in both cases headings spoke of "atomic bomb secrets out". The Washington News version, also UP, quoted Mr. Howe's denial that atomic-bomb knowledge was involved, suggested that radar secrets, especially for Arctic defense, were the objective of the espionage ring. An anonymous Cabinet Minister was credited with the statement that "obviously" Russia was the country concerned. "Canada fears Red spies got defense plans" read the News two-inch frontpage headline.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE C 274192

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

P.J. Philip's coverage in the Times was a model of discretion, avoiding mention of either atom bombs or Russia. Morris MacDougall in the C.S. Monitor simply queried the possibility that the Soviet was involved, as did PM's writer in their "foreign roundup". Chicago Daily News headlined a calming report from University of Chicago scientists, who doubted the possibility of a serious leak of atomic information which they claimed was restricted to not more than a dozen entirely trustworthy persons in the whole of Canada.

N.Y. Journal-American added to the excitement with frontpage story telling how a certain Alfred Adamson, a Russian spy reputed to be the ringleader of the plotters in Canada, had eluded the FBI and escaped from his hotel in New York some weeks ago. They also named Chevchenko as one of the guilty parties involved. "Unlike the Canadian Government" concluded the despatch "which is now prepared to prosecute its allegedly disloyal citizens and and foreign spies, the United States had not yet moved despite a mountain of evidence against Adamson".

Drew Pearson's inflammatory prediction that "the biggest story of espionage and intrigue since the war is about to break", appearing on the day of the Canadian announcement, undoubtedly made the spy fever soar. He disclosed that a Russian spy ring involving as many as 1700 people, in Canada and the United States, was known to exist; that Canada was about to crack down on them, with the blessing of both President Truman and Bevin; but that the FBI had let spies slip through their fingers for fear of "upsetting the diplomatic applecart with Russia" - and also from the feeling that the Russians probably already had the atomic bomb. Meantime, AP and UP stories appeared claiming that liaison existed between the FBI and R.C.M.P. on the matter, and intimating

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

that the spy ring extended as far as Britain and was under investigation also by Scotland Yard.

Sunday (February 17th) papers were buzzing with the plot. Though Russia's implication appeared more certain, treatment in Washington and New York papers was cautious. Bert Andrews quoted the White House statement that they had been fully informed on the matter, and a denial of Mr. King's alleged secret visit to Washington. Senators and Congressmen consulted were non-committal but added to the sinister implications of the news by their silence and gravity. Senator Bridges, for instance, described the situation as having "terrific potentialities" and appeared to urge a thorough FBI inquiry. Members of the Atomic Committee disclosed that some scientists had been "straining" to give bomb secrets to Russia. The AP report from Canada for that day disclosed that "several fairly prominent Government employees" were involved; quoted a CP story that the Russians were known on "unimpeachable authority" to be building a large spy service in Canada. Authoritative and "reliable" sources are still quoted for the statement that atomic energy is involved; only P.J. Philip led Mr. Howe's denial that this was the case. The Russian Embassy in Washington refused to comment.

Editorial comment so far has not caught up with the event.

Ends.

24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274194

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-828

WASHINGTON, February 19th, 1946.

WA-828. Reference previous correspondence about the press reaction to the Prime Minister's last Friday announcement on the leakage of information.

Despatches from Ottawa this morning, including Philip in the New York Times, all carry the story that the original information in this matter came from one, Ivor Gosenko, a former member of the staff of the Soviet Embassy; that Gosenko, after having consulted a newspaper editor, asked the Department of Justice for protection, with his wife and small child; that four Russians, two of these attached to the Embassy staff, entered Gosenko's apartment in his absence and ransacked it; that these four were caught by the police but on the advice of higher authority were released; that Gosenko has been in protective custody since September; that from information supplied by Gosenko, the R.C.M.P. began immediately to watch the contacts and activities of a handful of people; that about twenty people have now been detained for interrogation, one of which is a woman, but not all of which are civil servants.

An Associated Press despatch says that it was learned last night that one of the men arrested in the investigation held a rank "very close" to Deputy Minister.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274195

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TELETYPE

WA-839

WASHINGTON, February 19th, 1946

WA-839. Reference previous correspondence in the case of the Prime Minister's press release on the leakage of information.

The following report has appeared on the United Press tickers of an interview given by the Secretary of State to the press this afternoon:

"Secretary Byrnes told his news conference the secret "know-how" of the atom bomb is still in the exclusive possession of the United States Government.

"Byrnes said there are no ramifications of the Canadian spy plot in the United States. As far as this Government knows, he said, no United States citizen or any person in this country is involved.

"Byrnes said there is no reason to anticipate any arrests for espionage in this country in the current plot. Byrnes expressed dis-belief that Major General Groves, who commanded the atom bomb laboratories, could have declared that there have been many recent leaks. Groves stated last week that more security on the atomic bomb had been lost in the past four weeks than in any other period. Byrnes said he conferred with Groves recently and the latter did not mention any leaks in the atom bomb secret. Byrnes also said he would be surprised if, as reported, a Russian agent had been allowed to leave an American Port with a suitcase filled with documents rounded up in the espionage campaign. Despite the Canadian Government's exposure of the espionage plot, Byrnes said, he intends to stand by his recommendation that all of the members of the atomic bomb Commission of the United Nations, or the members of the Security

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274196

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Council, plus Canada, be invited to witness this spring's American atom bomb experiments against various types of warships in the Pacific."

LK
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274197

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TELETYPE

WA-841

WASHINGTON, February 19th, 1946.

WA-841. Reference previous correspondence about the Prime Minister's statement about the leakage of information in Ottawa.

Congressman Rankin, Chairman of the Committee of the House on Un-American Activities, made the following statement in the House of Representatives yesterday afternoon:

"Mr. Speaker, members of the House are expecting me to answer the slimy attacks made on me last night over the radio. I have sent for the manuscripts, and at the proper time I will not only answer the attacks on me, but I will also answer the attack made on Mrs. Truman.

"It is about time that decent Americans were protected against these slime mongers of the air. Last week the Canadian Government uncovered a spy ring that literally shocked the civilized world. That spy ring extends throughout the United States. The Committee on Un-American Activities is on the trail of those subversive organizations through which they are working; yet we have been attacked on this floor, over the radio, and through some elements of the press. I say to you that America is in great danger from these enemies within our gates. Our Committee is going to fight to protect this country, regardless of the opposition on this floor, in the press, on the radio, or elsewhere. We are going to save America for Americans, and protect her from sabotage at the hands of these subversives, if it is humanly possible to do so."

L.B.P.
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274198

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TELETYPE

WA-846

WASHINGTON, February 19th, 1946.

WA-846. Reference my WA-839 - Prime Minister's press release on the leakage of information.

The following additional statement by Mr. Byrnes should be added at the end of my previous message.

"He said specifically that this invitation includes Russia. He said there is an agreement between the State and War and Navy Departments and President Truman about an invitation to be extended to those specific Powers, but that so far the invitation has not gone out."

24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADIAN LEGATION C 274199 TOP SECRET

AIRMAIL.

NO. 10

Oslo, February 19th, 1946.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to report on the publicity given in this morning's Oslo newspapers, of which there are six, with regard to the atomic bomb espionage which has recently been disclosed.

2. The space given in the daily newspapers to the subject in question is, I am told, greater than that which has been given to any other subject since the liberation of Norway. Today's Aftenposten, which is the leading conservative newspaper, with the largest circulation in Oslo comprising both a morning and afternoon edition, features on its first page in five-eighths inch type, an article headed "Atom Espionage". The secondary heading makes mention of the co-operation of Ottawa, Washington and London in investigating the matter, and a further subsidiary title states "Secret Service Increase their Guard of Atom Secret".

3. The Aftenposten first gives its London correspondent's report of what took place and quotes Major-General Leslie Groves, Chief of the American Atom Research, as saying that during the last four weeks the United States has lost more secrets regarding atomic bomb production than they lost throughout the whole war. It goes on to say that all members of the Russian Embassy in Ottawa who have been interested in the case, have been recalled to Moscow, and that arrests made refer only to Canadians. The article says that the Muskox Plan has been subject to the activities of Russian Agents, and that a Russian agent named Sjimoskenko recently visited Canada and the United States, and has returned to Russia. The cancellation of a Russian order for Diesel motors in Canada is said to have created a sensation in our country, and that our Prime Minister is expected to make a new statement in the affair. It observes that it is impossible at the present stage, to say whether the affair will have political consequences. It gives a report of the speech made by Mr. Solly, Labour Member of Parliament in the British House of Commons, and quotes him as having said "The more this Soviet-inimical propaganda deprives the Government of its capacity for considering our international connections from a scientific point of view, the more dangerous the consequences will be for any kind of international scientific co-operation".

4. No arrests, it is said, have yet been made in Britain, although those engaged in scientific atomic research have been subjected to the searchlights of detectives. A special department for the purpose of keeping guard over the atomic secrets, is said to have been formed.

The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274200

5. In a report from Montreal dated February 18th, the Aftenposten quotes the Montreal Star as stating that six persons had been arrested in connection with espionage in Canada, in the City of Montreal, and that they included a member of the National Research Council, and an official in the Labour-Progressive party, and that there are allegedly two hundred Soviet agents in Montreal; and that the local police had been informed of espionage activities as early as October last.

6. In dealing with a report emanating from Washington on February 18th, the Aftenposten simply reports the above referred to quotation from the Montreal Star.

7. The other newspapers of the 19th inst., give in effect, the information contained in the Aftenposten, but the emphases given to certain aspects of the espionage matter vary. Thus, the Morgenbladet of Tuesday, February 19th, in big black type on its first page, asks the question "Will there be a diplomatic break between Canada and the Soviet?". The Morgenbladet is a Conservative newspaper and has a morning edition only.

8. The Dagbladet, which is a "Liberal" paper with a morning edition only, and the reputation of being rather sensational, in addition to making mention of the matters referred to in the other newspapers, states in its headlines that Russia has bought Uranium in the Canadian "Black Market" to the extent of Two Million Kroner.

9. I am enclosing herewith in duplicate translations of the article appearing in the Aftenposten, as well as a single copy of the article in Norwegian, so that you may see the amount of space accorded the atomic affair. I am also enclosing a copy of the headlines which appeared in the five other newspapers, with a translation in duplicate in each case.

10. Undoubtedly the evening papers will repeat in varied form the information contained in the morning editions. I shall be on the look-out for editorial comment, and will send a covering despatch when such comment appears.

11. In accordance with diplomatic practice in Norway, a newly arrived Minister informs the Ambassadors of other countries with Embassies in Oslo, that he has presented his credentials to the King of Norway, and at the same time requests the Ambassador to select a date and time at which the newly arrived Minister may make his initial call. There are five Embassies in Oslo, i.e., Great Britain, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and China. In my case, the first of these to fix an appointment for me was Mr. Kuznetzov, whom I visited on Saturday, the 16th February.

12. The Russians are located in premises formerly occupied by the German Minister and his staff. The Russian Ambassador is a rather young man, I should say of about forty years, and immediately previous to his appointment and arrival in Oslo, which occurred in July, 1945, held the position of First Secretary in the Russian Embassy in London. He is a pleasant, well-mannered man, but he and his wife are more or less cut off from contact with the rest of the Diplomatic Corps because they speak no other language than Russian.

13. My interview with Mr. Kuznetzov was held through the intermediary of an interpreter, but the Ambassador interjected a few words in English. Sir Lawrence Collier, the British Ambassador, considers that Mr. Kuznetzov speaks

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and understands English better than he pretends. Mr. Osborne, the American Ambassador, states that some credence can be given to a report that the interpreter, who also holds a secretarial position in the Embassy, is possibly a representative of a body in Russia which is said to correspond to the former German Gestapo, and that one of his duties is to act as a checkmate on the Ambassador.

14. On Monday, the 18th inst., I received and accepted an invitation from the Russian Ambassador to attend a reception on the 23rd inst., at his Embassy, to be held in honour of the founding of the Red Army, which is the national day of the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics.

15. Unless between now and the 23rd inst., I hear that diplomatic relations between our two countries have been suspended, I judge that I should attend the function in question.

16. We have not, as yet, secured a place of sufficient safe-keeping in which to lodge cyphers, and in the interval, the British Ambassador has kindly undertaken to inform me of any important developments which may occur in connection with the atomic disclosures, and will, if necessary, also send and receive cypher messages for me from his Embassy, through London.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) John D. Kearney.

Minister for Canada in Norway.

COPY.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274202

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX LONDON, February 20th, 1946.

NO. 505

No. 505. Secret. My telegram No. 481, February 18th. Although news reports of the espionage story still attract much space, there has been almost no editorial comment at all. It is worth noting that the only two comments we have yet seen support in general the thesis that this is the sort of thing to be expected if the atomic bomb is kept secret. Columnists in the Left Liberal News Chronicle are saying there is no cause for surprise, for as long as this secret is kept, every country in the world will neglect no opportunity to find out about it. Somewhat more surprisingly, the same view is taken by the Glasgow Herald, which also features comments of British scientists on dangers of secrecy, and of a Labour M.P. on "witch hunt" in Canada. Joseph E. Davies' views are widely reported. "The Daily Worker" is, of course, pressing hard on this diversionary tactic. Russia's other good friend, Lord Beaverbrook, is making the most of the news, but the "Express" today calls for renewed effort to be friendly with Russia, and its cartoonist suggests that the loss of atomic secrets is much less important than the food shortage.

2. It would be unwise to assume that the view mentioned above is representative of that of a large number of people in this country, as it comes from somewhat prejudiced and erratic sources. The over-emphasis in the press on the atomic aspects of the case and the attention given to ridiculous rumours have encouraged this kind of thinking, which may have free play until an authoritative statement is made.

L'E
20-2-46

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274203

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-859

WASHINGTON, **February 20th, 1946.**

WA-859. Reference previous correspondence regarding the Prime Minister's announcement about leakages of information in Ottawa.

Following is the text of a further analysis of press reaction in the United States prepared by the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy, Begins:

News treatment

As the plot thickens, press treatment continues at a pretty high temperature. There was some unevenness, however, and really spectacular publicity appeared only in the more sensational segment of the press. Monday's papers brought a new twist with the disclosure that Canada had cancelled all production of supplies for Russia - which was avidly seized upon in the anti-Soviet papers. One UP story specifically linked this move with the arrests as "more than coincidental"; "Canada stops Reds supplies in spy scare" read the N.Y. Journal-American's front page heading, while (Scripps-Howard) Washington Daily News' noon edition ran noisy bannerlines to the same effect. Though this was withdrawn in a later edition, the story itself reappeared on the first page, linked with alarmist items from China and London to indicate that all the world was afraid of Russia. A subsequent denial in today's AP report that the shipping decision had anything to do with the arrests appeared in such papers as the Washington Post, but had little prominence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

To complete the satisfaction of the anti-Soviet press, General Groves admitted publicly that leaks of Atomic information had been going on and a general breakdown in security had been noticeable in the last few weeks. This was also denied today by "responsible authorities" in Washington (e.g. Baltimore Sun). The Chicago scientists continue to insist that loss of any vital knowledge was unlikely, and that for all we know "other nations may even now be making atomic bombs" according to Dr. Urey. Nevertheless, such sensationalists as the Hearst Press continue to be aroused by the report that "pro-Communists" State Department officials interfering with F.B.I. plans to arrest Russian agents have endangered public security. Rushmore reports to the N.Y. Journal-American that Congress intends to have such officials on the carpet before long.

Thomas Reynolds (PM) has a unique explanation for the United States Government's reluctance to arrest known and suspected agents - for fear of reprisals on United States agents in the U.S.S.R. A confused and embarrassing intelligence situation is pictured.

AP's despatch of the 18th - featured prominently in a wide variety of papers, bannerlined in Boston Globe, more discreetly confined to inside pages in Washington Post, Baltimore Sun, - told how the spy hunt had spread to London resulting in the arrest of another Canadian official there. Possible intervention of the F.B.I. was seen in the arrival of several United States men in Ottawa. Correspondents gave the impression of attempting to exonerate the Canadian officials in advance by picturing them as innocent victims of the wily Russian agents.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274205

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

There was now no doubt of Russia's involvement - it was even expected that that country might be named officially by Mr. King. P.J. Philip points out that by the lack of open official confirmation "the way is left open for the Mission to disavow the activities of its staff members". Other sources however feel that a Soviet disavowal would be impossible at this stage and that it will thus be a unique case where a foreign Government is actually named in an espionage issue.

UP, under the impression that the Russians were not invited to accompany the"Musk-Ox" expedition, have been rumouring the theft of Arctic radar secrets as an alternative objective to the atom bomb. P.J. Philip, however, maintains that no other secret could rank with the latter in importance. Reynolds in today's Washington Post suggested that the radio proximity fuse might have been a logical subject for espionage.

The majority of to-day's reports were chiefly concerned with the news that a young Ivor Gosenko, former employee of the Soviety Embassy, had touched off the investigation by his warning of the Government some months ago that a Russian spy ring existed. Picturesque stories described his fearsome plight,his appeal for protection. Sidelights, closely linked with the spy investigation, were Joseph Davies' statement that if we refused atomic information to the Russians, our fighting Allies, they had a"moral right" to try to get them by espionage; (a statement which received prominent coverage in this morning's press, especially Washington Post, Baltimore Sun); and a Laborite MP's description of the investigation as a "witch-hunt" inspired by "anti-Soviet propaganda". The MP, L.M. Solley, received a hearty echo in the Daily Worker and

.W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274206

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

scattered coverage elsewhere.

Editorial comment.

Alarm at the grave implications of the situation, and a demand for facts, characterized editorial reaction to date. As was to be expected, the anti-Russian press attacked the Government for not making clear their attitude in the case and demanded action. Philadelphia Inquirer even found fault with our methods - "After the first disclosures a cloud of mystery has begun to surround the matter, particularly because of the reticence of Mr. King and other Canadian Government authorities. This subject is too big to be kept under wraps even though a Royal Commission is conducting a special investigation. There is a hint that the alleged spying has not been confined to Canada and the possibility that it may be going on even now in this country should be swiftly explored". Washington News cast aspersions on the Washington officials who are alleged to "think there is so much diplomatic dynamite in Soviet espionage the less said about it the better"; wondered how efficient the F.B.I. had been; affected surprise that Russia was willing to risk losing American friendship for the sake of defence data. Con Brown, Drew Pearson, similarly appeared to sympathize with the Canadian decision to treat diplomatic espionage as "a security and a police matter", in contrast to the State Department. The Minneapolis Tribune, from a more internationalist viewpoint, was distressed at the breakdown in international confidence and regretfully admitted that the arrest of Russian agents in Canada "suggests that Russia may be unwilling to rely wholly upon its own scientific researches

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WA-859

WASHINGTON,

or upon American-British efforts to internationalise the atomic secret." This paper, too, demanded a thorough investigation as "the issue is too grave for halfway measures, for covering up bad conduct by Canadians, Americans or Russians".

Macquis Childs was gravely disturbed over the menace of a Communist fifth column in a democracy, and the impossibility of taking action against it without endangering democratic freedoms. "Responsible men are talking in private", he asserted, about the necessity of safeguarding against the activities of thousands of American citizens whose loyalty to Communist Russia's ideals transcends their nationality. Sharply attacking this point of view, PM's Alexander UNl described such talk as the opening wedge of bitter internal prejudices and hatreds, accused its exponents of setting one group of Americans against another under the guise of patriotism. The Canadian spy story he deemed calculated to stimulate this already discernible trend - the tom-toms were beating and the witch-hunt about to begin. Ends.

24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274208

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-866

WASHINGTON, **February 20th, 1946.**

WA-866. Reference my previous messages, I give you below a further analysis of the United States press prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy on the Canadian "spy ring" story, Begins:

News Statement.

The sensation continues with diminishing emphasis. A further survey of Monday's papers discloses that the widening of the "dragnet" to London and further arrests in Montreal, possible implications of Americans through arrival of F.B.I. agents in Ottawa (Chicago Sun), and the cessation of Canadian shipments to Russia (Chicago Daily News) were aspects most frequently stressed. One of the men arrested was reported to be "very close" to the rank of Deputy Minister (AP), and a National Research Council member and an official of the Labour Progressive Party are also rumoured to be among suspects.

Tuesday (Feb. 19th) evening's Washington News (Scripps-Howard) bannerlined a report from Montreal that key plans for setting up an atomic research plant had been removed to London for safekeeping. The report, sent by UP, added that a certain "foreign power" had sought to build up an "eastern Canadian base" in Quebec Province, where the use of the French language would render their accent less conspicuous. Authority for this tidbit was "a Toronto informant". The object of the present spy ring, according to another UP despatch in the same paper, was not merely the atom bomb but "to obtain information on Canada's role in the defence of entire Western Hemisphere".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

WASHINGTON,

Today's instalment of the thriller, which captured front page space in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington papers, was Mr. Brynes' press conference. Featured in all coverage was his statement that the "know-how" of the atom bomb still remained an American secret - a secret even from Britain and Canada, partners in the project - despite the activities of the spy ring. Mr. Byrnes' remarks were well calculated to check the hysteria in some American papers, as PM remarked, for during the course of the interview he denied that Americans were mixed up in the Canadian case, said he anticipated no parallel arrests here, disclaimed knowledge of any atomic leakssuch as Drew Pearson had "exposed", and finally announced that he intended to go ahead with invitations to all members of the United Nations Commission to witness the A-bomb tests. He also issued a firm denial of the allegation that the State Department had intervened to prevent the arrest of foreign agents. In addition, Paul Ward of Baltimore Sun quoted him as saying that he was sure his Government would be as candid with the American public in the matter as Mr. King had been - "to bulwark that assurance, he said that if there had happened in the United States anything like what has happened in Canada, the matter could never have been kept quiet here so long as it had been in Canada."

AP reported from Ottawa today that the Government was ready "to issue a new statement to clear the air of wholesale rumour and speculation". The world-wide attention focussed on the case, and "roaming suspicions of outsiders" were said to have persuaded the Government out of its original decision on silence until the investigation had been completed. AP also

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274210

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

took occasion to deny any connection between the spy probe and the current Government investigation into activities at Eldorado Gold Mines, and quoted the Montreal Gazette on the Russian plot to obtain black market uranium.

Widely noted were the fact that the Soviet press had published Mr. King's original announcement without comment; and that Mr. Atlee had refused to say anything about the matter in Commons. Daily Worker devoted a page to reprinting a story by Mel Colby of the Canadian Tribune , wherein he accused "sensation-mongering" Drew Pearson of starting the outbreak of "anti-Soviet slanders" in the "capitalist press" of Canada and the United States, and quoted Tim Buck's vindication of the Communist case.

Editorial Comment.

Mr. Joseph Davies is not the only one to have remarked on the ethics of spying. A rash of editorials, chiefly from more reactionary sources, discussed when and how such methods could be justified. David Lawrence for one deplores the "holier than thou" attitude taken by some Americans towards the Soviet use of espionage, when the United States Government was plainly preparing to set up a world-wide spy system on its own behalf. "The concept of peaceful nations spying on one another when they are supposed to be friendly is something that cannot be denounced only when it is applied by Russia". The Times-Herald on the other hand cynically recommended setting up the best American intelligence possible, and using any dirty tricks that would serve, to ferret out foreign secrets that were of use to the United States - "we might well use for this purpose some of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

the four and six billions our leaders are thinking of giving to Britain and Russia, respectively".

Their columnist, John O'Donnell, adds his word of derision for the naive Washingtonians who affect to be surprised that such unethical methods are in use by the United States Government behind its mask of hypocritical internationalism.

Less cynical, though also highly nationalistic, was the attitude of The Philadelphia Inquirer in suggesting that Mr. Davies had done the country a disservice when he opined that keeping the atomic bomb secret constituted a threat to Russia. United States goodwill and fairness, they complacently felt, was everywhere apparent, and blocked only by determined Russian imperialism and mistrust. It was up to Russia to show some willingness to cooperate and become "an open, above-board partner in sincere efforts for peace" instead of a power-grabbing imperialist. The Conservative Cincinnati Enquirer also urged continued secrecy, despite its diminishing value, but emphasized that "our real reliance must be in our ability to outrun Russian scientific prowess." From columnist George Sokolsly came a virulent attack on the laxity of the Communist-ridden State Department in not pressing action against Soviet spies - the honour for the first move going to Canada.

Middle-road comment included a vague appeal to public action in order to improve the fast-deteriorating state of foreign affairs, of which the spy case was a symptom (Chicago Daily News), and a demand from Washington Evening Star for a complete investigation and accurate public report, in this country as well as Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274212

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WA-866 - 5 -

WASHINGTON,

The Liberal press shows a tendency to make light of the whole issue, the Washington Post, in a long editorial on the "spy scare" derided the possibility that any atomic secrets remained worth stealing. "Were they hoping, by any chance, to steal the whole Columbia River plant and to ship it, brick by brick, to the Ural Mountains?" PM confined itself to ridiculing in a cartoon the theatrical aspects of the story. The Daily Worker, however, saw a sinister conspiracy of "war-minded imperialists" in Ottawa, Washington and London, to obstruct "the fight for democracy" which the Soviet was putting up in International Councils and in Eastern Europe. It warned its readers that this was only one phase of the campaign to impede democracy and oppress the working classes. Ends.

24-2-44

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C C274213

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL PARIS, February 21st, 1946.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 78

No. 78. Confidential. Reference my telegram No. 71, February 17th. Since previous reports on Paris press reaction, press has continued to feature investigation prominently. L'Humanite first gave matter disbelieving notice on February 18th, and on 19th, in an editorial, referred to investigation as scare on lines of Zinoviev letter with object of undoing good work done by U.S.S.R. at U.N.O. On 21st L'Humanite, echoing official Soviet theme that affair is part of concerted scheme to discredit U.S.S.R., carried full text Moscow note under large heading: "Dans une note tres ferme Moscou denonce la campagne anti-Sovietique appuyee par le Canada". In a further editorial Herve described episode as an anti-Soviet operation "montee dans un des pays les plus reactionnaire de l'Empire Britannique ou le Patainisme regne a l'etat larve". He draws lesson from Byrnes press conferences that this "device" has not succeeded. Front National (also Communist) also refers to "campagne anti-Sovietique du Gouvernement Canadian". Le Populaire's (Socialist) headline is "Moscou reconnait les faits et s'explique", and carries brief summary Moscow note, as does Le Figaro, Parisien Libere and most other papers. L'Aube (MRP) headline "Moscou accuse Ottawa de menees anti-Sovietiques", while Paris Matin has full page headline "L'U.R.S.S. desavoue ses agents au Canada".

2. Right-Wing press comment is wholly anti-Soviet. Le Pays makes no mention of Soviet note. La Nation regards note as an

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274214

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

admission of guilt; while L'Ordre gives little space to it. L'Epoque, which is rabidly anti-Communist, has been going all out on story and quotes report from Montreal correspondent of Daily Telegraph to effect that Soviet agents had sought, through intermediary of French Communists, to approach French Canadians to facilitate their operations in Quebec. It also carries a cartoon of Truman and Stalin with latter hiding a bomb behind his back.

24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274215 (Copy), RC/Esp/514

FROM: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

CYPHER - PUBLEX LONDON

NO. 522 February 21st, 1946.

No, 522. Following for Glazebrook, Begins:

P.I.D. Directive for week beginning 23rd February, 1946.

General.

L. United Nations;.....

2. Canadian spy ring. Treat this story factually and as briefly as its news value will allow. Avoid reporting conjecture and draw attention to the fact that judicial investigations are pending and that clarification cannot be expected before their conclusion.

3. .....

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Rc/Ep 514
C 274216

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-978

WASHINGTON, March 1st, 1946.

WA-978. Confidential. The following is Supplement No. 7, Embassy Press Analysis Section, respecting Canadian spy ring story and covers news treatment February 26 - 28:

News treatment.

Sporadic interest attended the latest developments. Moderate coverage of the Ministry of Justice statement appeared in a large number of yesterday's papers, with special prominence in Baltimore Sun and Chicago Tribune. Highlighted in AP's version was the fact that "public officials and other persons in positions of trust" were stated to be involved - e.g. "Canada links officials to leak" from Philadelphia Inquirer. Of secondary interest was the announcement of the secret Order-in-Council which had been the basis for procedure, "apparently in answer to criticism by lawyers of the stern measures invoked to keep the case secret". A couple of stories on the protests referred to had appeared in Washington Evening Star and Chicago Tribune on the previous day. New York Times carried (unprominently) on the 27th a special dispatch describing the plans of several Ottawa lawyers to demand repealment, through the County Bar Association, of the "objectionable features of the Order-in-Council". "It is urged in the proposed motion", the dispatch continues, "that Canada is pledged before the world to uphold the very liberties of which these Canadian citizens are now deprived."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

C C 274217

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

But it remained for PM to dramatize the Government's inroads on civil liberties with a full-page spread on "how Canada's 'spy' hunters raided officer's home". A vivid description of the arrest of an R.C.A.F. officer, told by his wife, coupled with a special correspondent's indignant report from Ottawa on the secret Order-in-Council, successfully conveyed the impression that the Government in Canada was functioning by Gestapo methods. The Order, claimed the dispatch, gave "two judges of the Supreme Court of Canada full powers over the property and movements of any person or persons", "habeas corpus has been suspended by the simple act of denial by the R.C.M.P." The writer pictured the baffled state of the prisoners, quoted Minister St. Laurent as saying on December 6th that "there are no secret orders"; and evidenced surprise that the CP, which had previously claimed that Russia had established a virtual fifth column in Canada, should now admit that what Moscow said was true - that information obtained was of no significance.

Remaining interest in the case centres around General Groves' testimony before the Atomic Energy Committee. His demands for better security and military control of the bomb, coupled with assurances that Russia will take at least 15 years to catch up on details of manufacture, are having fairly wide publicity. Also noted - particularly in Chicago papers - were the scientists' contrary recommendations, and Dr. Urey's admission that many scientists had begun to fear that charges of disloyalty might be brought against them because of the spy scare.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Editorial comment.

Cartoonists have at last seen the humour in the Soviet protest. A big Russian bear turns back from a closed door labelled "Atom Secrets" and growls to Canada and the world, "What's the big idea sneaking up behind me when I'm peeking through a keyhole? Besides, I didn't see anything interesting anyhow.." (Cincinnati Enquirer). Stalin looks anxiously around a corner to where the cat, representing the Canadian Government, is digging spies out of their hole - "Stop being unfriendly to those rats" he hollers (Washington Times-Herald). The New York Journal-American similarly declared that Russia had attempted to throw a smokescreen around her own "flagrant offense" by "the typical effrontery" of accusing Canada of an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. "Guilty as charged", Moscow's preparations for the next world war were plainly at the root of the matter. To be sure, these comments all appeared in the Conservative, Russo-phobe press. But even more Liberal Dorothy Thompson labeled the Kremlin's action a form of "political blackmail" equivalent to Hitler's pre-war tactics of the "Big Lie". "By a miraculous abracadabra, which, as put forth in Soviet house organs, is reprinted with a straight face in our own papers, Canada, not the Soviet Government, becomes the offender." Our only weapon against such tactics, she claimed, is the truth, freely stated. Much the same conclusion is Drew Pearson's latest contribution. His anxiety and pessimism were deepend by the private knowledge of "a network of Soviet agents not only engaged in a cut-throat race to secure the atom bomb, but also aimed at disrupting our

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274219

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

whole communications system - if and when it becomes necessary". A showdown with Stalin he considers unavoidable, and a demand on our part for completely free interchange of news and information the only hope of peace.

In the domestic controvery over controlling the bomb, General Groves has his defenders among the Conservative Nationalists (Philadelphia Inquirer, Wall Street Journal) and is bitterly attacked in Liberal Washington Post and PM, who vindicate the scientists' viewpoint.

1-3-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RG1 E S14 C 274220

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

No. 627

LONDON, March 4th, 1946.

No. 627. Secret. My telegram No. 573 of February 26th, leakage of secrets.

Interim report of Royal Commission and arrest of scientist in London were first announced on B.B.C. 9:00 o'clock news Monday evening, in which they were reported extensively as first item on the news.

2. These reports are feature stories of all papers Tuesday morning, except in the Times, where they have second place to the defence debate, and the Daily Worker, which has a brief but not tendentious account. Large front page headlines suggest that the subject will attract wide attention. About half of the papers feature the local arrest, while the other half emphasize the Ottawa report. Several papers emphasize the arrest of an Englishwoman and a Scot in Canada. Stories from Ottawa consist almost entirely of digest of Royal Commission report without additions or speculation. Severe regulations concerning contempt of court make it impossible for press to expand on the local arrest. The fact that May had been in Montreal and was engaged on atomic bomb research are, of course, reported, and the two stories are usually printed in the same columns, but press would not dare suggest, in so many words, that May was linked with Ottawa "net".

3. There is little editorial comment as yet. Daily Mail, in discussing the Persian situation, says a showdown with Russia is needed, and that "the Canadian Government have set another good example of plain speaking in their disclosures of the leakage of secrets through the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa". Most notable

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274221

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

comment is a bitter editorial in the Manchester Guardian which was hitherto inclined to treat the "spy scare" rather lightly. The Guardian says there had turned out to be a good deal more in the Canadian spy scare than Moscow would like us to believe. This was more than scientific curiosity.. Moscow's interests were also in more mundane things, such as the disposition of her Allies' troops. As the spirit of enquiry seemed to have become most active after the Allied victory had been won, Moscow had only itself to blame if some suspicion fell on the sincerity of its professions of amity. No doubt Moscow, like other less pure-minded and merely bourgeois States in the past, would be prepared to disown the unworthy representatives. "Still, it will be interesting to see what the 'friend of the Soviet Union' here and elsewhere, have to say in extenuation. Or do spying and betrayal of trust became respectable when done at Russia's orders".

5-3-46

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

Rc 274222

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET — LONDON, March 5th, 1946.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 629

No. 629. Top Secret. We have been in close consultation with United Kingdom Government Departments concerned with regard to answers to press enquiries concerning latest developments regarding leakage of secrets in Ottawa. Our policy is to make no comment whatsoever, and to avoid answering questions. We are explaining that matter is sub judice and that any further information must come from Ottawa.

2. With regard to local arrest, we are explaining that this has nothing to do with the Canadian Government, and we presume any enquiries should be made to the Home Office.

3. Foreign Office and Dominions Office, for their part, are continuing to say that events in Canada are the concern of the Canadian Government and that the local arrest is a matter for the Home Office.

4. The press has now become aware of Lunan's association with Canada House and are making persistent enquiries which we are refusing to answer. A certain number of embarrassing questions are being asked about Moodie's return to Ottawa. We are, of course, vigorously repudiating suggestions that his return had any connection with the leakage of secrets, but if any announcement could be made of the reason for his departure from London, it would be

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

274223

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

helpful. He should not be unduly alarmed for his reputation, which is not seriously threatened. No one has yet shown curiosity about the return of Wrong and Ritchie.

[Ritchie 5-3-46] answered by Telegram 589 of May 8

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-1039

WASHINGTON, **March 5th, 1946.**

WA-1039. Confidential. Following is Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 8, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of the Embassy on the newspaper discussion of the espionage story just prior to the release of the interim report of the Royal Commissioners yesterday. A further analysis of the press covering yesterday's release will be sent to you later today, Begins:

News treatment.

References to the spy scare were almost non-existent in news columns over the week-end. Only the Daily Worker and New York Journal-American still evidenced interest. The former ran a Mel Colby story whose five-column heading revealed its main contents - "Canada spy scare masks drive on civil rights and labour". The Hearst paper carried a brief AP story on page two of Sunday's edition, predicting an important announcement today.

Editorial comment.

Scattered references continue to appear. The Daily Worker pursued its campaign with a cartoon showing high-hatted "Imperialism" brandishing the fearsome bogey of an "anti-Soviet spy scare" on the end of a stick. Philadelphia Record, at the other extreme, cartooned Russia as the "bear who came to dinner complains about the food", and derided Moscow's angry retort to the spy investigation. From its conviction that this demonstrated undisputably that "dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 was a gigantic hoax" the Record drew courage to demand a swift clamping down on United States Communists as foreign agents.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274225

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

From a more balanced viewpoint, the Washington Post presents the case as a sort of moral conflict between measures necessary for national defence and the preservation of civil liberties. Hardly surprised that Russia would be after the atomic bomb secrets, the Post dismissed this revelation as unimportant. The "really disturbing implication" in the case, however, was the disclosure that Canadian officials in high places "were willing to disclose important State secrets to the agents of a foreign Power". "For it is an implicit confession that the Canadian Government is no longer sure of the loyalty of its most trusted civil servants." But even if the gravity of the case was such as the Government's actions implied, the Post was not sure that the sacrifice of civil liberties was justified. "The question is not merely whether Governments, when they profess to be no longer able to trust their own employees, should be given extraconstitutional powers of search, seizure, also imprisonment, but also whether we dare, even for the sake of keeping our secrets, trust any Government with such powers."

Raymond Moley and Peter Edson both urged more effective counter-espionage as a practical measure, while Moley at least depended on international cooperation to eliminate gradually the necessity for secrecy and spying.

Meantime, the attack on General Groves, personally and because of his militaristic outlook on atomic energy control, spread to Marquis Childs, Major Eliot, as the fear gained ground that the MacMahon Bill for civilian control was losing adherents. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274226

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON, March 5th, 1946.

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-1047

WA-1047. Herewith follows the text of Supplement 29, report No. 9, prepared in the press analysis section, on reaction in the American press to the publication of the first interim report of the Royal Commission investigating espionage activities in Canada, Begins:

News treatment.

Headlines bannered the Royal Commission's interim report on the spy investigation in the majority of today's papers already seen (New York Times, Washington Post, Washington News, Philadelphia Inquirer, Daily Worker). Everywhere the story was prominently printed and at considerable length; full text of the report appeared on page two of the Washington Post and New York Times.

Aspects most frequently emphasized were the charge that Moscow directed the spy ring - "Canada says spies acted on Moscow orders" (New York Times) - and, even more prominently, especially in the Nationalist and anti-Russian papers, the revelation that among the objectives of the agents was United States military information. "Canada says Reds spied on United States" bannered the Philadelphia Inquirer; "Russians spied on United States Army, stole secrets, Canada reveals" (Times Herald); New York Journal-American led the field with sensational three-inch black and red headlines reading "Canada Premier charges: Moscow sought

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274227

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

United States military secrets". Even the less hysterical Baltimore Sun and Washington Evening Star, taking their lead from the slant of AP's story, stressed that American troop movements, as well as "highly confidential wartime scientific data on the atomic bomb and radar" had been the object of espionage. UP's version (Philadelphia Inquirer) directly assumed from the disclosures that "Russia operated a spy network from her Embassy here that reached into the United States and South America to spy on the atomic bomb, troop movements, etc." C.T.P.S. stressed particularly the plans for pilfering secrets of the atomic bomb. Emphasized in all these despatches was Col. Zabotin's responsibility in the plot (his picture was frequently attached); and the report was considered in a sense as a reply to Moscow's previous charges that Mr. King was fostering an "unbridled anti-Soviet campaign". Coupled with its front page story the Times-Herald published a brief C.T.P.S. despatch indicating that a "prompt and violent reply from the Kremlin" was anticipated in Ottawa. Comparing the Commission's report to a "White Paper" usually issued by a Government after a Declaration of War, the despatch claimed that "short of breaking relations with Russia, Canada would not have taken a more pugnacious attitude than it did today in making public the Royal Commission's interim report."

Less inflammatory in tone, the New York Times' special despatch pointed out that "much of the information asked for... could have been obtained by any Military Attache by direct request" and added that "there is no indication in the report

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

that any of this secret information was obtained or communicated." Other stories, however, pointed up the alarming statement that "many other agents were active and that information more intrinsically important has been disclosed". This was particularly stressed in PM's story, which, concerned itself mainly with the cases of the four accused and played down the Russian angle.

The Daily Worker's predictable reaction was a biting story to the effect that the "anti-Soviet scare is revived in Canada". "Encouraged by the anti-Soviet speeches of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and Senator Arthur Vandenburg, the Canadian Government yesterday renewed its campaign against the Soviet Union in connection with alleged espionage" the despatch began. Evidence were the charges that "unnamed Soviet citizen" directed the "alleged" ring from Moscow. The Party version of the previous Russian explanation was that "a few minor officials of its Embassy in Ottawa had been approached with allegedly secret information. Since such activities were considered 'inadmissible' these officials were withdrawn."

In almost all cases the story was coupled with a report from London on the arrest of nuclear physicist, Dr. Nunn May, the implication being that he was connected with the Canadian case.

Editorial comment.

Little comment has yet appeared. The New York Times stoutly rose to the defense of Canada in the matter, pointed

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT.
Epreuve illisible

C 274229

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

out that the "judicious and restrained statement, like other Government announcements to date, made no direct charges against the Soviet Government. The information sought, in The Times' opinion, was of a type which the Russian Government would guard closely from both friends and enemies, were it in their possession; moreover, while from a Totalitarian point of view public information being issued on the case might be hard to understand, to the citizens of a Democracy it was fully comprehensible. "If unfriendly acts were committed, it was Soviet agents that committed them, not the Canadian Government".

The anti-Russian Philadelphia Inquirer refers to Mackenzie King's "flat disclosure" of a spy ring operated from Moscow as further proof of the crude character of Russian policy, which it sums up in the words "we are going to do what we want, and what are you going to do about it?" The editorial is a plea for more co-operation from the Russian side. Text ends. Teletype ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE C 274230

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-1046

WASHINGTON, March 5th, 1946.

WA-1046. Reference preceding messages on the "spy ring" story.

Following is an analysis of radio commentators' treatment of the first interim report of the Royal Commission in espionage activities. This report is based on the comments of Lowell Thomas; Fulton Lewis (who did not comment editorially), Raymond Swing; H.V. Kaltenborn; Gabriel Heatter; Bob Evans; and Richard Harkness (who did not comment editorially).

News Coverage:

The above commentators, as well as other news reporters, devoted considerable time to the announcement, although it was somewhat overshadowed in importance by the Iranian and Spanish developments. Nearly all emphasized the facts that the announcement was official; that Zabotin was the organizer of the ring operating on direct instructions from Moscow; that the atom bomb, radar (among other scientific developments) and troop movements (particularly U.S.) were the focal points of Russian interest. Most reporters also carried the story of the arrest in London of the atom bomb scientist, Dr. Alan Nunn May, connecting him up with the Canadian investigation since he had "spent some time in Canada".

Editorial Comment:

Having expressed their excited alarm over Mr. King's statement of February 15th, commentators soberly accepted the interim report as additional confirmation of the growing seriousness of Big Three relations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274231

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Lowell Thomas confined himself largely to reporting the announcement, coloring it as "fiction come true" and emphasizing the fact that the Russian Embassy was the centre of operations. Deploring the "muscle-flexing" of U.S. and U.K., Raymond Swing found the Canadian charge "more inflaming" as an irritant in Big Three relations than either American possession of the atom bomb or Mr. Attlee's statement concerning Britain's peace-time forces. According to H.V. Kaltenborn, the official revelation is more evidence that "we can't preserve peace by appeasing Stalin". Despite the fact that we have given Russia so much, he complained, "she bribes Canadians to get more". Kaltenborn pointing to the Russian documents as the basis of the Canadian accusations emphasized that "it will not be easy for Russia to laugh them off". Echoing Kaltenborn's ominous "get-tough" attitude, both Gabriel Heatter and Bob Evans attached great significance to the fact that the spy ring recieved "direct orders from Moscow."

Several of the news coverages highlighted, of course, the fact that the Soviet Military Attache was instructed to get information regarding the movements of United States troops. In the course of at least one news report, there was also an inclination to say "let's not get too excited about this as being a unique situation; Military Attaches in line of duty would go after a considerable amount of the information mentioned and, furthermore, it is not only the Soviet Union which uses devious and under-cover channels for the purpose of securing information which might not be available by other means".

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274232

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX

PARIS, March 5th, 1946.

NO. 98

No. 98. Confidential. Paris press this morning carries summaries of provisional Royal Commission report regarding investigation. Less prominence is given than in case of first reports. Main emphasis of headlines in Right Wing and Centre press is that agents acted on Moscow instructions and that Moscow now stands accused. Le Figaro headlines "Le bureau d'espions recevait ses ordres de l'Ambassade Sovietique". Le Pays reported prominently that Soviet agents acted in Canada on Moscow's instructions. Headlines in L'Epoque and Combat followed same theme, while L'Ordre featured "Mackenzie King accuse Moscou". Greatest space is given to story by Paris Daily Mail under heading "Moscow gave orders to A-bomb spies". Paris edition of Herald Tribune carries full account under "Soviet Attache led spy ring Canadians say", and then leads off inaccurately with statement that "four members High Commissioner's office" had been charged. Socialist Le Populaire carries small item on back page "Le Canada met en cause l'URSS".

Once again L'Humanite has no reference to story which is also the case in pro-Communist morning paper Franc Tireur.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274233

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TELETYPE

WA-1055

WASHINGTON, March 6th, 1946.

WA-1055. Reference previous communications on radio treatment of Canadian spy story.

You will be interested to know that as far as last night's commentators are concerned, the report is negative, and that the story was neither mentioned in the news nor commented upon editorially. Most of the time, of course, of the commentaters was taken up with Mr. Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274234

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER-PUBLEX LONDON, March 6th, 1946.

No. 633

No. 633. Secret. My telegram No. 629 of March 5th, leakage of secrets.

Churchill's speech has driven espionage story from the headlines. Popular press have front page photographs of those arrested but reports of developments in Ottawa are scanty. Intimate details of May's appearance at Bow Street are given but no more is possible. The chief points featured in reports from Ottawa are:

(1) That the important "spies" are yet to be named and

(2) That it is realized in Ottawa that the Soviet network extended to the United States and the United Kingdom.

Daily Telegraph correspondent reports that officials in Ottawa are concerned to remember that Russia probably learned all the secrets of the Quebec Conferences. Evening Standard and several other papers report Lunan's association with Canada House.

2. Although leading editorials this morning deal with Churchill's speech and in particular relations with the Soviet Union, no reference is made to the Canadian case except by Daily Sketch, which notes that Mr. Churchill made no reference to it. First impressions of Churchill's speech are more restrained in their enthusiasm than one might have expected. Continued restraint in all published comments on relations with U.S.S.R. is still noticeable, not only in papers like The Times and News Chronicle, but also in The Daily Telegraph. The Daily Worker has dropped the Ottawa story and reaches a new pitch of hysteria in its denunciation of Churchill.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER WASHINGTON, March 7th, 1946.

TELETYPE

WA-1091

WA-1091. Following is the text of Special Report No. 29, supplement No. 10, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy, on press reaction in this country to the First Interim Report of the Royal Commissioners investigating espionage activities in Canada, Begins:

News Treatment

From a broader survey of Tuesday's papers it was evident that the spy sensation was very widespread. Though outpaced to some extent by the news on Spain and Iran, the story of the Commission's interim statement was almost without exception frontpaged. (Detroit Free Press ran a spectacular headline on page three. Bannerlines appeared in Atlanta Journal, Hartford Times, Chicago Tribune, Buffalo Evening News, Louisville Courier Journal, New York Herald Tribune, etc.) In general, the "Red Guilt" theme dominated, closely followed by indignant treatment of the spying on American weapons such as the electronic shell and United States troop movements. Indianapolis Star and Cincinnati Enquirer, in particular played this up. In one or two cases (Boston Globe, Cleveland Plain Dealer) the report of Dr. May's arrest took precedence over the Canadian statement - e.g., "British atomic expert arrested in spy probe" in the latter.

One of the most serious reports was Stephen White's despatch to the New York Herald Tribune containing the comment that the Canadian charge of a spy ring operating "under direct instructions from Moscow" contradicted Russia's earlier statement which had sought to minimize the information obtained and appeared to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

WASHINGTON,

repudiate the spying activities of the Soviet Embassy officials involved. White took a grave view of the Russian plans, which, he says, "were as bold as they were all-embracing" and designed to ferret out almost every American and Canadian war secret. He hinted at more serious disclosures yet to come in connection with the remainder of the accused. Morris Macdougall, too, in Christian Science Monitor, pictured alarm in Ottawa over the extensive nature of the information sought, and felt that further reports will deepen this impression. The Government's procedure in issuing public reports he thoroughly commended, feeling that it was "based on the ground that those who are custodians of official secrets must be made fully aware of the seriousness of breaking their injunctions of silence and that those who break their oath must be punished according to the laws of the land."

Today's papers evinced lively interest by making the most of a barrage of small items of information. Frontpaged in New York Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, and with a sensational red-letter headline in New York Journal-American, was the first report on Dr. May's examination, led was his admission that he had given atomic information to unknown persons. The link with the Canadian story was now assumed to be evident. Pictures of the four named in the Commission report, appearing prominently in a number of east coast papers, are attracting further interest to the case. An A.P. story promised additional reports containing more names and further particulars of an even more serious nature; in the words of PM's special correspondent, "only the lesser lights" had as yet been named. This despatch quotes an External Affairs spokesman as saying that Canada is stressing a "clean-up of her own house" and intends to take no further initiative towards a

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

complete break of relations with Moscow. PM's reporter seems however reluctant as yet to accept the seriousness of the Government's charges, claims that "it is well known in Ottawa that the Federal Civil Service is studded with many brilliant young men of leftist tendencies. Many of them hold positions of responsibility." In Lunan's case, he indicates that the victim's friends, at least, consider his arrest a "frameup" on the part of the R.C.M.P.; and he more than broadly hints that Inspector Leopold, - Tim Buck's prosecutor in 1931 - is guilty of reactionary thinking.

Drew Pearson is still acting as exposer-in-chief of Soviet espionage activities in the United States, aided and abetted by the columns of the New York Journal-American. Here, the failure of F.B.I. - because of State Department intervention- to arrest Arthur Adams, Chevchenko, and other Russian officials is exposed and condemned. In contrast is lauded Canada's "firm stand" and "unequivocal denunciation of such espionage."

Editorial Comment

Comment has been fairly widespread, and indignant in tone, coming largely from conservative papers. The revelation that spying was directed against the United States resulted in (a) huffy allegations that Russia was not playing fair, and demands that "the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Canada tighten up measures to protect our knowledge of atomic bomb manufacture" (Philadelphia Inquirer), since if Russia was so anxious to get the atom bomb secret she obviously did not have it (Cincinnati Enquirer); and (b) urgent calls for Government action in this country (Scripps-Howard's Washington News, Evening Star). Canada is to be commended for the calm but exhaustive nature of its inquiry. The case is an important one, and if

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274237

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

complete break of relations with Moscow. PM's reporter seems however reluctant as yet to accept the seriousness of the Government's charges, claims that "it is well known in Ottawa that the Federal Civil Service is studded with many brilliant young men of leftist tendencies. Many of them hold positions of responsibility." In Lunan's case, he indicates that the victim's friends, at least, consider his arrest a "frameup" on the part of the R.C.M.P.; and he more than broadly hints that Inspector Leopold, - Tim Buck's prosecutor in 1931 - is guilty of reactionary thinking.

Drew Pearson is still acting as exposer-in-chief of Soviet espionage activities in the United States, aided and abetted by the columns of the New York Journal-American. Here, the failure of F.B.I. - because of State Department intervention- to arrest Arthur Adams, Chevchenko, and other Russian officials is exposed and condemned. In contrast is lauded Canada's "firm stand" and "unequivocal denunciation of such espionage."

Editorial Comment

Comment has been fairly widespread, and indignant in tone, coming largely from conservative papers. The revelation that spying was directed against the United States resulted in (a) huffy allegations that Russia was not playing fair, and demands that "the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Canada tighten up measures to protect our knowledge of atomic bomb manufacture" (Philadelphia Inquirer), since if Russia was so anxious to get the atom bomb secret she obviously did not have it (Cincinnati Enquirer); and (b) urgent calls for Government action in this country (Scripps-Howard's Washington News, Evening Star). Canada is to be commended for the calm but exhaustive nature of its inquiry. The case is an important one, and if

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274238

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

American interests are as involved as they seem to be, our own Government should certainly look into it with equal vigour." (Star) The Times-Herald's characteristically cynical viewpoint was that "it is nothing for us to get indignant about", being merely a sample of what goes on all the time, and it recommended that America should go and do likewise - i.e., add a spy system to their defense equipment.

Echoing the Washington Post, Hanson Baldwin felt that the deepest issue was really that of a citizen's loyalty; but far from advocating a Communist "witch-hunt", he maintained that "the Canadian case makes more imperative than ever the necessity for a rapid consideration by Congress of legislation for the national control of atomic energy - and the establishment as soon as possible, by United Nations Organization, of international controls." In the conflict between civilians and militarists for control, he favoured a compromise solution; in like vein New York Herald Tribune pleaded for public pressure to get behind some form of civilian management as atomic energy "could not safely be laid away as a military issue". Des Moines Register summed up the virtues of the May and MacMahon bills, in favour of the latter, but remarked that "many fear, especially since the arrests in Canada, that the MacMahon Bill does not provide adequate safeguards against the dissemination of vital information." Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 2,74239

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 661

LONDON, March 8th, 1946.

No. 661. Secret. My telegram No. 633 of March 6th. Leakage of secrets.

Interest in the Canadian espionage case has dwindled for lack of information. Popular papers today carry brief stories about alleged arrest of further scientists and a threatening letter said to have been sent to Mme. Jourbarne. There are references to the "hunger strike" of one of the detained men, and "News Chronicle" correspondent in Ottawa has produced an unpleasant report of charges that detained persons were being badly used, and that the Royal Commission's interim report did not state clearly enough what the arrested persons are being charged with.

2. Editorial comment is still rare, but in several places there is new evidence that real significance of the incident is being appreciated. "The Scotsman" has pointed out that most reprehensible aspect of the affair is not that Communist Russia should resort to such means, but that British subjects should have been their instruments. "Time and Tide" admits that espionage is an unpleasant part of politics, but says that the really disquieting thing about the whole business is not Russian espionage as such, but the presumption that it is in a position to use people whose services are assured to it on ideological grounds.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RC/E J14
C 274240

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

LONDON, March 16th, 1946.

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 745

No. 745. Secret. My telegram No. 661 of March 8th.

Second interim report of Royal Commission on leakage of secrets has attracted extensive coverage in London papers this morning.

2. Although it has been given second or third place in all except "Daily Herald" to Churchill's latest speech and the Prime Minister's statement on India, nevertheless the reports are longer and more factual than in the past. More attention is paid to arrest of Boyer and other technicians than to that of Rose, although this emphasis may be due to the fact that evening papers yesterday reported the "arrest of an M.P."

3. Except for "Times" Ottawa correspondent, the reference to the loyalty of those charged has not been given significant attention, although it may feature more in second thoughts. Anxieties of Bracken and Coldwell concerning procedure of detention were noted briefly yesterday, but the concern in Canada on this subject has not been extensively reported.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274241 Rc IEsp

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE WASHINGTON, March 16th, 1946.

WA-1224

WA-1224. Following is an analysis of the press this morning on the second interim report of the Royal Commission:

News treatment.

Latest disclosures in the Canadian spy investigation have been given fair prominence in this morning's Washington and New York papers. Treatment was scarcely as sensational as that accorded previous developments however. Washington Post, New York Times, and Evening Star frontpaged the story in which arrest of Fred Rose was coupled with the Royal Commission's latest report. Times-Herald, Washington News, PM, ran brief accounts on inside pages. Unique was the Evening Star's bannerline.

In almost every case the arrest of Canada's only Communist Member of Parliament drew most attention, closely followed by naming of four prominent scientists involved in the spy ring. Sketched by AP were careers of the five, and the nature of their spying activities, as revealed in the Commission's report. Frequently quoted was the report's claim that secrecy surrounding the inquiry had been more than justified by disclosures "of a serious nature from a national standpoint". The "significant statement" that some of the accused had acknowledged a loyalty transcending their loyalty to Canada was also prominent, boxed on the front page of Washington Post. P.J. Philip had the most detailed story, was unique in describing the Government's defence of its position concerning the arrest of a Member of Parliament.

Stressed also was Dr. Boyer's admission that he had betrayed secret information on the manufacture of R.D.X. explosives to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274241 Rc IEsp

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE WASHINGTON, March 16th, 1946.

WA-1224

WA-1224. Following is an analysis of the press this morning on the second interim report of the Royal Commission:

News treatment.

Latest disclosures in the Canadian spy investigation have been given fair prominence in this morning's Washington and New York papers. Treatment was scarcely as sensational as that accorded previous developments however. Washington Post, New York Times, and Evening Star frontpaged the story in which arrest of Fred Rose was coupled with the Royal Commission's latest report. Times-Herald, Washington News, PM, ran brief accounts on inside pages. Unique was the Evening Star's bannerline.

In almost every case the arrest of Canada's only Communist Member of Parliament drew most attention, closely followed by naming of four prominent scientists involved in the spy ring. Sketched by AP were careers of the five, and the nature of their spying activities, as revealed in the Commission's report. Frequently quoted was the report's claim that secrecy surrounding the inquiry had been more than justified by disclosures "of a serious nature from a national standpoint". The "significant statement" that some of the accused had acknowledged a loyalty transcending their loyalty to Canada was also prominent, boxed on the front page of Washington Post. P.J. Philip had the most detailed story, was unique in describing the Government's defence of its position concerning the arrest of a Member of Parliament.

Stressed also was Dr. Boyer's admission that he had betrayed secret information on the manufacture of R.D.X. explosives to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Russian agents - to such an extent that "competent persons would be in a position to design a plant to produce the material in quantity". This was material for Star's headline, "Reds took super-explosive, Canada says". PM's story by UP pointed out that the charges against the four were all concerned with munitions and communications, and "the report made no mention of atomic bomb or nuclear physics research". Ignoring this sentence, however, the Washington News published the same despatch under the heading "Red Canadian MP held as atom spy".

Background.

It is worth noting that during the lull in reports on the Ottawa probe, the spy scare in the United States has been mounting in intensity. A Dies Committee investigation into alleged leaks of atomic information from Oak Ridge has been begun. The Army has issued orders screening officers guilty of "subversive" opinions out of positions of trust. An official of the National Catholic Welfare Council publicly declared that 2,000 Communists hold office in the United States Government, at least 130 of them in "key positions". There are demands from Congress for a spy hunt in the State Department. Meantime, of course, the controversy over atomic energy control has come to a head, with the Senate Committee voting six to one in favour of Senator Vandenberg's amendment to the MacMahon Bill, allowing in effect military jurisdiction over all phases of atomic energy development. In the ensuing outcry from Liberal sources against "atomic Fascism" and "hogtying the scientists", it was frequently claimed that "the recent Canadian scare about spies rallied some

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274243

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

support for the measure" (Indianapolis Star and Washington Post). A remark in PM that "there is general agreement that the Canadian spy scare is largely responsible for the current drive to channel fast reservoirs of atomic energy into a closely-guarded army bomb project" was only surpassed by the Daily Worker's claim: "It is an open secret that one reason for the Canadian 'spy scare' was to give the army militarists a club with which to crush all opposition to their conspiracy." Reactionary sources, whipping up enthusiasm for a witch hunt, pointed to Canada as showing the way to get rid of the Red menace (New York Journal-American).

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON, February 22, 1946.

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-893

WA-893. Confidential. The following is Supplement No. 3, Embassy Press Analysis Section, respecting Canadian spy ring story and covers news treatment February 20 - 21.

Confidential Special Report No. 29

Supplement No. 3

Press Analysis Section February 21, 1946.

C.I.S. - Canadian Embassy

Washington, D.C.

Canada's 'Spy Ring' Story.

News Treatment (February 20, 21, 1946.)

The spy case has blown wide open again today with publication of Moscow's Note assailing the Canadian action. Sensational bannerlines appeared in Baltimore Sun, PM; "Russia Rebukes Canada for Atom Expose" screamed the Times-Herald, and in Philadelphia Inquirer two-inch black headlines read "Reds Admit Getting Canadian Secrets". Washington Post and New York Times treated with more restraint their prominently placed front page stories. The Daily Worker's headline "U.S.S.R. Lashes 'Unfriendly' Act by Canada" conveyed the keynote of UP's report. The story described the Soviet Note as "angry in tone throughout", and quoted at length Soviet charges that Canada's attitude was "uncompatible with normal relations", stressed complaint of the "unbridled" press campaign against the Soviet Union.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274245

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

AP's despatch likewise elaborated the Soviet feeling that the manner of Mr. King's disclosure indicated "ulterior motives" and that the anti-Soviet press campaign was "part of a Canadian Government plan to cause political damage to the Soviet Government". A despatch by Emanual Freedman to the New York Times led the Russian acknowledgement that data on the atomic bomb had been obtained by their representatives from Canadian citizens, but that it was "insignificant" in comparison with published information. He alone noted that this statement was the first official admission that Russia was the country involved, commented, from London, "It was noted here that by issuing its defense and immediately taking the offensive with accusations of its own, the Soviet Union had stolen a march on the Canadian Government which is expected to issue a statement tomorrow."

Ottawa's official reaction appears to have been calm. According to P.J. Philip in the Times, the Soviet Note "is not being taken tragically" and "such statement as that this whole unpleasant matter was a deliberate plan of the Canadian Government to harm "Soviet interests" were dismissed as nonsense." Noted was the discretion of the Canadian Government in neither criticizing nor molesting the Soviet agents who had received information, and Philip adds a word of commendation for Mr. King's "unhurried wisdom" in having carefully examined the matter for some time before making the arrests. According to an AP story, which attributed to "an official Government spokesman" the charge that the Russians were trying to make "political capital" out of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

espionage case, official Ottawa was confident that the Government would be able to make a thoroughly satisfactory reply to Moscow's attack when the results of the Royal Commission's investigation became known.

PM's reporter, however, taking the citizen's point of view, was dissatisfied with the unsavoury situation and demanded a clean statement from Mr. King to clear it up. According to this writer, an attempt by the R.C.M.P. to "go active" against Russian agents some months ago had been curtailed by External Affairs; he states that friction still exists between the two Departments and that the Prime Minister's first announcement had obviously been made prematurely under strong pressure. His subsequent "retreat into absolute silence" the writer feels "is wholly out of character with his political and administrative life. His silence has not only encouraged the export to all the world of the wildest possible rumors, but has encouraged Red-baiting on a scale damaging to future relations". This is the frankest criticism of the Government's attitude seen. The story goes on to claim that officials of at least five different Departments are involved, and that none are likely to have had vital information. The "small fry" he classes as "merely Communist sympathizers".

The Daily Worker reported from Toronto that no member of the Labour Progressive Party was among those arrested. From the opposite camp, Chicago Tribune reported Eugene Griffin claimed that a "wave of anger against Communists" had spread across Canada, and predicted that the spy case "will have broad implications in Canadian politics". This

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274247

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

writer gave the story a new twist by hinting that underpaid civil servants might have been tempted to betray secrets to foreign agents because of their low salaries. Naming of a Royal Commission to investigate salaries and working conditions prompted this reflection.

A sidelight was the widely published UP story that General Walter G. Krivitsky, ex-Soviet intelligence officer, who died in Washington mysteriously in 1941, was linked with the Canadian case. He was alleged to have given the R.C.M.P. vital information which aided in the roundup of the spy ring.

Widening ripples of the spy scare in this country are evident. Yesterday's headlines in the Daily Worker, covering Byrnes' press conference, read "Atom Spy Scare Begins to Falter". Scientists are still corroborating the Secretary of State in his denial that atomic secrets have been stolen, and in Neal Stanford's opinion (C.S. Monitor) this statement has diverted more attention to other military secrets such as hemisphere defense plans in the Arctic, which might have been worth pilfering. There is no doubt, however, judging by the general tone of despatches, that the atom bomb is still widely considered to be the root of the matter. Moreover, Senator MacMahon, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy Control, has announced that the Committee will investigate better security methods; and Dr. Ralph MacDonald stated before the Committee that it was reasonable to expect that a network of spies "from a country which fears us" infested the country.

Editorial Comment.

The ethics of countries' spying on each other continued to centre around former Ambassador Davies' claim that Russia has "every moral right" to try to get the secret of the atom

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

bomb. Under the heading "Wisdom from Davies" the Daily Worker attributed "the whole rumpus about espionage" to the pernicious secret. Papers considerably to the Right, however, decried Davies by drawing his remarks to the "logical" conclusion that they constitute "a shocking invitation to espionage" (W.P. Simms, Washington News). Why should we make free with atom secrets, they ask (Washington Times-Herald) when Russia refuses freedom of movement not only to correspondents but to military and diplomatic personnel? See how Russia treated spies in the Moscow trials of 1935-38 (Washington News).

Accepting the fact of espionage as natural, not only in the case of Russia but in the general circumstance of diplomatic and military secrecy, a large number of editors proceeded to determine what should be done before such secrecy precipitates a third world war. It was generally agreed that the only solution is to place the bomb under an effective system of international control (Kansas City Times, Chicago Daily News). The C.S. Monitor more urgently asked "why not begin the work of the United Nations Atomic Control Commission right now; not to-morrow or next week, or next month?" The New York H.T. carried the argument a step further by advocating a Russian inspection tour of Oak Ridge and Los Alamos. Expressions of isolationist sentiment were to be found, however, in the calls for "tighter security" voiced by the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Times-Picayune (New Orleans).

Calmly stating that "there is no occasion for hysteria" the New York Times analyzed recent "Canadian-American military association" in explaining the natural suspicions which might have caused Russia to indulge in a cloak and dagger campaign.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274249

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

The Detroit Free Press on the other hand saw the Russian espionage activity as evidence that "the war declared by the Bolshevists in 1917 on all democracies is still on".

Canada was both praised and blamed for revealing the spy ring. The Daily Worker regards the fact of the disclosure as nothing more than another move in "a 'get tough' policy that dangerously imperils the unity of the Big Three"; a policy which as far as the Truman administration is concerned is "brutal, aggressive, expansionist". Praise for Canada's action came explicitly and implicitly from the Washington Star, Dallas News, and New York Journal-American who deplored at length American inaction for fear of "upsetting the international applecart". Dorothy Thompson, for example, takes Mr. Byrnes to task for not wanting to "rock United States U.S.S.R. relations".

The form of Canada's action merits censure in the opinion of one or two editors, who decried the results of the paucity of official information. So far, declares the C.S. Monitor, "The effect of the veiled Ottawa disclosures has been to feed anti-Russian phobias". Quoting Mr. King to the effect that the matter should be viewed "with caution and reserve", the Omaha World-Herald in a scathing article entitled "dirty work in Ottawa" goes on to remark: "Obviously. But judging by the news despatches it has not been so treated by the Canadian Government. There is confusion and alarm and a paucity of revealed facts". Ends.

LG
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C274250

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER - PUBLEX PARIS, February 22nd, 1946.

NO. 79

No. 79. Confidential. Reference my telegram No. 78 of February 21st. Press comment generally continues on lines reported. L'Epoque (extreme Right-Wing and anti-Communist) carries story with London dateline reporting that Maurice Duplessis, Premier of Quebec, had "revealed" that Soviet spy chain was not limited to Canadian or American Communists but obtained its directives from French Communist Party. Latter, he said, had established Canadian contacts during war under cover of resistance activities. One of chief Soviet agents involved was one Krevitzky, said to have been shot in Washington in 1941. Chief object of agents was not merely espionage, but also establishment of a base in Eastern Canada.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274251

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER- PUBLEX

NO. 526.

LONDON, February 22nd, 1946.

No. 526. Secret. In spite of the violence of the Soviet note, comment in the British press on the espionage story is still brief and cautious. News reports have naturally been driven from the headlines of the popular press by events in India. The weeklies, which are published today but were written before the Soviet note was issued, ignore the story, except for the "New Statesman" which not unexpectedly says that all Governments employ spies and this incident is the inevitable result of the refusal to share atomic secrets. In two days' debate in the House of Commons on foreign policy, of which the chief subject was Anglo-Soviet relations, there were only occasional and oblique references to events in Canada. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Eden made very conciliatory speeches which led one at times to wonder if they had read the Soviet note and "Pravda's" comment. The "Times" of yesterday and today has had two leaders on relations with the U.S.S.R. with no reference whatsoever to Soviet-Canadian relations. Their Ottawa correspondent however, this morning gives an excellent presentation of the Canadian case.

2. This reticence is probable due not so much to an unsympathetic attitude towards the Canadian position, but rather to the extreme caution with which "spy stories" are handled by those with memories of the Zinoviev letter. There is undoubtedly, furthermore, a desire in all sections of the press to follow Bevin's conciliatory lead and do nothing which might make the present breach with Russia irreparable.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

274252

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

3. In this morning's papers, which from Left to Right plead for a new effort at understanding, there are sufficient references to the Soviet note to Canada to indicate that it has met with virtually no sympathy. Even A.J. Cummings in "News Chronicle", who had previously blamed the incident on atomic secrecy, considers the Soviet statement exceedingly clumsy and its accusations childish. He suggests that the admissions were possibly forced on the Soviet Government by an overwhelming mass of evidence in the possession of the Canadian authorities. The "News Chronicle" leader considers this "gratuitous attack upon the Canadian Government" as part of the Russian assault on the British Empire. "The Yorkshire Post" says British comment should be guarded until more is known, but little sympathy would be felt with the indignation expressed in Moscow because Canadians have thought fit to show some concern at the espionage going on in their midst. It is the duty of the Soviet Government not to seek to avoid a grave responsibility by the abuse of other Governments. "The Daily Telegraph" considers the extraordinary Russian outburst "only the latest revelation of a state of mind which appears fantastic". "The Manchester Guardian" say "in the United States and Canada there is an attack of spy fever, the most infectious of all diseases that affect the State, which the Soviet Government has done nothing to allay by issuing one of the most extraordinary and provocative statements". "The Daily Herald" says "although a great many people in this country will not reproach the Soviet Government in the least for the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274253

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

activities of its Military Attache, there are very few who will think that Government justified in distorting the episode for purpose of violent anti-British propaganda".

4. Although the Soviet note has helped to put this affair in its proper perspective, there is still a tendency in some quarters to talk about the Canadian "spy scare" and to accept the Soviet explanation about irresponsible activities of the Attache which can only be corrected when the true facts are published.

5. "The Daily Worker" in a preview of "Pravda" said yesterday that the Soviet reply had demolished Mr. King's effort to raise Goebbel's ghost. Mr. King's intention was to drag a reluctant United States into the anti-Soviet bloc which Britain was organizing.

24-2-46

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE C 274254

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL
CYPHER
TELETYPE
WA-899

WASHINGTON, February 23rd, 1946.

WA-899. Confidential. My WA-893 of February 22nd. The following is Supplement No. 4, Embassy Press Analysis Section, respecting Canadian spy ring story and covers news treatment February 21 - 22:

Confidential

Special Report No. 29
Supplement No. 4
February 22, 1946.

Press Analysis Section
C.I.S. - Canadian Embassy
Washington, D.C.

Canada's 'Spy Ring' Story.
February 21 - 22, 1946

News treatment.

(As no papers were delivered because of the holiday, this survey is restricted to Washington papers and the New York Times.)

With two notable exceptions, coverage of the spy case toned down somewhat this morning. Chief item of interest was the Pravda editorial claiming that Canada's charges were being used to cover up Bevin's "failures" at the UNO meeting in London. AP's story, limited largely to quotations, appeared in N.Y. Times, Times-Herald, Washington Post, Evening Star, on inside pages. Times-Herald frontpaged a UP report from Ottawa "Giving the Lie" to Pravda's assertions by claiming that Russpan spy activities had long been a worry to the Canadian Government and had been the cause of consultations between King, Truman and Attlee as early as November, 1945. A statement from the Prime Minister was expected over the week-end, the report stated.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274255

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Washington News, loath to relinquish its sensation, published alarmist headlines last night claiming that "Canada and Britain are nearing break with Russia". The despatch, with an Ottawa dateline, described relations between the three as "dangerously near the breaking point", and recalled Russia's parallel actions preluding a break of relations with Poland in 1939.

The most complete report on the Government's attitude and the atmosphere in Ottawa appeared in today's PM - under the misleading headline that "Canada Cancels Habeas Corpus for Spy Suspects". Their special correspondent describes the Government's "unofficial" denial that it was being used as a front for Britain; adds that "Canada admits that relations are 'not as friendly as before' but takes the position that diplomatic language is getting 'larger and stronger' and that no rigid inference should be drawn concerning an open breach of diplomatic relations". Pointed out was the fact that Moscow's own admission of guilt left Canada's hands clean in the matter. The situation in Ottawa, according to this writer, can only be described as "ugly". "Suspicion breeding everywhere", "nothing, or almost nothing, now is published in any Canadian paper that is friendly to Russia", and the R.C.M.P. utilizing its war-conferred powers, is seizing suspects and holding them incommunicado. "The whole of the senior Civil Service is under a cloud".

Editorial comment.

Both Washington Evening Star and N.Y. Times to-day have come out strongly in defense of Canada, in response to Moscow's note of protest. The charge that Canada intended the investigation to do "political damage" to the Soviet Union in retaliation for Russia's defense of democracy at UNO, "can be dismissed as fantastic" according to the Times, and was labeled "transparent

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

C274256

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

nonsense" in the Star. The latter vindicated the Government's procedure in no uncertain terms. "The Canadian Government had every right to investigate this matter in its own way. It was under no obligation to hold preliminary consultation with the Government suspected of initiating the espionage activities, and thereby possibly enable that Government to notify its agents that an investigation was being made. Then once it had been ascertained that Canadian citizens were involved, the Canadian Government had a right to take them into custody, and to announce that fact." Further evidence of the restraint with which the issue was treated was Mr. King's plea for "caution and reserve". Both papers saw room for encouragement in Russia's apparent "acknowledgement that the Russian Government recognized the impropriety of the action taken in its behalf and recalled its Military Attache from Ottawa" which amounted to a "repudiation of espionage activity". "If this can be taken as a sort of qualified apology", the Star felt, "it may point toward an adjustment of what could otherwise become a serious international incident".

Major Fielding Eliot, claiming that there was "no occasion for hysteria" in the incident, justified in reasonable terms both the Canadian-United States plans for hemisphere security which have occasioned Russia's suspicions, and the Russians desire to catch up on military secrets.

L/C
24-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274257 RCI Exp 514

FROM: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN AUSTRALIA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

CANBERRA, February 25th, 1946.

NO. 60

No. 60. February 25th. Your telegram No. 44, Australian press comments on Canadian Royal Commission enquiry.

Clippings on news stories in editorials were despatched in air bag which left here February 21st.

News stories, based mainly on Canadian Press reports, have been front page headline news. For several consecutive nights last week, the Ottawa story led the Australian Broadcasting Commission's nightly news report.

Editorial reaction has been light. One Melbourne and one Sydney newspaper have pointed out that the foundation of the United Nations Organization will not be strengthened by the necessity for Canadian announcements.

The "Tribune", Sydney Communist newspaper, quoted the statement by Tim Buck. It claims also that "the Canadian Government appears to be acting as a "cats-paw" in this international offensive against the Socialist Soviet and against organized world labour". The "Tribune" blames Canadian "reactionary" newspapers for wide attention aroused by "the cautiously worded statement by Prime Minister Mackenzie King".

1a
25.2.46

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274258

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN NEW ZEALAND

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CODE

NO. 10

WELLINGTON, February 26th, 1946

No. 10. February 26th. Reference your telegram No. 13, February 23rd, leakage of information. While there have been no editorials or other public comments, great interest was shown in disclosures which were prominently featured by New Zealand papers. Press messages from Canada and New York were quoted.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON, February 26th, 1946.

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-930

WA-930. Following is Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 5, on the press reaction in this country to the 'spy ring' story (February 22-25, 1946), Begins:

News treatment.

Week-end coverage was not spectacular, though developments were noted with continuing interest. Izvestia's attack on Mackenzie King repeating the Pravda charges was carried by both AP and UP and appeared fairly conspicuously in Saturday's New York Times, N.Y.H.T., Chicago Tribune, Times-Herald, etc. The despatch stressed that Canadian-Russian relations had deteriorated further with this new attack. Ottawa reports indicated that the public was impatient for an official statement (Stephen White in N.Y.H.T.). On a frontpage New York Journal-American story, Michael Griffin of INS quoted a Canadian official's defence of the Government's position. The spokesman claimed that the spy probe was "in the interests of world peace", denied that it was in any way a "witch hunt", stated that Canada would not be stampeded by Soviet protests into a hasty or premature reply, and reminded readers that "Canada gave Russia 171 million dollars worth of goods during the war". Also published in Journal-American, and elsewhere, was David Sentner's roundup of opinion in Washington. Like Robert Brown in the Washington Post, he linked Atherton's visit to Truman with the espionage investigation, and reported widespread skepticism on Capitol Hill with regard to official denials that Americans were connected with the case.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON.

No sensation was caused by the Government's official statement, which was widely published in the Sunday papers (Washington Star, Times-Herald, Post, Philadelphia Inquirer, Cleveland Plain Dealer, etc., etc.) The number of suspects detained and the announcement of the "serious nature of the disclosures" attracted most attention in AP reports; also of interest was an explanation of the legal aspects of the Government's procedure. Among special correspondents there appeared to be some disappointment at the uninformative nature of the statement, which as Chicago Daily News writer put it added only "a meagre bit" to the story, and in the words of Stephen White (N.Y.H.T.) "scrupulously avoided international implications and devoted itself to a few facts and several paragraphs of ominous hints". The widespread understanding that all of the 13 held were Canadian citizens, according to P.J. Philip had given a more domestic tinge to the investigation. The statement he felt had narrowed down the issue to "the behaviour of certain Canadians and, it is held, removes it from the international plane on which Moscow sought to place it".

Noteworthy isolated comments on the Canadian scene were PM's roundup of Canadian Press reaction, showing uniform anti-Soviet feeling and criticism of the Government for its silence. The writer suspected that official "leaks might have inspired some of the alarmist items on CP wires. The Daily Worker's view unalterable was that the "hysterical anti-Soviet campaign" was part of a "reactionary" plan to undermine labor union organization in Canada. In a more moderate vein, Chicago Daily News correspondent reports that considering Mr. King's character -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"a notable compromiser, a profound believer in peace" - the fact that he had announced the inquiry was enough in itself to raise it "above the level of ordinary post-war witch hunts".

Reverberations in the United States were discussed in long articles in St. Louis Post-Despatch and N.Y.H.T. (Bert Andres). Both felt that suspicions of State Department reluctance to arrest foreign agents had not been entirely allayed by the statements of Truman and Byrnes; and that there also remains a very widespread and lively uneasiness concerning the possibility, and even the likelihood, that the Canadian spy ring extended into this country. PM scoffed at the danger, though it took a grave view of the spy scare for other reasons. Blair Bolles, describing the alleged contest between anti-Russian Leahy and more moderate Byrnes for the President's ear on foreign policy, feels that the Ottawa probe has boosted Leahy's chances by spreading and intensifying anti-Soviet feeling all over the country. Across the page, Alexander UHl claims that the spy scare has caused a setback to MacMahon's plans for getting a reasonable bill passed "to keep atomic energy out of the hands of the Army and industrial monopolies". The intensification of anti-Russian feeling is playing straight into the War Department's hands; so in every way PM views the inquiry as a victory for reaction.

Today's developments included the following miscellaneous items.

(a) AP reported that both the F.B.I. and the British Intelligence Service were being kept abreast of the investigation; that some American data had been stolen from the American-British-Canadian war secrets pool; that four tons of documentary evidence had already been accumulated; that one "high ranking Government

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

official" and a former member of W.I.B. were under arrest; that the probe began last fall.

(b) Renewed attacks in the Russian press on Mr. King were published (Times-Herald, Daily Worker, PM, etc.).

(c) PM carried the announcement that a public trial would be held, and also disclosed alleged Government plans for a very broad counter-espionage campaign, to which end the anti-Communist squad of the R.C.M.P. was to be increased.

(d) According to the Daily Worker, Byrnes' attempts to play down the spy scare were motivated "by the fear of moral indignation against espionage" - which would cross up the Administration's plans to increase the United States Secret Service system.

Editorial comment.

Defenders of Canada against the Moscow protest were quick to point out that "the political charges which the Russians make are intended to confuse the issue and make capital out of it" (Cleveland Plain Dealer). The Philadelphia Inquirer continues in the same vein while the Atlanta Journal contrasts the Russian diatribe with Canadian restraint: "In nothing that the Ottawa authorities said or did was there a touch of anti-Russian propaganda". Other papers (Chicago Daily News, Louisville Courier-Journal, Baltimore Sun) labelled the 'vitriolic' attack on Canada as 'preposterous', 'immature' and 'childish'. A number of editors saw the Moscow reply as a first step in "bringing out into the open" the whole matter of diplomatic and military secrecy (Chicago Sun, Dallas Morning News), and, claims the Detroit Free Press, "the plain inference to be drawn is that it is time for at least the Big Three----to get together for a session of plain speaking". The Daily Worker

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

not unexpectedly agreed with Moscow that "the spy scare was an effort to overcome the moral defeat suffered by the imperialist forces".

The note of hysteria prevailing in the editorials of a few days ago has been largely abandoned. Espionage activity of this sort is to be expected under existing circumstances, and the best thing we can do is to eliminate the secrecy surrounding the atomic bomb, claimed N.Y.H.T., Cincinnati Enquirer. If "the Great-Power espionage" is not stopped, says the Chicago Sun, we will have an atomic armament race "and the disaster which is the price of such a contest". Several editors believed that the general tension caused by the spy scare, among other things, was considerably lessened by Mr. Bevin's declaration of the inconceivability of an Anglo-Russian war (Denver Post, Hartford Times).

The particular concern of the United States in Russian espionage activities was far from forgotten. Drew Pearson confidently expects that "one or two State Department officials may be dropped", while Constantine Brown, among others, writes at length under the heading "Soviet agents roam United States unhampered". The Times-Herald characteristically continues to see the spy scare as a warning for the United States to arm herself - defensively of course - to the hilt. Wallace R. Duell of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, however, takes occasion to remark that "a sensational Red scare is building up - and being built up - here". He attributes the build-up to "Republicans looking for campaign material and professional Red-haters". Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274264

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

LONDON, February 26th, 1946.

NO. 573

No. 573. Top Secret. My telegram No. 526 of February 22nd. Reports on the leakage of secrets in Canada have almost ceased in British press. During last day or so several papers have noted Drew Pearson's statement that a British scientist had been arrested in London in connection with the case but "Telegraph" reportsthis morning that it had been stated at 10 Downing Street, that there was "absolutely no truth" in this report. "The Daily Worker" have had nothing to do with the whole affair since the Moscow note proved to their entire satisfaction that it was just an anti-Soviet manoeuvre.

2. There is still no significant editorial comment and the subject of relations with Russia continues to be discussed with only slight if any reference to disclosures in Canada.

3. The Ottawa statement on Saturday has had a very good effect in discouraging speculation and placing affair in its proper perspective as primarily a domestic problem. Unless there are exciting disclosures, the press here may wait patiently for the Royal Commission's report.

4. It would be helpful if Ottawa correspondents of other British papers could be guided into writing like "The Times" correspondent. "Observer" correspondent in Ottawa has expressed view that delay in issuing official news has had the deplorable affect of loosing sensational wave of rumour. "It is quite evident" he says "that some people have been talking freely to the press but the office of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs have

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274265

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

LONDON,

been meticulously discreet".

5. One senses a suspicion in some quarters here that this tiresome exacerbation of relations with the U.S.S.R. might have been inspired in some unknown way by the exigencies of Canadian domestic politics. "The Economist", for instance, indirectly associates the affair with such activities as the Dies Committee in the United States. This is neither a clearly defined nor a widely held view, but it is worth keeping in mind.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C274266

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN SOUTH AFRICA

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CODE

NO. 18

CAPETOWN, February 26th, 1946.

~~PRETORIA~~,

No. 18. February 26th. Reference your telegram No. 19 of February 23rd. So far as we have seen, no editorial comment in South African press on reports dealing with leakage of confidential information in Canada. The subject has been given prominence through publication of detailed news items, which have appeared in both pro and anti-Government papers, quoting agency reports. Nationalist organs have tended to give these more prominent headlines.

2. "Die Burger", in its foreign affairs review, suggests action taken by Canada may be connected with happenings at the recent United Nations Organization meeting in London, that Canadian Government wish to harm Soviet Government politically. It further suggests developments in Canada are part of a world-wide propaganda campaign against the Soviet Government.

3. Only editorial I have seen is of no significance.

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELETYPE C 274267

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON, February 27th, 1946.

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-942

WA-942. Following is further report (Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 6) on the press reaction in this country to the "spy-ring" story (February 25-26), Begins:

News treatment.

Coverage tapered off sharply in the last two days, following the Government's announcement. Yesterday's AP report, outlined in Supplement No. 5, appeared at varying length in Chicago Tribune (1/2 col.), Charlotte Observer (1/2 col. front page) Washington Evening Star (150 words), etc. New York Herald Tribune and Chicago Tribune were among those carrying UP's report of continued Soviet press attacks on Mr. King. Frontpaged as usual in the New York Journal-American was Michael Griffin's (INS) despatch from Ottawa, which quoted a diplomatic observer as saying that Canada had adopted a policy of "watchful waiting" in the "tense situation with Russia". The Government's attempts to play down the case as of purely domestic concern were, in this writer's view, proof that Canada was simply waiting to see if and when Russia would react further.

Today's New York and Washington papers failed to touch the subject. References appeared in PM's report that General Groves had been called to testify before the Atomic Energy Committee on the subject of safeguards. According to Senator Edwin Johnson (D. Col.) "the Canadian spy scare has had a very definite effect on the Atomic Committee's wish to strengthen secrecy and security regulations". In line with its previous position, the PM story claims that the alarm has undermined prospects of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274268

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Congress passing the McMahon Bill for Civilian Control of Atomic Energy.

Editorial Comment.

Editors appear to have tired of the nine days' spy wonder. A very large volume of grave comment, however, continues to discuss relations with Russia. The serious nature of the present international strain, pointed up by the spy news, provoked the following from Frederic S. Marquardt (Chicago Sun, February 24th): "..What was really exposed was the acute and growing hostility between Russia and Great Britain. Average American citizens wondered whether this country was again skirting the edge of a vast maelstrom which could only drag the United States into war." With more detailed reference to the Ottawa case, Carroll Binder in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune hotly defended the Canadian Government against Soviet charges, and like Marquis Childs was disquieted by the problem of dealing with a Communist fifth column in a democracy. His conclusion was idealistic - "The only enlightened course for our democracy is to strive to make it so attractive and worthwhile for every one of its citizens that partisans of anti-democractic regimes cannot destroy it from within or from without. At the same time, we must strive to create a world political order in which there is no more war, least of all an ideological war." Ends.

Further reports will be sent if and when coverage increases.

CANADIAN. AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

C 274269
RC/E 514

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER-PUBLEX

NO. 82

PARIS. February 27th, 1946.

No. 82. Confidential. Reference your telegram No. 75, February 23rd.

Paris press comment on investigation has considerably died down. In an editorial February 21st, Le Monde noted that United States was maintaining its recently adopted attitude of avoiding entanglements with Russia. It stressed the difference in methods of atomic warfare and asks disparagingly whether principle of educative security will be accepted only after menace of the bomb has become a reality. L'Humanite continues to devote editorials to the affair and advances theory that Britain, disappointed by lack of United States support at United Nations Organization, tries to put pressure on State Department by stirring up United States opinion against Russia. But Moscow's unexpected and pointed answer will teach Bevin that next time he should choose "un plus malin que M. King pour ses basses oeuvres". In Combat (February 25th) a special despatch by Carus from New York expresses theory that Big Three relations have, for past five months, been determined by vicissitudes of "the Canadian affair". Gosenko's arrest in September is connected with setback at London Conference. Prime Minister's informing President Truman of affair during Tripartite Conference resulted in decision not to pass bomb secret to Soviet Union. State Department's further study convinced it that whole affair had been grossly exaggerated, hence sharp change in United States diplomacy and calling of Moscow Conference December. Here the Soviet

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274270

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, PARIS

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

PARIS.

Ambassador, Ottawa, returned to Moscow and provided Byrnes with information claiming provocation by Intelligence Service was behind affair. Thus, article concludes, explains United States policy at United Nations Organization and why "Washington ne soutiendrait pas Ottawa".

LC
1-3-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

J. A. G.
12.3.46

E S P I O N A G E

Royal Commission of Enquiry
into unauthorized disclosures
of secret and confidential information.

CHRONOLOGY

1945

Sept. Disclosures by Ivor Gosenko, attache of Embassy of U.S.S.R. in Ottawa

Sept.27 Statement by Prime Minister in H. of C. (Hansard pp.513-515) (Exhibit Z)

Sept.29 Prime Minister left Ottawa for Washington.

Sept.30 Interview with President Truman at The White House.

October

1 Sailed from New York for Southampton

6 Order in Council P.C.6444 passed (Exhibit Y)

7 Arrived Southampton and proceeded to London and Chequers.

8 Interview with Lord Addison

11 Interview with Mr. Attlee

November

2 Interview with Mr. Attlee and Lord Addison

4 Sailed for New York from Southampton

9 Landed at New York

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J.4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274271A

November

10-15 In Washington

10 Interviews at The White House

13 " " " " "

14 " " " " "

15 Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy

17 Arrived in Ottawa

Dec. 7 - E.K. Williams reports to Gen on the Gouzenko case

1946

Feb. 5 Order in Council P.C.411 appointing Commissioners to report on public officials and others in positions of trust communicating information inimical to the safety and interests of Canada to agents of a foreign power (Exhibit X)

Feb.15 Statement by Prime Minister of disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons (Exhibit A)

Feb.18 Washington press despatch stated no denial by the Soviet Embassy there of existence of espionage operations (Exhibit F)

Feb.18 Statement by Joseph E. Davies (former Ambassador) that "Russia in self-defence has every right to such atomic bomb secrets through military espionage if excluded from such information by her former fighting allies" (Exhibit H)

Feb.20 Official statement broadcast by Moscow radio declaring Canada's attitude "incompatible with normal relations between the two countries" (Exhibits E1, E2, E3, J)

March 4 First (interim) report of Royal Commission (Exhibit W)

" 14 Second

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274272 Secret NAR/ET

16 March, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: Important R

I enclose:-

(1) Some notes which you might find useful in preparing your speech on Monday.

(2) Translation of a very detailed statement by Gousenko recounting his movements from the time he left the Soviet Embassy for the last time on the evening of September 5th until the morning of September 7th when he told his story to the R.C.M.P.

I think this simple and very circumstantial account of how Corby spent those two days is intrinsically a more valid and significant document than the formal statement of his reasons for acting which I sent you yesterday. If you think of reading this statement into the record, pretty careful consideration would have to be given to two or three points:-

(a) Corby refers in para.2 to his fear lest there might be a NKVD agent in the R.C.M.P.

(b) Corby refers to his waiting for two hours in the outer office of the Minister of Justice on the morning of September 6th. I think, if you did quote the statement, you would have to interpolate at this point a reference to Mr.St.Laurent's conversation with us and our incredulity that there could be any substance to the fantastic story he was trying to tell. I think you might have to say that in the circumstances as we could see them at that time, we had no option but to advise him to go back to his Embassy, especially since, from what we had heard of his appearance and manner, he was greatly overwrought and might be suffering from a nervous breakdown.

(c) In the penultimate paragraph on page 2, there is a reference to "the dossier of Sam Carr". Carr's name has not yet been introduced into the reports of the Commission, though he is referred to indirectly in the report on the Shugar case.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Unless it should be decided over the weekend to arrest Sam Carr at once, it would probably be advisable to leave that sentence out of any reading of Corby's statement.

(d) In Corby's account of the night of Sept.6th he gives the names of six officers and employees of the Soviet Embassy. Of these only Rogov and Angelov have been named in the Commission's reports and it therefore might be undesirable to publish this further list of employees involved, and all the names might be omitted.

All these particulars of Corby's odyssey were brought out in his examination before the Commission except the fact that he had endeavoured to see the Minister of Justice. I see no harm in referring to his efforts to see the Minister of Justice, particularly if you decide to supplement this part of Corby's story with information which he did not have as to the reasons why he was unable to see Mr.St.Laurent.

If you decide to read the statement with the omissions I suggest, it would be advisable to preface it by informing the House that you are reading a translation of the entire statement except for the omission or two or three very brief passages in which persons were named who have not as yet been named in the reports of the Royal Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Igor Gousenko:

The first information the Government had on the espionage network now being investigated by a Royal Commission was given to officials of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on the 7th of September last by a Mr.Igor Gousenko. Mr.Gousenko stated that he wished an opportunity to disclose to the Canadian authorities the existence of a dangerous conspiracy against the security of Canada, a country which he had come to admire. Mr.Gousenko had for two years been in the employ of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa as cypher clerk of the Military Attache.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274275

Gousenko's motives

Mr.Gousenko's motives in coming voluntarily to the Canadian authorities to make these startling disclosures were to warn the Canadian people of a conspiracy which threatened their interests. Mr.Gousenko said that during the past two years he had come greatly to respect the Canadian people and the democratic way of life and he did not like to see this way of life threatened. Mr.Gousenko also felt that the maintenance of this secret conspiracy directed against Canada was contrary to the best interests of the Russian people,and for this reason too he desired to expose it.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274276

morning of Sept 7

When Mr.Gousenko arrived in the Justice Building on the morning of September 7th he was in a highly agitated condition, as he feared that his life was threatened. Above all, he seemed concerned lest he should die before he had a full opportunity to transmit the information and documents which he possessed and, as he put it, to warn the Canadian authorities and people of what was going on.

Documents brought by Gousenko.

Mr.Gousenko brought with him a number of documents from the secret files of the Soviet Military Attache. These documents included the originals of secret telegrams sent to Moscow by the Military Attache, (1) telegrams to Colonel Zabotin under the covering name of "Grant" sent from Moscow by a person called the "Director", and (2) other documents including original reports in the hand-writing of certain Canadian officials, disclosing secret and confidential information from Canadian Government files. Examination proved beyond question the authenticity of these documents which Mr.Gousenko had brought with him to support his allegations. (3)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The disclosures which Mr.Gousenko made at that time were profoundly disturbing,and we were naturally reluctant to believe them. However preliminary investigation corroborated beyond the shadow of a doubt the substance of Mr.Gousenko's general allegations regarding the existence of a secret espionage organization.

This faced us with the very difficult problem of deciding what action should be taken. I think the House will appreciate the reluctance which the Minister of Justice and I felt in approaching so unpleasant a task. But there were only two alternatives -- to take effective action, or to take no action. To allow the network to continue its operations and its attempt to expand was obviously intolerable. Distasteful as it inevitably is,there was no other course possible than that which we took, to carry out a thorough and impartial investigation.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274278

Methods:

This brought us to a consideration of methods whereby we could best clean our house. I need hardly stress the caution needed. There is perhaps no form of crime more difficult to prove than secret conspiracy. The fact that the object of this particular conspiracy was to steal not material chattels but vital information increased the difficulty of obtaining the necessary evidence. Moreover, since the national interest and good government of Canada were involved, it was obviously essential to remove all agents of this network from positions of trust in the Canadian public service. It was, therefore, necessary to avoid partial action which, while adequate to apprehend one or two agents, would in all probability serve to put other and perhaps more dangerous agents on their guard and to remove the possibility of full discovery of their operations. It was this overriding consideration which determined the unusual methods which were reluctantly adopted to protect Canada's interests.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

I must emphasize that our methods of investigation had to be determined by the overriding objective, which was to get to the bottom of this conspiracy, and to uncover all members of the Canadian public service who were involved in it. We realized that this would be no easy thing. We realized that there were certain members of the network whom it would be essential but difficult for us to identify. It was probable that interrogation of certain members of this network would lead to the uncovering of additional members. It was also clear that if the first interrogation of known agents were to be held otherwise than in camera or if the persons so interrogated were not to be prevented temporarily from communicating with other members of the organization, than in all probability we would never get to the bottom of the matter.

It was our clear duty to this House, and to the people of Canada, to deal with this conspiracy in the only way calculated to assure the discovery and dismissal of all in the Canadian public service who were shown to be involved.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Much preliminary investigation was necessary. This was put in hand at once. It will be appreciated that this preliminary investigation had to be carried on secretly and with unusual circumspection so that members of the organization -- both those whom we had identified and those whose identity was not clear to us -- should not be put on their guard until we were ready to take action.

All this took much time.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

It was nevertheless also essential that we be prepared should need arise to act quickly and at any moment to apprehend known members of the network if this was necessary to prevent further serious disclosures of important information.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

6-m Council 6 Oct No 6444

Since, to protect the public interest, we might have been forced at any time to take immediate action, an Order-in-Council was enacted giving the Minister of Justice the necessary authority. In these circumstances the House will not fail to appreciate the absolute necessity we were under to keep the existence of this Order-in-Council, No.6444 of 6th October,1945,temporarily secret pending the progress of preliminary investigations.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274283

visit to U.S. U.K

I should add also that last autumn I informed the President and Secretary of State of the United States, and the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, of what had been disclosed to us in Canada. I felt it my duty to inform the United Kingdom and the United States Governments of this matter in view of the joint interest which they had with us in some of the secret and confidential information sought, and in some cases obtained, by the network in Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

O-u-C re Royal Commn

By the early part of February of this year our preliminary investigations had reached a stage at which we felt it essential to take more decisive action in order that a full investigation could be made.

An Order-in-Council, No.411 of 5th February, 1946, was therefore enacted. Under this Order a Royal Commission was set up to investigate fully the circumstances of this conspiracy. The Hon.Robert Taschereau and the Hon.R.L.Kellock, both Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, were appointed Commissioners for this purpose.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Statement issued at time of detention of 13 persons

On the 14th February the Commissioners, after a full examination of Gousenko, recommended to the Minister of Justice that he issue orders under the power vested in him by Order-in-Council PC-6444 for the temporary detention of eleven men and two women for the purposes of interrogation by the Commission. These orders were issued and the thirteen persons detained on 15th February.

On that same day I made public a statement which has been tabled in Parliament, together with other documents relating to the establishment and activities of the Royal Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274286

Re Civil Liberties

I have taken note with gratification of the widespread concern shown in Canada over the civil liberties aspect of the action taken. This surely is gratifying proof of the vitality of our democratic faith. It was only on the advice of the eminent jurists who sit on the Royal Commission that the extraordinary powers granted to the Government during the war were employed. This advice was tendered by the Commissioners only after they had completed their examination of Mr.Gousenko and the documents which he produced and were,therefore,in a position to propose in full knowledge the procedure which ought to be pursued to ensure the success of the enquiry. At the end of their second interim report the Commissioners state that some of the basic purposes of the enquiry would be entirely defeated if those detained under P.C.6444 were allowed communication with outsiders, or between themselves, until their investigation had been completed by the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

re Employment Service C274287

Honourable Members will notice that the first interim report submitted by the Royal Commissioners named four persons, and that the second interim report names four additional persons. These persons have been charged in the ordinary criminal courts and await trial. They have every facility given by our laws to accused persons to defend themselves, including the right of trial by jury if they so elect, and the right to employ legal counsel. Before the Commission reported adversely on any of these persons each had an opportunity if he or she so desired to produce any evidence in defence or in mitigation and an opportunity to have advice of counsel and to have, if they wished, counsel appear for them before the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Signpiner & Analysis Counsel

The Royal Commissioners are both Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada. The Counsel they have appointed to assist them include Mr.E.K.Williams,K.C.,of Winnipeg, President of the Canadian Bar Association, and Mr.G.Fauteux,K.C.,Montreal,Honorary Secretary of the Canadian Bar Association.

I need hardly emphasize the qualifications of these persons to investigate fully and impartially on behalf of the people of Canada a matter such as this,while at the same time protecting the legal rights and interests of individuals concerned.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that this investigation has been undertaken,not to infringe on our liberties,but to protect them.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274289

Importance to British Canadian
democratic State

I assure the House that nothing could be more distasteful to me personally and to my colleagues in the Cabinet than anything like the much trumpeted and melodramatic purge trials which seem periodically to characterize totalitarian societies.

But I must say too that equally distasteful, and happily impossible under our laws and traditions of personal freedom, would be the secret and unexplained dismissal of public servants, or the arrest and punishment, without due process of law, of Canadian citizens. I think that the record of successive Canadian Governments over the past several decades proves our devotion to those principles of liberty and democracy which are abiding glories of our civilization. It is precisely because of that devotion that we realized, and accepted, our duty to protect the security and integrity of our free and democratic society against those who would threaten it from without or within.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274290

Re Branding with matter Secrecy

Once it had been decided to take action to put a stop to this conspiracy-- and the gravity of the matter made this decision inevitable-- then it followed that the existence of this conspiracy must become a matter of public knowledge. It may be possible in a totalitarian society to dismiss public servants, and to lay criminal charges against them in full secrecy. These things are not possible in a country such as Canada, where the individual enjoys the protection of our democratic laws and institutions. To have attempted to deal in secrecy with the dismissals from public service and probable arrests and criminal prosecutions which this conspiracy necessitated would, I say, have been both illegal and also a cowardly avoidance of the responsibilities of government.

There is a distinction which I must make here between the suggestion of those who would have had us hush this whole matter up--a course

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

which is as I have stated quite impossible--
and the temporary secrecy surrounding the
detailed day to day work of the Royal Commission
investigating the matter. The Royal Commissioners
have decided, in their discretion, that their
proceedings shall be held in camera. This they
consider necessary in order that they may get
expeditiously to the bottom of the conspiracy.
In addition to this, it may be that a small amount
of secret and purely technical information,
which has to be examined by the Royal Commissioners
in connection with their enquiries into the
objects sought by the network, may have to
remain secret in the national interest.

But I can assure this House
that it is the intention of the Government
that the fullest possible reports of the
investigation now taking place will be made
public as soon as is humanly possible.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274292

Re Smuts Memorial

I should like to make one further observation on the suggestion that matters like this should have been hushed up. Such a course, I say, would not only have been impossible: it would have been a disservice to the cause of democracy.

In a society such as ours, with free institutions, it is public opinion which determines, and will continue to determine, national policy and the course of history. He who would deprive the people of significant and important facts, would deprive them of the means of forming accurate judgments of the realities in which we live.

There are nations whose governments form their policies in secret, and then mold their peoples to them by a process of censorship, propaganda, and direction of all the channels of information.

Democracy is not so. A democratic people must face realities, unpleasant as well as pleasant. Those who deplore distasteful truths should take steps to remove distasteful facts, not to suppress awareness of them. Illusion is perhaps the only danger which could be mortal to our society of free men.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

re taking up with Moscow

I should not perhaps pass over without mention the assertion made in the Soviet statement issued in Moscow on February 20th to the effect that they were surprised that the Canadian Government did not first take up with them through diplomatic channels the subject matter of this investigation. The answer is perhaps obvious, but nevertheless I think that it ought to be made. What is being investigated by the Royal Commission is the misconduct of Canadians. It is true that this misconduct is interlocked with the actions of certain Soviet officials in Canada. It would be strange doctrine, however, to argue that because Canadian citizens are to be charged with criminal acts which touch on their relationship with officials of a foreign government, the foreign government must first be consulted before steps can be taken to remove the Canadian public servants involved from positions of trust.

Russia other side

view of Russia home -
documents - fabrications

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RCIF V14

TELETYPE C 274294

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-1263

WASHINGTON, March 19th, 1946.

WA-1263. Following is Press Analysis Report No. 29, Supplement No. 12, on Canada "spy ring" story for the period March 16th-March 18th.

News Treatment

In addition to examples given in the last report, Friday's press from every region frontpaged the arrest of Fred Rose and charges against the four scientists - e.g., Philadelphia Inquirer, Kansas City Star, Chicago Sun, Chicago Tribune, Denver Post, Minneapolis Tribune, Atlanta Journal, Memphis Commercial-Appeal, etc., etc. Outstanding exceptions were a few large mid-west dailies - Des Moines Register, Chicago Daily News, Indianapolis Star - which failed to cover the story. In general, despatches were published at considerable length, either a full column and a half, frequently with two column headings. Chicago Tribune accorded its special by Eugene Griffin - which scarcely differed from the AP version - the place of honour as a front page leader. Splashiest coverage, however, appeared not unexpectedly in the New York Journal-American (Hearst) with a dynamic red-letter bannerline, a four-column story including a large picture of Fred Rose, and topping this in prominent black type, the statement that some witnesses acknowledged a loyalty which took priority over the loyalty owed by them to their own country. This was headed, "How many of these are in United States?". Despite the absence of confirmation, the legend persists that the atom secret is out - as evidenced in the Atlanta Journal's headline referring to Dr. Boyer's confession - "Canada scientist admits giving Reds atom secret."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274295

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Follow-up stories in the Sunday press were scattered and not particularly prominent. AP despatches were concerned mainly with the fact that Mr. Rose was out on bail, was expected to take up his seat on Monday against a lively barrage of demands that his privileges be suspended until the trial was over. Also prominent was Mr. Coldwell's query concerning the propriety of arresting an M.P. and the Prime Minister's defence of this act on grounds that the case concerned the safety of the state and that failure to indict Mr. Rose might be prejudicial to the case against Mr. Boyer. More than one despatch pointed out that Mr. King "spoke with emotion" in placing the report before the House, and "almost shouted" when he read the statement concerning a loyalty beyond patriotism. This statement has been seized upon by members of the Un-American Activities Committee, the Military Affairs Sub-Committee of the Senate, and such arch-conservatives as Senator Wherry, to reinforce their demands for a thorough house-cleaning of the State Department. New York Journal-American reporter James Lee assembled their shocked demands for an expose.

Tim Buck's protest merited a quarter of a page in the Daily Worker, a paragraph in the Washington Evening Star and elsewhere.

Carried by the Atlanta Journal and New York Journal-American was a UP report of the 16th predicting an imminent severance of Russo-Canadian diplomatic relations. "Members of neutral Embassies" were said to have pointed out that "public disclosure by Canada of confidential Russian Embassy despatches was a move without precedent between friendly Governments." The denial that any break was in the offing, put out by Department of External Affairs and carried by UP and INS on the following day, had fairly extensive distribution including

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274296

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Evening Star, Cincinnati Enquirer, New York Journal-American, etc., etc. In addition, P.J. Philip's story pointed out that "although several members of the Soviet Embassy, who are still here, are now known to have been involved in the espionage net, no action will be taken against them and there is no question of breaking relations with Moscow."

Today's coverage has been sparse, confined to the announcement that Mr. King would make a "full report" today on the investigation, the reasons for secrecy, and the present Canadian attitude to Russia in view of the Russian espionage attempts.

Comment.

Editorial pages have so far failed to comment on this latest development. A gallup poll of interest appeared in Sunday's papers, however, claiming that as a result of the spy scare, 50 percent of Canadian voters - the largest percentage of four countries polled - believed that Russia was out to dominate the world.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274297 RC/E 5/14

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET

CYPHER-PUBLEX

LONDON, March 19th, 1946.

NO. 760

No. 760. Secret. My telegram No. 745 of March 16th, leakage of secrets.

Statement yesterday on espionage reached some United Kingdom papers too late for more than stop press notices.

Daily Mail and News Chronicle cover it with front page streamer headlines. Emphasis in all reports is placed on statement that it was "most serious situation" which had ever arisen, and on the warnings carried to Attlee and Truman. Press is showing considerable curiosity about so-called "secret visit" to England and we are referring them to the published details of the visit last autumn.

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

RC 1E V1C

TELETYPE

C 274298

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

WASHINGTON, March 20th, 1946.

TELETYPE

WA-1269

WA-1269. Confidential. Following is the text of Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 13, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy on press reaction to the Canadian "Spy Ring" story, Begins:

March 18th - 19th.

News treatment.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's "long-awaited" statement to the House on the spy investigation brought the story once more into the limelight. New York Herald Tribune and Baltimore Sun of to-day made the AP version their front page leader, headlines proclaiming that Canada was used as a Russian spy ring and Fifth Column base from which to ferret out United States and British military secrets. Stories prominently placed on front pages of Times-Herald and Washington Post also emphasized this alarmist angle - e.g., "Reds spied on United States from Canada base, says Premier King" (Times-Herald). New York Times more temperately introduced P.J. Philip's report with "Fifth Column seen in Canada's hunt for Russia's spies". PM, significantly, ignored the statement, and the Daily Worker carried only a brief despatch.

Other aspects of Mr. King's speech which attracted particular attention in the AP text were:

(1) His statement in reply to the League for Canadian-Soviet Friendship that the espionage ring had been in operation for three or four years before the policy of the atom bomb secrecy had been decided upon;

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

(2) Disclosure of his urgent trips to Washington to confer with the President on the spy problem, and the story of one scientist's intercepted visit to a Soviet agent in London last October;

(3) His defence of the method of enquiry, and the cloak of secrecy, which, while it hampered him in making information public, was "aimed at permitting the detention of the greatest number of agents" who were endangering national security, and putting an end to the intolerable situation of having civil servants giving secret information to foreign agents;

(4) Mr. Gouzenko's motive in touching off the enquiry - Washington Post boxed his claim, widely noted elsewhere, that he had been moved by the spectacle of Canadian freedom, particularly free elections, and that he had made the disclosures to the Canadian Government under the impression that he was acting in the best interests of both peoples.

Fairly prominent in all despatches, and particularly stressed by P.J. Philip, was the Prime Minister's appeal for friendly relations with Russia. Correspondents noted the claim that at one time Mr. King had considered approaching Stalin himself in the belief that he "would not countenance action of this kind"; mentioned the Russian recall of Zabotin because his activities were "inadmissible", and Mr. King's appeal to those in "responsible positions" not to countenance the rumour that Canada would sever diplomatic relations with Russia. The story that Gouzenko had "almost been unable to get a hearing" (Philip) and had at one point been advised to take his documents and return to the Russian Embassy, stressed the caution with

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

which the Government had proceeded. "What (Mr. King) wanted to do now" added Philip, "was to unearth what might be wrong, clear the air and start again on the task of furthering to the utmost friendly relations with the Russian people, who could not be blamed for what a small group of people had plotted and for what a number of Canadian people had done." Thus despatches gave the impression of a disarming and magnanimous speech, despite alarmist captions.

On the domestic side, the appetite for a spy probe continues to be fed by the conservative press. Rep. Mundt of the Un-American Activities Committee revealed that the Oak Ridge investigator had returned with a "hot clue" in the spy hunt, news which occasioned a glaring headline in the Philadelphia Inquirer. Under questioning, Mundt declared that he did not think the investigation, if carried out, would reach as far as members of Congress, as it had in Canada. At the same time, he demanded an enquiry into pro-Soviet members of the State Department, and a thorough screening of the American staff appointed to assist the UNO delegates, to make sure they represented "only American ideals". Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274301
RG/E J/4

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

SECRET LONDON, **March 20th, 1946.**

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 771

No. 771. Secret. Leakage of secrets.

Captain Blackburn is to ask the Prime Minister in the House of Commons tomorrow (Thursday) whether, in view of the exaggerated impression now prevailing as to the extent of espionage, he will issue a statement to make it plain that no more than a small fraction of the total of the secret United States and British information available with respect to atomic energy can have been involved. Consideration is now being given to the reply. We shall inform you as to the nature of this reply if it is available in time.

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274302
RCE

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

WASHINGTON, March 23rd, 1946.

TELETYPE

WA-1330

WA-1330. Following is the text of Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 14, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy, on press reaction in this country to the Canadian 'spy ring' story covering the period March 19th-March 21st, Begins:

News treatment

Evidently Mr. King's speech aroused nationwide interest, for coverage appears to have been on a dramatic scale from coast to coast. It is hardly surprising that his revelation of a very widespread Fifth Column and Russian espionage ring extending into the United States should have occasioned headlines in a number of cases (Detroit Free Press, Chicago Sun, Des Moines Register, Cincinnati Enquirer, Chicago Tribune), and was the most frequently stressed angle in papers which treated the story in a less sensational way (Minneapolis Tribune, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Boston Globe, Memphis Commercial-Appeal, Hartford Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Evening Star, etc). Details intensified the serious nature of the disclosures, as correspondents pictured the Prime Minister's "solemn" demeanour, his "grave concern" over the situation which UP described as the most serious in Canada's history, the "tense House" which listened to his words. A few of the evening papers chose to stress the urgency of the situation by playing up Mr. King's trip to London for the purpose of frustrating an espionage link-up - e.g., Omaha World-Herald and a sensational red-letter headline in New York Journal-American "King Raced To Save Atom", with immediate sub-heading "Fears Leak

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

To Reds". It was emphasized in the Chicago Tribune that this was the first "top-level" accusation of Russia with the headline "Premier Accuses Russia In Commons". On the other hand, there was a fair-sized group, including curiously enough the anti-Soviet Denver Post and Washington News, who commanded attention by proclaiming that "Canada Hopes To Avoid An Open Break With Reds" (Atlanta Journal), "Canada To Keep On Good Terms With Russians" (Buffalo Evening News), "Mackenzie King Hopes To Salvage Russian Relations Despite Spying" (Washington News). A full-inch bannerline in the Bay City Times added emphasis to this point. There was also occasional prominent mention (e.g., Denver Post, Christian Science Monitor) of the fact that Mr. King believed Stalin to be innocent of blame in the spy plot.

The debate in Parliament following Mr. King's address attracted very little notice. David Nichol sent a story headed "Spy-Jittery Canadians Hope United Nations Organization Is Success" which appeared in Buffalo Evening News, Chicago News, etc., wherein he describes the "awesome realization among people (in Ottawa) of the position into which Canada has been projected in international affairs." Solon Low's demand for a purge, and his attack on the Government for allowing Communist infiltration into the Civil Service, appeared in the Washington News, David Nichol's column, Kansas City Star and the New York Journal-American. The latter frontpaged a story by Michael Griffin which quoted a Canadian Government official as saying that all Communists and Communist sympathizers in the Government are to be dismissed when the spy trial is over.

Interest shifted to the London scene, and early reports of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Dr. Nunn May's trial have had extensive coverage. The letter written by General Groves, and read to the Atomic Energy Committee by Senator Hickenlooper, which admitted that Dr. May had more opportunity than any other British citizen to study the manufacturing process of the atomic bomb, and might have been able to transmit samples of plutonium and uranium to foreign agents, has focussed a good deal of attention on his case and on other espionage activities here. The prospect looms of immediate results in the shape of tightened anti-espionage laws.

Editorial comment

Comment has been scattered but in general full of alarm. The Hartford Times, one of the very few to remark on the speech as a whole, credited Mr. King with having handled "rather adroitly.... a critical situation". He "lays bare the damning evidence" continues the editorial, "but he avoids diplomatic crisis with Russia by stating that he does not believe Stalin knew of the Red espionage activities". This "level-headed attitude" of the Canadian Government, they felt, had averted the worst foreign relations crisis in Canada's history. Equally sympathetic was the Chicago Sun's view that the Prime Minister had "charted a moderate course for Canada" in recognizing that the espionage was largely the act of Canadian citizens and that "Canada was capable of handling the situation herself without precipitating an international incident which would complicate efforts to attain world peace and understanding." Not so the Christian Science Monitor, which felt that Mr. King had been guilty of inconsistency in his attitude, and demanded satisfaction for a

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

long list of queries on the "mysteries" surrounding the spy situation. Particularly, the Monitor wondered whether Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes had helped Mr. King time the release of the spy story - "Does that mean that they were afraid of injuring relations with Russia if it was exposed in October...but were willing to risk such injury in February?"

Bulk of the remaining comment was centered on the "Fifth Column" aspect of the statement. The Evening Star takes an approach characteristic of Conservative comment elsewhere - i.e., spying is an admitted and admissible activity, the really alarming part being that "the foreign agents allegedly were able to secure the co-operation of so many persons relatively high in the councils of the Dominion". Even supposing that the Fifth Column had had easier going in Canada than they would have under the nose of the F.B.I., the Star felt that the case pointed up the need for "a constantly vigilant counterespionage organization in time of peace as well as war". Charlotte Observer, Times-Herald, and Times-Herald columnists Frank Waldrop and John O'Donnell, joined in predicting hair-raising possibilities if pro-Communists were allowed to run free, and deplored the "it can't happen here" attitude of Washington officialdom. According to the Memphis Commercial-Appeal, to put persons holding Communist views like Fred Rose in positions of authority under a Democratic Government "ranks in wisdom right along with setting the cat to guard and protect the cream". Con Brown likewise took a grave view, hazarded the guess that "the gravest concern of the nuclear American Intelligence Services at this time is not our depleted military force but the activities of those who for ideological or other motives serve as agents for a foreign Power". The Saturday Evening Post rather belatedly jumped on Joe Davies for allowing Russia

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

C 274366

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

the "moral right" to spy on atom bomb secrets, claimed that Americans had at least as much right to show what curiosity they had about what was going on here.

On the Liberal side, Thomas Stokes warned against "loose talk and vague information" being spread around concerning Red infiltration into the State Department and other high places. The Washington Post was highly suspicious of the timing of the spy scare to coincide so exactly with the debate over military versus civilian control of atomic energy. According to their logic, General Groves' assertion that atomic secrets might have escaped through Dr. May while the project was under the General's own control, gravely weakened the military case, as well as the case for secrecy itself.

Walter Lippman contributed, in his current pessimistic vein, a thorough analysis of the bare facts of military security. Mr. King's statement on espionage, among other things, should, he felt, force the public and officials to face the fact that security based on exclusive possession of the atomic bomb was a false illusion. The only alternatives facing the United States at present were either an atomic war in the very near future, to wipe out potential enemies, or a thorough surrender to international political agreement. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274307 RCE/514

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

WASHINGTON, **March 27th, 1946.**

TELETYPE

WA-1382

WA-1382. Following is the text of Special Report No. 29, Supplement No. 15, covering the period March 23rd to March 26th, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy on press reaction to the "spy ring" story, Begins:

News Treatment.

That interest is still very widespread is evident from the way the press is keeping the Red spy inquiry before the public. Gouzenko's testimony in preliminary hearings was everywhere front-paged in Saturday's papers, headlined in Philadelphia Inquirer, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune, Bay City Times, Los Angeles Examiner. Succeeding events have been nosed off the front pages by the opening of the United Nations Organization Conference, but coverage remains constantly large if not keyed to so feverish a pitch.

Most newsworthy angle of Gouzenko's testimony, according to AP and UP accounts, was the revelation that Russian Secret Police were operating under the wing of the Military Attache of the Soviet Embassy, and that members of the Communist Party, among them an MP, had been used to recruit spies. "Canadian MP Branded Spy Recruiter" (banner headline in Philadelphia Inquirer) typified treatment of this story in a large number of cases. In the more anti-Russian papers the point was stressed that, according to Gouzenko's report, tentacles of the N.K.V.D. reached "everywhere". His training and experience as an intelligence agent, details of his accusations against Canadian agents and members of the Military Attache's staff, backed by authentic original documents, were cited

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274308

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

to support his testimony. Dispatches never failed to recount how the informer had been moved to approach the Canadian Government with his secret Embassy documents, - described in some cases how his voice, tinged with nervousness, grew strong and vigorous as he told how impressed he had been with the freedom of life in Canada and the spectacle of free elections. It would seem that correspondents particularly enjoyed this contrast with life in the Soviet Union where "you are not your own master".

Prominent in week-end coverage was the disclosure in authentic Russian documents - now for the first time placed on view - that Soviet espionage agents had sought atomic secrets many months before Hiroshima. This, as P.J. Philip pointed out, effectively disposed of the argument that Russian spying dated from our policy of secrecy on the atom bomb. The list of other secrets sought, including radar and a new explosive, was also a matter for remark. "Spy thriller" details of how the Canadian agents had received money from Russians at evening rendezvous on Ottawa street corners, and descriptions of the circumstances of the hearings, including how the defendants behaved and how the reporters were searched on entering the courtroom, added picturesqueness to correspondents' accounts.

Tuesday's press devoted moderate space to the news that a Canadian agent (assumed to be Fred Rose) had received orders from Moscow to get in touch with an unidentified American agent in Washington, for the purpose of obtaining atomic data. "Canadian MP Linked With Recruiting Of Soviet Spies In United States" read the Evening Star's heading, (similar coverage in New York Times, Baltimore Sun, Washington News, New York Herald Tribune, etc.)

P.J. Philip alone covered the "strong and well-received

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

protests" in Parliament against the exceptional methods used in arresting the spies and holding them incommunicado without benefit of "habeas corpus." He stressed that Minister St. Laurent had invited comment and criticism of the Government action, and that members of all parties had expressed the view that "the course taken must not become a precedent and that there must be no exception made to the liberty and rights of the individual as established in Magna Carta and habeas corpus". Philip also, in a Sunday article reviewing the whole history of the spy case and its effect in Canada, claimed that the "alien loyalty" issue had "profoundly moved this country, in which national consciousness and loyalty are relatively new developments". He points out that conflicting national loyalties have only recently merged into a "single Canadian patriotism which took its place in the free Commonwealth and in the World Organization of Nations"..... "Now suddenly and alarmingly there has developed evidence of a loyalty to a political doctrine and foreign national system that has nothing in common with Canadian liberty."

On the United States spy front interest centred around allegations by Ernie Adamson, Counsel for the Committee on Un-American Activities, that an atomic spy ring was known to exist but had been ignored by the Government; and Monsignor Sheen's comment to the press that a "full-fledged Russian agent" had been picked up in a Congressional Committee meeting last week in Washington. Refusing to elaborate, the Monsignor left Capitol ears buzzing with rumours. Reporters scurrying after clues came up with nothing but official denials that such an arrest had taken place.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Editorial comment.

Two comments from reactionary papers illustrate conflicting attitudes. Cynically, the Memphis Commercial-Appeal felt that "the greatly publicized Ottawa espionage scandal is neither particularly shocking nor revealing". International espionage in their view is a "dog eat dog" affair; what Russia was doing every nation in the world does; their greatest offence was in getting caught. Moral of the whole affair was "a warning....for Washington, Ottawa and London to keep their secrets well locked up, for if they don't somebody will get them." Chicago Tribune posed the issue as ideological, contributed an eulogy of Gouzenko for having seen the light and, despite personal danger and sacrifice, having dared to disclose his country's scandalous behaviour. With unusual magnanimity the Tribune exonerates the Russian people for tolerating Stalin's regime - "The Russians are victims, but not willing victims of the most unspeakable tyranny the modern world has known."

Times-Herald columnists Frank C. Waldrop and George Dixon both urged, as always, firm measures against Russia and domestic Communists. Waldrop told how, in Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in 1939, it had been revealed that Sam Carr had been receiving $1,000 a week from William Weiner, Treasurer of the Communist Party. He demanded an immediate inquiry into the whole affair and the books of the Communist Party in the United States. Dixon contrasted Russian bluntness with " the recent weaseling of Canadian Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King in discussing the Ottawa spy scandal. Mr. King, who is no mean hand at circumlocution, any time, really out-wiggled himself". He

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274311

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

scoffed at the idea that Stalin could have been ignorant of what his agents were doing and recommended strong and plain language in dealing with the Russians, or their "deputy lice" or "assistant scum" in this country.

Dorothy Thompson made a reference to the testimony of Canadian agents, that they had a "higher loyalty" than to the country of their citizenship, to illustrate the danger of Communism everywhere. Washington Post, with irritated liberalism, attacked Ernie Adamson and others of his ilk who would stifle atomic science at its birth by their spy mania, which, according to the Post, is scaring off scientists from further research. A contrast with the honoured position of scientists in England and Russia is drawn. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

TOP SECRET

AIR MAIL

CANADIAN LEGATION

C 274312

OSLO, March 28,1946

RCE 514

NO.68

Sir,

1. With further reference to my despatches Nos.10 and 17, of February 19 and 28 respectively, relative to atomic bomb espionage, I have the honour to report that up to the present there has not been the amount of editorial comment which one would expect on the subject.

2. Recently,however,the Morgenbladet,which is a Conservative newspaper and regarded by many as the most reliable in Oslo, featured a timely,well balanced and laudatory editorial entitled "The Espionage Affair in Canada."

3. The editorial declares that although the affair has been eclipsed by more acute problems,it has caused perhaps the darkest clouds in the international sky,and has given place to a feeling of insecurity. It quotes our Prime Minister,Mr.Mackenzie King,as saying that he felt it his duty to the Canadian and Russian people to expose the facts as they were known to him. Mention is made in particular of a Fifth Column ring in Canada which was used as a basis for espionage operations against the United States and Great Britain,and which preceded in point of time,the discovery of the atomic bomb. The latter statement,it goes on to say,refuted the argument of Soviet Russia that it had been "forced" to carry on espionage because the Western Allies kept the atomic bomb secret to themselves.

4. The editorial comments on the Canadian Prime Minister's comments as being very sober minded,and concludes by paying a very high tribute to the Canadian Government,for the able and restrained manner in which it has handled a very painful affair. "There can be," says Morgenbladet,"only one opinion as to the conduct shown by the Canadian Government authorities in this extremely painful affair. Considering how delicate the matter is,and the incalculable consequences resulting from a clumsy or challenging manner of handling the situation,the Canadians deserve all possible praise for their discreet conduct. Not all countries would have shown such self-control in a similar situation."

5. I am enclosing herewith an English translation of the editorial in question,in duplicate,to which is attached the corresponding clipping from Morgenbladet.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN D.KEARNEY

Minister for Canada in Norway

The Rt.Hon.the Secretary
of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

TRANSLATION C 274313

Editorial in "Morgenbladet", March 22.

THE ESPIONAGE AFFAIR IN CANADA.

Attempts are no longer made to make light of the atomic espionage in Canada. The affair may have been eclipsed by more acute problems, but it is still far from being brought to an end, and has perhaps caused the darkest clouds in the international sky. More than anything else, it has been conducive to a feeling of insecurity, and has sown the seed of suspicion between former allies.

On Monday Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, gave some supplementary information on the matter in the Canadian House of Commons. In plain language he stated that the affair "had caused a more serious situation for Canada than ever before", and he elucidated the information received from Igor Gouzenko, Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Ottawa. Gouzenko had declared that the free, human life lived in Canada had made a great impression on him, which together with the fact that Canada had fought on the side of the Allies, had made him feel that it was his duty towards both the Canadian and the Russian people to expose the facts as far as they were known to him.

One of Gouzenko's most important disclosures, said Mackenzie King, was the fact that a Fifth Column, led by Russian agents, had been formed in Canada, and that this Fifth Column had already been greatly extended. Gouzenko stated further that Soviet Russia used Canada as a basis for her espionage operations against the United States, as well as against Great Britain. This had been confirmed by the documents found in the Russian Embassy.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the first preliminary report of the Commission of Inquiry showed the gravity of the situation. It disclosed the extensive undergound net of spies which has been organised by the Russian Embassy in compliance with direct instructions from Moscow. This espionage started long before anyone had heard of the atomic bomb. Mackenzie King refuted the argument that Soviet Russia has been "forced" to carry on espionage because the Western Allies kept the atomic bomb to themselves. Mr. Mackenzie King stated that espionage activities had been carried on in Canada as far back as four years ago.

Otherwise, the statements of the Canadian Prime Minister were very sober-minded. He stated, for instance, that he was certain that Stalin would not forgive the Embassy for its underground activities in Canada. He stated further: "Some people may perhaps be of the opinion that we should break off our relations with Soviet Russia and request the Russian Government to recall its Embassy. I hope that no Canadians in responsible positions take this view".

There can only be one opinion as to the conduct shown by the Canadian Government authorities in this extremely painful affair. Considering how delicate the matter is, and the incalculable consequences resulting from a clumsy or challenging manner of handling the situation, the Canadians deserve all possible praise for their discreet conduct. Not all countries would have shown such self-control in a similar situation. Another side of the matter is, of course, that in a democratic country the various currents of opinion have every opportunity to be heard. In both Canada and the United States these exposures have led to energetic utterances of opinion to the effect that all communists must be removed from public positions where they are capable of securing secret information.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C74314 RCE/514

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER

WASHINGTON, March 29th, 1946.

TELETYPE

WA-1419

WA-1419. Following is the text of special report No. 29, supplement No. 16, covering the period March 26-28, prepared in the Press Analysis Section of this Embassy on press reaction to the "spy ring" story, Begins:

News Treatment

Press treatment of the spy case last Saturday effectively used Gouzenko's testimony to play up the infamy of Russian espionage. Sources such as Kansas City Star (INS) and Buffalo Evening News (AP) chose to stress Gouzenko's charges that Russia pursued a "two-faced" policy in fostering Soviet friendship organizations in other countries as a mask for the preparation of future events "which could be the grounds for war", and that Russia sought to "create confusion" among her Allies. (INS added a touching description of Gouzenko's "impassioned plea for the Canadian way of life as opposed to the Russian"). That Communist Party members served as agents and spy recruiters in Moscow's designs was of course dramatically underlined (as indicated in the last report). This emphasis has persisted in subsequent coverage. Evidence that Rose had been directed to line up agents in the United States brought alarmed captions in some of Tuesday's papers (e.g. Chicago Tribune). Also treated with special interest here was a UP report that Moscow had instructed its agents to seek information on United States troop movements to Europe and Asia (Hartford Times, Atlanta Journal, Bay City Times), and another story, also by UP, which played up the evidence that Moscow's demands had been "partially fulfilled"

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WA-1419

WASHINGTON,

by her agents in Canada. "Soviet Spies Win Success"read a caption in Minneapolis Tribune; "Canada's Top War Secrets Stolen" in Bay City Times. Some prominence was given Captain Gordon Lunan's citation for contempt of court in refusing to testify against Rose (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Times-Herald, Chicago Sun). The AP version quoted his reference to the inquiry as "this bizarre case".

Interest continued at a high pitch with Dr. Boyer's testimony that he had willingly given secrets of the new R.D.X. explosive to Rose because "he was anxious to do what he could to have the Soviet Union obtain the process officially from Canada". Much was made of his admission that he "wanted to help the Soviet Union" and that, though he was deceived into believing that there was a Soviet Technical Mission in Canada, he was not ignorant of Rose's political affiliation nor of the ultimate destination of the information he transmitted. This was the burden of AP, UP, INS reports which appeared fairly prominently in East Coast papers of the 27th. P.J. Philip added more details with liberal quotations from Mr. Brais summing-up for the prosecution. Widely noted was the decision that a prima facie case had been made against Rose, that he was to be given the opportunity to make a "voluntary statement" on Thursday, and that a date had been set for preliminary hearings in Boyer's case.

Implication of Arthur Steinberg, a United States citizen, in the spy plot, attracted special attention in the N.Y. Journal-American; an INS story quoted a passage of Boyer's testimony saying "there is no doubt that Russian espionage is more widespread in the States than it is in Canada, despite our current investigation .. the F.B.I. agents in Washington could nab (Steinberg)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

without trouble because he is in Washington. I do not know why the F.B.I. does not pick him up". In addition, the story of how Sam Carr received $10,000 in payments from William Weiner, Treasurer of the Communist Party, in 1939, appeared in Hearst and Scripps-Howard columns of yesterday.

Feverish excitement was whipped up by news of the arrest of a Russian "atom spy" in Seattle. Headlines appeared in the more sensational papers, frequently linked with anti-Russian treatment of the Iranian crisis in UNO. Lt. Redin, dispatches claimed, had been commissioned by Moscow to "obtain plans, documents and writings relating to the United States "Yellowstone", a destroyer tender. AP however hinted at a connection with the atom bomb tests, and despite the fact that the F.B.I. refused to comment on any possible connection the arrest might have with the Canadian espionage case, and Gouzenko's list of agents did not include Redin's name (Times-Herald), the link-up between this and the Canadian spy story persists in press treatment. To-day's AP report declared that Chairman John S. Wood of the House Un-American Activities Committee" said a Committee representative would confer with Canadian officials on any "interlocking activities" between reported attempts to obtain American atomic bomb secrets and alleged Soviet espionage in Canada." Christian Science Monitor's correspondent, Neal Stanford, describes the arrest of the Soviet officer as "the first official acknowledgment here that a Moscow spy ring may have been operating in the United States as well as in Canada". "It is apparent", the article continues, "that new concern has developed among Congressmen and Government officials over the security of American

S

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

Secrets. President Truman's assurance that the nation's security is airtight against foreign spies is being questioned." Stanford feels that in the light of developments in Canada and also Brazil, revealing Communist loyalty to Russia, "the dissolution by the Kremlin of the Communist International appears more and more to be a matter of form and not substance." By way of contrast, the Daily Worker, on the authority of a Soviet Consulate official in San Francisco, declared that Redin's arrest was a "frame-up" and "the beginning of a nationwide Soviet spy hysteria in which the State Department is calling the shots". Redin, they claimed, was not trying to leave the country at all but was picked up in the vicinity of a ship "to which he was attached as an officer". True to its doctrine, the article ends "an 'anti-Red drive' against Americans, the Canadian spy scare, and the arrest of Soviet representatives is calculated to fit into a pattern for imperialist war against the Soviet Union and the popular Democracies of Europe." An adjacent story claims that the RCMP secret Soyer admitted having handed to Rose, had been published several years ago in a book by William Haynes called "The Chemical Front, in 1943".

Editorial Comment

Amid the general outcry against Russia, conservative comment continues to cite the Canadian espionage case as an example of Soviet secret tactics and a warning against the dangers of Communist infiltration (New York Journal-American, Detroit Free Press). Public sentiment, perhaps influenced by the spy scare, appears to be growing in favour of an expanded United States intelligence system to operate in peace-time. A recent Gallup poll showed 77% pro. Ends.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274318

~~Outs~~ RCE/574

CONFIDENTIAL

CANADIAN LEGATION

No. 39

Havana; April 1, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to report on the reaction of the Cuban press to Canada's spy case.

2. From the outset all newspapers, excepting the Communist organ "Hoy", gave full coverage to the Associated Press and United Press reports on the investigations. The Prime Minister's original statement, the interim reports of the Royal Commission, and reports on the preliminary trial hearings were considered such good news copy that they regularly made the front page. During his recent visit to Havana Mr. Blanchette of the Canadian Information Service asked one editor what sort of information about Canada he would like. He said "We'll take anything about spies or atoms". This reply is typical of the attitude of the Cuban press to Canada's spy case. It was a first class news story. And although certain parallels might have been drawn between the activities of certain officials of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa and their colleagues in Havana, I was surprised that there was no editorial comment on the case in any of the large newspapers, except "Hoy".

3. "Hoy", the organ of the avowedly communist Popular Socialist Party, carried none of the reports from Canada, only the text of Radio Moscow's first reply. It followed this with an editorial on February 22, entitled "The Anti-Soviet Provocation of Canada" which followed and embellished the Moscow Radio line. I am attaching an English translation of this editorial. On succeeding days "Hoy's" fanatical but grossly uninformed cartoonist depicted Prime Minister King manipulating by strings puppet doll spies for his own amusement, and John Bull painting a great billboard with the Canadian spy case to try to hide his imperialistic activities in Jamaica, Egypt and Indonesia. I am attaching copies of these cartoons.

4. On March 16 the United Press sent out a flash from Ottawa stating, "The rupture of Russo-Canadian diplomatic relations is expected in neutral diplomatic circles in Canada due to the publicity given in Canada to the confidential despatches of the Russian Embassy.... It is believed in these same circles that the attitude adopted by Canada in giving publicity to these despatches is without precedent between friendly governments." This sensational report brought out banner headlines in some of the papers, witness the attached clipping from "El Crisol" of March 16 which carried in 1-1/2 inch type the two line streamer: "Rupture Imminent Between Canada and the U.S.S.R."

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
O t t a w a, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

5. The Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons placing the spy investigations in their proper perspective in relation to Canadian-Soviet relations was meagerly reported because it was not sensational.

6. Although this unbalanced reporting of the investigation of espionage activities in Canada is being watched with interest by the Legation, I have refrained, of course, from offering any public or private comment on the matter.

7. Copy of this despatch is being sent to Washington and all our Latin American missions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) Emile Vaillancourt

Canadian Minister to Cuba.

COPY

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

CANADIAN LEGATION
HAVANA, CUBA

C 274320

TRANSLATION

Clipping from NEWSPAPER "HOY", FEBRUARY 22, 1946.

THE ANTI-SOVIET PROVOCATION OF CANADA

The Soviet government has strongly denounced that it calls an anti-Soviet fake perpetrated by the Canadian government. As we understand from the beginning, the fictitious statement given publicity by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mackenzie King, has not been and is not anything but a monstrous provocation to justify political attitudes in the Canadian government, in the English and probably in the North-American.

There has not been such espionage. A comedy has been begun to make a fuss over the heavy bag of Soviet employee of a minor category, in order to make him a victim of a provocation and, after, to present the case as a truculent act of espionage. This is not new in the history of the international relations of recent times.

When we read the cables these days, we cannot but remember the gigantic and treacherous provocation that the English reaction concoted in 1924, when they impudently made up a supposed Soviet letter and presented it to the public as the truth. In this letter, the USSR was represented as a seditious organization in England. And its object, as it was clearly seen after, was to favour the triumph of the Conservatives in some elections and to create the atmosphere for imperialistic intervention which was being prepared against the young revolutionary State.

And if we look for other similar facts, we can remember the well-known fire of the Reichstag, set by Goering to justify the destruction of democracy in Germany, a crime that the real incendiary confesses now in front of the Tribunal at Nuremberg. We could also mention the brutal setting of the bomb in the Sofia Cathedral, put by a fascist government who wanted to justify the fury of a brutal repression, blaming it on the Bulgarian communists.

Mackenzie King wanted, it is certain, as the Soviet note says, to help his English coassociates who are facing now not only the accusations made by the USSR in the UNO, but also the awakening of the people oppressed by British imperialism: India, Egypt, Lebanon, Burma.

For the danger of this unworthy scheme, because it is - as has been seen in the hysteric manifestations of American, Canadian and English newspapers, the basis for stirring up an aggressive war against the USSR, which is now being prepared, for all this and all it implies, we must denounce the provocation and be on our guard to defend not only a country unjustly attacked but the interests of all humanity who desire peace and liberty.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C274321 RC/E 514

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

NO. 895 LONDON, April 5th, 1946.

No. 895. My telegram No. 760 of March 19th. Leakage of secrets.

Daily Telegraph correspondent from Ottawa, in reporting Soviet Embassy statement on Gouzenko this morning, says it has been forecast that a diplomatic rupture between Canada and Russia is almost inevitable, and that a demand for Gouzenko's extradition and its refusal by Canada might become "an incident".

2. The correspondent further states that the Canadian Government will unofficially tell Leon Blum that Russian espionage in Canada has a direct link through French Communists in Paris with Moscow. It is pointed out that although Blum arrived in Ottawa ostensibly to discuss wheat and economic co-operation, wheat discussions between Canada and France have already been held.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E 512 C 274322

Office of the
High Commissioner for
Canada,
Canada House,
London,S.W.1.

No.A.412. 18th May,1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No.895 of 5th April,1946, concerning atomic espionage, with particular reference to the conviction in this country of Dr.Alan Nunn May. The reaction (which I expected) against the sentence has now appeared. The "News Chronicle" of the 10th May published on its editorial page five letters from well-known scientists and groups of scientists protesting against the sentence and claiming that Dr. May has become "the first martyr of the atomic age".

2) On the 13th May the "Manchester Guardian" and some other papers published prominently a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers,which demanded a drastic reduction of the "extremely harsh" sentence of ten years penal servitude passed on Dr.May. The statement reads as follows:-

"Dr.May's offence was to pass to a representative of the Soviet Union, sometime in 1945, in Canada, certain information concerning atomic-energy developments. We do not seek to justify Dr. May's breach of the Official Secrets Act,but we are convinced, from our knowledge of Dr.May, that his action was determined only by the principle that fundamental scientific data should have been shared with a country that was not only friendly but a fighting ally.

We believe,further, that there is a widespread public opinion, shared by many scientists, that the original decision to undertake the development of atomic energy without the closest co-operation with our Soviet ally was a hindrance to and has largely contributed to the present unfortunate position in international relations.

The only work in which Dr. May was engaged, and on which he could have been in a position to give unauthorized information, concerned fundamental scientific data relating to atomic energy. Dr. May had no connection whatever with problems of the construction of the atomic bomb and could not have been able to reveal information on the know-how of atomic-bomb manufacture.

Today scientific workers fervently believe in the need to achieve freedom for the fullest discussion and interchange of scientific knowledge,knowing that such freedom is essential both for scientific progress and international cooperation.

The sentence passed on Dr.May is extremely harsh when compared with some recently passed on persons guilty of assisting the Germans during the war. It is noteworthy also that the maximum sentence under the proposed Atomic Energy Bill is penal servitude for a period of five years.

It is clear that no account was taken of Dr. May's positive contribution to the winning of the war by his scientific work, and that the sentence is out of all proportion to the magnitude of the offence committed".

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
O T T A W A.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3) The "Daily Worker" has also been publicising letters from scientists protesting against the sentence and on the 13th featured not only the statement of the Association of Scientific Workers, but an interview with Professor H.Levy, who declared "if there is any scientific man here or anywhere else who values the work of science, he is going to protest against that sentence". Professor Levy also criticises the Secrecy Clause in the Government's Atomic Energy Bill asking what was the object of secrecy if the purpose of the Bill was to establish, through a State monopoly, a new source of power for industrial purposes.

4) The "News Chronicle" of the 13th, in commenting on the protests declared that they showed "how muddle-headed many scientists become when they stray beyond their own fields of study. Most liberal-minded people strongly believe that knowledge and scientific progress should be the possession of the whole human race. Moreover, the conscience of scientific workers revolts against the idea of their discoveries being used for the destruction of life". It goes on, however, to explain that these were not the issues in the case, that the scientific workers, like other servants of the Crown, had accepted the obligations of the Official Secrets Act, and that any scientist "who then took part in the Atom Bomb developments and later decided, on his own responsibility and as a matter of abstract principle, that the world, including the enemy, ought to be told the secrets, and then proceeded to betray them, should be shot as a traitor, or shut up as a dangerous lunatic. There are some circumstances in which every member of a community must bow to the supreme authority of the State or get out.....it is not open to them to take on their own shoulders the responsibility of breaking a pledge of secrecy to the community in the name of principle."

5) On the 16th May, Mr.W.J.Brown, M.P., in the House of Commons asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he would review the sentence of ten years' internment passed on Dr.May. The following exchanges took place:-

Mr. Ede: I have considered this case, but I have been unable to find any grounds upon which I should be justified in recommending any interference with the sentence which the court thought it right to impose.

Mr.Brown: In view of the fact that it is perfectly obvious from the evidence that this man is not a common criminal, and is not a traitor in the ordinary sense of the word, and that he has suffered a much heavier sentence than has been applied to many people who have sold this country for money; and further, in view of the fact that this whole issue of atomic bomb secrecy constitutes an extremely doubtful ethical area, ought not the right hon.Gentleman to have another look at this matter?

Mr.Ede: It was open to this man to appeal against the sentence. He would have run certain risks had he done so. It is still open to him to apply for an extension of the time within w which to lodge such an appeal. I do not accept the implications

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of all the statements made by the hon.Member for Rugby (Mr. W.J.Brown). I can understand, although I could not condone, the attitude of a man who said he was willing to make knowledge which he had acquired generally available. This man did sell knowledge, which he had acquired in the service of this country, to a foreign Power, for their private and particular use.

6) I am enclosing clipping from the "News Chronicle" of May 10th, giving the text of the letters protesting against not enclosed Dr.May's sentence.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd.) Frederic Hudd

for High Commissioner

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274325 RCE/514

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, June 1, 1946.

No._____

Sir,

I enclose for your information, copy of a memorandum which has been prepared in the Department on the subject "Reaction Outside of Canada to the Investigation concerning Breaches of the Official Secrets Act".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

L.A.D. Stephens

Acting Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274326

CONFIDENTIAL

REACTION OUTSIDE OF CANADA TO THE INVESTIGATION CONCERNING BREACHES OF THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT

1. On February 15th last, the Canadian Government issued a brief statement announcing an enquiry into breaches of the Official Secrets Act. The Government called for caution and reserve in viewing the whole matter and emphasized the domestic nature of the investigation. Official statements and reports were issued as they became available.

2. The appeal for reserve was lost in a great volume of comment from all over the world. The Canadian High Commissioner to Australia and Canadian Minister to Norway both wrote that no other Canadian news development had been so widely publicized since their arrival. The appeal for caution was ignored by many newspapers which published irresponsibly conceived reports, and enthusiastically placed many unconnected items of current news against the back-drop of the investigation. Such reports connected the espionage investigation with the curtailment of Canadian exports to Russia, questions concerning the investigation into the affairs of the Eldorado Mine, and even the work of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. One story claimed that a certain foreign power was seeking to build up an eastern Canadian base in the Province of Quebec where the use of the French language would render their accent less conspicuous.

3. Editors of Communist, anti-Communist, nationalist, and other persuasions cited each official statement and reports as further proof of the wisdom of their own editorial policy. Comments centred on the original Canadian Government press release (February 15th), the official Soviet statement in reply (February 20th), the publication of the Royal Commission's Terms of Reference (February 23rd - 26th), the publication of the three Interim Reports (March 5th, March 15th, March 29th), the arrest of Fred Rose (March 16th), the Prime Minister's statement in the Canadian House (March 19th), and the application for Writs of Habeas Corpus (March 23rd).

4. The Communist press in most countries adhered to the Party line as set out in the Russian newspapers. The Soviet statement of February 20th contained the first official recognition that the U.S.S.R. had been the foreign power referred to in Mr. King's press release of February 15th. The Canadian emphasis on the domestic nature of the investigation was ignored by the Russian press, which concentrated rather on imputing international political motives to the Canadian Government.

5. The line taken by the Soviet press was that since Russian technical knowledge was superior to Canadian, it was ridiculous to affirm that the alleged leakages of information to the U.S.S.R. could constitute a threat to Canadian security. Thus, since the affair was of slight importance, it was considered that in pursuing the enquiry without direct consultation with the friendly Russian Government, the Canadian Government was prompted by political motives. Although the implicated Russians had been recalled, the Canadian Government had embarked on an anti-Soviet campaign. It was true that Mr. King had not named the Soviet Government, but it was clear from the remarkable concert in the Canadian press that the line taken was a "coincidence" arranged by the Canadian Government. The time chosen by Mr. King to dig

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

unimportant facts out of his archives was conclusive proof that he had had advice from London, and that an attempt was being made to retaliate for the unpleasant moments caused by Russia to Mr. King's friends at the United Nations meetings. (On February 22nd the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow wrote that Canada's status was not clearly understood in the Soviet Union, and so the official line of the controlled press would be generally accepted by the Russian people.)

6. Later reports from the Russian press compared the Canadian "manoeuvring" to the staging of the Reichstag fire and concluded that there had been growing disapproval of the Canadian Government's action by "advanced" public opinion throughout the world. Finally, on March 30th, it was stated that the anti-Soviet campaign in Canada was now proceeding on other lines and that the espionage "scare" was dying down. In no report in the Russian press was there any trace of comment unfavourable to United States policy.

7. In the United States the Communist press followed the Party line. The Canadian Government was accused of conducting a "Red-baiting" campaign, and exaggerated accounts were carried of the treatment accorded individual suspects.

8. Many United States editors searched for lessons applicable in the United States, and wide publicity was given to a report that the State Department had intervened when the Federal Bureau of Investigation had proposed an espionage enquiry in the United States. Since it was anti-British in tone, the Soviet announcement of February 20th produced a split in the reaction of the nationalist papers depending upon whether they were more anti-British or anti-Russian in their editorial policy. A few nationalist editors noted with approval the anti-British tenor of the Soviet note, but most considered that the note had been satisfactorily answered by the first interim report of March 5th. The anti-Communists called for a "purge of Reds in high places", and the nationalist press generally, considering the legal measures taken by the Canadian Government to have been quite justified, urged a review of security measures for the protection of United States military secrets. Several conservative editors emphasized that the alleged activities had preceded the use of the atomic bomb, and a few carried adulatory accounts of Mr. Gouzenko's motives in making his disclosures.

9. Some independent left-wing newspapers played down the international aspects of the case and centred their critical attention on the restrictions which the Canadian authorities had imposed on the liberty of those detained for questioning. One newspaper remarked that the whole investigation was a reactionary "spree" conducted by the R.C.M.P. in spite of objections from the Department of External Affairs. A substantial group of commentators, while reserving final judgment, expressed doubts that the investigation justified the attendant deterioration in the relations of the Western Powers with Russia. In commenting on the Prime Minister's statement of March 19th in the Canadian Parliament, the radical press questioned the original delay in launching the investigation, and one left-wing paper suggested that the whole affair had been "staged" by United States Government officials who favoured placing the control of atomic energy in the hands of the military.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274328

10. Many moderate newspapers also played down the international aspects of the case. They argued that the Royal Commission Reports did not indicate that any very secret information had actually been obtained or communicated, and that any disruption in normal relations was therefore unlikely. Even in the moderate press, however, very few editorials attempted to present the dilemma facing the Canadian Government in choosing a course which would be compatible with national security without injuring diplomatic interests or impinging upon the traditional liberty of the individual. A few responsible papers printed lengthy quotations from legal opinions about the constitutionality of the various proceedings. The following quotation was typical of moderate reaction to the Prime Minister's statement in the House on March 19th:- "Mr. King has adroitly handled the worst foreign relations crisis in Canada's history. Canada has made its public servants sternly aware of the consequences of breaking an oath of official secrecy, but the way has been left open for the continuation of normal relations between Canada and Russia".

11. There was a good deal of adverse criticism, on the other hand, of the way in which the Canadian Government had proceeded with the investigation. Many editors complained that the advice to view the matter with "caution and reserve" had been meaningless when the original "provocative" announcement had been followed by a "paucity of revealed facts". Papers representing all shades of opinion considered that the official silence in Canada had caused "Red-baiting" on a scale inimical to normal international relations. Many papers, however, pointed out that in nothing the Canadian Government had done was there any trace of anti-Russian propaganda.

12. In the United Kingdom, the Communist papers gave little notice to the investigation until after February 20th, when they adopted the attitude outlined in the Soviet announcement. Wide publicity was given to the opinion of certain scientists who suggested that the whole affair was a predictable corollary of the policy of secrecy with regard to atomic research.

13. The responsible United Kingdom press, with memories of the Zinoviev letter, was at first surprisingly free of anti-Russian comment. After the Soviet note of February 20th, however, Russia was criticized not for the alleged espionage activities but for interpreting the investigation so as to further anti-British propaganda. The Royal Commission Reports were observed to indicate a Soviet interest in things "not scientific, but mundane", and it was asked how the Soviet Union could continue to protest amity when many of the alleged disclosures have been made after V-E Day. Although there was wide-spread surprise that British subjects had allegedly broken the law, apparently on ideological grounds, there was little comment concerning Canadian civil liberty. The technique of the enquiry was considered to be a Canadian affair.

14. The Australian press carried syndicated news despatches and gave wide coverage to the Interim Reports and the Prime Minister's statement. Left-wing papers reacted sharply along predictable lines. Queries in the nationalist press prompted a Government statement to the effect that there was no evidence to warrant an espionage investigation in Australia. The responsible press was

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274329

generally critical of the Soviet note of February 20th, and after the publication of the Interim Reports some conservative newspapers suggested a check on the personal backgrounds of Australian civil servants.

15. In South Africa, editors of nationalist papers found in the Canadian case another opportunity to remind the South African Government of the "foreign ideology being spread amongst the non-Europeans in this country".

16. From New Zealand a typical editorial noted that Mr. King had every right to check up on "unauthorized talk" by public servants, and concluded that in both the Canadian enquiry and the Soviet reaction thereto additional evidence might be found that "as a neighbour, Soviet Russia (was) exceedingly hard to live with in the post-war world".

17. An editor in Dublin blamed irresponsible newspapers for producing a "near panic" and concluded that no reasonable person could blame Russia for resorting to espionage when, had the position been reversed, the United States and the United Kingdom would have done the same thing.

18. Newspaper reaction in France followed predictable lines. The Communist press disregarded the international aspects of the affair or followed the Party line with innovations. One left-wing editor, however, suggested that relations between United States and United Kingdom and Russia had been determined for five months by the vicissitudes of the investigation in Canada, and alleged that the United States State Department had concluded last December that the affair was of little significance, which led to an improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The French right-wing press printed many of the more sensational news despatches from United States sources. It was claimed that directives had been sent from Moscow to Ottawa through Communist agents in France, who had wartime resistance contacts in Canada.

19. One interesting editorial in a Belgian newspaper discerned a basic conflict of two points of view concerning information. While the Canadian authorities, in accordance with American custom, had disclosed the facts and let the news agents deal with them freely, a European Government might have been far more reticent because diplomats were involved. The Soviet newspapers on the other hand had attacked Mr. King personally, a tactic which the Anglo-Saxons would not regard as compatible with fair play.

20. In Norway there was a great volume of reporting on the enquiry. News agency despatches were printed in full and comment reflected expected trends. During the earlier stages of the investigation one editor suggested that before Canada broke diplomatic relations with Russia the whole affair should be brought before the United Nations Security Council. After the publication of the Soviet note of February 20th, the same editor concluded that since Russia had repudiated the acts of her officials the enquiry would not result in any breach of normal relations.

21. The Brazilian press was slow to react and influential newspapers commented only briefly on the investigation. One Communist paper found it strange that the Canadian Government, which had advised newspapers to proceed cautiously, had refrained from censoring the press in Canada. Some

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274330

right-wing comment took the line that the remarkable feature of the case was not the alleged espionage, but the official Canadian action in disclosing it. It was pointed out that the agents of a totalitarian regime had the advantage in espionage activity because individuals enjoyed freedom of movement in a democracy.

22. Reaction in Chile was clearly split. The Communist press, which had praised Canada during the war, cited the espionage enquiry as one more indication of Canadian adherence to "imperialistic policies". Conservative editors approved of Canada's thoroughness in detaining even a Member of Parliament.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274331

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-2919

WASHINGTON, July 23rd, 1946.

WA-2919. Here follows analysis of press reaction in this country to the publication of the report of the Royal Commission investigating the espionage activities.

Text begins:

News Treatment

The release of the final report of the Royal Commission received widespread coverage in United States papers under headlines such as "Red Spies in Canada Sought United States Post-war Defence Plans" (Washington Post); "Canada Says Red Spies Got Top Secrets" (Philadelphia Inquirer); "Top Soviet Agent in United States Now" (Indianapolis Star); "Canada Says Red Spy Got Uranium 235" (Detroit Free Press); "Red Spy Rings Still Active Canada Hints" (Chicago Tribune). The story was handled almost exclusively by AP, UP and INS and on the first day was confined to excerpts from the report with no comment. The excerpts chosen, however, concentrated on the transmission of uranium 235 to Moscow through Dr. May; on the fact that information had been obtained on radar and other material and on research developments for postwar defence; on the undercover systems used and on the "super spy" thought to be in the United States. Another featured item was the use of the "Communist Party as a 'base' for recruiting and 'developing' Canadians for espionage work" (New York Times). Gouzenko's statement that the Comintern still existed was widely quoted. Subsequent reports carried the supposition that Canada, the United States and Britain would confer as a result of the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

findings. "The report would seem to indicate that, whatever the United States and Britain might do about the matter domestically, the United States and Canada would have to discuss it in the course of joint defence talks" (AP). Los Angeles Examiner reported that "The United States and Canada were in consultation (July 16th) discussing new methods of protecting their military and political secrets."

UP in reporting the departure of Soviet officials commented "The Commission's mention of their names in connection with Russian undercover activities was considered tantamount to Canada's stating that their presence was unacceptable." However, an AP despatch in New York Times said "It is not clear whether Pavlov and Krotov were called home or whether they were requested to leave by the Canadian Government" and P.J. Philip in the same paper reported that "Moscow has made a clean sweep of all seventeen members of the Russian Embassy here named in the report." A Chicago Tribune special was a story on the jealousies existing between the various branches of the Soviet spy system. An INS despatch carried in Hearst's New York Journal-American and Los Angeles Examiner and bannerlined by "Russian Spy Chiefs Fleeing as Canada Opens Red Purge" (Los Angeles Examiner) and "Canada Purges Aides of Soviet Atom Spy Ring" (New York Journal-American) reported "Canada threw all its law enforcement agencies today into a purge of civil servants with a 'first loyalty' to Russia and other subversive elements to halt the flow of top secret information to the Soviet." P.J. Philip (New York Times) had reported that no further arrests had yet been made though warrants

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

were prepared and those involved kept under police supervision. An AP story in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch referred to Mr. King's statement to the effect that "A big part of Canada's effort to combat this threat to 'the safety and interests of the state' is to be a programme of 'publicity, education and full understanding' regarding the evidence laid before the Commission."

Editorial Comment

The small amount of editorial comment on the report generally concurred in decrying Soviet methods. New York Times stated "More important, however, than any concrete information obtained by these officials is the revelation of their operating methods... this political system...aimed to and did develop in Canada an effective fifth column composed of Communist Party members, 'fellow-travellers' and foreign groups....they were taught to betray their country and serve a foreign Government.....in this country it is reassuring to have Attorney General Tom Clark inform us that the United States is 'entirely on top of the espionage situation.'" Sacramento Bee was of the opinion that "It is not a happy or re-assuring report. It bristles with disclosures which the average American would prefer to believe are untrue" and quoting Gousenko's statement on the Russian propaganda for another war said "The thought of a supposedly friendly nation conditioning the minds of her people to another world conflict will strike the average American as almost a nightmare....the Commissioners' report throws a drab light upon the world outlook and indicates the way to last-ing peace will be a hard road, with or without another war." Washington Times Herald using the disclosures of the report to support the creation of a United States spy system stated:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274334

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

- 4 -

WASHINGTON,

"Thanks to the report of our Canadian friends, we now have a pretty good line on the operations of Russian spies in North America...the well-established Russian network in Canada had and has branches in this country, Ottawa warns us, and this country has a lot more things to be ferreted out than has Canada. Also, we have more numerous willing contacts for the spies to work on, in the widespread Communist organizations and their related groups....we think that the United States should call back some of Wild Bill's boys and let them start rooting around under the no-holds-barred OSS procedure to see what they can turn up. What we need to meet the Russian competition is two spies for one." Hartford Times maintained "The Canadian Royal Commission's report ...is a damning document if one views Russia as a friendly ally, but it discloses operations that might be expected from a war power that gave nothing and received nothing from its Allies in the way of secret war information.....resentment over the Russian activity in Canada is the expression of disappointment that the other fellow has gained an advantage in a highly surreptitious operation. That a British scientist aided the Russian spies does not diminish western resentment over Red success." and Philadelphia Inquirer said "Soviet Russia has made a miserable record for itself in Canada." Text ends. Teletype ends.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Rec'd 8:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

274334

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

WASHINGTON,

"Thanks to the report of our Canadian friends, we now have a pretty good line on the operations of Russian spies in North America...the well-established Russian network in Canada had and has branches in this country, Ottawa warns us, and this country has a lot more things to be ferreted out than has Canada. Also, we have more numerous willing contacts for the spies to work on, in the widespread Communist organizations and their related groups....we think that the United States should call back some of Wild Bill's boys and let them start rooting around under the no-holds-barred OSS procedure to see what they can turn up. What we need to meet the Russian competition is two spies for one." Hartford Times maintained "The Canadian Royal Commission's report ...is a damning document if one views Russia as a friendly ally, but it discloses operations that might be expected from a war power that gave nothing and received nothing from its Allies in the way of secret war information.....resentment over the Russian activity in Canada is the expression of disappointment that the other fellow has gained an advantage in a highly surreptitious operation. That a British scientist aided the Russian spies does not diminish western resentment over Red success." and Philadelphia Inquirer said "Soviet Russia has made a miserable record for itself in Canada." Text ends. Teletype ends.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Rec'd 8:10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

AR.13/13. BY AIR
C 274335
RC/E

Office of the
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

4th September, 1946.

No. A.746.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a special article which appeared in "THE TIMES" of September 3rd entitled "Espionage in Canada". This article is a useful summary of the principal points of interest in the Report of the Canadian Royal Commission to Investigate the Communication of Secrets. It is the first reference of any importance to the Royal Commission Report which has appeared in the British press.

2. To judge from the number of requests we have received in this Office for copies of the Report there has been a very considerable interest on the part of Members of Parliament, journalists, officials and private citizens. Aside from news stories which appeared immediately on publication of the Report there has, however, been almost no serious discussion. The report has not even been the subject of a major offensive by "The Daily Worker". It is also somewhat surprising that the discussion over civil liberties which this case has provoked in Canada has, apart from one article in "The New Statesman and Nation" some time ago, not been raised by the Left wing and Liberal papers in this country.

3. Members of the Foreign Office have been very much impressed by the Report and particularly by Section II which describes the nature of Soviet espionage. The Foreign Office have been anxious that the report be as widely read as possible in this country, and it was due to their pressure that H.M.Stationery Office has agreed to distribute the Report. It was also, I believe, at the instigation of the Foreign Office that this special article appeared in "The Times". It may be that this clear statement of the issue presented in the Royal Commission Report and the fact that copies will now be more easily available in this country will result in wider discussion of the subject.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch, together with copies of the enclosure, to Paris, Brussels, Moscow, Athens, The Hague, Oslo, Berlin, Canberra, Cape Town, Welling - ton, Dublin, and Nanking.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(sgd) Frederic Hudd

Acting High Commissioner.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274736

THE TIMES, September 3rd, 1946.

ESPIONAGE IN CANADA

WIDESPREAD AND HIGHLY ORGANIZED SYSTEM

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION

From a Correspondent

Much of the 733-page report by the Royal Commission appointed in Canada to investigate the espionage network revealed by a Russian cipher clerk, Igor C[illegible]enko, published in Canada at the end of June, is given to reproduction of the cross-examinations of the various suspects; but there are also several chapters summing up the evidence thus gained and analysing the state of affairs that it reveals. The Commission found that the major part of the information was transmitted to the Russians through the agency of Canadian public servants, highly educated men, working under oaths of allegiance, and yet ready, after persuasion, to betray the secrets of their country to a foreign Power. How was this accomplished and what does it portend?

The answer is summarized in the Commissioners' findings: "Membership in Communist organizations or a sympathy towards Communist ideologies was the primary force which caused these agents to agree" to carry on espionage at the behest of the Russians. The Commission also found that a Fifth Column exists in Canada, organized and directed by Russian agents in Canada and Russia, and that within this there are several spy rings. This organization is nothing new, but is the result of a long preparation by trained and experienced men using the Communist movement as the direct source of recruitment for the espionage n[illegible]ork. Thus in every case but one, the C[illegible]adian agents working for Colonel Zabotin, the Soviet Military Attaché in Ottawa, were members or sympathizers with the Communist Party. The Communist study groups in Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto were, in fact, "cells," and as such, recruiting centres for agents.

THE MACHINE AT WORK

A good example of the machine at work is the case of the three Canadian scientists, Halperin, Durnforth Smith, and Mazerall, two of whom were members of a Communist cell which was largely composed of scientists employed at the National Research Council in Ottawa. Before the end of March, 1945, no member of this group apparently contemplated espionage; then the Soviet Military Intelligence Organization expressed its desire for additional spies engaged in Canadian scientific research, and within a few weeks, and without the initiative of the scientists themselves, a political discussion group was transformed into an active espionage organization.

The report shows that the technique of this approach varied in individual cases, but that it was nearly always founded upon the basis of ideological sympathies. Money, at least in the early stages, played little or no part. The evidence before the Commission showed that within the framework of a Canadian political movement, the Labour-Progressive Party (Communist Party of Canada), "development" courses would take place, fostered by Canadians from the espionage network itself, and aimed at preparing suitable people for active participation in spy work. To begin with, certain selected sympathizers from among certain categories of the population would be invited to join secret "cells" or study groups, and to keep their adherence to the Communist Party secret from non-members.

One of the reasons for this secrecy would appear to be that it enabled the Communist Party to gain control, through the election of its members to directing committees or other positions of responsibility, in as many forms of public organization as possible—trade unions, professional associations, youth movements, and so on. A typical example is that of the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers on the executive of which were several of the agents arraigned before the Commission, including Dr. Allan May and Professor Boyer, who was national president of the association.

Another, and still more sinister, reason for the technique of secret membership described above was to accustom the young Canadian communist to what the report describes as "an atmosphere and an ethic of conspiracy," the gradual effect of which was to bring the subjects to a state of mind where they could throw off the moral obligations which they had accepted when entering upon their public duties. Once the victim was within the "cell," he was subjected to a course of study calculated to undermine his or her loyalties. But while this process was continuing, he or she might be quite unaware of the broader ramifications and real objectives of the organization. One of the agents, for example, Mazerall, testified that he was initially invited by a friend to join an "informal discussion group," and that for some time he did not realize it was a Communist cell. Indeed, in any of the small study-groups, the extent of the secret section of the Communist Party would not be revealed to the junior members; the whole purpose of the cell organization as an operating ground for the Fifth Column would, as the report points out, have been frustrated had the rank-and-file members of these groups known the real policies and objectives of the conspiracy.

This principle extended even to senior members of the party, and to those actively engaged in espionage, who would be led to believe that their activities were exceptional, and left quite unaware of the scope and size of the general plan. Thus Lunan, one of the principal agents, testifying before the Commission, said: "I had no idea of the extent and scope of this work. I was amazed when it first became clear to me during my interrogation. I never thought of myself as being more than one person in a small group of five people." Only the leaders, such men as Sam Carr, the National Organizer of the Labour-Progressive Party, or Fred Rose, the Quebec organizer, would have a full idea of the real extent and objectives of the organization which they helped to direct.

DEFECTION OF LOYALTY

The development course within the study group seemed to lead, as has been said, to a loosening of loyalties, then to a sense of internationalism, and finally to an acceptance of Communist doctrine and leadership as something transcending all national obligation. Professor Boyer must have reacted well to this treatment, since he gave as his reason for imparting secret information to Fred Rose, in spite of his official oath of secrecy, that he thought his action would further "international scientific collaboration." Mazerall also had been worked upon in the same way: "I did not like," he said in his testimony, "the idea of supplying information. It was not put to me so much that I was supplying information to the Soviet Government, either. It was more that as scientists we were pooling information."

A further result of "development" was the inculcation of a sense of complete obedience to Party doctrine, and especially to Party leaders. This latter idea apparently extended to the point where loyalty to the leaders of the Canadian Communist Party could be shown to take precedence over national loyalty, and over official oaths of secrecy. Kathleen Willsher, the agent who was employed in the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa, told the Commissioners that she believed the secret information she gave to Mr. Fred Rose was for the guidance of the National Executive of the Communist Party of Canada. Her actual words are particularly interesting, since they illustrate the conflict of loyalties and the struggle with conscience which, in this agent, must have provided first-class material for the conspirators to work upon: "I felt I should contrive to contribute something towards the helping of this policy [that of the Communist Party] because I was very interested in it. I found it very difficult, and yet I felt I should try to help."

A "FIFTH COLUMN"

The picture that this widespread and highly organized system conjures up represents only one aspect, one spy ring, of the Russian Fifth Column in Canada. The existence of other parallel under-cover systems, run by N.K.V.D. (the secret political police of the Soviet Union), Naval Intelligence, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, was revealed by Gouzenko in his evidence. In a statement which he made after he had put himself and his files into the hands of the Canadian police, and which is reproduced without comment in the report, he said: "To many Soviet people abroad it is clear that the Communist Party in democratic countries has changed long ago from a political party into an agency net of the Soviet Government, into a fifth column in these countries to meet a war, into an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Government for creating unrest, provocations, &c."

What appears to have happened is, in the Royal Commissioners' words, "a transplanting of a conspiratorial technique which was first developed in less fortunate countries to promote an underground struggle against tyranny, to a democratic society where it is singularly inappropriate."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274337

RC/E 51

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER - PUBLEX LONDON, September 23rd, 1946.

NO. 1942

No. 1942. My despatch No. A.746 of September 4th.

Sunday Dispatch yesterday began in serial form summary of the Canadian Royal Commission Report on Soviet Espionage. This summary was introduced with front-page streamer headline "How Russia's Spies Work". As might be expected, the "detective novel" aspect is featured. Next week readers are promised "How the Spies Were Exposed - The Full Story of Igor Gouzenko". The Dispatch is a Rothermere paper with a circulation of a million and a half.

A copy of yesterday's issue is being sent by bag.

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sent: 3:28 p.m.
Rec'd:10:57 a.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274337A

ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTS

C

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E 512

C 274338

SECRET
NAR/SR
26.6.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Royal Commission investigating espionage activities are hoping to complete their report tomorrow, June 27th. It will be a long and fully documented report, recapitulating a good deal of the evidence brought out in the separate trials and summarized in the Commission's preliminary reports. It has been set up in type by the Printing Bureau under special security restrictions, and should be available in page proof form within the next few days. I have been trying to read the galleys as they come from the printer, but thus far have only seen the chapters dealing with the individual persons involved. The more general chapters of the report, embodying the Commission's conclusions and recommendations, I hope to see tomorrow before the final report is signed.

E.K. Williams is returning to the west at the end of the week, and would like to have an opportunity of seeing you before he leaves. On the whole, I have the impression that the Commission and their Counsel have discharged a very heavy assignment in a very thorough fashion. You may wish to say a word of appreciation to them on the conclusion of their duties.

Once the report is completed, the question of the date of its publication will require consideration. I am inclined to think that the balance of advantage lies in publication just as soon as we have had a chance to digest its contents and decide what action has to be taken with regard to the removal of Embassy officials found to be implicated in espionage activities. It is true there are a number of trials yet to take place. The Court hearings and the inevitable appeals will probably drag on until the end of the year. If we defer publication until that time, we keep the diplomatic issue open and postpone indefinitely the date from which we can really start to straighten out and re-establish, on an honest footing, our diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274339 AC/E

NAR/SR
10.7.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The report of the Royal Commission should be ready by Friday noon, if no unforeseen hitch occurs. It is hoped to have 100 bound copies (English only) available for tabling on Friday afternoon.

Gerald Fauteux will be in Ottawa tomorrow to prepare a short summary of the principal features in the Commission's final report which have not been touched upon in the interim reports. Such a statement could be used either as the basis for a press release or for a statement to be made in the House when the report is tabled.

I have been hoping to receive today the advance proofs of that section of the report dealing with the involvement of officials of the Soviet Embassy in espionage activities so that we could give them some advance warning about the persons for whose removal we should have to ask unless they anticipate things by transferring them promptly. You will recall that we had hoped that there could be about a fortnight's interval between the receipt of the report and the date on which it was made public, within which time the Russians could make these moves quietly. I fear, however, that this is quite out of the question. The publication of the report, which will name Krotov and Pavlov, as well as a number of subordinate employees, will probably make another large splash in the headlines.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E Jay Lauriston

C 274340

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON ESPIONAGE - FINAL REPORT

List of persons Prime Minister wishes to send copies:

dame/Jay

Hon. Herbert Hoover

Col. Frank Mason

John D. Rockefeller Jr.

President Truman

Mr. Byrnes

Col. Walter Elliot

Lord Addison

Mr. Attlee

Mr. Bevin

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RCC 274341

OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT

TABLING OF FINAL REPORT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I desire to lay on the table copies of the final report of the royal commission appointed under order in council P.C. 411 on February 5 to "investigate the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by public officials and other persons in positions of trust of secret and confidential information to the agents of a foreign power."

There have thus far been three interim reports by the commission, all of which have been tabled in the house. These are as follow: first interim report, March 2, 1946, tabled March 14, 1946; second interim report, March 14, 1946, tabled March 15, 1946; third interim report, March 29, 1946, tabled March 29, 1946.

The final report, which I am now tabling, as hon. members will observe is dated June 27. I think I should make it clear that the physical work of printing the first copy of the report for presentation was not completed until July 12. It has been received only to-day by the governor in council to whom it is addressed.

I have gone through the report rather hurriedly and have noted some of the outstanding features. I have thought that the house would wish to have something in the nature of a resumé, but the report is a very lengthy one, with its quotations, appendices and the like, so what I am giving is not intended to be in any way all-embracing, but simply essential features.

The circumstances in which it was decided to appoint the royal commission of inquiry are well known. It is not necessary to review them to-day. The investigation has been completed; it confirms the seriousness of the situation which the government asked the commission to investigate.

In this connection, however, I should like to quote a paragraph from the report, page 87, which relates to the position of the Soviet ambassador. It is as follows:

> The evidence before us is that those members of the embassy who were engaged in improper and inadmissible activities operated in special sections of the embassy the operations of which were quite distinct from the official and legitimate activities of the Soviet embassy, and that the Soviet ambassador, representing in Canada the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, had no part in them.

As a result of findings contained in its interim reports, proceedings have been instituted in a number of cases and four persons have been convicted and sentenced. Other cases are awaiting trial, and I shall not refer to them.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

When the inquiry was undertaken, I said that prosecutions would be instituted where the evidence warranted it. This has been done, but prosecutions and punishments are essentially secondary matters. Publicity, education and full understanding are better preventives of any recurrence of any such state of affairs as that disclosed by the report of the royal commission. In that process of education and understanding, the report itself is a very important instrument. It deserves the thoughtful study of all Canadians who feel that there is no place for espionage and underhand activities in the public life of our country.

I shall not on this occasion attempt to comment on the contents of the report. With appendices it runs to over 700 pages. It requires and will repay careful study. I desire however to place upon the record a summary of the findings of the royal commission and the statement of their recommendations as set forth in sections XII and XIII of the report.

Section XII

I. We report that the following public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a foreign power:

1. Eric Adams
2. J. Scotland Benning
3. Raymond Boyer
4. H. S. Gerson
5. Israel Halperin
6. David Gordon Lunan
7. Allan Nunn May
8. Edward W. Mazerall
9. Matt. S. Nightingale
10. F. W. Poland
11. David Shugar
12. Durnford P. Smith
13. Kathleen Mary Willsher
14. Emma Woikin

II. We report that we have been unable to identify the following persons named under "cover names" in the documents and there definitely stated, to have been members of Zabotin's ring:

"Galya"
"Gini"
"Golia"
"Green"
"Surensen"

III. We also report the following facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication:

1. There exists in Canada a fifth column organized and directed by Russian agents in Canada and in Russia.

2. Within the fifth column there are several spy rings.

3. We have been able to identify many of the members of one of these rings, namely, that of which Colonel Zabotin was the head in Canada.

4. Membership in Communist organizations or a sympathy towards Communist ideologies was the primary force which caused these agents to agree to do the acts referred to in their individual cases.

5. The persons named in paragraph I were members of Colonel Zabotin's organization.

6. Without documents such as Gouzenko placed before us we cannot identify any non-Russian members of the other rings.

7. There was an organization whose duty it was to procure false Canadian passports and other citizenship documents for the use of agents engaged in fifth column activities, in Canada or elsewhere.

8. Zabotin and his assistants were helping to supervise and finance the work of an organization of agents operating in certain European countries. At least one person temporarily in Canada as an employee of the international labour office was a member of this organization, namely, Germina (Hermina) Rabinovitch.

9. Members of the staff of the Russian embassy at Ottawa who were actively engaged in inadmissible espionage activities are named in Section II.7.

IV. The following persons who may not come within the category of "public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise" were members of Zabotin's organization and took an active part in recruiting agents, acting as contacts and securing and transmitting such secret and confidential information:

Sam Carr
Fred Rose.

V. Many of the persons named in paragraph I hereof were also actively engaged in the organization of "cells" from which agents were recruited, and in addition the following persons were organizers of such cells, or media of communication between espionage agents, or both:

Agatha Chapman
Freda Linton
S. S. Burman
Henry Harris.

VI. The following were active in procuring a false Canadian passport for a Russian agent who was operating in the United States:

Sam Carr
Henry Harris
John Soboloff, M.D.
W. M. Pappin.

VII. The following persons named in the documents did not so far as the evidence discloses take any active part in the subversive activities, but would have done so if required;

Norman Veall
Fred Chubb
Jack Isidor Gottheil.

VIII. The names of certain other persons are mentioned in the documents merely because Moscow desired the names of all members of certain government staffs. Outside of those specifically named elsewhere in this report, there is no necessity for these names to be mentioned.

IX. The names of certain other persons were mentioned in such a context that it was considered advisable to examine them and to investigate their activities. In each case we were satisfied that their conduct has been entirely proper and that while the Russians designed to draw some of them into the net in future, having in anticipation of doing so actually given them cover-names, such hopes were in our opinion completely without foundation and the objects of those hopes were unaware that they were being considered. Among these we refer to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Colonel Jenkins by name, because he has been mentioned by name in the public press.

X. The names of a number of persons, in government service and otherwise, who were members of secret Communist cells have been disclosed by this inquiry. These names appear in the volume of evidence. As there is no evidence that these persons were implicated in, or aware of, the espionage networks, we do not consider it necessary to mention these names in this report.

Section XIII

Recommendations

We respectfully recommend:

1. That, because of the introduction into the evidence, necessarily and unavoidably of secret technical data, the publication of which, according to the witnesses most concerned, would not be in the public interest at this time, none of the evidence or exhibits relating to any top secret, secret, restricted or confidential matters be published except with the approval of the government in consultation with the heads of the services, departments or organizations concerned.

2. That the proper authorities in each service, department and organization take such steps as may be considered desirable and effective, in the light of this report and of the evidence and exhibits, to prevent further unauthorized transmission of information and to set up further safeguards.

3. That all security measures should be coordinated and rendered as uniform as possible.

4. That the evidence and exhibits accompanying this report be placed before the proper persons in the various services, departments and organizations affected, for study so that a complete evaluation of the information and material handed over can be made in each case to ascertain in detail what has, and what has not, been compromised. That consideration be given to whether the findings so made should be communicated to the proper authorities in the United Kingdom and the United States.

5. That the Official Secrets Act, 1939, be studied in the light of the information contained in this report and in the evidence and exhibits and, if it is thought advisable, that it be amended to provide additional safeguards.

6. That consideration be given to any additional security measures which would be practical to prevent the infiltration into positions of trust under the government of persons likely to commit acts such as those described in this report.

7. That the practice and procedure in connection with the issue of Canadian passports be revised. While not elsewhere referred to in this report, we have had evidence indicating that naturalization and birth certificates have also been improperly obtained. We therefore suggest that the conditions surrounding the issue of these documents might be the subject of consideration by the proper authority.

In conclusion I should like to say a word of appreciation of the service to the state which has been rendered by the members of the royal commission, by the counsel associated with them and by the officers of the public service who have assisted them in their investigations. Their task has been long and arduous. They have worked at it unremittingly and with a high sense of public duty.

Mr. COLDWELL: I should like to direct a question to the Prime Minister. I notice that the name of Doctor David Shugar is included. Doctor Shugar has since been acquitted by the court. Should not that fact have been recorded in presenting this report to the house? Once a man has been tried and acquitted, I think perhaps a note should be made of the fact in order to clear up the situation.

Mr. HOMUTH: He was not tried. He was not even sent up for trial.

Mr. COLDWELL: The case was dismissed.

An hon. MEMBER: He was not even committed.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am unable to say at the moment whether the reference here covers all that relates to Doctor Shugar. It is possible there is another connection to which this may have reference. I am sure, however, the public will be happy to take notice of what my hon. friend has said.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E Sir

274344

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON ESPIONAGE - FINAL REPORT

List of persons Prime Minister wishes to send copies:

Hon. Herbert Hoover	(Waldorf-Astoria Towers, New York)
Col. Frank Mason	(% National Broadcasting Company, New York)
John D. Rockefeller Jr.	
President Truman	(Harry S. Truman, The White House, Washington, D.C.)
Mr. Byrnes	Hon. James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.)
Col. Walter Elliot	4, Lord North Street, London, S.W.1.
Lord Addison	Dominions Office, London, S.W.1.
Mr. Attlee	Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., 10, Downing Street, London, S.W.1.
Mr. Bevin	Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, Foreign Office, London, S.W.1.

Mr. Edward R. Hewitt 48 Grammercy Park, New York City

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274345

COPY

Ottawa,
July 22, 1946

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Esq.,
Room 5600,
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rockefeller:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send you a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C 274346

by hand

Ottawa,
July 27, 1946

Leslie Rowan, Esq.,
Principal Private Secretary to
The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1, England.

My dear Rowan:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send to Mr. Attlee a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274347

COPY

by hand

Ottawa,
July 27, 1946

The Private Secretary to
The Honourable James F. Byrnes,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send to Mr. Byrnes a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C274348

Ottawa,
July 27, 1946

The Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot, P.C., M.C.,
4, Lord North Street,
London, S.W.1,
England.

Dear Sir:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send you a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

by bag

Ottawa,
July 22, 1946

The Private Secretary to
The Rt. Hon. Viscount Addison, P.C., M.D.,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
Dominions Office,
London, S.W.1,
England.

Dear Sir:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send to Lord Addison a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274349A

COPY

Ottawa,
July 27, 1946

Edward R. Hewitt, Esq.,
48 Grammercy Park,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hewitt:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send you a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

14. VIII. 46

BRITISH EMBASSY,
PARIS.

274350

My dear Prime Minister

It was indeed kind of you to remember to send me the report of the Royal Commission which I shall read with the greatest interest. My wife and I enjoyed so much seeing you yesterday and hope to do so again during the course of the Conference.

Yours very sincerely
Duff Cooper

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Prime Minister

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

C274351

August 8, 1946

My dear Mr. Pickersgill:

Thank you for your letter of July 22, 1946, transmitting a copy of the report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information. Mr. King's thoughtfulness in making a copy of this report available to the President is greatly appreciated.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. J. W. Pickersgill
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister
Ottawa, Canada

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

key bag

Ottawa,
July 22, 1946

The Secretary to
The President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send President Truman a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The P.M. to see

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

6th August, 1946.

C. 274353

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 27th and for sending Mr. Bevin a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which has been enquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

The report has been safely received, and I am passing it to Mr. Bevin who I know will be very interested to receive it.

Yours sincerely,

P. T. Kinna.

Private Secretary.

J. W. Pickersgill Esq.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274354

COPY

by bag

Ottawa,
July 27, 1946

The Private Secretary to
The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, P.C.,M.P.,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
The Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1, England.

Dear Sir:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send to Mr. Bevin a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274355

COPY (Original filed "AUTOGRAPHS - UNITED STATES")

HERBERT HOOVER

Stanford University
California
August 4, 1946

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am indeed indebted to you for your kindness in sending me that report, and I wish to thank you.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd) Herbert Hoover

The Honorable
W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada
Laurier House
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

Ottawa,
July 22, 1946

The Honourable Herbert Hoover,
c/o The Hoover War Memorial Library,
Stanford University,
Palo Alto,
California.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Before his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister directed me to send you a copy of the final report of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the disclosure of secret information.

As directed by Mr. King, I have much pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the report.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Prime Minister
to Keep

FRANK E. MASON
22 EAST 47TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

C274357

August 16, 1946.

Mr. J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant to the Prime Minister,
Office of the Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Pickersgill:

My great appreciation of your kindness for sending Mr. Hoover and me copy of the report of the Royal Commission, is in no way indicated by the delay in acknowledging and thanking you.

It is intensely interesting reading and one of my friends in the government in Washington has now borrowed my copy.

Faithfully yours,

Frank E. Mason

FEM:gl

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

Ottawa,
July 22, 1946

Colonel Frank E. Mason,
22 East 47th Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Colonel Mason:

Your letter of the 16th instant, addressed to the Prime Minister, did not reach Ottawa until a few hours after Mr. King's departure for the Peace Conference in Paris, Before leaving Ottawa, Mr. King had, however, directed me to send copies of the report of the Royal Commission to Mr. Hoover and yourself, as soon as a few copies were available from the printer.

I have much pleasure, therefore, in sending a copy of the report today, under separate cover.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Pickersgill,
Special Assistant
to the Prime Minister.

JWP/FM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274359

FRANK E. MASON
22 EAST 47TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 16, 1946.

The Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Government House, Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

When I was in Ottawa with President Hoover, you graciously offered to send me a copy of the final report to be submitted by you to the House of Commons.

As this morning's New York newspapers announce the publication of that report I hope I may be forgiven for reminding you of the intense interest that I -- and some of my friends in Washington -- have in supporting your courageous action.

President Hoover leaves today on the Century for the West. I am certain he would greatly appreciate a copy of the report were it to be sent to him care of the Hoover War Memorial Library, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, which will be his summer address.

May I again express appreciation for the perfect arrangements for Mr. Hoover's visit to Ottawa, which were an ideal climax for his visit to 39 countries.

Faithfully,

Frank Ehrsam

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274360 RC/E (B)

COPY (Original filed "KING'S" BOX)

BUCKINGHAM PALANCE

29th July 1946.

My dear Prime Minister,

I have given The King the copy of the Royal Commission Report which you were good enough to send me with your letter of July 28th. His Majesty wishes me to thank you sincerely for sending it and for the good wishes contained in your letter.

I looked through the Report myself last night; I found it most interesting, and I know that His Majesty will do the same when he has time to study it at leisure. I fear the whole business must have been a great anxiety to you.

I hope you will not find the word in Paris too exacting, nor too prolonged.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd) A. Lascelles

The Right Hon.
W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.P.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

Rc/E

NAR/SR
15.7.46

274361

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Distribution of Royal Commission Report

I. The Assistant Clerk of the House is preparing a draft motion for the printing of the Report. I understood you to mention on Saturday 3,000 copies in English and 2,000 in French, but the numbers will be left blank for you to fill in.

2. The initial costs of type-setting, etc., should be charged to the quantity ordered for Parliament so that the copies for sale to the general public should not be listed at more than $1.00.

3. I understand that the King's Printer's selling arrangements prevent him from offering a government publication to the publishing trade at a discount which would permit booksellers to retail the publication at the official list price. This seems to me an unreasonable restriction which will effectually prevent a Report of this kind getting the general public circulation which it should receive. I venture to suggest that consideration be given to authorizing the King's Printer to give quantity discounts to booksellers and publishers to facilitate distribution, not only of this Report but of all Government documents for which there may be a general demand.

N.A.R.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/Esp C 274362

To SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

14 March, 1946

TELEGRAMS AND DESPATCHES

DATE	NUMBER	OFFICE	SUBJECT	REFERRED
			Copy of letter of Mar.14 to Mr.St.Laurent from Messrs.E.K.Williams, Gerard Bauteux, and D.M.Mundell with letter of Mar.12 to Mr.E.K.Williams from F.P.Brais	

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C 274363

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, Important

To THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR INFORMATION

Here are the letters Mr St Laurent spoke to you about

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Annexe A

OTTAWA - 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L.S. St.Laurent, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
OTTAWA.

Dear Mr. Minister,-

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Dr. Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:-

(a) Whether a Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are -

(a) Yes.

(b) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the Royal Commission made it impossible to consider this question as

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

thoroughly as we should have liked to do and requested Hon. F.P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

"E.K. Williams"

"Gérald Fauteux"

"D.M. Mundell"

Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Annex B

C 274366

BRAIS & CAMPBELL

Royal Bank Building
360 St. James Street West,
MONTREAL, March 12, 1946.

E.K. Williams, Esq., K.C.,
G.H. Fauteux, Esq., K.C.,
Justice Building,
Ottawa, Ontario.

SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Sirs:

You have asked my opinion whether:

(a) A Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remains before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) if question (a) is answered in the affirmative, whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power:

(a) I have not been informed of any of the activities of the Member in question save what appears from the deposition of the individual whose arrest we discussed over

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the weekend.

That statement does clearly show that the Member obtained important information and declared that it was for the use of a foreign power.

It would appear clearly, therefore, that a charge could be laid against the Member under Section 3 C and probably 4 (1) A and B, 4 (2), 4 (3), of the Official Secrets Act.

No specific penalty is provided in the Act for the commission of the above offenses and the offender would therefore be subject to Section 14 which declares them to be indictable.

Chapter 147, R.S.C., "An Act Respecting the Senate and House of Commons," Sections 4 and 5 provide:

"4. The Senate and the House of Commons respectively, and the members thereof respectively, shall hold, enjoy and exercise,
(a) such and the like privileges, immunities and powers as, at the time of the passing of the British North America Act 1867, were held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and by the members thereof, so far as the same are consistent with and not repugnant to the said Act; and

(b) such privileges, immunities and powers as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, not exceeding those at the time of the passing of such Act held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and by the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

members thereof respectively, R.S., C.10, s.4.

5. Such privileges, immunities and powers shall be part of the general and public law of Canada and it shall not be necessary to plead the same, but the same shall, in all courts of Canada, and by and before all judges, be taken notice of judicially. R.S., c.10, s.5."

Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure, Third Edition, Page 143, Chapter 2, under the heading "Privileges and Powers of Parliament," discusses "the privileges, immunities and powers" to be enjoyed by Members. After discussing the origin of privileges, he declares that it is a general principle of English Parliamentary law that..." the privilege has been always held to protect Members from arrest and imprisonment under civil processes, whether the suit be at the action of an individual or of the public; but it is not claimable for treason, felony, breach of peace or 'any indictable offense'."

Bourinot further states that a Member may be committed for Contempt of Court when it is of a quasi criminal nature, " and the English House has not of recent years deemed it expedient to interfere in cases of an open or gross character."

The right of Courts to enquire into the question of privilege is discussed by Bourinot at Page 147 as follows:

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"As Parliamentary privileges rest on statutory as well as customary law it follows that they can be inquired into and determined by courts of law like any other rights. In the words of an authority: 'It seems now to be clearly settled that the courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the House, courts of law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privilege, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application" (o)."

It would appear clear that a Member who has committed an indictable offense is therefore liable to arrest at any time and any place except on the floor of the House when it is sitting.

(b) Would it be advisable or inadvisable to charge the Member at the same time as the individual from whom the information was obtained?

The failure to charge the Member at the same time would appear highly inadvisable. The origin of the trouble, the cause of the temptation and downfall of the individual in question arises entirely and exclusively from the actions of the Member. The failure to charge the latter at the same time and bring him before the Courts if possible would inevitably give rise to a reaction which in my opinion would be entirely prejudicial to the proper disposal of the complaint.

Obviously at the present time and in so far as

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 2743[illegible] 70

my informations goes, the only evidence against the Member would be the testimony of the individual who gave him information. The Member might see fit to offer his own testimony and deny the whole story. The court might then have to decide between the credibility of a witness and an accused. The fact, however, that the witness has incriminated himself by the story and is himself separately charged should, in my opinion, lead any judge to conclude that the version cannot be untrue, the more so in that there is nothing to indicate any unfriendliness whatsoever between the two persons.

Obviously they would have to be separately charged. There should be in my opinion, added a count of conspiracy referring to the substantive offences themselves.

I have not before me all the information arising out of the cases and it is quite possible that certain facts may lead one to another conclusion, but relying for the moment solely on the deposition which I now have, I feel quite definitely that the non-arrest of the Member would not only be prejudicial to the other case but to the interest of justice in general.

Yours very truly,

"F.P. Brais"

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

ANNEX A

OTTAWA - 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L.S. St. Laurent, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Minister,-

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Dr. Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:-

(a) Whether a Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are -

(a) Yes.

(b) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the Royal Commission made it impossible to consider this question as

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274372

thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F.P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

"E.K. Williams"

"Gerald Fauteux"

"D.W. Mundell"

Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F.P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

"E.K. Williams"

"Gerald Fauteux"

"D.W. Mundell"

Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

ANNEX A

OTTAWA - 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L.S. St. Laurent, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Minister,"

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Dr. Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:-

(a) Whether a Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are -

(a) Yes.

(b) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the Royal Commission made it impossible to consider this question as

.....

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F.P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

"E.K. Williams"

"Gerald Fauteux"

"D.W. Mundell"

Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

ANNEX B

BRAIS & CAMPBELL

Royal Bank Building
360 St.James Street West,
Montreal,March 12,1946

E.K.Williams,Esq.,K.C.,
G.H.Fauteux,Esq.,K.C.,
Justice Building,
Ottawa,Ontario.

SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Sirs:

You have asked my opinion whether:

(a) A Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remains before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) if question (a) is answered in the affirmative,whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power:

(a) I have not been informed of any of the activities of the Member in question save what appears from the deposition of the individual whose arrest we discussed over the week-end.

That statement does clearly show that the Member obtained important information and declared that it was for the use of a foreign power.

It would appear clearly,therefore,that a charge could be laid against the Member under Section 3 C and probably 4(1)A and B, 4(2),4(3),of the Official Secrets Act.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C274376

No specific penalty is provided in the Act for the commission of the above offenses and the offender would therefore be subject to Section 14 which declares them to be indictable.

Chapter 147,R.S.C.,"An Act Respecting the Senate and House of Commons, "Sections 4 and 5 provide:

> "4. The Senate and the House of Commons
>
> respectively,and the members thereof respectively, shall hold,enjoy and exercise,
> (a) such and the like privileges,immunities and powers as,at the time of the passing of the British North America Act 1867,were held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom,and by the members thereof,so far as the same are consistent with and not repugnant to the said Act; and
>
> (b) such privileges,immunities and powers as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada,not exceeding those at the time of the passing of such Act held,enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and by the members thereof respectively,R.S.,C.10,s.4.
>
> 5. Such privileges,immunities and powers shall be part of the general and public law of Canada and it shall not be necessary to plead the same, but the same shall,in all courts of Canada,and by and before all judges, be taken notice of judicially.R.S.,c.10,s.5".

Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure, Third Edition, Page 143,Chapter 2, under the heading "Privileges and Powers of Parliament," discusses "the privileges,immunities and powers" to be enjoyed by Members. After discussing the origin of privileges, he declares that it is a general principle of English Parliamentary law that..."the privilege has been always held to protect Members from arrest and imprisonment under civil processes,whether the suit be at the action of an individual or of the public; but it is not claimable for treason, felony,breach of peace or 'any indictable offense'."

Bourinot further states that a Member may be committed for Contempt of Court when it is of a quasi criminal nature,"and the English House has not of recent years deemed it expedient to interfers in cases of an open or gross character."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

The right of Courts to enquire into the question of privilege is discussed by Bourinot at Page 147 as follows:

> "As Parliamentary privileges rest on statutory as well as customary law it follows that they can be inquired into and determined by courts of law like any other rights. In the words of an authority: 'It seems now to be clearly settled that the courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the House, courts of law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privileges, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application" (c)."

It would appear clear that a Member who has committed an indictable offense is therefore liable to arrest at any time and any place except on the floor of the House when it is sitting.

(b) Would it be advisable or inadvisable to charge the Member at the same time as the individual from whom the information was obtained".

The failure to charge the Member at the same time would appear highly inadvisable. The origin of the trouble, the cause of the temptation and downfall of the individual in question arises entirely and exclusively from the actions of the Member. The failure to charge the latter at the same time and bring him before the Courts if possible would inevitably give rise to a reaction which in my opinion would be entirely prejudicial to the proper disposal of the complaint.

Obviously at the present time and in so far as my information goes, the only evidence against the Member would be the testimony of the individual who gave him information. The Member might see fit to offer his own testimony and deny the whole story. The court might then have to decide

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

between the credibility of a witness and an accused. The fact, however, that the witness has incriminated himself by the story and is himself separately charged should, in my opinion, lead any judge to conclude that the version cannot be untrue, the more so in that there is nothing to indicate any unfriendliness whatsoever between the two persons.

Obviously they would have to be separately charged. There should be in my opinion, added a count of conspiracy referring to the substantive offences themselves.

I have not before me all the information arising out of the cases and it is quite possible that certain facts may lead one to another conclusion, but relying for the moment solely on the deposition which I now have, I feel quite definitely that the non-arrest of the Member would not only be prejudicial to the other case but to the interest of justice in general.

Yours very truly,

"F.P.Brais"

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274379
RC/E 512

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION

Section I INTRODUCTORY

We commenced hearing evidence on the 13th day of February, 1946, and from then to the 18th of April sat continuously each week day with a very few exceptions. From then on we continued to take evidence as witnesses were available and we held our last sittings to hear witnesses on the 27th day of June, 1946.

The procedure we followed is set out in some detail in Section XI of this Report. We may add that we have heard some 116 witnesses, many of whom had to be recalled more than once, have studied about 1000 Exhibits filed before us, and the evidence taken runs to over 6000 pages.

p. 9

Section II THE GENERAL PATTERN

1. Introductory: Igor Gouzenko

The set-up of this organization in Canada is the result of a long preparation by trained and experienced men, who have come here for the express purpose of carrying on spying activities, and who have employed all the resources at their disposal, with or without corruption, to fulfill the tasks assigned to them.

p. 11

Secrecy

In rooms of this secret wing the cipher clerks of the various branches of the Soviet Mission in Ottawa were located. They numbered five in all:- The

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

N.K.V.D., the Embassy proper, the Political Section, the Commercial Section, and the Military. The N.K.V.D. Section sent its messages to the N.K.V.D. Headquarters in Moscow; the Embassy, the messages of the Ambassador and his staff to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; the Political Section, which was under Goussarov, communicated directly with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the Commercial Section, headed by the Commercial Counsellor Krotov, sent its messages to the Commissariat for Foreign Trade; and the Military Section, headed by Colonel Zabotin, the Military Attache in Ottawa, communicated with the Director of Military Intelligence in Moscow. pp.12 & 13.

Early Stage of the Military Intelligence Network

(Sokolov, Koudriavtzev, Zabotin)

Major Sokolov, on his arrival in Ottawa in 1942, began to reform the previous organization, and was directed by "Molier", who has been identified as one Mikhailov, an official of the Soviet Consulate in New York who came to Canada for that purpose. Major Sokolov, whose cover-name was "Davie", came to Canada before the opening of a Soviet diplomatic mission here, ostensibly as a Soviet inspector to work in Canadian factories in connection with the Canadian Mutual Aid Program to the U.S.S.R.

So far as the evidence discloses, the first head of the Military Intelligence espionage system in Canada after the arrival of the Soviet Minister was Sergei N. Koudriavtzev, whose official title was First Secretary of the Legation (later Embassy). From the time of the latter's arrival until Zabotin came as Military Attache, Sokolov reported to and took his instructions from Koudriavtzev. In June 1942, the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

latter handed over Sokolov and the espionage organization to Zabotin.

Sokolov's organization was as follows:

(see pp. 15 and 16 of the Report)

This organization, being the one for which Gouzenko was the cipher clerk, is the only one of the espionage systems which we have been able to investigate in detail, because it was in that branch of the Embassy only that Gouzenko had access to the documents.

p. 17

2. Parallel Under-Cover Networks:

It seems, however, that several parallel under-cover systems, or networks, existed in Canada under the direction of members of the Soviet Embassy but independent and distinct from Zabotin's (Red Army Intelligence) organization; and that these parallel systems, had and may still have their own under-cover agents operating in Canada.

p. 19

The Parallel Military System

This system was apparently also directed by the Red Army Intelligence Headquarters in Moscow, but not through Col. Zabotin.

p. 20

The N.K.V.D. System

There can be little doubt that the N.K.V.D., previously called the O.G.P.U., and which is the secret political police of the Soviet Union, have a powerful organization in Canada.

p. 21

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

While one of the functions of the N.K.V.D. unit in Ottawa was apparently to keep tab on the Russian members of the Embassy staffs and to report on them to the N.K.V.D. headquarters in Moscow, as already stated they also operated an under-cover network of Canadian agents. Its functions included checking and reporting to the Russians on members of the Communist Party of Canada, as well as espionage.

Gouzenko said:-

Q. When the Director at Moscow got that information he evidently had some means of making an independent check?
A. That is right.

Q. Did he use the N.K.V.D. for that?
A. He used that, and they used the Comintern also. Take the case of Norman Veall. Several times he tried to introduce himself to Sam Carr and some other people and said that he wanted to work, that he could get some information. They became a little suspicious about him, especially when they learned that he was in possession of a testimonial from a Communist in Great Britain who had been accused of espionage and had spent several years in jail. They became a little suspicious because he insisted that he be allowed to work. They telegraphed to Moscow and Moscow said, "All right, we will check it." Colonel Zabotin wrote a telegram, "Please check on Veall through the Comintern". They have files on all Communists, files in the Comintern. They can check anybody through the Comintern. Finally Moscow said, "Yes, we know Veall, we do not find any compromising material against Veall." They can check up carefully. The N.K.V.D. can use Military Intelligence or they can use Comintern Intelligence.

pp. 24-25

Naval Intelligence System

There is some evidence that a Naval System of Intelligence was in process of being organized.

p. 26

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The "Political" System

Gouzenko stated that the head of the secret Political System in the Embassy was Goussarov, who holds the official position of Second Secretary in the Embassy. Gouzenko added that Goussarov had been an assistant to Malenkov, Head of the Foreign Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, and that he (Gouzenko) had seen Goussarov working in the Central Committee Offices in 1942. Goussarov came to Canada as a Second Secretary in 1943. Gouzenko stated with regard to Goussarov:-

> "Officially he was supposed to be working in the Textile Institute, as I read in a Canadian magazine. Then he came to Canada. Goussarov is only the Second Secretary but obviously his authority is on the level of the ambassador. He has direct contact with the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He is a Party organizer in the Embassy, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party....."

Gouzenko testified that he had reason to believe that in addition to this Goussarov had the task of transmitting political directives from his superiors in Moscow to the leaders of the Canadian Communist movement. These directives would include not only general political lines to be taken up in Communist propaganda, but also instructions on techniques of operation. Examples of the latter would be the instructions to create or to get control of functional organizations such as the "Canadian Association of Scientific Workers"; to occupy important positions in labour unions; when necessary for special purposes, to instruct certain Canadian secret Communists to take up temporarily an anti-Communist line; to get members into controlling positions in the executives of youth movements, international friendship councils, etc., which could be important from a propaganda point of view.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

This system would also, according to Gouzenko, handle what he called the "Comintern Intelligence System". This apparently deals not with espionage but with obtaining and transmitting to Moscow biographical and other material on Canadian Communists and Communist sympathizers. These "dossiers" could then be used to check the information obtained through other networks regarding agents whom it was proposed to employ in one of the systems engaged in espionage or other special activities. pp.27-28

Gouzenko said:

> "To many Soviet people abroad it is clear that the Communist Party in democratic countries had changed long ago from a political party into an agency net of the Soviet Government, into a fifth column in these countries to meet a war, into an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Government for creating unrest, provocations, etc., etc...." p.29

3. International Links of Zabotin's Network.

It is not within our province to investigate spying activities in other countries, but some of the activities carried on in Canada were so linked with what happened elsewhere that we feel bound to mention them in this Report.

Thus in the summer of 1945, it became known that Dr. Alan Nunn May would be likely to leave Canada shortly for work in the United Kingdom. This gave rise to a series of telegrams between Moscow and the Soviet Military Attache in Ottawa, of which Gouzenko brought three. p.31

Another example of liaison arranged in Moscow between the networks in Canada and the United Kingdom is

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

provided by a part of a document in the handwriting of Lieut.Colonel Motinov, apparently a draft of a telegram which was subsequently authorized by Colonel Zabotin, ciphered by Gouzenko and sent to Moscow:- p.34

(See p.34 of Report)

These instances of liaison, or transfers, between the Soviet networks in Canada and in other countries were not limited to Great Britain. An example of a similar contact in the United States is provided in a page torn from one of Lieut.Colonel Motinov's secret notebooks:- (p.35)

Other documents deal in a considerable detail with relations between Colonel Zabotin's organization, Pavolov's (N.K.V.D.) organization, and a network of secret agents operating on the continent of Europe. They show inter alia that on one occasion in 1944, $10,000 was transferred, with the assistance of a secret agent in Canada, through the intermediaryship of a commercial firm in New York, to this European network, on the instructions of Colonel Zabotin. This matter is dealt with in Section VI and mentioned above in our discussion of N.K.V.D. p.35

4.The Comintern.

In his statement of October 10th, 1945, Gouzenko said:-

> "The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was probably the greatest farce of the Communists, in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work ..."

The documents which Gouzenko brought with him corroborate this testimony. p.37

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

5. RECRUITING METHODS

One of Zabotin's main objects when he started his operations, was to recruit persons willing to supply secret information. A belief in, or a sympathy with, or a susceptibility to the Communist ideology was a primary requirement in the persons to be recruited. The ingenuity that is shown in the method employed to get prospective agents into the "net" indicates that the system has been thoroughly worked out to cover all eventualities. The way in which persons who were in a position to furnish secret information, or who might be used as contacts, and who had some inherent weakness which might be exploited, were selected and studied, clearly establishes this. The methods of approach varied with the person and with the position. p. 43

Communist Party - The Main Recruiting Base

It became manifest at an early stage of this Inquiry, and has been overwhelmingly established by the evidence throughout, that the Communist movement was the principal base within which the espionage network was recruited; and that it not only supplied personnel with adequately "developed" motivation, but provided the organizational framework wherein recruiting could be and was carried out safely and efficiently.

In every instance but one, Zabotin's Canadian espionage agents were shown to be members of or sympathizers with the Communist Party. The exception was Emma Woikin, who was not, so far as the evidence discloses, of the above class. Her motivation was a sympathy with the Soviet regime based, as she said, on "what I have read". p. 44

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Constant Emphasis on Further Recruiting

There is frequent reference in the various Russian documents to the importance attached to the recruiting of new agents throughout the war years, but these seem to have been particularly frequent during the course of 1945.

The evidence also discloses that secret members of the Communist Party played an important part in placing other secret Communists in various positions in the public service which could be strategic not only for espionage but for propaganda or other purposes. p. 49

Supplementary Recruiting Methods also contemplated

While most of the "agents" were recruited from Communist "cells" after they had been thoroughly investigated and found sufficiently indoctrinated, other recruiting methods of a different nature were also employed by the Russians in attempts to extend the scope of their Fifth Column networks.

a) Social contacts:

For example certain Soviet Officials endeavoured to exploit their social relationships and diplomatic contacts with persons in Canadian Government Service.

b) Registration of Ukrainians and Poles:

In addition to recruiting among secret adherents of the Canadian Communist movement, and the attempt outlined above to exploit certain social and diplomatic contacts, there was, Gouzenko testified, a plan to extend the fifth column base

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

by an additional method. Gouzenko said:-

> "Russians or Ukrainians who came from the territory which is now occupied by Russia -- Ukrainia or Eastern Poland -- are paid serious attention by the Soviet officials. These Soviet officials have taken a lesson from this war. They learned what the Germans did. They know that years ago the Germans established very close contact with every German resident in other countries. They organized their Consuls and Embassies and obtained the names of relatives or relations of people who were living in other countries. They got in contact will all persons of German origin and if they considered it necessary they asked them to work in a general way. Sometimes they did not consider it necessary that they should work for them, but they just kept in touch with them.
>
> In the same way Soviet officials are working with the Canadians of Russian and Ukrainian origin. They try to develop those people as a Communist-minded population. If they consider it is necessary to develop some of them they can use the fear that their relatives will be persecuted in the home country. That is no joke. It is the real thing. They may say to a man, 'If you do not agree to work, your sister or brother may be liquidated'."

Gouzenko also said:-

> "They would not use just one method; they use a combination of all methods. They are always saying never to put all your aspirations and hopes on one method. Combine methods. They say that life is very complicated, so use everything possible. They would combine this method of infiltration, outside help, sympathizers, and others."

While, therefore, we have no reason to believe that this policy of registration was motivated primarily by any improper objectives, it is possible that the N.K.V.D. network headed in Canada by Pavlov did intend to take advantage of this registration for the improper purposes alleged by Gouzenko. Under the circumstances, we feel that it is our duty to include Gouzenko's testimony on this point in our Report. pp.52-53-54

Increase of Russian Staffs

It is obvious that there was intended to be a large-scale post-war expansion of the network of Canadians in the military espionage system.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

6. MOTIVATION OF AGENTS

Perhaps the most startling single aspect of the entire Fifth Column network is the uncanny success with which the Soviet agents were able to find Canadians who were willing to betray their country and to supply to agents of a foreign power secret information to which they had access in the course of their work, despite oaths of allegiance, of office, and of secrecy which they had taken.

Many of the Canadian public servants in this espionage network were persons with an unusually high degree of education, and many were well regarded by those who worked with them in agencies and departments of the public service, as persons of marked ability and intelligence. p. 57

a) Money Payments to Agents

The evidence is overwhelming both from the documents and from the testimony of several such agents themselves that their original motivation was a product of their political ideology and of the psychological conditioning received in the study-groups. p. 58

Such evidence as we have been able to obtain suggests that money payments were gradually broached to Canadian espionage agents. In other words a financial incentive was only gradually introduced for such agents to supplement and perhaps eventually supplant the original motivation supplied by the psychological development courses provided in Communist "cells". p. 59

(The evidence shows that several thousands of dollars were involved in Zabotin's operations.) pp. 52-53

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Development of Ideological Motivation

The evidence before us shows that in the great majority of cases the motivation was inextricably linked with courses of psychological development carried on under the guise of activities of a secret section of what is ostensibly a Canadian political movement, the Labour-Progressive Party (Communist Party of Canada); that these secret "development" courses are very much more widespread than the espionage network itself; and that the Canadian members of the espionage network themselves took an active part in directing and furthering such courses for other Canadians, which were calculated to allow them to draw suitably "developed" persons later into active participation and thus to expand the network itself. p.69

In virtually all cases, as has been stated, the agents were recruited from among "cells" or study groups of secret members or adherents of the Communist Party (Labour-Progressive Party).

It seems to be general policy of the Communist Party to discourage certain selected sympathizers among certain categories of the population from joining that political Party openly. Instead, these sympathizers are invited to join secret "cells" or study groups, and to take pains to keep their adherence to the Party from the knowledge of their acquaintances who are not also members of the Communist Party. The categories of the population from which secret members are recruited include students, scientific workers, teachers, office and business workers, persons engaged in any type of administrative activity and any group likely to

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

obtain any type of government employment. pp.69 & 70

One objective, we conclude, is that this technique facilitates the achievement of a basic policy of the Communist Party, viz. to get control, through the election of secret members to the directing committees, of as many types of functional organizations as possible, including trade unions, professional associations and broad non-party organizations such as youth movements, and civil liberties unions. Similary, secret members or adherents of the Communist Party may be used to take the lead in organizing new, broad and ostensibly non-political organizations, after which they obtain for themselves and other secret adherents key positions on controlling committees of the organization. By these means the technique of secret membership is calculated to facilitate essentially dishonest but not ineffective methods of propaganda in the interests of a foreign state.

p. 70

But there would appear to be a further basic object and result of this technique of secret membership of the Communist Party organized in secret "cells" or study-groups.

This object is to accustom the young Canadian adherent gradually to an atmosphere and an ethic of conspiracy. The general effect on the young man or woman over a period of time of <u>secret</u> meetings, <u>secret</u> acquaintances, and <u>secret</u> objectives, plans and policies, can easily be imagined. The technique seems calculated to develop the psychology of a double life and double standards.

To judge from much of the evidence, the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

secret adherent is apparently encouraged never to be honest or frank, outside the secret "cell" meetings, about his real political attitudes or views, and apparently is led to believe that frankness in these matters is the equivalent of dangerous indiscretion and a potential menace to the organization as a whole. p. 71

An inevitable result of this emphasis on a conspiratorial atmosphere and behaviour even in political discussions, correspondence, and meetings which are in themselves perfectly legal and indeed are the cherished right of everyone in a democratic society, would seem to be the gradual disintegration of normal moral principles such as frankness, honesty, integrity, and a respect for the sanctity of oaths. p. 72

A reading of the evidence before us, taken as a whole, indicates also that this technique seems calculated to affect gradually and unconsciously the secret adherent's attitude towards Canada. Often some of the agents seem to have begun their Communist associations through a burning desire to reform and improve Canadian society according to their lights. But one effect of prolonged habituation to conspiratorial methods and the conditions of secrecy in which these people work is to isolate them from the great mass of the Canadian people.

As the courses of study in the "cells" undermine gradually the loylaty of the young man or woman who joins them, it is necessary to say something as to the content of the courses pursued in them, as that is reflected by the evidence.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The curriculum includes the study of political and philosophic works, some of them far from superficial, selected to develop in the students an essentially critical attitude towards Western democratic society. This phase of the preparation also includes a series of discussions on current affairs, designed to further a critical attitude toward the ideals of democratic society.

pp.72 & 73

In some cases the effect of these study courses seems to be a gradual development of a sense of divided loyalties, or in extreme cases of a transferred loyalty. p.73

A further objective, pursued through the study-group, is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist Party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the Party hierarchy. p.74

In many cases prolonged membership in the Communist Party seems to have resulted in a very high degree of discipline and to have induced a semi-military habit of largely unquestioning obedience to "orders" and "Party policy". Such habits, once developed, naturally made the task of the espionage recruiting agents, who are senior members of that Party, relatively simple. p.76

Thus the leaders of the Fifth Column solved what would appear at first sight to be their most difficult problem - that of motivation, or finding capable and well-placed Canadians who

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

would be willing to engage in espionage against Canada for a foreign power - by means of a widespread system of propaganda and in particular by organizing a system of intensive study-groups. This system has been functioning for years, and was already a going concern used for espionage in 1935. pp.76 & 77

A further technical advantage, which this system has provided to the leading organizers of the espionage network, has been a surprising degree of security from detection. By concentrating their requests to assist in espionage within the membership of secret sections of the Communist Party, the leaders were apparently able to feel quite confident - and apparently with reason based on an experience in Canada over a period of at least eleven years - that even if the adherent or member should refuse to engage in activities so clearly illegal and which constitute so clear a betrayal of his or her own country - such adherent or member would in any case not consider denouncing the espionage recruiting agent to the Canadian public or to the Canadian authorities. p.77

The evidence we have heard shows that at each stage of "development" the adherent is kept in ignorance of the wider ramifications and real objectives of the organization, to one of the fringes of which he has allowed himself to be attached. p.78

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Apparently at each stage of "development" the adherent is carefully kept from an appreciation of the nature of tasks likely to be assigned to him when he is considered adequately "developed" for the next stage. p.79

The evidence before us strongly suggests that anti-semitism and the natural reactions of persons of Jewish origin to racial discrimination, was one of the factors played upon by the Communist recruiting agents. pp.82 & 83

7. LIST OF IDENTIFIED AGENTS IN CANADA.

As a result of these activities, Colonel Zabotin, with the assistance of Carr (cover-names Sam and Frank) and Rose (cover-names Fred and Debouz), recruited the following agents who have been identified. Most of these were given cover-names as indicated below:-

(see page 85)

The following members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa have been identified by both oral and documentary evidence as having been active, at one time or another since the establishment of the Embassy in 1942, in directing under-cover espionage operations in Canada:-

List of Members of Soviet Embassy Staff who engaged in Espionage Activities

(see page 85)

8. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD NO PART IN THE INADMISSIBLE ACTIVITIES

The evidence before us is that these members of the Embassy, who were engaged in improper

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and inadmissible activities, operated in special sections of the Embassy the operations of which were quite distinct from the official and legitimate activities of the Soviet Embassy, and that the Soviet Ambassador, representing in Canada the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, had no part in them.

Thus Gouzenko has testified before us that the Soviet Ambassador had no right of access to the secret rooms in the special wing on the second floor of the Embassy. Moreover, according to Gouzenko, the Soviet Ambassador had no right of access to the secret telegrams sent to and received from Moscow by Zabotin, Pavlov and Goussarov, the heads of the military espionage, N.K.V.D., and "political system" sections respectively.

Two of the Russian documents placed before us by Gouzenko vividly illustrate the care that was taken by "The Director" in Moscow to keep Zabotin's activities secret from the Ambassador. p.87

9. CONCLUSION.

The evidence we have shows that Zabotin's organization was particularly anxious to obtain technical information regarding devices which would be used in the post-war defences of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States; secret information regarding political plans and policies of these countries; economic information which would be useful in assessing the economic and military potential of Canada; details regarding the location of Canadian defence industries; information

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

on certain telephone land-lines and tapping devices; and documents which could be used by Russian agents "planted" in Canada or elsewhere, plus information whereby such agents could enter Canada and acquire a base of operations here. p.89

This Report shows that Zabotim successfully fulfilled many of the tasks assigned to him. His superiors in Moscow were obviously satisfied with his work in Canada, for in August, 1945, he was awarded two Orders or Decorations, the Order of the RED BANNER, and the Order of the RED STAR, which, as Gouzenko said, "are given for good organization work". The Chief of General Intelligence telegraphed Zabotin to congratulate him on these awards and added: "I wish you further success in your honourable work". Gouzenko said that when this message arrived Zabotin said to Rogov: "I have nothing to be afraid now to go to Moscow".

Section III The Cases of the Individual Agents

1. Sam Carr. Toronto

Whatever the correct date of Carr's attendance at the Lenin Institute, (the evidence before us indicates it was 1929-1931) the fact is certain that he did take the course at that institution and "graduated" as his registration card in the Embassy states. The conclusion of the Advisory Committee that "it appears, however, that p.104

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

he has been well schooled in Communist Party policy and tactics" is thus substantiated, and from a most reliable source.

The following evidence of Henry Harris, upon whom we are reporting, is also pertinent:-

"Everybody knows him as being from the Lenin School". p.105

Carr was after signing undertakings on the 6 Oct., 1942 released from internment. The report says: The ink could hardly have been dry on the signatures to the above undertakings when Carr met Koudriavtzev. p. 106

Carr was, along with Rose, the main Canadian cog in Zabotin's organization of espionage agents. His name and his activities run throughout the piece. Before Zabotin took over in June, 1943, Carr was already head of a group of agents, the "Ottawa-Toronto group". As recruiting agent he "proposed", as above mentioned, Benning, Adams, Poland, and "Surensen" and was charged by Moscow with the definite task of enlarging the agency personnel. p. 108

Carr was also charged with obtaining the issue of the false passport for the Russian agent called Witczak for which at least $3,000 was paid. This story is fully set out in Section V. of this report. p. 109

The notes set out in Section V of this Report with respect to the false passport matter contain three entries of payments of money to Carr, namely:-

September 13th, 1944.....$350
June 15th, 1945.....$200
July 17th, 1945.....$200

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

p.21

Carr also handled the $3,000 payment for the false passport. It would not be difficult to conclude that he was sent to this country in 1924 as a professional Soviet agent and has acted as such continuously since that time. p. 109

2. Fred Rose, Montreal

Twenty years after being granted the status of Canadian citizen and the freedoms, advantages and facilities of his land of adoption, which eventually permitted him to rise to the level of a legislator for the whole of Canada, being elected a Member of Parliament on the 9th August, 1943, and re-elected on the 11th June, 1945, Rose was arrested on charges laid under The Official Secrets Act, 1939.

p. 111

Rose was also released from internment and signed undertakings on the 6th Oct., 1942. Like Sam Carr, Fred Rose lost no time in violating his Undertakings.

At what time Rose first commenced his disloyal practices against the land of his adoption, is not clear. Suffice it to say that when he was only seventeen years old he already had worked for the N.K.V.D. (Russian Secret Police; cover-name "Neighbours".) p.117

Again, like Carr who was in charge of the "Ottawa-Toronto Group" of agents, Rose had been previously schooled in Moscow where, as mentioned in the Report of the Advisory Committee set out above, he followed a course of instruction in 1930 while serving there for six months on the International Executive Committee of the Young ommunist League.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The evidence shows him as an active speaker in the "study-groups" described by Kathleen Willsher as "Communist cells", and he there enlisted Willsher in the Soviet espionage service; as a writer of various articles in Communist periodicals; as espionage organizer; and as active personally in obtaining information such as that on R.D.X. given to him by Boyer.

Rose's activities were not limited to Canadian territory but extended to other countries.

p. 119

There had been a secret session of Parliament on November 25, 1944. It is apparent that Rose had reported to his masters on this session.

p. 121

(The individual cases of the various persons reported upon in the Interim Reports are fully reviewed, but special reference is made to the following:

3. <u>David Shugar</u>

When the evidence of Dr. Beamish was adduced, as the result of the publication of our interim report referring to Shugar, we communicated with Counsel who had represented Shugar before us, and made the evidence available to him, advising him that his client would have full opportunity to be heard further or adduce further evidence should he desire to do so.... It appeared that, following the interim report which dealt briefly with Shugar, among others, an information at the instance of the Attorney-General of Canada was laid against Shugar in the criminal courts and that the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

magistrate holding the preliminary inquiry with respect to this charge refused to commit Shugar for trial. p.314

We do not know what evidence was before the magistrate but ... in our interim report of March 14, 1946, we expressed the opinion that there would seem to be no answer "on the evidence before us" to a charge of conspiring to communicate secret information to an agent of the U.S.S.R., in other words, that Shugar had agreed to do something prohibited by the Official Secrets Act. p. 315

The opinion we expressed is now confirmed by the evidence of Dr. Beamish and adds the additional fact that Shugar endeavoured, after meeting Carr in December, 1944, to obtain the composition of the new recorder paper, information to which he was in no way entitled.

We are of the opinion that Shugar not only agreed to communicate such information but that the evidence before us shows that he did so communicate. pp. 317-18

10. Samuel Sol Burman, Montreal

From these documents it appears that Burman, who was going to England on duty, was to be brought into contact in London with an agent working there who was to be known to Burman as "FRANK". This English agent was to hand Burman a letter which would be signed "FRANK". It does not appear what this letter would contain. It might be that it would give Burman instructions about work that he was to do, or it might be, and we think this to be more likely, that it would serve merely as part of the identification of the English agent, in which case Burman's instructions for the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

future would come either from the English agent or have been well understood by Burman before he left this country and were perhaps set out in the letter from DEBOUZ (Fred Rose) to Burman. Burman had been trained in the army to act on the civil affairs staff in occupied countries and this may explain the interest of the Russians in him. p.357

On the subject of the Communist Party Burman displayed the same evasion and secrecy exhibited by so many of the witnesses on the same subject. We have no difficulty on the evidence, after hearing him and seeing him, in coming to the conclusion that the telegram correctly reflects his political affiliation. p. 363

Burman attended meetings of a Communist Club in Montreal after his return from overseas in November, 1945 and is a subscriber to the Canadian Tribune and National Affairs Monthly. Although the attendance at the club did not exceed fifteen persons, his memory as to these persons is poor. His evidence is characteristic of a good deal of the evidence of other witnesses to which we have listened. p. 366

All of this evidence establishes that Burman was of the same soil as that from which the other willing agents of Col. Zabotin were drawn. It also establishes the essential accuracy of the statements in the telegram with respect of Burman's family, occupation, political history and civilian clothing. There is no reason to think the other statements in the telegram are any less accurate. The whole document was written in order to have Moscow arrange at that end for the meeting in London.

We cannot report in the case of Burman that he did so communicate, but we think the story told by the above documents relates to this witness as there set out. There is no evidence before us showing that the London meeting actually took place. p. 373

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

13. Allan Nunn May

Dr. Allan Nunn May, a British temporary civil servant, formed part of the research group that came over to Canada, and was at the Montreal Laboratory as a group leader under Dr. Cockcroft. In the performance of his duties, May had access to a substantial amount of knowledge of the work that was being done in connection with the Atomic Energy Project. The evidence shows that before coming to Canada, he was an ardent but secret Communist and already known to the authorities at Moscow. p. 449

The evidence shows that May provided the Soviet espionage leaders with information on other subjects as well as on the atomic bomb. p. 452

.....May clearly admits having done what has been revealed by the official documents from the Embassy, namely, the giving of uranium and a written report on atomic research as known to him. p. 456

14. Agatha Chapman, Ottawa

....she entered the employ of the Bank of Canada in 1940. When testifying before us, while still on the staff of the Bank, she was on loan to the Bureau of Statistics.

Kathleen Willsher testified that it was Chapman who arranged with her for meetings with Adams on street corners in Ottawa in 1945 after Adams had been transferred to Montreal. p. 472

It was Chapman who arranged with Willsher for Willsher to go to Montreal to see Adams. Willsher's evidence is:- (see p. 473)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

We think that Willsher, and also Adams, knowing the nature of the operations upon which they were engaged, did not choose as their contact a person who did not know what was on foot and who would therefore be naturally curious, but one who knew all about what was going on and was to be trusted by reason of holding the same views and sympathies as they, and holding such a responsible position in the pyramid of study groups or cells. The evidence discloses also the close association of Chapman with Lunan, Shugar, Gerson, Durnford Smith, Poland and Boyer, as well as with Adams, Nightingale, Benning, Mazerall, Rose and Willsher. With the knowledge of what these people were engaged in we think that Chapman did not assist in furthering the surreptitious meetings between Adams and Willsher, without knowing their object.

p.478

We report that in our opinion Chapman was a party to the communication by Willsher and Adams of such information.

p.479

15. Freda Linton

It is reasonably plain that "Freda" was not communicating information herself, but was a "contact" or medium through whom information was received from various agents and funnelled through Fred Rose or otherwise to the Embassy.

p.482

It has proved impossible to subpoena Linton. She is reported "out of town". The officer who endeavoured to serve her on May 12, 1946, reported as follows:-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

"Regarding the subpoena which was issued for Freda Linton of 109 Laurier Avenue, West, Montreal, it has as yet been impossible to serve same on her. In this connection, I wish to inform that upon calling at the aforementioned address at approximately 6:30 p.m. of the 12th instant I was informed by the subject's sister that Freda Linton is presently out of town, and it is not known when she is expected to return. I was informed by her sister that Freda left for unknown destination about two weeks ago taking all her belongings along with her, and she has not heard from her sister."

The inference is obvious.

Gouzenko said:

A. At first I understand from telegrams she was working in the International Labour in Montreal, and then in the National Film Board.

pp.485-6-7

We think that Linton was used by Rose as a "contact" in his operations for the Russians in obtaining and communicating information from secret and confidential sources. The flight of Linton is, in our opinion, as significant as that of Sam Carr. The reasons are doubtless the same in both cases.

p. 493

Section IV THE CASES OF OTHER INDIVIDUALS

1. Norman Veall

With regard to Veall, Gouzenko testified as follows:-

Q. What do you know about him?
A. Sam Carr told Motinov that a certain Veall had applied to him for work, and that he was a member of the Communist Party in England; he said he was a member of the Communist Party, and he showed Carr a certificate written by a Communist who had been arrested in England.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Q. Where did you get this information?
A. From a telegram that Colonel Zabotin sent to Moscow, writing about this meeting of Motinov with Carr.

p. 506

Veall deposed that from the beginning of 1939 he worked in the Meteorological Service of the Air Ministry in England until December, 1941, when he was transferred to the atomic energy project, coming to Canada in January 1943. Veall's work was concerned with the production of glass instruments.

Veall said:

Q. Would you be offended if anybody called you a Communist?
A. No, in fact, except that I don't believe that it is an undesirable label on a person.
.....

p. 519

In our opinion the evidence indicates that Veall did not communicate information with respect to the atomic work for the reason that the Russians designedly did not ask him.

p. 526

2. "Sorensen"

So far as H.I. Sorensen is concerned we report that we are unable to say he has so communicated.

We have been under the necessity of scrutinizing the facts relating to the witness in discharging our duty under the Order in Council, and the witness' request to be heard and to have his case passed upon by us.

p. 532

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. Jack Isadore Gottheil

We think that Gottheil is not one of those who furnished information to the Russians. He was being cultivated for that purpose but there is no evidence that he did so.

Section V THE FALSE PASSPORT

.....Gouzenko said that the passport referred to was a passport for a Russian undercover agent then living in Los Angeles who went under the name of Witczak, and that the efforts to obtain a Canadian passport for this man had been in progress for approximately half a year at the date of Colonel Zabotin's telegram. To obtain this passport Zabotin worked through Sam Carr. The full story with regard to this matter is given at pages 541 et seq.

The "Doctor Harris" referred to is Henry Harris, an optometrist whose business address is 279 College St., Toronto, telephone Midway 9553. He resides in an apartment at 215 College St., Midway 6794, and he had occupied both the above premises for some years. Harris came to Canada about twenty-five years ago, having been born in New York of Russian parentage, and was naturalized in Canada about five years later. p.547

The price demanded for bringing about the issue of the forged passport which was "not to be less than three" was cleared up by Gouzenko at $3,000.00. Sam Carr had originally demanded $5,000.00 but Moscow, in a cable, said this sum was "fantastic" and Carr agreed to bring it about for "not less than three" thousand. p.555

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Soboloff, ... a medical practitioner carrying on his profession at 583 Bathurst Street, Toronto,..... admitted that he had not known Witczak nor the applicant for passport at any time and that he had signed the application in April or May of 1945 on the personal request of Sam Carr, who was a friend and patient of his and asked him to do so as a "favour". p.557

The Passport Office is located at 38 Bank Street, Ottawa, but files moro than three years old are kept in the basement of a church located some distance away. p.558

A record was produced before us and shows that on the 14th of May, 1945, the Witczak file of 1937 number 3699-37 and another file in the name of three people by the name of Shepherd, No.4019-37, were drawn by W.M. Pappin, a clerk in the Passport Office. p.559

Investigation shows that so far as the real Witczak and the Shepherds are concerned, no reason had existed for reference to their file at any time since the date of the issue of their respective passports in 1937, except in the case of Mrs. Shepherd who in 1944 applied for a renewal of her passport.

Pappin gave evidence before us. He denied receiving either file on either the 14th of May or the 27th of August. He did not know there was any such record as that kept by Mrs. Souliere. On being shown it he nevertheless repeated his denial. Mrs. Souliere stated in evidence that she remembered handing both the files on May 14th, 1945, to Pappin. It is necessary for us to choose between the evidence of these two witnesses . We prefer the evidence of Mrs. Souliere supported as it is by the written record. When advised of Mrs. Souliere's testimony, Pappin did say that he had no reason to doubt her word, but he persisted in his denials. p.559.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The accuracy of the records with regard to Carr is established.

As for Harris, he denied any participation in these activities. The evidence of Harris himself shows that he and Carr were intimates, seeing each other continuously in their respective offices or residences. They were also of the same ideology.

In Carr's dossier Motinov reports a meeting held in Ottawa on the 16th December, 1944, between himself, Carr and Harris in connection with passports. The records of a local hotel show that on that date Carr and Harris shared the same room, having arrived in Ottawa on the 16th and departed on the 17th of December, 1944. Harris admitted his handwriting in the hotel registration card and the facts it evidenced.

In the same dossier an entry by Rogov dated May 7th, 1945, indicates that Motinov (Lamont) handed over his contact with Harris (The Doctor) to Rogov (Brent) in Toronto. The records of one of the hotels in Toronto show that on 8th May, 1945, Rogov and Motinov had registered there.

It is also established that Harris was in Ottawa on June 16th, 1945, the date of the "regular meeting" described in the notes set out above, which took place on that date where "The Doctor reported no success with the passports because of the absence of authentic data."

These notes contain a further entry under date "1.8.45" that "the regular meeting took place. Everything was normal. "The Doctor was at the meeting." This was in Montreal at "the corner of Sherbrooke and Guy near the Medical Arts Bldg." We were not in possession of any

pp.560-61

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

evidence showing Harris' registration in any Montreal Hotel on that date, but he himself admitted being in Montreal in July or August. He was vague about this, as about most other things where independent evidence was lacking. We think his stay in Montreal in "July or August" 1945 embraced the date mentioned in the notes.

Harris' explanation of his visits to Ottawa and Montreal were that he came from Toronto to rest.

From all the evidence, regarded from the point of view of The Official Secrets Act, 1945, we are of opinion that Harris did what Rogov and Motinov said he did p.561

Section VI GERMINA (HERMINA) RABINOWITCH

Born in Kaunas, Lithuania, on the 5th October, 1901, she was educated in Moscow, Paris, Geneva and Heidelberg. She holds the degree Ph.D. in Economics and Social Science. She speaks Russian, English, French, Italian and German.

She joined the International Labour Organization at its headquarters in Geneva in 1929, and arrived on this continent, travelling from Lisbon to New York, on a Greek boat, in the early days of September, 1940, to work in the headquarters of the I.L.O. then temporarily transferred to Montreal. p.565

Amongst the Russian documents there are five which deal with her.

.....she reluctantly admitted the substance of the documents and furnished many details which they did not mention. p. 566

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In December, 1943, Rabinowitch, complying with instructions both cabled and written to her by Rachel D_____(SISI), a Soviet agent in Geneva and once connected with the I.L.O., proceeded from Montreal to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa seeking to obtain several thousands of dollars for a group of Soviet agents operating in Europe.

p. 569

....on the 5th May, 1944, Koudriavtzev went to Montreal and had a meeting with Germina Rabinowitch and allowed her to read a letter addressed "Dear Hermina" and signed "Gisel". Evidently Koudriavtzev kept this because Gouzenko produced it. It reads as follows:-

> Dear Hermina,
> Thank you very much indeed for your care in our affairs and we hope that you will help us in future. It is important for us to send a letter to Geneva to Sisi. Can you send this letter with a reliable man to whom you trust. All expenses will be paid. Please let us know about your proposals in this connection as soon as possible. Please inform us about delivery of your service mail to Geneva and why are you sure that it is not censored. Please wire to Rachel or Alexander that Gisel's parents are interested about the health of Sisi and Paul and that they will help them. We ask you to forward 10,000 $ to that watch company according to the Sisi's instructions. Make arrangements with our representative about forwarding of this sum of money to you in U.S.A. All your personal expenses will be paid.
> With best regards
>
> Gisel

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

.....Germina Rabinowitch admitted having made a trip to New York to have an amount of $10,000 conveyed to Geneva by the watch company pp.578-9

(When questioned on this matter, Germina Rabinowitch replied as follows:)

Q. Who did you think that Gisel was, then?
A. I knew that it was somebody connected with the Soviet --

Q. The Soviet Embassy in Ottawa?
A. Or maybe in Moscow. p.589

.....

Q. What is the name of the company?
A. Helbein Watch Company. p.581

.....

A. ...I went to New York on one of my trips. I went there several times a year, as I have said, and I was approached in New York by a man I don't know. I don't know his name, and he handed me $10,000, with a request to give it to the watch company, to Helbein, for A_____; and I did that. p.584

.....

Q. And following that meeting in New York, did you send any cable or write any letter?
A. I sent a cable saying that I saw Helbein and that I did what was asked, or something like that.

Q. You sent a cable to whom?
A. A_____. p.587

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Section VII EVALUATION OF INFORMATION AND MATERIAL HANDED OVER

General Comments:

.....a very great deal of secret information from a number of Departments and Agencies of Government was regularly finding its way to the Russians, p. 615

.....some of the information supplied standing alone would appear to have little, if any value. This, however does not mean that it was in fact valueless. The The evidence indicates that there were agents working along the same lines in the United Kingdom, the United States, and elsewhere. The Russians would know from their agents in Canada that information was being pooled: by getting some information on a subject here, some in England and some in the United States, and then assembling it, a very large body of data could be built up. It is therefore impossible to say that any information handed over, no matter how trivial it might appear by itself, was not of some value.

However much secret and valuable information was handed over.

Atomic Energy:

As to the question of atomic energy and the work done by nuclear physicists, we are able to say in the first place that on the evidence before us no one in Canada could have revealed how to make an atomic bomb. There was no one in Canada who had that information. In the second place there is no suggestion in the evidence that anyone who had any information on the subject made any disclosures except May. As to May, he did have certain information that would be of value to the Russians. He was in a position to get, where we do

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

not know but possibly in Montreal, samples of Uranium 235 enriched and Uranium 233; he did get them and did deliver them to Lt. Angelov. These samples were considered so important by the Russians that upon their receipt Motinov flew to Moscow with them p.161-17

Radar:

Next to the atomic bomb it would appear to us that the development of Radar was perhaps the most vital work accomplished by the English-speaking Democracies in the technical field during the period in question. British scientists had already done valuable pioneering work before 1939, but the improvements made since then have been considerable and many of these are still in the Top Secret category. Information of the greatest importance in this field was communicated to the Russians by agents.

Asdic:

The work done in connection with anti-submarine devices, Asdic, is as important as the work done on Radar--some authorities say that it is more important. Much of it is still in the Top Secret category. The information before us leads us to the conclusion that much, and possibly all, of the information available in Canada on this subject has been compromised. It would at least be unwise to assume anything else.

Explosives and Propellants:

The advances made in Canada by Canadians in developing and improving explosives and propellants were outstanding. Canadian scientists were given very full information on the work being done in the same fields in the United Kingdom and the United States. The very names of many formulas are still supposed to be secret: the production methods even more so. But the names and much of the secret information were given to the Russians as well as continuing information about trials, experiments and proposed future research. This information was of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

great value.

V.T. Fuse:

Another development in which Canada played a leading role is the "V.T. Fuse", the name being a code name. "This is the fuse that knocked the Japanese Air Force out of the air", and it was used against the Germans in the latter part of the European War. The wiring details and the details of manufacture are still classified as secret. This fuse was developed in Canada. "We started to work in 1943", said a witness, "and developed it to the place where we had to put it into manufacture; but we had no place to manufacture it so we gave this secret to the Americans, and they, with their own knowledge and ours, produced this fuse. Canadians have been in on this right from the very beginning". One of the agents upon whom we are reporting had the wiring diagram of this fuse. There are certain details of the manufacture which were known only to the Americans; and the United States of America is, we are told, the only country that can build the fuse at the present time. This fuse is the "electro bomb" referred to in some of the Russian documents. None of the armaments sent to Russia during the war included this fuse.

Conclusion on technical information sought:

In conclusion, therefore, we can say that much vital technical information, which should still be secret to the authorities of Canada, Great Britain and the United States, has been made known to the Russians by reason of the espionage activities reported on herein. The full extent of the information handed over it is impossible to say; as we have already pointed out, these operations have been going on for some time. We should emphasize that the bulk of the technical information sought by the espionage leaders related to research developments which would play an important part in the post-war defences of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Other kinds of Information:

Much of the information handed over by agents such as Adams, Benning and Gerson comes in a different category from the technical and scientific information dealt with above.

Canada's post-war economic and military potential:

Regarding the evaluation of this material, we will say only that this information appears to have been such as would be designed to facilitate detailed estimates of Canada's post-war economic and military potential. Parts of this information could also be useful in connection with possible sabotage operations.

Political information:

There is a further category of information which we should mention briefly. In addition to material on technical, scientific and economic subjects, the espionage leaders also sought -- and obtained from agents in the cipher division of the Department of External Affairs and in the registry of the Office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Ottawa -- political information. Much of the political information obtained was classified as top secret and related not only to the policies of the Canadian Government but to those of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States.

Official documents:

Again, Canadian citizenship documents such as passports, naturalization certificates, and marriage or birth certificates, were sought for illegal purposes and in some cases obtained.

....The most important thing is the agreement of certain Canadian Communists to work under foreign orders in a conspiracy directed against their own country. pp.616-20

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Section VIII ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR SUPPLYING INFORMATION OFFICIALLY TO THE SOVIET MILITARY ATTACHE

The Canadian Department of National Defence had set up an organization to maintain liaison with the Military Attaches of the various foreign governments represented in Ottawa, including the Soviet Military Attache, and to supply them officially with all authorized information which they might seek.

Requests for information or for permission to visit any officer in National Defence headquarters were to be made to the Secretary, Department of National Defence. Requests for technical information would then be referred to the technical directorate concerned to assemble the information and then to the Directorate of Intelligence which was responsible for deciding whether or not such information could be handed over.

Major Sokolov disregarded the official procedure laid down for foreign Military Attaches and officers of their staffs, and made direct enquiries of technical units. p. 621

In fact no information whatsoever, officially asked by Colonel Zabotin was refused. p. 623

The evidence further shows that Zabotin at no time ever indicated a desire to exchange information. Colonel Jenkins said that all his section got from Zabotin was bundles of pamphlets or magazines, Military Thought and Air Fleet News, which Zabotin would bring in every three months or so. p. 624

In this section we have referred to one of the arrangements made by the Canadian authorities for the official supply of information to the Soviet ilitary authorities. This has been necessary because of the light it

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

throws on the abuse which Zabotin made of his official position in Ottawa. p. 626

SECTION IX - AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS.

No occasion was neglected throughout the enquiry to test their authenticity and accuracy. We were, however, steadily and increasingly impressed by the evidence as it developed during these numerous and lengthy sessions. It brought to light an unhappy but unfaded picture of organized and progressing spying activities in Canada. p. 627

The Admissions Made in the capital of the Soviet Union, by the Soviet Government on the 20th February 1946. p.627-28-29.

Admission by Conduct of Certain Russian Officials in Ottawa. p. 629-30.

Some of the Stationery Traced to Soviet Embassy. p. 630

Handwriting of Colonel Zabotin, Colonel Rogov and Lieutenant Colonel Motinov Identified. p. 630-31.

Handwritten and Typewritten Documents from the Russian Embassy Traced to Employees of the Canadian Government or Agencies Thereof. p. 631-32.

The Connection Shown in the Russian Secret Documents between the various Canadian Agents is reflected and exemplified in the private documents found in their possession. p. 633-34.

The conclusion that the documents which Gouzenko brought are authentic, is inescapable. We have given as illustrations some of the factors which establish the authenticity of particular documents. Many other illustrations could be given, and perusal of the Sections of this Report dealing with the illicit activities of the Russian Fifth Column agents will provide further instances. In addition to the admissions of the accuracy of statements in the documents regarding their participation in illicit activities made by the persons concerned, and already set out in this Section, Boyer, Mazerall, Willsher, Rabinowitch and May made similar admissions, the last named when questioned after his return p. 634

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to the United Kingdom. These admissions are dealt with in the relevant Sub-Sections of Section III of this Report. p. 634

There are instances, of course, of inaccuracies in matters of fact due to the human element; had such been entirely absent, there would have been cause for suspicion. p. 635

SECTION X - IGOR GOUZENKO.

Statement of Gouzenko:-

I, Igor Gouzenko, wish to make the following statement of my own will:

Having arrived in Canada two years ago, I was surprised during the first days by the complete freedom of the individual which exists in Canada but does not exist in Russia. The false representations about the democratic countries which are increasingly propagated in Russia were dissipated daily, as no lying propaganda can stand up against facts.

During two years of life in Canada I saw the evidence of what a free people can do. What the Canadian people have accomplished and are accomplishing here under conditions of complete freedom -- the Russian people, under the conditions of the Soviet regime of violence and suppression of all freedom, cannot accomplish even at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, blood and tears.

The last elections which took place recently in Canada especially surprised me. In comparison with them the system of elections in Russia appear as a mockery of the conception of free elections. For example, the fact that in elections in the Soviet Union one candidate is put forward, so that the possibilities of choice are eliminated, speaks for itself.

While creating a false picture of the conditions of life in these countries, the Soviet Government at the same time is taking all measures to prevent the peoples of democratic countries from knowing about the conditions of life in Russia. The facts about the brutal suppression of the freedom of speech, the mockery of the real religious feelings of the people, cannot penetrate into the democratic countries.

Having imposed its communist regime on the people, the Government of the Soviet Union asserts that the Russian people have, as it were, their own particular

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

understanding of freedom and democracy, different from that which prevails among the peoples of the western democracies. This is a lie. The Russian people have the same understanding of freedom as all the peoples of the world. However, the Russian people cannot realize their dream of freedom and a democratic government on account of cruel terror and persecution.

Holding forth at international conferences with voluble statements about peace and security, the Soviet Government is simultaneously preparing secretly for the third world war. To meet this war the Soviet Government is creating in democratic countries, including Canada, a fifth column, in the organization of which even diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Government take part.

The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was, probably, the greatest farce of the Communists in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work, because the Soviet leaders have never relinquished the idea of establishing a Communist dictatorship throughout the world.

Taking into account least of all that this adventurous idea will cost millions of Russian lives, the Communists are engendering hatred in the Russian people towards everything foreign.

To many Soviet people here and abroad it is clear that the Communist Party in democratic countries has changed long ago from a political party into an agency net of the Soviet Government, into a fifth column in these countries to meet a war, into an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Government for creating artificial unrest, provocation, etc., etc.

Through numerous party agitators the Soviet Government stirs up the Russian people in every possible way against the peoples of the democratic countries, preparing the ground for the third world war.

During my residence in Canada I have seen how the Canadian people and their Government, sincerely wishing to help the Soviet people, sent supplies to the Soviet Union, collected money for the welfare of the Russian people, sacrificing the lives of their sons in the delivery of these supplies across the ocean -- and instead of gratitude for the help rendered, the Soviet Government is developing espionage activity in Canada, preparing to deliver a stab in the back of Canada -- all this without the knowledge of the Russian people.

Convinced that such double-faced politics of the Soviet Government towards the democratic countries do not conform with the interests of the Russian people

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and endanger the security of civilization, I decided to break away from the Soviet regime and to announce my decision openly.

I am glad that I found the strength within myself to take this step and to warn Canada and the other democratic countries of the danger which hangs over them.

(sgd.) Gouzenko.

I have read the foregoing translation which was made from my original statement in Russian, and have found it to be correct.
October 10th, 1945.

(sgd.) Gouzenko.

p.638,639,640

. . . . .

In our opinion Gouzenko, by what he has done, has rendered great public service to the people of this country, and thereby has placed Canada in his debt.

p. 648

SECTION XI - LAW AND PROCEDURE

1. P.C. 6444

We felt that the exercise by the Minister of the power conferred upon him by Order in Council P.C. 6444 would have much more chance of effectuating the preventive intent of that Order and of the Statute by the discovery of the full ramifications of the espionage organization, than failure to exercise it, the result of which would be to leave to these persons the fullest opportunity, once one of them had been called to testify before us, to collaborate with each other and to receive "instructions" from those directing their organization as to what they should or should not reveal.

If they had been left free to do this it would have hampered the work of this Commission, if it did not render it at least partly ineffective.

pp. 661-62

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

We have found one case where an agent was warned by a telegram which while innocent on its face was in fact a code warning. This, fortunately, came too late to be of use to him. p.662.

Gouzenko said:"There was one last conversation that Colonel Zabotin had with us. This was before the 5th of September. He gathered us in this room at 14 Range Road and said, 'Yesterday they were allies, today they are neighbours, tomorrow they will be our enemies.' In Russia there is a great deal of propaganda carried on by conversation of the propagandists and sometimes even in the press. It is all done to train the people to think that they must fight another war, that maybe it will be our final war." p.665

We believe Gouzenko reported what he heard at the Ottawa Embassy honestly and accurately, but we have no way of knowing to what extent these views are held by Russians other than those in the Embassy who exposed them. Insofar as the opinions expressed by him are concerned we are impressed by his sincerity, and conscious of the opportunities he had to be well informed whereof he spoke. Whether the international situation at that time (or since) makes the accuracy of his opinions more or less probable, is not the point. We felt on the 14th of February we could not take the responsibility of ignoring this evidence. It may be that others, called upon at that time to exercise their judgment in the circumstances presented to us, might have felt differently - such was not our judgment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Accordingly, with our concurrence, counsel wrote to the Minister of Justice as follows:-

"Ottawa, February 14th, 1946.

Dear Sir:

Re:Royal Commission - P.C.411

By reason of the nature of the evidence already submitted to the Royal Commission, the undersigned counsel to the Commission have recommended to the Commissioners that you should be requested to exercise the powers conferred upon you by P.C.6444, 6th October, 1945, and to issue Orders for interrogation and, for that purpose, detention of the following persons:

Isidore Halperin	Raymond Boyer
David Shugar	James Scotland Benning
M.S.Nightingale	H.S.Gerson
F.W.Poland	Eric Adams
Ned Mazerall	Emma Woikin
Durnford Smith	Gordon Lunan

The reasons which impel the Commissioners to accept our advice as above is the extremely serious nature of the disclosures so far made and indicated by the evidence, the fact that cover names of persons who have not so far been identified also appear in the evidence and indicate that the full extent of the ramifications of the disloyal practices and the persons engaged therein may be even greater than is already known and may be continuing; in effect the matter appears to be so serious from the national standpoint that the Commissioners believe that the course we advise should be pursued in these exceptional circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) E.K.Williams
Gerald Fauteux
D.W.Mundell.

The Rt.Hon.Louis St.Laurent,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa."

With regard to the expectation that the exercise by the Minister of his authority under Order in Council P.C. 6444 would lead to the discovery of others concerned in these activities, we are able to say that this has been the result.

pp.666 and 667

We are satisfied that Freda Linton would not have been the only witness who disappeared, with the consequent loss of testimony, had not Order in Council P.C.6444 been acted upon.

p.668

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

It is doubtful if the provisions of Order in Council P.C.6444 extended to Carr so as to permit his detention as he is not within the class of "public officials and other persons in positions of trust". In any event he was not, so far as can be ascertained, in Canada on February 14th, 1946. p.668.

On February 14th, also we were apprised of the following letter written by the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada to the Minister of Justice. The letter itself was subsequently placed in evidence. It reads:-

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

SECRET

Ottawa, 14th February, 1946.

Sir,-

In connection with an enquiry which is in progress by a Royal Commission, I understand that it has been decided to detain for interrogation a number of persons in Canadian Government employment. I am authorized by the United Kingdom authorities to request that, in view of evidence that a member of the staff of my office may be involved in the particular activities which the Commission is investigating, she also should be detained for interrogation. Her name is Miss K.M.Willsher and her address is known to the appropriate Canadian authorities.

I therefore wish to request that, if the Canadian authorities are agreeable to this course, you will be good enough to have arrangements made according for her interrogation and detention for that purpose.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) Malcolm MacDonald.

Rt.Hon.L.S.St.Laurent,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

p.670

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

....by the express provisions of that Order the persons detained under those provisions were to be detained "in such place and under such conditions" as should from time to time be determined by the Minister. p.670

We may mention that none of the witnesses who had been detained under P.C.6444 made or suggested any complaint to us about their interrogation, the methods of their interrogation, the living conditions in their places of detention, or their treatment by their custodians, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. p.671

2. Order in Council P.C.411

...any idea that all persons whose conduct is being investigated before a Commission under the Statute should be cautioned before being required to give evidence, is based on a misconception.

Under The Inquiries Act, Commissioners are given power by the sections above quoted to compel a witness to speak, and to impose sanctions in case of a refusal. It would be a mockery of the law, and a derisive pronouncement, to hold that a witness must be given the warning "that he is not obliged to speak ...." and yet that he should be liable to imprisonment if he did not comply with the compulsory sections of the Act, which provide that he is liable to imprisonment if he refuses to take the oath and answer the questions p.672

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

put to him. In not warning the witnesses, we have followed the only legal course open to us. The King v. Walker, 1939 S.C.R. 214; Reg. v. Coote, L.R. 4 Privy Council, 599

No duty to advise witnesses of the privileges of Canada Evidence Act.

We may point out, that in more than one case, where witnesses were represented by counsel from the outset of their appearance before us, they gave their evidence without any appeal to the Canada Evidence Act. Be that as it may, no duty with respect to the matter rested upon us. The privilege given by the Statute, to a witness who wishes to claim it, is said by Phipson in his leading work on Evidence, 7th Edn. at page 206, to be "based on the policy of encouraging persons to come forward with evidence...." The author does not say that it is aimed against self-incrimination. We feel it is too often lost sight of that the law is not designed to handicap society in its endeavour to protect itself against those of its members who commit offences against it, nor to give advantage to such persons. The language of Riddell J., in the case referred to below, Rex v. Barnes, at page 390, may be studied with profit: pp 673 674

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

With respect to the representation of persons called to give evidence before a Royal Commission the English law is stated in Halsbury's Laws of England, 2nd Edition, Vol,2, p.501, as follows:-

> Sub-Section 5--Non-Judicial Proceedings.
>
> 679. There are some proceedings, such as inquiries by Royal Commissioners, etc., where there may be no right for any one to appear except persons summoned, and where, therefore, counsel have no right to appear. But at such inquiries counsel, by leave of the commissioners, are often present, and examine and cross-examine witnesses. Tribunals of inquiry to which the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921, has been applied, have power to authorize the representation before them of any person appearing to them to be interested by counsel or solicitor or otherwise, or to refuse to allow such representation.

The position at law, apart from statute being as above stated, The Inquiries Act, contains an express enactment on the subject by which the Commissioners have a discretion to allow any person whose "conduct is being investigated" to be represented by Counsel before them It is only "if any charge" is made against any person in the course of such investigation that such person is then entitled to Counsel if he so requests. pp.675

The statute does not require that the Commission shall assign Counsel to persons called to testify. The Commission is given a discretion to allow or refuse representation by Counsel where a witness "whose condust is being investigated under this Act", asks permission to be so represented, up to the time when a charge is made against him in the course of the investigation.

In some instances we considered it expedient, in the exercise of the discretion given us by the statute, not to accede immediately to the request of a witness for representation, although in most instances we did so upon the request being made. p. 676

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

As to sittings in camera:

By Order in Council P.C. 411, paragraph 3, it is proposed as follows:-

> That the said Commissioners may adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time;

For reasons which appear in this Report we determined that the Inquiry should be held in camera and in order to effectuate the purpose which dictated that decision, at the beginning of the inquiry we required all persons concerned in the inquiry, including witnesses, to take an Oath of Secrecy as to their evidence. All counsel also were in accordance with the custom in such cases required to give their undertaking. This course was followed until in our opinion it was no longer necessary by reason of publication and it was then discontinued. At the same time that the Oath was required of any witness, who expressed any objection on the ground that it would prevent his consulting with counsel in connection either with the inquiry before us or in any proceedings which might be later initiated concerning such person, or from testifying in such proceedings we gave to such witness a release for such purposes; and in every case where such objection was not made immediately, but a request for a release was later made, such release was given. Further, on the 20th March, 1946, we placed upon the record a general release in the following terms with respect to persons testifying before us and their Counsel:-

> In any case where prosecutions may be had in relation to the subject matter of this inquiry the oath of secrecy taken by witnesses and the undertaking of counsel not to divulge to any person any of the evidence

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

> of which they were apprised touching the matters in question, nor any document or information coming to them touching the said matters shall cease to have effect to such extent as may be needed to ensure to any accused the exercise of the right of full answer and defence and to enable any witness to give evidence in any of such prosecutions. pp.676 677

The provisions of the Orders in Council were equally a matter for the Executive acting under powers conferred by Parliament. Once enacted they are law.

As stated by Lord Haldane L.C. in The Fort Frances case (1923 A.C. 695 at o.706) :-

> "No authority other than the central Government is in a position to deal with a problem which is essentially one of statesmanship." pp.677 678

Reference...made...to....the judgment of Lord Justice Scrutton in Ronnfeldt v. Phillips, 35 Times Law Reports, 46 at 37:-

> "Very wide powers had been given to the Executive to act on suspicion in matters affecting the interests of the State...."

"'Salus populi suprema lex' is a good maxim and the enforcement of that essential law gives no right of action to whomsoever may be injured by it" as was said by Darling J. in Shipton's Case (1915) 3 K.B. 676 at 684. pp.679 680

4. Status of the Commission.

In the first place such a Commission is a primary institution, though of a temporary kind, and is upon a formal equality with the other institutions of the State such as the Courts, Houses of Parliament and Privy Council. Reference may be made to Clokie & Robinson "Royal Commissioners of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274430

"Inquiry" (1937) pp.150, 151.

> The Commission's findings are as authoritative as those of any Court, and, as it is the sole judge of its own procedure, and may receive evidence of any kind in its discretion, it is sometimes in a better position than a Court subject to strict rules as to the admissibility of evidence, to ascertain facts.
>
> In the present inquiry the Commission has had an advantage in that it had before it the full story, as far as it could be learned, of the widespread, but closely interlocked, secret organizations, something no court of criminal jurisdiction, trying individual persons or even small groups of persons could ever have. p.683

Section XII - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

(see pages 685-6-7)

Section XIII - RECOMMENDATIONS

(see pages 689-90)

Section XIV - CONCLUSION

(see pages 691-692)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274431

RG 25 J 14

Ottawa, March 4th, 1946.

No. 4

Sir:

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of an interim report submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council by Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock, Royal Commissioners of Enquiry. Copies of the Interim Report are being made public today.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

N.A. Robertson
for the
Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

The Charge d'Affaires,
Embassy of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

OTTAWA, Ontario,
2nd March, 1946.

Your Excellency:-

Pursuant to Order-in-Council P.C.411, dated the 5th day of February, 1946, we have been conducting the investigation thereby provided for, having commenced our sittings on Wednesday, the 13th day of February, 1946. We have now reached a stage in the hearing of evidence which permits us and renders it advisable for us to make an Interim Report.

The evidence establishes that a network of under-cover agents has been organized and developed for the purpose of obtaining secret and confidential information particularly from employees of departments and agencies of the Dominion Government and from an employee of the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada. The evidence reveals that these operations were carried on by certain members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow. The person directly in charge of these operations was Colonel Zabotin, Military Attache of the Embassy, who had as his active assistants in this work Lieutenant-Colonel Motinov, Chief Assistant Military Attache, Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov, Assistant Military Attache, Air, Major Sokolov, of the staff of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy, Lieutenant Angelov, one of the Secretaries of the Military Attache, as well as other members of the staff of the Military Attache, all of whom, as well as the agents whom they employed in the pursuance

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

of their activities, were, in the interests of secrecy, known by under-cover names. We have noticed that each of the dossiers compiled by the staff of the Military Attache with respect to the Canadian agents contains this significant question:- "Length of time in net." We think that the word "net" well describes the organization set up and under development by Colonel Zabotin and his predecessor.

We have had before us a former employee of the Russian Embassy at Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, the cipher clerk of the Military Attache, who has described this organization and its functioning, and who has produced original documents, the authenticity of which we accept.

As shown by these documents, the specified tasks committed to Colonel Zabotin were the following:-

(1) As described in telegrams from "The Director" at Moscow addressed to Colonel Zabotin under his cover name of "Grant", in August 1945.

(a) The technological processes and methods employed by Canadians and the English for the production of explosives and chemical materials.

(b) Instructions as to which of the Members of the Staff of the Military Attache should contact particular Canadian agents and the suggestion of names of persons in the Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs who might act as agents.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(c) Information as to the transfer of the American troops from Europe to the United States and the Pacific; also the Army Headquarters of the 9th Army, the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 13th Army Corps, the 18th Armoured Division, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 28th, 30th, 44th, 45th, 104th Infantry Divisions and the 13th Tank Division, together with the dates of their moves, the location of the Army Headquarters of the 8th and 16th Armoured Corps, the 29th and 89th Infantry Divisions, the 10th Tank Division and the location of the Brazilian Infantry Division.

Whether or not there had been organized a staff for the American Occupation Troops in Germany and, if so, its location and the name of the Officer-in-Command.

The location of the 1st Parachute Troops and the plans for their future use.

(d) Instructions to take measures to obtain particulars as to the materials of which the atomic bomb is composed, its technological process and drawings.

(2) As described in writings under the hands of Zabotin, Motinov and Rogov, during the period March to August, 1945,

(a) To obtain from the National Research Council models of developed radar sets, photographs, technical data, periodic reports characterizing the radar work carried on by the Council and future developments planned by the Council.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the National Research Council; "Give more details of organization of Research Council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do."

(d) Particular work of specified employees of the Research Council.

(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the National Research Council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the National Research Council.

(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk River, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the "V" bomb.

(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

(k) A list of the Army Divisions of the Canadian Army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the Divisions which have been divided, or re-shaped, or undergoing re-shaping.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the National Research Council; "Give more details of organization of Research Council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do."

(d) Particular work of specified employees of the Research Council.

(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the National Research Council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the National Research Council.

(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk River, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the "V" bomb.

(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

(k) A list of the Army Divisions of the Canadian Army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the Divisions which have been divided, or re-shaped, or undergoing re-shaping.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(l) The number of troops in the Canadian Army in the post-war period, together with the system of its organization.

(m) Information from the Department of Munitions and Supply of various kinds relating to guns, shells, small arms, ammunition for small arms, arsenals, optical and radio appliances, automobiles and tanks, apparatus for chemical warfare and particulars of plants producing same.

(n) Information as to electronic shells used by the American Navy.

(o) To endeavour to keep agents in Government Departments threatened with discharge as a result of shrinkage in size of the Departments, in order to maintain their usefulness for the future.

(p) Information with regard to depth bombs and double charge shells for cannon.

(q) Information as to telegrams passing into and out of the Department of External Affairs and the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

It must not be assumed that the above list is exhaustive, but it illustrates the nature of the objectives of these operations.

It has been stated to us by Commission Counsel that the method of presentation of the evidence before us is with the object of ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents, but the question of the relative importance of the above subject matters has not been dealt with to an extent

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

where we are yet able to pronounce upon it. To proceed in any other manner might have been prejudicial to the ultimate attainment of the purposes of the investigation.

It has taken considerable time to hear the evidence relating to the general scheme of the operations being carried on, which evidence it was necessary to hear before dealing with the activities of particular agents. The evidence heard so far, however, establishes that four persons, namely,

Mrs. Emma Woikin

Captain Gordon Lunan

Edward Wilfred Mazerall

Miss Kathleen Mary Willsher

all employees of the Dominion Government, except Kathleen Mary Willsher, who is an employee of the Government of the United Kingdom, have communicated directly or indirectly secret and confidential information to representatives of the U.S.S.R. in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1939, 3 Geo. VI, Cap. 49.

Emma Woikin

This person was employed as a cipher clerk in the Department of External Affairs, having taken the usual oath of secrecy required in such cases. Taking advantage of the position she occupied, she communicated to Major Sokolov the contents of secret telegrams to which she had access in the course of her duties.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Captain Gordon Lunan.

This man, a Captain in the Canadian Army, on loan to the Wartime Information Board, now the Canadian Information Service, was the head of a group of agents acting under the personal direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov. In the course of his own particular duties with the Information Board, no secret information came to him, but he was the intermediary through whom the information furnished by the group reached Rogov, which information was, in our opinion, furnished and transmitted in violation of the statutory provisions already referred to. The members of the group headed by Lunan were scientists employed by the National Research Council and the Department of National Defence, Research Division, and their concern, under Lunan, was to obtain for Rogov information on technical matters in connection with the work of those agencies. Some of the information obtained and transmitted to Rogov related to the latest developments in radar. Through this group also secret documents in the library of the National Research Council were handed over.

Edward Wilfred Mazerall.

He is an electrival engineer in the National Research Council working in the field of radar, who also had taken an oath of secrecy. He was one of the group headed by Lunan and he furnished to the latter on one occasion, for transmission by the latter, two reports of the National Research Council on certain

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274438A

Edward Wilfred Mazerall(ctd)

developments,actual and projected,in the field of radar,at a time when the disclosure of these documents was still unauthorized. The fact that these reports were shortly thereafter presented to the Third Commonwealth and Empire Conference on Radio for Civil Aviation should be considered as an extenuating circumstance in Mazerall's favour.

Kathleen Mary Willsher

She was employed in the office of the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom as Deputy Registrar, having subscribed to a document in which she acknowledged having read the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom. She had access to practically all secret documents in that office,and made disclosure of the contents of some secret documents from that office.

In our final report we shall deal more fully with the evidence and our findings with regard to the above named persons. Each of these persons has given evidence before us and has admitted the substance of the above. To each,in accordance with the provisions of Sections 12 and 13 of The Inquiries Act,R.S.C.,cap.99, an opportunity was given to have counsel,but none desired to be represented by counsel or to adduce any evidence in addition to his or her own testimony.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274439

We propose from time to time, as circumstances permit, to make further interim reports before reporting finally. We are reporting now with regard to the above named persons as we have concluded our investigation as to their part in the activities mentioned, and we have been assured by Commission Counsel that they have no further evidence to offer which can affect the opinion we have formed on the evidence regarding these persons.

As already pointed out, we have been able to review the complete activities of four only of the agents used by the officers of the Soviet Embassy. The evidence indicates that, in addition, many other agents were active and that information more intrinsically important has been disclosed. We are not, however, as yet in a position to report with regard thereto, as the evidence has not been fully developed.

Respectfully submitted,

(signed) ROBERT TASCHEREAU
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor-General-in-Council,
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa

(signed) R.L.KELLOCK
Royal Commissioner

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

MEMORANDUM C 274440

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 16/7/46

Dr. N. A. Robertson to see

Please return to Jas. Laurier House

seen by J A C

~~Return To M. McKenzie~~

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274~~441~~ ~~fi'c~~

~~HyC/Gen~~

Rc/E

Ottawa,
July 15, 1946

The Honourable Paul Martin, K.C., M.P.,
Under Secretary of State,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Martin:

I enclose herewith a copy of a memorandum which I have received from Mr. N. A. Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. It refers to the report of the Royal Commission presided over by Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellogg.

May I direct your attention to the last paragraph of the memorandum. I should be glad if you would look into the matter and, if desirable, follow up the suggestion made by Mr. Robertson.

Yours sincerely,

W. L. Mackenzie King

MK/Z

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

NAR/SR
15.7.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Distribution of Royal Commission Report

1. The Assistant Clerk of the House is preparing a draft motion for the printing of the Report. I understood you to mention on Saturday 3,000 copies in English and 2,000 in French, but the numbers will be left blank for you to fill in.

2. The initial costs of type-setting, etc., should be charged to the quantity ordered for Parliament so that the copies for sale to the general public should not be listed at more than $1.00.

3. I understand that the King's Printer's selling arrangements prevent him from offering a Government publication to the publishing trade at a discount which would permit booksellers to retail the publication at the official list price. This seems to me an unreasonable restriction which will effectually prevent a Report of this kind getting the general public circulation which it should receive. I venture to suggest that consideration be given to authorizing the King's Printer to give quantity discounts to booksellers and publishers to facilitate distribution, not only of this Report but of all Government documents for which there may be a general demand.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274442 A

REPORTS FROM U.S.S.R.

D

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274443

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 22 MOSCOW, February 19, 1946.

No. 22. February 19th. Top Secret. Your telegram No. 19 of February 15th. Prime Minister's statement of February 15th is reproduced today in Izvestia and some other Soviet newspapers, without comment. There had been previously nothing in the Soviet press about this matter. Soviet authorities have not, repeat not, said anything to me about it.

LC
24-2-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274444

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TOP SECRET MOSCOW, February 20th, 1946.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 24

No. 24. Top Secret. My telegram No. 22 of February 19th. At 22:15 hours tonight, February 20th, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs Lozovski invited me to call at his office and read me a two page statement from the Soviet Government, which is to be published in the Soviet press and broadcast tomorrow, in reply to that made by the Canadian Prime Minister on the 15th. My immediately following telegram will contain text of Soviet statement as soon as I may have it properly translated.

General tenour is that the Soviet Government knew that some information relative to radio location and other matters had been irregularly obtained by a member of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. Although this information was of little interest to Soviet authorities, who already possessed superior data at home, the Soviet Military Attache concerned was recalled. The Soviet Government is surprised that it was not approached by the Canadian Government before public statement of February 15th was made. The Soviet Government considers that the Canadian Government is encouraging the Canadian press and radio campaign against the Soviet Union which has resulted, and

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

that this does not conform with practice to be followed between nations in normal relations with one another.

24.2.46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274446

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

MOSCOW, February 21st, 1946.

NO. 25

No. 25. February 21st. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of statement handed over to me by Mr. Lozovski tonight, Begins:

On February 15th this year the Canadian Government published a statement about the delivery in Canada of secret information to persons not having the right of access to this information, including certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission in Ottawa. On handing this statement to the Soviet Charge d'Affaires, N.D. Belokhvostikov, the Prime Minister, Mr. King, stated that the reference in the Canadian Government's statement to certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission referred to members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

In this connection, after appropriate investigation, the Soviet Government consider it necessary to make the following statement:

Soviet organizations have become aware that in the latter periods of the war certain members of staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada received, from Canadian nationals with whom they were acquainted, certain information of a secret character which did not, however, present great interest for the Soviet organizations. It has transpired that this information referred to technical data of which Soviet organizations had no need in view of more advanced technical attainment in the U.S.S.R.; the information in question could be found in published works on radio location etc., and also in the well known brochure of the American J.D. Smyth, "Atomic Energy".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274446

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 25

MOSCOW, February 21st, 1946.

No. 25. February 21st. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text of statement handed over to me by Mr. Lozovski tonight, Begins:

On February 15th this year the Canadian Government published a statement about the delivery in Canada of secret information to persons not having the right of access to this information, including certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission in Ottawa. On handing this statement to the Soviet Charge d'Affaires, N.D. Belokhvostikov, the Prime Minister, Mr. King, stated that the reference in the Canadian Government's statement to certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission referred to members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

In this connection, after appropriate investigation, the Soviet Government consider it necessary to make the following statement:

Soviet organizations have become aware that in the latter periods of the war certain members of staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada received, from Canadian nationals with whom they were acquainted, certain information of a secret character which did not, however, present great interest for the Soviet organizations. It has transpired that this information referred to technical data of which Soviet organizations had no need in view of more advanced technical attainment in the U.S.S.R.; the information in question could be found in published works on radio location etc., and also in the well known brochure of the American J.D. Smyth, "Atomic Energy".

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

It would, therefore, be ridiculous to affirm that delivery of insignificant secret data of this kind could create any threat to the security of Canada.

None the less, as soon as the Soviet Government became aware that the above-mentioned acts of certain members of the staff of the Military Attache in Canada, the Soviet Military Attache, in view of inadmissability of acts of members of his staff in question, was recalled from Canada. On the other hand, it must also be borne in mind that the Soviet Ambassador and other members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Canada had no connection with this.

At the same time the Soviet Government finds it necessary to draw attention to the unbridled anti-Soviet campaign which began in the Canadian press and on the Canadian radio simultaneously with the publication of the Canadian Government's statement. In spite of complete lack of significance and importance of circumstances which gave rise to the Canadian Government's statement of February 15th, this anti-Soviet campaign is being supported by many Canadian organizations, and at the same time the position taken up by Canadian Government is directly aimed at encouragement of this anti-Soviet press and radio campaign which is incompatible with normal relations between the two countries.

In this connection, surprise is occasioned by the unusual fact that the Canadian Government published its statement on February 15th instead of, as is customary between countries in normal relations, previously asking for explanation from the Soviet Government. Inasmuch as the Canadian Government did not consider it necessary to approach the Soviet Government for a previous explanation, it must be admitted that the Canadian Government herein was pursuing some other ends having

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

no relation to the security interests of Canada.

It must be admitted that the above-mentioned unbridled anti-Soviet campaign formed part of the Canadian Government's plan aimed at causing the Soviet Union political harm.

It cannot be considered a mere chance that Mr. King's statement was made to coincide with the ending of the session of the Assembly of the United Nations where Soviet delegate spoke in defence of principle of democracy and independence of small countries. Evidently Mr. King's statement and the anti-Soviet campaign in Canada which has been developed in connection with it are something in the nature of an answer to the unpleasantness caused to Mr. King's friends by the Soviet delegate at the session of the Assembly. Ends.

24-2-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274449

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, February 21st, 1946.

NO. 26

No. 26. February 21st. Top Secret. My telegram No. 24 of February 20th, Soviet spy activities.

I should add that Mr. Lozovski received me with great gravity but quite correctly. Interview lasted about thirty minutes and there was not a word not pertaining to the subject. When he handed me text (which contained no signature) I said I did not feel I should pass comments on it but that I would immediately transmit it to the Canadian Government.

Today's Pravda contains very strong editorial entitled "King as Bevin's Assistant" in which it is stated Canadian Prime Minister's statement of February 15th is nothing but manoeuvre to assist British Foreign Minister who has put his Government in very awkward position as a result of his attitude at London session of U.N.O.

24-2-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274450

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

MOSCOW, February 22nd, 1946.

Service Correction

Regarding telegram No. 26 of February 21st, third paragraph, first line. For "Urnda" please read "Pravda".

Corrected mgn

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274451

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TOP SECRET — Moscow, February 22nd, 1946.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 27.

No. 27. February 22nd. Top Secret. My telegram No. 26 of February 21st. Soviet spy activities.

"Izvestia" today contains virulent editorial entitled "Failure of plan of King and his Friends". It resembles that of "Pravda" of yesterday and reiterates that your statement of February 15th was a retaliation for reverses suffered by Mr. Bevin, yourself and friends at hands of Soviet delegates to UNO. It says Soviet statement of February 21st reveals, with complete clarity, true political meaning of anti-Soviet campaign launched in Canada on initiative and direct encouragement of Canadian Government and unmasks true political aims latter is pursuing in the sensation it has devised. It adds you were in no way abashed in your choice of methods for fulfilling this anti-Soviet plan, which chief aim "Is to divert public attention from failures of British Government at the Assembly and, at the same time, undermine increased international authority of the Soviet Union".

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, U.S.S.R.
MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, February 22nd, 1946.

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 28

No. 28. February 22nd. Top Secret. My telegram No. 27 of February 22nd, Soviet spy activities.

There is still too much effervescence for me to pass definite judgment on reaction and intentions of Soviet authorities in this matter. However, I should like to submit following points for your consideration:

1. Statement handed to me by Lozovski admitted some degree of guilt on part of some members of staff of their former Military Attache. This is most unusual and indicates that they must feel unable to refute completely evidence which will be made public by our Royal Commission.

2. The last paragraph of their statement, and also article in "Pravda" February 21st linking our action with developments at United Nations Organization, appear like what United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires described to me as a "red herring" destined to distract attention from real subject matter. Article in "Pravda" may look ridiculous in Canada, but can be believed here owing to previously expressed criticisms of Mr. Bevin's attitude at the United Nations Organization and owing also to the imperfect

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274453

knowledge of Soviet public concerning our status in the British Commonwealth.

3. Yesterday I had reception (organized before matter came up) in honour of Mr. Knowles, M.P., and our new Military Attache. I had invited three Russians, viz, Head of Protocol, People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, a Senior Official of Voks who had looked after Mr. Knowles and Major General Kutusov (Head of Red Army Department of External Relations). The three of them came and manifested to us more kindness than usual. On the other hand General Antonov, Chief of the General Staff, cancelled appointment for receiving Brigadier Allard on grounds that he was too busy. I have received invitation for His Majesty's Ambassador's reception in honour of Iranian Prime Minister tonight.

4. Soviet press so far has had nothing against United States in connection with this matter.

It is difficult for me to appraise situation in the absence of precise information as to degree of gravity of what will be disclosed by Royal Commission. My feeling is that Soviet Government would probably not wish to break relations provided results of inquiry are not too scandalous for them.

23.2.46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274454

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
Earnscliffe,
OTTAWA.

1027/8

Secret

23rd February, 1946.

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received a telegram from the Dominions Office forwarding the comments of His Majesty's United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires at Moscow on the official statement of the Soviet Government regarding the matter of the disclosure of secret information in Ottawa.

The Charge d'Affaires comments that the Soviet Government seem to be following their usual technique of attempting to draw a red herring across the trail and that the tone of their statement could hardly be harsher and the concluding reference to "Mr. King's friends" suggests that the Soviet Government wish to fix the major responsibility on the United Kingdom Government. He contrasts their allegation that the Canadian Government behaved improperly, in publishing the facts instead of approaching the Soviet Government direct, with the Soviet action in approaching the Security Council direct over the questions of Greece and General Anders' army in Italy without prior communication with the United Kingdom Government, her ally. He thinks that the Soviet Government may be prepared to bring some countercharge of espionage against Canadian, United Kingdom or United States representatives in Moscow.

The Charge d'Affaires has also commented on the article in Pravda of the 21st February headed "King to the Help of Bevin" to the effect that while the Soviet Government seem to have a guilty conscience, they are taking the opportunity to launch a counter-attach against Mr. Bevin for his successful stand at the United Nations and that their real object, apart from a desire to obscure the issue, would therefore seem to be to represent the Foreign Secretary as the stumbling block to good Anglo Soviet relations. He thinks that they may prefer to direct their main attack against the United Kingdom Government and to treat the Canadian Government as misguided victims of British guile, and he suggests that it will be harder for the Soviet Government to pursue these tactics if the Foreign Secretary refuses to be drawn and strikes a note of regret rather than of indignation in any comment that he may make.

Mr. Bevin has informed the Charge d'Affaires that he proposes not to make any comment for the present.

/I have been asked

The Right Honourable MacKenzie King, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274454A

I have been asked to inform you of the comments made by the United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires as set out above and of the reply which has been returned to him. The United Kingdom Government asked me to say that they would, of course, be interested in any information which you can give them as to the line which you propose to take and that if there is anything that you would like them to do to help, you will no doubt let them know.

The United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires at Moscow has been asked to keep the Canadian Charge d'Affaires informed.

Yours sincerely,

William Mackenzie King

RB.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274455

FROM: THE CANADIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES TO THE U.S.S.R., MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER O.T.P.

NO. 30

MOSCOW, February 23rd, 1946.

No. 30. February 23rd. Top Secret. My telegram No. 28 of February 22nd, information leaks.

Today's Moscow newspapers have nothing about us, but are full of tendentious reports about Egypt, India, Anders' Army, Trieste etc., all being directed against the United Kingdom.

24-2-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM C 274456

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

Ottawa, February 23rd, 1946.

No. 24

CODE

Minister of Justice today issued the following communication which he had just received from counsel to Royal Commission of Enquiry, begins:

1. Since the Commissioners on our advice recommended that you should be requested to issue orders for the interrogation, and for that purpose detention, of certain persons a considerable amount of additional evidence oral and documentary has been placed before the Commissioners which confirms the serious nature of the disclosures on which the orders for interrogation were based.

2. Orders have been made to date under Order-in-Council P.C.6444, dated the 6th day of October, 1945, and passed under the provisions of the War Measures Act and continued under the provisions of the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, 1945, for the interrogation of eleven men and two women and it is apparent that it may be necessary to request that additional persons may be interrogated under similar orders.

3. A great deal of evidence is still to be placed before the Commissioners and the reasons for proceeding in camera become more apparent every day.

4. The Inquiry is proceeding as rapidly as possible especially considering the difficult circumstances under which the work is being done (it obviously must be done with the greatest discretion) and the Commissioners desire to make a report which will contain at least some of their findings within as short a time as possible which, however, as appears at present cannot be less than two or three weeks from now.

5. The Commissioners feel, however, and have authorized us to advise you that in their opinion the evidence has not advanced to the stage where an Interim Report should now be made. They do think, however, that it should be possible to report upon

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

the completion of the evidence now in contemplation as above as soon thereafter as that is physically possible leaving such further matters as may later have to be dealt with for subsequent report. This is as the matters appear to the Commissioners at the moment. It may be that as the result of the evidence not yet heard the above proposed procedure might prove to be inappropriate.

6. The Commissioners have authorized us to state that notwithstanding their order that their proceedings be conducted in camera, the information communicated to you in this letter may be made public at once if you see fit to do so.

Statement ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Repeat to

High Commissioners

London, No. 496

Canberra, No. 46

Pretoria, No. 20

Wellington No. 13

Newfoundland, No. 29

Ireland, No. 12

Canadian Ambassadors

Washington, No. EX-576

Paris, No. 78

LC
24-2-46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/Esp 5/14

C 274458

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, February 24th, 1946.

NO. 31

No. 31. February 24th. Secret. My telegram No. 30 of February 23rd, information leakages.

Brigadier Allard was at Red Army reception last night. It consisted of concert, buffet and dance. Buffet was served in three separate rooms, one of which was for higher ranking officers, including foreign Military Attaches. When Brigadier Allard reached the door of the higher officers room, Sub-Head of the Red Army Department of External Relations, General Studianov, ran after him and, on pretext of having a drink together, took him to room where Aide-de-Camps and other junior officers were assembled. In fact, Studianov left Brigadier Allard there without having had proposed drink. When Brigadier Allard made second attempt into the holy of holies, he was politely reconducted in same manner by Head of Red Army Department of External Relations, General Kutusov. This had obviously been pre-arranged. The strategem was repeated through other Russians until the higher Soviet officers left the buffet.

Later, Brigadier Allard had the satisfaction of drinking toasts with Kutusov and Studianov until both of these Soviet officers fell under the table and had to be carried away.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274459

LH copy

RC/Esp 5/4

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 32

MOSCOW, February 24th, 1946.

No. 32. February 24th. Secret. My telegram No. 31 of February 24th, information leakages.

International Review of today's "Pravda" refers to your conversations with President Truman last autumn and says you subsequently kept silence either:

(a) Because, as a result of the measures taken by the Soviet Government, you felt question of little significance which had arisen was already liquidated, or,

(b) Because you intended to settle the matter through negotiations with the Soviet Government.

Article then argues that you modified your line of conduct in order to distract public opinion from the scandalous situation in which Mr. Bevin found himself at the closing of the United Nations Organization session.

Sent to Ottawa 11 25-2-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274459A

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - PUBLEX

NO. 572

LONDON, February 26th, 1946.

No. 572. Top Secret. Your telegram No. 491, 23rd February, No. 496, 23rd February, and No. 507, 25th February. We have informed Sir Orme Sargent of the contents of telegrams No. 491 and No. 496, and asked him to pass on the message described in your telegram No. 507 to Wilgress.

2. We are keeping in touch on matters of general policy with Sargent through his Secretary, Bromley, who has expressed wish to consult with us, in particular concerning instructions to their News Department. Foreign Office News Department is working under standing order to say that this matter is entirely the concern of the Canadian Government and it is up to the Canadian Government to make any statements.

3. I understand that when Vyshinsky was in London, Bevin complained to him about certain articles in Moscow press. When Vyshinsky said that the Soviet Government must not be held responsible for what the Soviet press (other than "Izvestia") said, Bevin expressed the intention to pay no attention in the future to these press comments. It is apparently in the spirit of this intention that he has determined to ignore completely "Pravda's" references to him in their attacks on Canadian policy.

MASSEY.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274460

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, U.S.S.R. MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

CYPHER- O.T.P.

NO. 34 MOSCOW, February 27th, 1946.

No. 34. February 27th. Secret. My telegram No. 32 of February 24th, information leakages. Nothing has appeared in the Soviet press on the subject since February 24th. This obviously results from the fact that you refrained from answering Soviet statement February 21st. In the circumstances everything will probably remain quiet until further developments are officially announced in Canada.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274461
KCIE 514

FROM: THE CANADIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 36

MOSCOW, February 28th, 1946.

No. 36. February 28th. Secret. My telegram No. 34 of February 27th, information leakages. In "Izvestia" of today, under heading "On International Subjects", "Observer" says even in Canada some people are beginning to understand what a strange and awkward position initiators of the present campaign against the Soviet Union have fallen into. The article quotes Ottawa "Evening Citizen" for regretting, at such a moment, a campaign should have developed in Canada which represents methods and motives of Soviet Union in an incorrect light.

"Observer" then quotes Ottawa correspondent of New York newspaper "PM", according to whom your announcement of February 15th was made under definite pressure; also Ottawa correspondent of New York "Herald Tribune" who arrived at conclusion that the whole story was founded on sand.

My comments: while maintaining thesis that your statement was meant to assist Bevin and cause political harm to Soviet Union, this article tends to minimise the incident by representing it as poor trial balloon which has already burst. It has not, repeat not, violence of previous articles.

16
V
1-3-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TELEGRAM

O274462

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

NO. 611

LONDON, March 2nd, 1946.

No. 611. Wilgress has sent message through British Minister in Sweden saying he is leaving Stockholm March 2nd and expects to arrive in Moscow March 6th. This message was an acknowledgement of the information in your telegram No. 507 of February 25th.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

PC/LG 274463

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, March 3rd, 1946.

NO. 37

No. 37. March 3rd. Top Secret. My telegram No. 36 of February 28th, information leakages.

March 1st issue of "New Times", which has just come out, is the most anti-British I have seen and opens with editorial "on current international situation" which contains paragraph saying, inter alia, that you have transformed an incident of little significance, which normally should have been solved by direct negotiation, into a pretext for an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. It adds that manoeuvre was so clearly stitched with white thread that the "Chicago Sun" has justly compared it to the Reichstag fire.

2. The "International Notes" of the same issue of "New Times" contain vile item entitled "Who is MacKenzie King", full translation of which will follow in my next telegram.

3. In "International Review", to-day's Pravda "Observer" refers to the above-mentioned statement of "Chicago Sun" and says provocative campaign in Ottawa and other places is producing an ever-growing indignation among progressive opinion throughout the world. He quotes the Ottawa "Evening Citizen" for recommending immediate return to commonsense and agrees with the same newspaper that Canada's anti-Soviet campaign may have serious consequences since, for example, there is a possibility of division among the British Dominions in the matter. Finally, "Observer" refers to article of the New York newspaper "PM" which compared the earlier Canadian Press statement, that Russia had created a real Fifth

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274463

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, March 3rd, 1946.

NO. 37

No. 37. March 3rd. Top Secret. My telegram No. 36 of February 28th, information leakages.

March 1st issue of "New Times", which has just come out, is the most anti-British I have seen and opens with editorial "on current international situation" which contains paragraph saying, inter alia, that you have transformed an incident of little significance, which normally should have been solved by direct negotiation, into a pretext for an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. It adds that manoeuvre was so clearly stitched with white thread that the "Chicago Sun" has justly compared it to the Reichstag fire.

2. The "International Notes" of the same issue of "New Times" contain vile item entitled "Who is MacKenzie King", full translation of which will follow in my next telegram.

3. In "International Review", to-day's Pravda "Observer" refers to the above-mentioned statement of "Chicago Sun" and says provocative campaign in Ottawa and other places is producing an ever-growing indignation among progressive opinion throughout the world. He quotes the Ottawa "Evening Citizen" for recommending immediate return to commonsense and agrees with the same newspaper that Canada's anti-Soviet campaign may have serious consequences since, for example, there is a possibility of division among the British Dominions in the matter. Finally, "Observer" refers to article of the New York newspaper "PM" which compared the earlier Canadian Press statement, that Russia had created a real Fifth

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274464

Column in Canada, with its last statement recognizing that the information received by the Soviet Military Attache was of no essential significance. Remarking that the Canadian Press reflected the policy of the Canadian Government, he draws the conclusion that our anti-Soviet campaign has ended with a crash.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/Esp. 514 C 274465

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE MOSCOW, March 3rd, 1946.

NO. 38

No. 38. My immediately preceding telegram. Following is my translation of article in "New Times" entitled "Who is Mackenzie King", Begins:

In connection with the statement of Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King, which was made, as it is known, in order to cause political damage to the Soviet Union, readers will possibly be interested to learn some facts from the political biography of this personality. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, became, for the first time, Prime Minister of Canada in 1921. Since then, with the exception of 5 years (1930-1935) when Conservative Party was in power, King has been heading the Canadian Government all the time.

Being Leader of the Liberal Party, King has not, however, displayed particular Liberalism in his post of Prime Minister. His Government distinguished itself by persecution of workers' organizations and even passed a special Decree declaring Communists outlaws. On the other hand, belligerent Fascist organizations have flourished on Canadian soil under his protection, such as "Jeunesses Patriotes", "Parti National Social-Chretien" and "Casques d'Acier".

The members of these organizations became notorious

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

by their attacks on libraries and schools and by burning, in public, progressive literature. As it may be seen, their methods were not especially original.

King always follows in the wake of English policies. One of his few controversies with the Government of the Metropolis was that he ignored, for a long time, Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement of March 16th, 1921, and did not consider himself bound by renewal of Anglo-Soviet relations in 1924. It is significant, however, that when, in 1927, England broke her Trade Agreement with the Soviet Union, the Government of King immediately took similar step.

During discussions in 1935, in the League of Nations, of the question of the application of sanctions against Fascist Italy, which had treacherously attacked Ethiopia, King refused ostentatiously to participate in sanctions, recalling Canadian representative to the League, Riddell, who had proposed to stop all oil supplies to Mussolini.

In 1937, King visited Hitler in Berlin and after this advertised him as "a simple peasant who does not desire anything outside of Germany", an estimate which does not in the least honour the farsightedness of its author. Then King was a fierce supporter of the policy of appeasement which was planned to direct Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union.

The above facts explain why King was an exactly suitable man for the next anti-Soviet campaign.

Besides everything else, King is known as a skillful and resourceful politician. In an interview given to the American journalist Griffin, he declared: "Success in politics is skill in choosing the moment for such or such

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

a step. The main thing is to know how to wait".

As it is known, King waited and chose the moment. But no success has resulted. His entire Soviet manoeuvre was exposed at once. But this did not depend upon him. Ends.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274468

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, March 12th, 1946.

NO. 43

No. 43. March 12th. Secret. My telegram No. 37 of March 3rd, information leakages. No further comment has appeared in the Soviet press, but "Pravda", on March 11th, published prominently a telegram from New York reporting interview given Associated Press by Admiral Standley, former United States Ambassador to Moscow. In this he played down the importance of leakages from point of view of relations with the Soviet Union and mentioned that, when he was in Moscow, United States Service Attaches received instructions to obtain information about Soviet rocket gun.

2. Having had their say, I do not anticipate that Soviet press will revert again to this subject unless investigation discloses further startling facts which they consider call for another counter blast.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E 5/14
C274469

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R., MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

CYPHER - O.T.P. MOSCOW, March 18th, 1946.

NO. 48

No. 48. Secret. Your telegram No. 37 of March 16th, paragraph 5. We have reported to you, by telegram, all references in the Soviet press to information leakages in Canada. No mention has been made of the report of the Royal Commission or of Court proceedings. We shall telegraph promptly any further references on this subject that appear in the Soviet press.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

514 C274470

Recently there have been published in the Canadian newspapers and broadcasted over the radio all kinds of information in which the attemps have been made to cast a shadow and to discredit some of the diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada, as for example on Messrs. V.G. Pavlov, I.I. Krotov and others. The sources of this slanderous information are the false statements of the former employee of the Embassy Gouzenko who had stolen money from the Embassy and who is indictable for the committed crime in case of his return to the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Embassy deems it its duty to declare that the slanderous statements of the criminal as well as the reports in the Canadian newspapers based on these statements regarding the mentioned diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada are completely fictitious and deserve no credit.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274471

DOCUMENTS

relating to the proceedings

of the

ROYAL COMMISSION

established by Order in Council
P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946,
including the First and Second
Interim Reports of the Royal
Commission



OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274472

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. Prime Minister's Statement of February 15, 1946	5
2. Text of Order in Council, P.C. 411 of February 5, 1946, establishing the Royal Commission	6
3. Letter of Commission Counsel to the Minister of Justice, February 23, 1946	8
4. Text of Order in Council P.C. 6444 of October 6, 1945	9
5. First Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 2, 1946	11
6. Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission to the Governor General in Council, March 14, 1946	15
7. Prime Minister's Statement on tabling the Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission, House of Commons, March 15, 1946	22
8. Letters of Counsel tabled by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, March 15, 1946	23
(a) Letter of Commission Counsel to the Minister of Justice, March 14, 1946	23
(b) Letter to Commission Counsel from F. P. Brais, K.C., March 12, 1946	24

58202—2

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1. PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 15, 1946

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, made the following statement this afternoon:

Information of undoubted authenticity has reached the Canadian Government which establishes that there have been disclosures of secret and confidential information to unauthorized persons, including some members of the staff of a foreign mission in Ottawa. In order to make possible the full investigation which the seriousness of this information demands, the Government has appointed Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice Kellock of the Supreme Court of Canada to act as Royal Commissioners to hear evidence and to present a report which will be made public. The Commissioners have appointed as their Counsel Mr. E. K. Williams, K.C., of Winnipeg, Mr. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., of Montreal, and Mr. D. W. Mundell of the Department of Justice; the Commission has already commenced its investigation, which is proceeding in camera.

Upon the application of Counsel, and having regard to the serious nature of the evidence already adduced before the Commission, the Commissioners recommended Counsel to apply to the Minister of Justice for orders for the interrogation and detention for that purpose of a number of persons known or suspected to be implicated. This action has been taken to-day. The persons involved include some now employed or who have been employed in a number of Departments and agencies of the Government.

It is the intention of the Government that, after the report of the Royal Commissioners has been received, prosecution will be instituted in cases in which the evidence warrants it. It would not be proper at this stage to make a more complete statement or, in particular, to make public the names of those concerned. Some of them appear to have been far more deeply and consciously involved than others. Some will probably be found to be more or less innocent instruments in furthering activities much more serious than they may have imagined. Obviously, the whole matter should be treated with caution and reserve, pending the time when it will be possible to issue a fuller statement. Until the investigation by the Royal Commissioners has been completed the case remains sub judice.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

2. TEXT OF ORDER IN COUNCIL, P.C. 411 OF FEBRUARY 5, 1946, ESTABLISHING THE ROYAL COMMISSION

P.C. 411

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 5th February, 1946.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated 5th February, 1946, from the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, representing:—

That it has been ascertained that secret and confidential information has been communicated directly or indirectly by public officials and other persons in positions of trust to the agents of a Foreign Power to the prejudice of the safety and interests of Canada;

That by Order in Council P.C. 6444 dated the 6th day of October, 1945, the Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice were authorized to make an Order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as the Minister might from time to time determine if the Minister were satisfied that it was necessary so to do;

That it now seems expedient in the public interest that a full and complete inquiry be made into all the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by such public officials and other persons in positions of trust of such secret and confidential information to the agents of a Foreign Power.

The Committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, advise that the Honourable Robert Taschereau, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Honourable R. L. Kellock, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act, Chapter 99, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and any other law thereto enabling, to inquire into and report upon which public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a Foreign Power and the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication.

The Committee further advise,—

1. That for all such purposes and all purposes properly incidental thereto the said Commissioners shall without limiting the powers conferred upon them by the said Part I of the said the Inquiries Act, have and possess the power of summoning and that they be empowered to summon before them any person or witness and of requiring them to give evidence on oath or affirmation, orally or in writing, and of requiring them to produce such documents and things as the Commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of matters into which they are appointed to examine;

2. That the said Commissioners be directed that a record shall be made of all the evidence which shall be given or produced before them as to the matters of the said inquiry and that the oral evidence of witnesses before the said Commissioners shall be taken in shorthand by a shorthand writer, approved and sworn by the said Commissioners or one of them and shall be taken down question and answer and it shall not be necessary for the evidence or deposition of any witness to be read over to or signed by the person examined and said evidence shall be certified by the person or persons taking the same as correct;

3. That the said Commissioners may adopt such procedure and method as they may deem expedient for the conduct of such inquiry and may alter or change the same from time to time;

4. That the said Commissioners be empowered in their discretion from time to time to make interim reports to the Governor in Council on any matter which in their judgment is the proper subject of such a report together with the evidence then before them and their findings thereon;

5. That the said Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel and of such technical officers, and experts, and other experienced clerks, reporters and assistants as they may deem necessary and advisable; and

6. That all the privileges, immunities and powers given by Order in Council, P.C. 1639, passed on the 2nd March, 1942, shall apply.

(Sgd.) A. D. P. HEENEY,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

58202—3

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274475

3. LETTER OF COMMISSION COUNSEL TO THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, FEBRUARY 23, 1946

OTTAWA, 23rd February, 1946.

The Right Honourable L. S. ST. LAURENT, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

DEAR SIR,—1. Since the Commissioners on our advice recommended that you should be requested to issue orders for the interrogation, and for that purpose detention, of certain persons a considerable amount of additional evidence oral and documentary has been placed before the Commissioners which confirms the serious nature of the disclosures on which the orders for interrogation were based.

2. Orders have been made to date under Order in Council P.C. 6444, dated the 6th day of October, 1945, and passed under the provisions of the War Measures Act and continued under the provisions of the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, 1945, for the interrogation of eleven men and two women and it is apparent that it may be necessary to request that additional persons may be interrogated under similar orders.

3. A great deal of evidence is still to be placed before the Commissioners and the reasons for proceeding in camera become more apparent every day.

4. The Inquiry is proceeding as rapidly as possible especially considering the difficult circumstances under which the work is being done (it obviously must be done with the greatest discretion) and the Commissioners desire to make a report which will contain at least some of their findings within as short a time as possible which, however, as appears at present cannot be less than two or three weeks from now.

5. The Commissioners feel, however, and have authorized us to advise you that in their opinion the evidence has not advanced to the stage where an Interim Report should now be made. They do think, however, that it should be possible to report upon the completion of the evidence now in contemplation as above as soon thereafter as that is physically possible leaving such further matters as may later have to be dealt with for subsequent report. This is as the matters appear to the Commissioners at the moment. It may be that as the result of the evidence not yet heard the above proposed procedure might prove to be inappropriate.

6. The Commissioners have authorized us to state further that notwithstanding their order that their proceedings be conducted in camera, the information communicated to you in this letter may be made public at once if you see fit to do so.

(Sgd.) E. K. WILLIAMS,
(Sgd.) GERALD FAUTEUX,
(Sgd.) D. W. MUNDELL,
Counsel to the Royal Commission.

4. TEXT OF ORDER IN COUNCIL P.C. 6444 OF OCTOBER 6, 1945

P.C. 6444

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 6th day of OCTOBER, 1945.

PRESENT

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS it has been ascertained that agents of a Foreign Power have been engaged in a concerted effort to obtain from public officials and other persons in positions of trust secret and confidential information the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada and friendly Powers and that secret and confidential information has been communicated, directly or indirectly, by certain persons to the agents of the aforesaid Foreign Power to the prejudice of the public safety or interests of Canada and of friendly Powers;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed necessary for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada that the Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice should be authorized to order the detention of such persons in such places and under such conditions as the Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice may from time to time determine;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Honourable J. L. Ilsley, Acting Prime Minister, and pursuant to the powers conferred by The War Measures Act, being Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. The Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a Foreign Power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an Order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine.
2. Any person shall, while detained by virtue of an order made under this Order, be deemed to be in legal custody.
3. The Minister of Justice if satisfied that the detention of any person so detained is no longer necessary for the public safety or the safety of the State may make an order releasing him.

58202—3½

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274478

4. The Acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice may authorize any member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to enter any premises occupied or used by a person whose detention is ordered at any time or times and to search the premises and every person found thereon and to seize any article found on the premises or any such person which the said member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has reasonable grounds for believing to be evidence that secret and confidential information has been communicated to agents of a Foreign Power.

(Sgd.) A. M. HILL,
Asst. Clerk of the Privy Council.

274479

C

5. FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, MARCH 2, 1946

OTTAWA, Ontario,
2nd March, 1946.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

Pursuant to Order in Council P.C. 411, dated the 5th day of February, 1946, we have been conducting the investigation thereby provided for, having commenced our sittings on Wednesday, the 13th day of February, 1946. We have now reached a stage in the hearing of evidence which permits us and renders it advisable for us to make an Interim Report.

The evidence establishes that a network of under-cover agents has been organized and developed for the purpose of obtaining secret and confidential information particularly from employees of departments and agencies of the Dominion Government and from an employee of the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada. The evidence reveals that these operations were carried on by certain members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow. The person directly in charge of these operations was Colonel Zabotin, Military Attaché of the Embassy, who had as his active assistants in this work Lieutenant-Colonel Motinov, Chief Assistant Military Attaché, Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov, Assistant Military Attaché Air, Major Sokolov, of the staff of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy, Lieutenant Angelov, one of the Secretaries of the Military Attaché as well as other members of the staff of the Military Attaché, all of whom, as well as the agents whom they employed in the pursuance of their activities, were, in the interests of secrecy, known by under-cover names. We have noticed that each of the dossiers compiled by the staff of the Military Attaché with respect to the Canadian agents contains this significant question: "Length of time in net." We think that the word "net" well describes the organization set up and under development by Colonel Zabotin and his predecessor.

We have had before us a former employee of the Russian Embassy at Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, the cipher clerk of the Military Attaché, who has described this organization and its functioning, and who has produced original documents, the authenticity of which we accept.

As shown by these documents, the specified tasks committed to Colonel Zabotin were the following:—

(1) As described in telegrams from "The Director" at Moscow addressed to Colonel Zabotin under his cover name of "Grant", in August, 1945.

(*a*) The technological processes and methods employed by Canadians and the English for the production of explosives and chemical materials.

(*b*) Instructions as to which of the Members of the Staff of the Military Attaché should contact particular Canadian agents and the suggestion of names of persons in the Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs who might act as agents.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(c) Information as to the transfer of the American troops from Europe to the United States and the Pacific also the Army Headquarters of the 9th Army, the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 13th Army Corps, the 18th Armoured Division, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 28th, 30th, 44th, 45th, 104th Infantry Divisions and the 13th Tank Division, together with the dates of their moves, the location of the Army Headquarters of the 8th and 16th Armoured Corps, the 29th and 89th Infantry Divisions, the 10th Tank Division and the location of the Brazilian Infantry Division. Whether or not there had been organized a staff for the American Troops in Germany and, if so, its location and the name of the Officer-in-Command.

The location of the 1st Parachute Troops and the plans for their future use.

(d) Instructions to take measures to obtain particulars as to the materials of which the atomic bomb is composed, its technological process and drawings.

(2) As described in writings under the hands of Zabotin, Motinov and Rogov, during the period March to August, 1945.

(a) To obtain from the National Research Council models of developed radar sets, photographs, technical data, periodic reports characterizing the radar work carried on by the Council and future developments planned by the Council.

(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the National Research Council "Give more details of organization of Research Council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do."

(d) Particular work of specified employees of the Research Council.

(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the National Research Council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the National Research Council.

(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk River, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the "V" bomb.

(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

(k) A list of the Army Divisions of the Canadian Army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the Divisions which have been divided, or re-shaped, or undergoing re-shaping.

(l) The number of troops in the Canadian Army in the post-war period, together with the system of its organization.

(m) Information from the Department of Munitions and Supply of various kinds relating to guns, shells, small arms, ammunition for small arms, arsenals, optical and radio appliances, automobiles and tanks, apparatus for chemical warfare and particulars of plants producing same.

(n) Information as to electronic shells used by the American Navy.

(o) To endeavour to keep agents in Government Departments threatened with discharge as a result of shrinkage in size of the Departments, in order to maintain their usefulness for the future.

(p) Information with regard to depth bombs and double charge shells for cannon.

(q) Information as to telegrams passing into and out of the Department of External Affairs and the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

It must not be assumed that the above list is exhaustive, but it illustrates the nature of the objectives of these operations.

It has been stated to us by Commission Counsel that the method of presentation of the evidence before us is with the object of ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents, but the question of the relative importance of the above subject matters has not been dealt with to an extent where we are yet able to pronounce upon it. To proceed in any other manner might have been prejudicial to the ultimate attainment of the purposes of the investigation.

It has taken considerable time to hear the evidence relating to the general scheme of the operations being carried on, which evidence it was necessary to hear before dealing with the activities of particular agents. The evidence heard so far, however, establishes that four persons, namely,

Mrs. Emma Woikin
Captain Gordon Lunan
Edward Wilfred Mazerall
Miss Kathleen Mary Willsher

all employees of the Dominion Government, except Kathleen Mary Willsher, who is an employee of the Government of the United Kingdom, have communicated directly or indirectly secret and confidential information to representatives of the U.S.S.R. in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1939, 3 Geo. VI, Cap. 49.

Emma Woikin

This person was employed as a cipher clerk in the Department of External Affairs, having taken the usual oath of secrecy required in such cases. Taking advantage of the position she occupied, she communicated to Major Sokolov the contents of secret telegrams to which she had access in the course of her duties.

Captain Gordon Lunan

This man, a Captain in the Canadian Army, on loan to the Wartime Information Board, now the Canadian Information Service, was the head of a group of agents acting under the personal direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov. In the course of his own particular duties with the Information Board, no secret information came to him, but he was the intermediary through whom the information furnished by the group reached Rogov, which information was, in our opinion, furnished and transmitted in violation of the statutory provisions already referred to. The members of the group headed by Lunan were scientists employed by the National Research Council and the Department of National Defence, Research Division, and their concern under Lunan, was to obtain for Rogov information on technical matters in connection with the work of those agencies. Some of the information obtained and transmitted to Rogov related to the latest developments in radar. Through this group also secret documents in the library of the National Research Council were handed over.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Edward Wilfred Mazerall.

He is an electrical engineer in the National Research Council working in the field of radar, who also had taken an oath of secrecy. He was one of the group headed by Lunan and he furnished to the latter on one occasion, for transmission by the latter, two reports of the National Research Council on certain developments, actual and projected, in the field of radar, at a time when the disclosure of these documents was still unauthorized. The fact that these reports were shortly thereafter presented to the Third Commonwealth and Empire Conference on Radio for Civil Aviation should be considered as an extenuating circumstance in Mazerall's favour.

Kathleen Mary Willsher.

She was employed in the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom as Deputy Registrar, having subscribed to a document in which she acknowledged having read the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom. She had access to practically all secret documents in that office and made disclosure of the contents of some secret documents from that office.

In our final report we shall deal more fully with the evidence and our findings with regard to the above named persons. Each of these persons has given evidence before us and has admitted the substance of the above. To each, in accordance with the provisions of Sections 12 and 13 of The Inquiries Act, R.S.C., cap. 99, an opportunity was given to have counsel, but none desired to be represented by counsel or to adduce any evidence in addition to his or her own testimony.

We propose from time to time, as circumstances permit, to make further interim reports before reporting finally. We are reporting now with regard to the above named persons as we have concluded our investigation as to their part in the activities mentioned, and we have been assured by Commission Counsel that they have no further evidence to offer which can affect the opinion we have formed on the evidence regarding these persons.

As already pointed out, we have been able to review the complete activities of four only of the agents used by the officers of the Soviet Embassy. The evidence indicates that, in addition, many other agents were active and that information more intrinsically important has been disclosed. We are not, however, as yet in a position to report with regard thereto, as the evidence has not been fully developed.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) ROBERT TASCHEREAU,
Royal Commissioner.

(Sgd.) R. L. KELLOCK,
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor General in Council,
Parliament Buildings,
OTTAWA.

6. SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL MARCH 14, 1946

(Made Public March 15, 1946)

OTTAWA, Ontario,
14th March, 1946.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

Re: *Order in Council P.C. 411*

Since the date of our interim report of the 28th of February last, we have heard a great deal of evidence without as yet having been able to hear all the witnesses whom it will be necessary to hear to complete the investigation with which we have been charged. Forty-eight witnesses have been heard in some forty-four different sittings of evidence which affects an additional number of persons concerning whom we now report.

Dr. Raymond Boyer, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at McGill University, was, since 1940, under an oath of secrecy, engaged in secret research on explosives under the National Research Council, the most important part of which concerned the making, by a process different from that previously employed anywhere else, of the explosive known as R.D.X. While so engaged, Dr. Boyer was secretary of a sub-committee of the Associate Committee on Explosives of the National Research Council, which was directly charged with the project. This sub-committee was at first called the Research sub-committee and later the Research and Development sub-committee.

This project, carried on between the years 1940 and 1945, was successful and resulted in the building of a substantial plant in Canada where the product was manufactured in substantial quantities. Large quantities were also manufactured in the United States.

All the reports on the progress of this project were secret reports prepared for the National Research Council and they are still secret, their distribution being limited to a comparatively few persons. Most of these reports were written by Dr. Boyer himself.

His name, and the fact that he had disclosed information with regard to this secret project, appear in documents in the Russian Embassy produced before us by the witness Gouzenko. We have now heard Dr. Boyer and he has told us that commencing early in 1943, and continuing into 1944, he gave, for transmission to the Soviet Union, full information with regard to his work which he himself admits was secret. He said that with this information competent persons would be in a position to design a plant to produce the material in quantity.

Harold Samuel Gerson was employed from January, 1941, to July, 1944, by Allied War Supplies, Limited, a Crown Company incorporated to supervise the construction of facilities for the production of chemicals and explosives, and later the production of these materials. Gerson was assistant to the head of the production control department. Following this Gerson was employed by the Department of Munitions and Supply until in or about November, 1945, when he became an employee of the War Assets Corporation, also a Crown Company. In the Department of Munitions and Supply he was Secretary and Chief of the Records Division of the Ammunition Production Branch. While still with Allied War Supplies, Limited, he was on loan to the Department of Munitions

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

and Supply on occasion and, after going to War Assets Corporation, had still some duties to perform in the Department. In connection with all of these positions he was under an oath of secrecy.

In the notebook of Colonel Zabotin there is a page which reads in part:—

> "GRAY . . . . chief of the branch of the Directorate for procuring war material for the allies. Taken to work on 1.9.42. Works well. Gives material on shells and cannon on photos."

"GRAY" is the cover name used by the Embassy for Gerson. The material Gerson supplied was not, however, later on limited to photos.

Gouzenko also produced a document from the Embassy in the handwriting of Gerson, as he admits to be a fact, which is a copy of part of a report dealing with the testing of certain projectiles in England by the United Kingdom authorities. These reports were sent regularly to the Canadian authorities from England and were secret documents.

In a telegram of August 25, 1945, from Colonel Zabotin to "The Director" in Moscow it is stated:—

> "GRAY was earlier given the task of taking all necessary measures for staying on his old job. At the last contact the latter stated that in the near future great reductions will begin. In the event that it will be impossible to remain on the old job GRAY proposes to form a geological-engineering consultative office in Ottawa. GRAY is a geological engineer by profession and therefore can head this office. The expenses for organizing the office are as follows: rent of premises 600 dollars a year; wages for one clerk, $1,200 a year; office equipment, $1,000; payment of GRAY as director—$4,200 a year; altogether it needs $7,000 dollars a year. GRAY said that Canada is entering a 'boom' period in the mining industry and it is therefore very likely that within two years the office will be in a position to support itself. The initial expenditure of its operation will be returned in the future.
>
> GRAY thinks that it is necessary to begin establishing the office gradually, that is, prior to his completion of the work at the old place. I beg to get your decision."

In August, 1945, reductions in the staff of the Department of Munitions and Supply were being made on an increasing scale and Gerson did discuss with his superior staying on in the Government service. He is an M.Sc. in geology of McGill University and contemplated going into private practice if he could not remain in the Civil Service. The figures mentioned in the telegram, he admits, constitute expenses he would incur in setting up private practice, $4,200 being his then salary in the Department. Gerson's continuance in the public service was evidently desirable to the U.S.S.R. so as to ensure the continuance of the flow of information from him.

In a further telegram from Moscow, "The Director" telegraphed Colonel Zabotin as follows:—

> "In the mail of 23.8.1944 were received from you GRAY's two materials, the monthly reports on the research of technological questions in the field of production of war materials. On the basis of short and unrelated data it is impossible to judge the method and work of the Canadian and English production of explosives, powders and chemical materials. It is therefore desirable to obtain the following information:
>
> 1. The method and technological process of the production of munitions, explosives. 2. The formula for plastic explosives, the production of T.H. and H.S. (their composition, purpose and specific qualities). 3. The application of picrite and nitro-guanidine. 4. The technic of producing the capsules of detonators and igniting capsules. Wire to whom do you consider it possible to give the said task.
>
> If BACON still keeps on working in the Artillery Committee, this task should be handed over to him."

Colonel Zabotin replied to this telegram as follows:—

> "(1) The tasks will be detailed to GRAY, BACON and the PROFESSOR through DEBOUZ. The PROFESSOR is still on duty away from home. DEBOUZ will meet at the end of the month.
>
> (2) MARTIN received reply from DEKANOZOV with permission to return home. As a result of MARTIN's work at the San Francisco Conference and his sickness about a month, the latter was unable to write all his reports on your task. The question of the current situation in Canada after the elections and the interruption of the class forces in the country, he will write at our place and we will send them to you by courier, while the remaining questions of the task he will write at the centre."

The "PROFESSOR" was the cover name for Dr. Boyer. "BACON" was the cover name for one of the persons detained whom we have not as yet been able to hear, while "DEBOUZ" is the cover name for the intermediary who obtained the information, already referred to, given by Dr. Boyer. "MARTIN" was the cover name of Zheivinov, the head of the Tass agency in Ottawa.

Another telegram from Zabotin to "The Director", bearing date 28.4.44, reads in part as follows:—

> "GRAY's wife has relatives in Bukovina and Bucharest. Apart from the relatives she has many acquaintances among doctors and other specialists. Recently GRAY handed DAVIE a reply of the Canadian Red Cross of March, 1942, wherein it is announced that the relatives of GRAY's wife are in their own places, that is in Roumania. GRAY's wife, through GRAY, asks advice as to whether it is possible to send them money or other things.
>
> DAVIE replied that this was a complicated and difficult question, and that he could not promise anything. He suggested he be furnished with addresses and letters from GRAY's wife for these acquaintances. In the letters it could be proposed (that is through GRAY's wife—he will agree to that) that they contact the man who delivers the letter. If you agree to such an idea we shall receive the addresses and letters from the wife of GRAY. Roofs of the doctor and other specialists."

"DAVIE" is the cover name of Major Sokolov. "Roofs" is a cover expression indicating secret activities. Gerson's wife, or her family, he has told us, did receive a letter from the Canadian Red Cross in reply to inquiries made regarding relatives in Europe. The telegram indicates that Mrs. Gerson's acquaintances among professional people in Bukovina and Bucharest might be employed to receive and transmit letters in secret.

Another document produced before us by Gouzenko shows that correspondence on one single subject handed over by Gerson amounted to one hundred and fifty pages.

On all the evidence, including certain admissions made by Gerson himself, it is clearly established that the latter has communicated, over a considerable period, secret information to the representatives of the Soviet Union in violation of the Official Secrets Act and we so report.

Squadron Leader Matt Simons Nightingale attended Military School in Mobile, Alabama, and graduated from McGill University in 1928 with the degree of B.Sc. in engineering. He also attended a private course at the same institution on transmission and engineering telephone work, and later was months of 1945 when he returned to the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada on his facturing telephone equipment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In 1928 he joined the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada as telephone transmission engineer, where he remained until 1942, when he enlisted in the R.C.A.F. and was posted to the Branch Land Lines, Technical Section, until the early months of 1945 when he returned to the Bell Telephone Co. of Canada on his discharge.

While in this special branch of the R.C.A.F. he was mainly concerned with land lines communication on both the east and west coasts and also worked on the Gander project, which embodies one of the main systems of communication on the east coast. He acknowledged the secret nature of the duties entrusted to him throughout.

The original telegrams from the Russian Embassy to Moscow give, as to Squadron Leader Nightingale, known in these telegrams under the cover name of "LEADER", items which he admitted having supplied, to wit, his photograph and information as to the nature of his experience with the Bell Telephone Co. and the R.C.A.F. One document from the Embassy reads in part as follows:—

"Squadron Leader

Mat Nantingale, 155 O'Connor St., Apt. 1, Telephone 2-4545. SAM is known to him as WALTER. The first meeting took place 19.12.44 at 21 o'clock at the house.

Possibilities: 1. Network of Aerodromes in the country (both coasts).
2. Map of the coast.

Prior to the war he worked with the Bell Telephone Co. On 21.1.45 he advised BRENT about his demobilization. He is going to the Bell Company. Next contact on 24.2.45 at 20.30 at the corner of Elgin-Macleod Sts. At the contact on 24.2.45 he gave the address Montreal, 1671 Sherbrooke 57 (51). Telephone 1.1684. Next contact 24.3.45 at 20.30 Metcalfe-Somerset. He will give the coast (RAF) and listening-in on the telephone.

Task—1. Recruiting (call-up).
2. Materials of the company.
3. DUBOX—GINI—how."

"BRENT" is the cover name for Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov. "DUBOX" means a hiding place. "GINI" is a cover name for an individual.

Heard as a witness, Nightingale said that after meeting Lieutenant-Colonel Rogov by accident on a train between Ottawa and Montreal, he had several meetings with Rogov at his own apartment and on the street in Ottawa and Montreal and in Rogov's room in Montreal on one occasion. In these conversations he says various subjects were referred to in a general way amongst which were the following, namely, listening-in telephonic devices, linking up of airports, land lines communications, network and location of aerodromes, maps of the R.C.A.F. and, possibly, the Gander project, some of which matters were of a secret nature.

His interview with Rogov, his explanation of those interviews which we are unable to accept, his association with other persons involved in the matter which is the subject of the present investigation, the references to him in the documents found in the Russian Embassy. as well as the fact that documents of a secret nature belonging to the R.C.A.F. which he should not have retained were found in his possession after his discharge, suggest to us that, if he did not in fact give to the U.S.S.R. secret and confidential information, he may very well have conspired to furnish such information. Furthermore, his unauthorized retention of the above mentioned documents would appear to have been in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act.

Dr. David Shugar is a Ph.D. in physics, McGill University, having been born in Poland in 1915. From January, 1941, until February, 1944, he was employed at Research Enterprises, Limited, Toronto, when he entered the Navy, becoming a Lieutenant in the Directorate of Electrical Supply. He remained in the Navy until his discharge January 31, 1946. Subsequently he was employed in the Department of Health and Welfare. While in the Navy, Shugar was engaged on research with respect to certain equipment used in anti-submarine detection. In the course of his duties he had to visit various naval establishments, including laboratories, in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

Although Gouzenko had never seen him, he knew who Shugar was and the work in which he was employed. In a document produced by Gouzenko headed "Assignment No. 1, SAM to SHUGAR" outlining information desired from Shugar, seven subjects of inquiry relating to anti-submarine detection are laid down, all of which information, Shugar has told us, was either in his possession in connection with his work, or accessible to him at Naval Headquarters.

In a later document headed "Task No. 2", assigned to the same agent, the following item appears:—

"Communicate how the matter stands of the former assignment for Lieutenant Shugar."

The answer made by the agent to Rogov is indicated by what Rogov wrote on the document against the above item, namely,

"At the present time he is working maritime staff. He has consented to work for us but with special caution. He has been under observation."

SHUGAR admitted having met the agent to whom we have referred above on at least three occasions, and that the agent was inquisitive.

A telegram from Colonel Zabotin to Moscow No. 232 reads in part as follows:—

"We have agreed with SAM about the transfer of connections to us with PROMETHEUS. The latter is at present in Florida. The transfer will take place in the town of SAM. I consider it expedient to give BRENT the connection with PROMETHEUS. SAM promised to give us several officers from central headquarters of the active forces. At the present time it is fairly difficult to do this, as changes in the staffs are taking place by officers returning from overseas."

"PROMETHEUS" is the cover name used to denote Shugar and "BRENT" was Rogov.

In reply the "Director" telegraphed to Zabotin:—

"To Grant.

Your telegram No. 232

(1) In my telegram of 19.7, I have advised that until the information is received from PROMETHEUS and until his possibilities in the Navy Department are established, contact with him should be maintained through FRANK. Should it prove that PROMETHEUS is a truly valuable man to us, direct contact may then be established with him. However, it is not desirable to entrust BRENT with making the contact. If you should find no objection, it is better to let CHESTER make this contact. Have in mind that we have here almost no other information on PROMETHEUS except his family name and his place of employment.

Wire in full his name and family name, his position in the Navy Department and the address of this residence. Collect the remaining data and send by mail.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(2) As for obtaining persons from the said departmental services, we are interested. Let FRANK, after the staffs have been set up, recommend one or two candidates for our consideration."

"CHESTER" was the cover name for Captain Gorshkov who acted as chauffeur for the Soviet Military Attaché in Ottawa.

Shugar denies having given, or having agreed to give any secret information, but has no explanation for the existence, in the documents above referred to, of the references to himself. We were not impressed by the demeanour of Shugar, or by his denials, which we do not accept. In our view we think he knows more than he was prepared to disclose. Therefore, there would seem to be no answer on the evidence before us, to a charge of conspiring to communicate secret information to an agent of the U.S.S.R.

These four persons are or were all government officials, or persons holding positions of trust. All have been heard before us as witnesses and, in accordance with Sections 12 and 13 of the Inquiries Act, Cap. 99, R.S.C. 1927, have been offered the opportunity of having counsel. Two of them declined and two others, after consultation with counsel, stated that they did not wish to call evidence or to have representations made to the Commission by counsel on their behalf. Accordingly we have been free to report with regard to them as above.

We may also point out that under P.C. 411, which is our authority for the present inquiry, we are required to report not only "upon which public officials and other persons in trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information", but also upon "the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communications".

The evidence discloses that one of these circumstances is that other Canadians, who are not government officials, have been the intermediaries through whom secret and confidential information has reached the Russian Embassy, as in the case of Dr. Raymond Boyer. As the evidence develops, we shall be in a better position to deal with these intermediaries at a later stage.

In conclusion, we may add that we regret not having been able to complete as yet the hearing of evidence with regard to the five other persons who are detained under the provisions of P.C. 6444, passed on October 6, 1945, but we hope that we will be able to do so shortly. On February 14 last we concurred in the advice given by counsel for the Commission to the Honourable the Minister of Justice that certain named persons should be detained, and we did so because of the serious nature of the disclosures then indicated by the evidence we had heard, and the fact that cover names of persons who had not been identified appeared in the evidence which indicated that the ramifications of the disloyal practices and the persons engaged therein might be even greater than then appeared and might well be continuing. In effect the matters with which the inquiry was concerned appeared to us to be of so serious a nature from the national standpoint that we believed the course advised by counsel should be pursued in the exceptional circumstances existing. The further evidence which we have heard has not caused us to change this view but, on the contrary, has confirmed it.

In a case of this nature where the evidence has revealed the existence of an organization constituting at least a threat to the safety and interests of the state, as evidenced by the fact that some witnesses holding strategic positions have made the significant statement under oath that they had a loyalty which took priority over the loyalty owed by them to their own country, and for that reason they acted as they did, and would unquestionably have continued so to act had they not been detected, we are of opinion that should

these persons be allowed communication with outsiders or between themselves until their activities have been fully investigated, some of the basic purposes of this inquiry would be entirely defeated.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) ROBERT TASCHEREAU,
Royal Commissioner

(Sgd.) R. L. KELLOCK,
Royal Commissioner.

His Excellency
The Governor General in Council,
OTTAWA.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 2744

7. PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON TABLING THE SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION, HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 15, 1946

In the statement which I made public on February 15th I said that it was the intention of the Government that prosecution would be instituted in cases in which the evidence warranted it. I have been advised by the Attorney General of Canada that charges have been laid against the four men named in the Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission, namely Dr. Raymond Boyer, Harold Samuel Gerson, Squadron Leader Matt Simons Nightingale, and Dr. David Shugar.

The charge against Dr. Boyer alleges conspiracy with an intermediary who was not named in the Commission's Report because he had not been examined by the Commission. The intermediary, referred to in the Report by the cover name Debouz, is believed to be the Honourable Member for Cartier.

I am further informed by the Attorney General of Canada, who has taken the advice of Counsel whose opinions I wish to lay on the table of the House, that effective prosecution of the charge against Dr. Boyer requires similar action in respect of the Member for Cartier, against whom an appropriate information has been laid and a warrant for his arrest executed.

C 2744

8. LETTERS OF COUNSEL TABLED BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 15, 1946

(A)

OTTAWA, 14th March, 1946.

The Honourable L. S. ST. LAURENT, K.C.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Minister,—

When we reported to you the gist of the evidence developed against Dr. Raymond Boyer and the fact that it seemed to implicate a Member of Parliament you asked us to consider the two following questions:—

(*a*) Whether a Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(*b*) Whether taking into account the whole of the circumstances surrounding this investigation it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

Our answers to these questions are:—

(*a*) Yes.

(*b*) It would not only be advisable but the interest of justice would not be served and the other trial would be prejudiced if a warrant were not issued against the Member at the same time as that issued against the individual.

Our duties before the Royal Commission made it impossible to consider this question as thoroughly as we should have liked to do and we requested Hon. F. P. Brais, K.C., counsel appointed by you to prosecute the other individual, to assist us with his opinion.

We have now received it and it confirms the views we held in this matter and sets out the authorities upon which the opinion is based. We are enclosing it with this letter as we entirely concur in it.

Each of us will be available for further discussion if deemed necessary.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) E. K. WILLIAMS

(Sgd.) GERALD FAUTEUX

(Sgd.) D. W. MUNDELL
Counsel for the Commission.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

(B)

BRAIS & CAMPBELL

Royal Bank Building
360 St. James Street West,
Montreal, March 12, 1946

E. K. Williams, Esq., K.C.,
G. H. Fauteux, Esq., K.C.,
Justice Building,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Secret and Confidential

Dear Sirs:

You have asked my opinion whether:

(a) A Federal Member of Parliament who would have committed a crime under the Official Secrets Act can be arrested either during the coming session of Parliament or within the few days which remain before its opening on the 14th instant?

(b) if question (a) is answered in the affirmative, whether it would be advisable or inadvisable to obtain the issue of a warrant of arrest against this Member at the same time as that to be issued against the individual who divulged to this Member certain important war secrets for the benefit of a foreign power?

(a) I have not been informed of any of the activities of the Member in question save what appears from the deposition of the individual whose arrest we discussed over the week-end.

That statement does clearly show that the Member obtained important information and declared that it was for the use of a foreign power.

It would appear clearly, therefore, that a charge could be laid against the Member under Section 3C and probably 4(1)A and B, 4(2), 4(3), of the Official Secrets Act.

No specific penalty is provided in the Act for the commission of the above offences and the offender would therefore be subject to Section 14 which declares them to be indictable.

Chapter 147, R.S.C., "An Act Respecting the Senate and House of Commons," Sections 4 and 5 provide:

> "4. The Senate and the House of Commons respectively, and the members thereof respectively, shall hold, enjoy and exercise,
>
> (a) such and the like privileges, immunities and powers as, at the time of the passing of the British North America Act 1867, were held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and by the members thereof, so far as the same are consistent with and not repugnant to the said Act; and
>
> (b) such privileges, immunities and powers as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, not exceeding those at the time of the passing of such Act held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and by the members thereof respectively, R.S., c. 10, s. 4.
>
> 5. Such privileges, immunities and powers shall be part of the general and public law of Canada and it shall not be necessary to plead the same, but the same shall, in all courts of Canada, and by and before all judges, be taken notice of judicially. R.S., c. 10, s. 5."

Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure, Third Edition, Page 143, Chapter 2, under the heading "Privileges and Powers of Parliament," discusses "the privileges, immunities and powers" to be enjoyed by Members. After discussing the origin of privileges, he declares that it is a general principle of English Parliamentary law that... "the privilege has been always held to protect Members from arrest and imprisonment under civil processes, whether the suit be at the action of an individual or of the public, but it is not claimable for treason, felony, breach of peace or 'any indictable offence'."

Bourinot further states that a Member may be committed for Contempt of Court when it is of a quasi criminal nature, "and the English House has not of recent years deemed it expedient to interfere in cases of an open or gross character."

The right of Courts to enquire into the question of privilege is discussed by Bourinot at Page 147 as follows:

> "As Parliamentary privileges rest on statutory as well as customary law it follows that they can be inquired into and determined by courts of law like any other rights. In the words of an authority: 'It seems now to be clearly settled that the courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of Parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the House, courts of law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privilege, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application' (o)."

It would appear clear that a Member who has committed an indictable offence is therefore liable to arrest at any time and any place except on the floor of the House when it is sitting.

(b) Would it be advisable or inadvisable to charge the Member at the same time as the individual from whom the information was obtained.

The failure to charge the Member at the same time would appear highly inadvisable. The origin of the trouble, the cause of the temptation and downfall of the individual in question arises entirely and exclusively from the actions of the Member. The failure to charge the latter at the same time and bring him before the Courts if possible would inevitably give rise to a reaction which in my opinion would be entirely prejudicial to the proper disposal of the complaint.

Obviously at the present time and insofar as my information goes, the only evidence against the Member would be the testimony of the individual who gave him information. The Member might see fit to offer his own testimony and deny the whole story. The court might then have to decide between the credibility of a witness and an accused. The fact, however, that the witness has incriminated himself by the story and is himself separately charged should, in my opinion, lead any judge to conclude that the version cannot be untrue, the more so in that there is nothing to indicate any unfriendliness whatsoever between the two persons.

Obviously they would have to be separately charged. There should be in my opinion, added a count of conspiracy referring to the substantive offences themselves.

I have not before me all the information arising out of the cases and it is quite possible that certain facts may lead one to another conclusion, but relying for the moment solely on the deposition which I now have, I feel quite definitely that the non-arrest of the Member would not only be prejudicial to the other case but to the interest of justice in general.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. P. BRAIS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274494 RCE/514

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R., MOSCOW

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET MOSCOW, March 25th, 1946.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 53

No. 53. March 25th. Secret. My telegram No. 48 of March 18th. Information leakages.

No further reference to this subject in the Soviet press and no mention of speech delivered by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on March 18th.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274495/E J14

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

CYPHER-O.T.P.

NO. 58 MOSCOW, March 30th, 1946.

No. 58. Secret. My telegram No. 53 of March 25th, information leakages. No further references in Soviet press to this subject. After lecture on current affairs delivered on March 20th questioner asked -- "Have there been any fresh developments as to the King affair in Canada". Reply -- "Recent statements have not revealed any new developments. The anti-Soviet campaign in the Canadian press is now proceeding on other lines and espionage scare is dying down".

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd 12.12 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RCE IN 14

C 274496

April, 4,1946.

No. 13

Sir:

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the statement issued today by the Soviet Embassy.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration

Chargé d'Affaires of
the U.S.S.R.

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs
East Block
O t t a w a.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Recently there have been published in the Canadian newspapers and broadcasted over the radio all kinds of information in which the attemps have been made to cast a shadow and to discredit some of the diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada, as for example on Messrs. V.G. Pavlov, I.I. Krotov and others. The sources of this slanderous information are the false statements of the former employee of the Embassy Gouzenko who had stolen money from the Embassy and who is indictable for the committed crime in case of his return to the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Embassy deems it its duty to declare that the slanderous statements of the criminal as well as the reports in the Canadian newspapers based on these statements regarding the mentioned diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada are completely fictitious and deserve no credit.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C.274498 RCE

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET MOSCOW, April 23rd, 1946.

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 75

No. 75. April 23rd. Secret. Information leakages.

1. Soviet newspaper "Trud" on April 23rd features article by Professor Trainin, who formerly wrote extensively on trials of war criminals. Article is entitled "Supply and Demand" and seeks to show that when there is a demand for anti-Soviet slander this creates the supply. Most of the article is an attack on the evidence given by Guzenko at the trial of Fred Rose in Montreal. It points out that Guzenko kept silent until recalled to the Soviet Union. Then he approached the Canadian authorities with incriminating documents. At the trial, however, questioning of Guzenko mostly related to irrelevant facts about the Soviet Union. This shows that the aim of the trial is to spread anti-Soviet propaganda as well as to attack the Workers Progressive Party. Threat of war by Soviet in veiled form is used as part of plan to promote third world war. Tim Buck is quoted approvingly as stating that whole affair is part of deliberate anti-Soviet campaign. Article states that Canada now takes first place in this campaign. Article concludes by stating that the last word is not with the dark reactionary forces, but with the peoples who are filled with desire for peace.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

3. I suspect that this article is the first of a renewed series of outbursts timed to coincide with the opening of the Foreign Ministers Conference at Paris and the absence from Moscow of Molotov, Vyshinski and Dekanosov, leaving Balleovsky in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Official protest not improbable.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E

C O P Y

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

C 274500

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Ottawa, May 27th, 1946.

Dear Norman,

As a piece of incidental intelligence bearing on the investigation by the Royal Commission you may be interested to know that the Soviet Embassy formally notified us a few days ago of promotions given to three members of their staff including the promotion of Pavlov from Second Secretary to First Secretary. Belokhvostikov has also been confirmed in his rank of Counsellor and one Zoubov has been elevated from Attache to Third Secretary.

The promotion of Pavlov after the publication of his name in one of the Royal Commission's reports may indicate an intention to defend his conduct to the last. I am informed that the Royal Commission will certainly include details of his connection with the Canadian agents in their final report, and that, as you know already, the publication of this report is likely to make it necessary for us to ask for Pavlov's removal from Canada. As Philippe Brais seems to be intending to leave no pebble unturned in the prosecution of Rose (which has begun today in Montreal), I expect that more about Pavlov will be reaching the papers before the week is out.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H.H. Wrong

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
c/o Canada House,
London, S.W.1.

leave to Am

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274501 RCE

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW.

NO. 96

SECRET

CYPHER

Ottawa, June 22nd, 1946.

Following information on progress of investigation into espionage may be useful.

1. Fred Rose after a lengthy trial was convicted and sentenced to six years imprisonment. He is appealing conviction and sentence. Previously Mrs. Woikin and Miss Willshire (Willsher) after pleading guilty ~~had been~~ were sentenced to 2½ and 3 years respectively and Mazerall to 4 years after plea of not guilty. Sugar ~~had been~~ was released following preliminary hearing before a magistrate. (He may also be tried on other charges)

2. It is unlikely that the charges against the remaining nine accused Canadians will be tried before September. Four were sentenced to three months imprisonment for contempt of Court because they refused to testify at the Rose trial and Mrs. Woikin received an additional six months for the same reason.

3. Sam Carr's whereabouts are unknown and he was deprived of his position as Secretary of the Labour Progressive Party some weeks ago. He will probably be arrested and charged if located.

4. Royal Commission's report is understood to be nearing completion and will shortly be presented to the Government which will have to decide whether to publish it while a number of the accused are still awaiting trial. The report is expected to be a substantial volume and its publication should cause a great revival of interest and concern in Canada and abroad. We shall give you advance notice of date of publication but cannot be sure whether we can send you the text before its release. We may then

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274502

have to request removal of certain members of Soviet Embassy who are still in Ottawa.

5. Please telegraph if you would like further information on any aspect of the matter.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R. MOSCOW RCE

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

SECRET

C274503

CYPHER - O.T.P.

NO. 112

MOSCOW, June 24th, 1946.

No. 112. Secret. June 24th. Your telegram No. 96 of June 22nd.

Greatly appreciate information on progress of investigation into espionage. There is no further information we desire for moment. Request for removal of Pavlov from Soviet Embassy is likely to give rise to renewed tension in Canadian-Soviet relations but I see no alternative to this course.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Rec'd 4.10 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E NAR/SR
12.7.46
C274504

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

~~On pp. 85-86 of~~ the Royal Commission Report, there is given a list of members of the Soviet Embassy staff who "have been identified by both oral and documentary evidence" as having been active, at one time or another since the establishment of the Embassy in 1942, in directing under-cover espionage operations in Canada. This list contains seventeen names, including ~~the~~ six persons who, according to our information, are presently employed on the Embassy staff in Ottawa. The others implicated have returned to the U.S.S.R., or have been transferred to other posts.

Of the six believed to be in Ottawa, two, Mr. Ivan Krotov, the Commercial Counsellor, and Mr. Vitali G. Pavlov, First Secretary, are members of the diplomatic staff of the Embassy. Major B.P. Sokolov is a member of the staff of the Commercial Counsellor, and his wife, ~~according to our information,~~ according to the report has been associated with him in inadmissible espionage activities. Mr. A.M. Farafantov and Mr. J.G. Levin (or Levine) ~~were~~ are the two remaining employees of the Soviet Embassy whom the Royal Commission have found to be involved in the espionage activities which were the subject of their investigation.

It ~~was~~ is the expectation of the Canadian Government that the Soviet Government, of its own initiative ~~would~~ will ~~have~~ withdraw these persons from the staff of its mission in Ottawa before the publication of the report of the Royal Commission. ~~In the circumstances,~~ With the report of the Royal Commission to be published on Monday, July 15th, this ~~is no longer~~ will not be physically possible. It is hoped that the Soviet Government will make immediate arrangements for their removal, so that the Canadian Government will not have to request it formally.

Mack

Copy sent Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, 12.7.46 R

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

July 12th, 1946.

MEMORANDUM

In the Royal Commission Report, there is given a list of members of the Soviet Embassy staff who "have been identified by both oral and documentary evidence" as having been active, at one time or another since the establishment of the Embassy in 1942, in directing under-cover espionage operations in Canada. This list contains seventeen names, including six persons who, according to our information, are presently employed on the Embassy staff in Ottawa. The others implicated have returned to the U.S.S.R., or have been transferred to other posts.

Of the six believed to be in Ottawa, two, Mr. Ivan Krotov, the Commercial Counsellor, and Mr. Vitali G. Pavlov, First Secretary, are members of the diplomatic staff of the Embassy. Major B.P. Sokolov is a member of the staff of the Commercial Counsellor, and his wife, according to the Report, has been associated with him in inadmissible espionage activities. Mr. A.M. Farafontov and Mr. J.G. Levin (or Levine) are the two remaining employees of the Soviet Embassy whom the Royal Commission have found to be involved in the espionage activities which were the subject of their investigation.

It is the expectation of the Canadian Government that the Soviet Government, of its own initiative will wish to withdraw these persons from the staff of its mission in Ottawa before the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission. With the Report of the Royal Commission to be published on Monday, July 15th, this may not now be physically possible. It is hoped, however, that the Soviet Government will make immediate arrangements for their removal, so that the Canadian Government will not have to request it formally.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E 512

C 274506

NAR/SR
15.7.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You will recall that, at the close of your interview with the Soviet Charge d'Affaires on Friday, he murmured that, while decisions in respect of the recall of personnel involved would have to be taken by Moscow and were outside the authority of the Embassy, nevertheless as his instructions stood, his Government's views on the whole question were as set forth in their press statements of February 20th and April 4th. The statement of February 20th was the one which admitted the "inadmissibility" of some of Zabotin's activities and went on to abuse the Canadian Government for magnifying minor matters and suggested that your motive in the matter was the desire to extricate Bevin from difficulties he had got into at the Security Council meeting in London.

The press statement of April 4th did not receive much publicity in the Canadian press. I am enclosing a copy of it, received under cover of a note from Belokhvostikov. You will note that the Soviet Embassy expressly repudiated any suggestion of misconduct on the part of Krotov and Pavlov, whom the Royal Commission have found to be involved in espionage activities.

Lack

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274507

COPY

EMBASSY OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

April 4, 1946.

No.13

Sir:

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the statement issued today by the Soviet Embassy.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

N. Belokhvostikov

Charge d'Affaires of
the U.S.S.R.

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
East Block,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C O P Y

C 274508

Recently there have been published in the Canadian newspapers and broadcasted over the radio all kinds of information in which the attempts have been made to cast a shadow and to discredit some of the diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada, as for example on Messrs. V.G. Pavlov, I.I. Krotov and others. The sources of this slanderous information are the false statements of the former employee of the Embassy Gouzenko who had stolen money from the Embassy and who is indictable for the committed crime in case of his return to the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Embassy deems it its duty to declare that the slanderous statements of the criminal as well as the reports in the Canadian newspapers based on these statements regarding the mentioned diplomatic members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada are completely fictitious and deserve no credit.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E
274508A

Dr.Gibson:

For Laurier House files

MEMORANDUM
Department of External Affairs
Ottawa

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J'4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274509

COPY

No.21

Ottawa, July 15, 1946.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In reference to my conversation with you on July 12, inst. I am enclosing two copies of the memorandum of the Embassy.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) N. Belokhvostikov

Charge d'Affaires of the USSR

Prime Minister of Canada,
East Block,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

Ottawa, July 15th, 1946.

M E M O R A N D U M

With reference to the statement of the Prime Minister Mr. King and the memorandum handed over by Mr. Robertson to Mr. N.D. Belokhvostikov, Charge d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R., a.i., the Soviet Government draw the attention of the Canadian Government to the fact that the Soviet Government in its statement of February 20th, 1946, pointed out the provocative character of the campaign started against some of the members of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa based on the false evidence of criminal Gouzenko who is under the investigation of the Canadian police.

Nevertheless in view of the statement made to Mr. N.D. Belokhvostikov by Mr. King and the above memorandum the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa on behalf of the Soviet Government informs the Canadian Government that the members of the Soviet Embassy in Canada Messrs. Ivan I. Krotov, V.G. Pavlov, A. Farafontov and J. Levin will leave Canada in next few days.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274511 RC/E

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CYPHER O.T.P. MOSCOW, July 20th, 1946.

NO. 124

No. 124. July 20th. Your telegram No. 106 of July 17th, final Report of Royal Commission Investigation of Espionage Activities. The Soviet press has not even mentioned the tabling of this Report in the Canadian Parliament and there has been no apparent reaction of any sort so far.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs.

RC/E

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA.
CANADA HOUSE.
LONDON, S.W.1

C274512

P.M. to see
P 2
R

WITH THE SECRETARY'S COMPLIMENTS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

AR.13/13 BY AIR

C 274513

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
LONDON

No. A.665.

9th August, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 1697 of 8th August, concerning the article entitled "Who Bought Igor Guzenko, which appeared in the "Soviet News" of August 6th, and to enclose herewith a copy of this article.

2. Copies of this despatch, together with the enclosure, have been sent to the Secretary of State for External Affairs in Paris, and to the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. W. HOLMES

Acting High Commissioner.

The Right Honourable
The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs.

RC/E

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA.
CANADA HOUSE.
LONDON, S.W.1

C274512

P.M. to see
P 2
R

WITH THE SECRETARY'S COMPLIMENTS.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
LONDON

No. A.665.

9th August, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 1697 of 8th August, concerning the article entitled "Who Bought Igor Guzenko, which appeared in the "Soviet News" of August 6th, and to enclose herewith a copy of this article.

2. Copies of this despatch, together with the enclosure, have been sent to the Secretary of State for External Affairs in Paris, and to the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. W. Pickersgill

Acting High Commissioner.

The Right Honourable
The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274514
52218-H.C.
O. -7 AUG 46

SOVIET NEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN LONDON

Phone : ABBEY 2154
Grams : SOVNEWS, LONDON

519-521, GRAND BUILDINGS
TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.2

No. 1510 Tuesday, August 6, 1946

Peace Conference

MOLOTOV WARNS OF RIFT-MAKERS

By a TASS Correspondent in Paris

THE question of the chairmanship of the peace conference gave rise to an unexpectedly protracted discussion in the Procedure Committee, beginning on Friday last and concluding only on Saturday morning.

The Council of Foreign Ministers had recommended that, in conformity with established international practice, the conference should be presided over in rotation by the representatives of the member States of the Council of Foreign Ministers, namely the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the U.S.A., France and China, in alphabetical order.

The debate which followed demonstrated that some participants in the Conference, with the support of separate members of the Council of Foreign Ministers, were stubbornly trying to frustrate the decision unanimously adopted by the Council.

The head of the Soviet Delegation, V. M. Molotov, pointed out that the Council's proposal expressed the idea that members of the Foreign Ministers' Council who prepared the drafts of the peace treaties should not evade responsibility for these decisions, but should help to explain them, and achieve a correct understanding at the conference. "At this meeting, however, we observe a somewhat changed attitude," he said. Public opinion was getting the impression that someone needed to find a rift in order to oppose one group of members of the Council of Ministers to its other members—to find a rift, and to try to widen it.

At an earlier stage in the debate he had recalled that in the work of the United Nations it was necessary to aspire to unanimity in decision, and there had been not a few examples of such unanimity. Of all conferences held up to now, the experience of San Francisco was most apposite. At San Francisco the representatives of the four Powers which called the conference had presided in rotation. Good examples should be imitated.

Referring to an amendment proposed by the Dutch delegation—that the rules of procedure should simply state that the conference would elect a chairman—Molotov said : "International public opinion wonders what interests guided the Dutch representative or the representatives of other countries in taking such a position on this issue ? What national interests of Holland make her representative try to upset the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers ? I have not heard here any motives which would tell the public that the proposal of the Council of Foreign Ministers contradicts the national interests of any State, big or small."

The Dutch amendment was rejected by twelve votes to eight, and the decision of the Foreign Ministers' Council remained unshaken.

At Saturday evening's plenary session of the Peace Conference the leader of the delegation of the Ukrainian Republic, D. Z. Manuilsky, discussed the problem of Juliska Kraina (the Julian March) and Trieste. In the interests of the success of the conference, theUkrainian delegation was prepared to support the decision on the internationalisation of Trieste and its adjoining territory. He wished, however, to stress that the correct settlement of territorial disputes, and such delineation of frontiers between States as would not cut into pieces the live bodies of nations, were essential conditions of a just peace.

He reminded the Conference that, by decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers, Juliska Kraina, an historically and economically united region, was to be artificially divided into three parts, one Italian, one Yugoslav, and one international, and that Italy was to get the zone between the Adriatic Sea and the Austrian frontier, peopled by 66,000 Slovenes and only 21,000 Italians. Moreover, Gorica was to be wrested from the northern part of Juliska Kraina, although it had been an important administrative and economic centre of that area for a thousand years, and though its population had always been Slovenian.

The Ukrainian delegation wished to point out that if the internationalisation of Trieste and the adjoining territory were approved by the Conference, the very important problem of a statute for this territory would still remain to be settled. With a view to establishing normal economic and political relations between Trieste and Yugoslavia, and also to creating favourable conditions for the economic development of Trieste, it would be necessary to include in the statute a clause on a customs union between Trieste and Yugoslavia.

Such a customs union would considerably facilitate trade relations between Trieste and the Balkan States, and with the countries of Central Europe as well. Moreover, it would enable the industries of Trieste to sell their output to Yugoslavia.

Such a customs union would also be justified by the fact that the most important railway lines linking Trieste with the whole of Central Europe crossed Yugoslav territory. Before the Italian occupation of Trieste, 93 per cent. of all consignments from Trieste were carried over these lines.

It would be wise, continued Manuilsky, to institute a joint administration of the Trieste railways, posts and telegraphs. "We ought to go further," he continued, "and institute a common monetary system for the free territory of Trieste and Yugoslavia. After the pattern of the statute which regulated relations between the Free City of Danzig and Poland, Yugoslavia should be authorised to represent Trieste in foreign relations. Such a close union between Trieste and Yugoslavia could, to a certain degree, obviate the grave economic consequences of the new division of this part of the Balkans, and create conditions for normal commercial and economic relations in this part of Europe."

INDUSTRIAL EQUIPMENT IN WESTERN GERMANY

Being Ransacked Despite Reparations Obligations

TASS reports from Berlin :—

Facts have become public here which testify that in the American occupation zone of Germany equipment of enterprises included by the Control Council in the list to be dismantled as part of reparations payments is being ransacked.

As a result, many plants included in the reparations lists are now either completely stripped of industrial equipment, or contain only worthless, unrelated units of incomplete equipment. For instance, the entire equipment of ten aircraft factories in the American zone, branches of the "Messerschmitt" company, included in the reparations lists, has vanished. The American authorities in Landsberg have stated that no equipment is available at the Dornier plant. The firm of Keller and Mantz, in Ansbach, is also without equipment : some fifty automatic lathes have been removed from this plant to a brewery warehouse.

Similar facts have come to light in the British zone. In Hamburg, on the instructions of the occupation authorities, an experimental base was blown up, the valuable equipment of which, with the consent of the British occupation authorities, had previously been included in the reparation list by the Control Council.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274516

Canadian "Spy" Comedy

WHO BOUGHT IGOR GUZENKO?

An Anti-Soviet Organisation Working on Gestapo Lines

By D. Zaslavsky

ON February 15 this year the Canadian Government published a statement to the effect that secret information had been communicated in Canada to persons who had no right of access to it, including persons attached to a foreign mission in Ottawa. At the same time it became known that the statement referred to certain members of the Soviet Mission. Forthwith, the Canadian reactionary press began an anti-Soviet song and dance.

The action of the Canadian Government received the appraisal it deserved in the Soviet Government's statement of February 20. Towards the end of the war individual members of the staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada obtained from Canadian citizens of their acquaintance certain information of a secret character which, however, was of no great interest to the Soviet authorities. The communication of this information was in no sense a threat to Canada's security. However, the Soviet attache was recalled as soon as the Soviet Government heard of the impermissible activities of certain members of his staff.

The Motive

Had it desired to do so, the Canadian Government could easily have settled the whole affair by ordinary diplomatic methods. But that was exactly what it did not desire to do. On the contrary, it wished at all costs to inflate the petty incident into an event of international importance.

The Soviet Government pointed out that the aims of the Canadian authorities had nothing to do with the security of Canada. The unbridled anti-Soviet campaign to which it gave encouragement was intended to do political harm to the Soviet Union. Events soon confirmed this.

For six months past the Canadian anti-Soviet press has been putting out slanderous fabrications based on "secret material" collected by a Royal Commission appointed to investigate the matter. This Commission has been working with studied slowness. From time to time it has published interim reports referring to a "widespread conspiratorial organisation directed from Moscow."

Greedily lapping up these vague hints, the reactionary press has painted a gaudy picture of a "secret Comintern" existing even now, of a revolutionary "fifth column" in Canada, and all the rest of it. The entire shop-soiled stock of anti-Soviet lies has been brought out to blacken the Soviet Embassy on the one hand, and the Canadian Labour Progressive Party on the other. Leaders of this party were put on trial. Fred Rose, its representative in the Canadian Parliament, got a six-year prison sentence.

733 Pages of Gossip and Lies

The Royal Commission, having dragged out its work to the ultimate possible limit, had finally to produce its conclusions, which were published in Canada on July 15. The length of the report, at least, is something to boast of—733 pages of market-place gossip, ridiculous inventions, and obvious lies. This will be no good memorial, in the history of Canadian justice, for the judges who signed this pile of rubbish. The entire report is, essentially, an account of the twaddle, slanders and unconscionable lies spoken by one Igor Guzenko, traitor to the Soviet Motherland, deserter and betrayer.

For several months on end he cooked up before the Commission his hash of untruths and nonsense. The worthy judges listened with ears wide open. They made notes, issued statements, had photographs taken. Over 100 witnesses were called, but the Commission itself is forced to admit that they either denied what Guzenko ascribed to them, or else knew nothing whatever about the affair.

And so Guzenko has the stage to himself. On his gossip the entire charge is built. The Commission pretends to believe him. But even the Commission is aware that not a single word uttered by this scoundrel can be trusted.

Until September of last year Guzenko worked as cipher clerk in the office of the Soviet Military Attache in Ottawa. Following the normal practice in diplomatic correspondence, he had access to certain secret documents. In September, having embezzled a large sum of money, he ran away, seizing certain papers. On these the entire case is built.

Among the stolen documents were some genuine ones. These, however, do not seem to have had much interest for the Commission, or for the organisers of the anti-Soviet campaign. They referred to facts relating to the communication of unessential information, mentioned in the Soviet Government statement. There was nothing sensational about those documents, and it was not those documents that interested the slanderers.

Framing Progressive Leaders

They were looking for something else—documents to confirm the allegation that progressive political leaders in Canada had received "directives" from Moscow, that there was a so-called "Fifth Column" at work, preparing sabotage and conspiracies under the leadership of "Comintern agents." They were looking for documents to confirm the existence of a big organisation receiving important military secrets.

Guzenko obligingly presented them with some scraps of paper torn from a notebook—"secret instructions," he said. He imparted to them dozens of conspiratorial pseudonyms, which he said covered the identity of various democratic leaders in Canada. The judges, diligent as the fabulous cock searching in the dung-heap, proceeded to investigate, but found not a single grain of truth.

It turned out that Guzenko had translated falsely from Russian into English, and had to be corrected. There were "cases of inaccuracy"—a euphemism adopted by the Commission to gloss over Guzenko's forgeries. It was impossible directly to establish the genuineness of the documents. Twisting and turning in its tracks, the Commission declares: "It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the documents which Guzenko produced are genuine."

Commission Has "No Confirmation"

The central accusation—that certain Soviet agents give directives to Canadian political leaders—has had to be rejected. The Commission declares: "We have to state that we have no confirmation in any Russian documents at our disposal concerning that part of Guzenko's depositions in which he speaks of the transmission of political directives."

The "fifth column" hue and cry rested on Guzenko's testimony about the registration by the Soviet authorities of citizens of Russian and Ukrainian origin who had expressed the desire to return home. It was alleged that this was done with the object of "creating secret Communist detachments." The Commission has had to dispose of this wild rubbish by declaring it has no grounds for concluding that the registration had any sort of improper purpose.

As for the conspiratorial pseudonyms, one can judge their genuineness from the fact that even the Commission had to admit that Guzenko in many cases slandered completely innocent people.

In its statement of February 20 the Soviet Government declared that the security of Canada had not been infringed in the slightest degree—that the information passed on was of so little significance that the incident could involve no danger whatever to her security. The Commission is forced to confirm that this is so. It admits that the Soviet Ambassador in Canada, and the Embassy as a whole, had no connection whatever with the passing on of the insignificant information, so that

(*Concluded on page 3*)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274514
52218-C
O. -7 AUG 46

SOVIET NEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN LONDON

Phone : ABBEY 2154
Grams : SOVNEWS, LONDON

519-521, GRAND BUILDINGS
TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.2

No. 1510 Tuesday, August 6, 1946

Peace Conference

MOLOTOV WARNS OF RIFT-MAKERS

By a TASS Correspondent in Paris

THE question of the chairmanship of the peace conference gave rise to an unexpectedly protracted discussion in the Procedure Committee, beginning on Friday last and concluding only on Saturday morning.

The Council of Foreign Ministers had recommended that, in conformity with established international practice, the conference should be presided over in rotation by the representatives of the member States of the Council of Foreign Ministers, namely the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the U.S.A., France and China, in alphabetical order.

The debate which followed demonstrated that some participants in the Conference, with the support of separate members of the Council of Foreign Ministers, were stubbornly trying to frustrate the decision unanimously adopted by the Council.

The head of the Soviet Delegation, V. M. Molotov, pointed out that the Council's proposal expressed the idea that members of the Foreign Ministers' Council who prepared the drafts of the peace treaties should not evade responsibility for these decisions, but should help to explain them, and achieve a correct understanding at the conference. "At this meeting, however, we observe a somewhat changed attitude," he said. Public opinion was getting the impression that someone needed to find a rift in order to oppose one group of members of the Council of Ministers to its other members—to find a rift, and to try to widen it.

At an earlier stage in the debate he had recalled that in the work of the United Nations it was necessary to aspire to unanimity in decision, and there had been not a few examples of such unanimity. Of all conferences held up to now, the experience of San Francisco was most apposite. At San Francisco the representatives of the four Powers which called the conference had presided in rotation. Good examples should be imitated.

Referring to an amendment proposed by the Dutch delegation—that the rules of procedure should simply state that the conference would elect a chairman—Molotov said : "International public opinion wonders what interests guided the Dutch representative or the representatives of other countries in taking such a position on this issue ? What national interests of Holland make her representative try to upset the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers ? I have not heard here any motives which would tell the public that the proposal of the Council of Foreign Ministers contradicts the national interests of any State, big or small."

The Dutch amendment was rejected by twelve votes to eight, and the decision of the Foreign Ministers' Council remained unshaken.

At Saturday evening's plenary session of the Peace Conference the leader of the delegation of the Ukrainian Republic, D. Z. Manuilsky, discussed the problem of Juliska Kraina (the Julian March) and Trieste. In the interests of the success of the conference, theUkrainian delegation was prepared to support the decision on the internationalisation of Trieste and its adjoining territory. He wished, however, to stress that the correct settlement of territorial disputes, and such delineation of frontiers between States as would not cut into pieces the live bodies of nations, were essential conditions of a just peace.

He reminded the Conference that, by decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers, Juliska Kraina, an historically and economically united region, was to be artificially divided into three parts, one Italian, one Yugoslav, and one international, and that Italy was to get the zone between the Adriatic Sea and the Austrian frontier, peopled by 66,000 Slovenes and only 21,000 Italians. Moreover, Gorica was to be wrested from the northern part of Juliska Kraina, although it had been an important administrative and economic centre of that area for a thousand years, and though its population had always been Slovenian.

The Ukrainian delegation wished to point out that if the internationalisation of Trieste and the adjoining territory were approved by the Conference, the very important problem of a statute for this territory would still remain to be settled. With a view to establishing normal economic and political relations between Trieste and Yugoslavia, and also to creating favourable conditions for the economic development of Trieste, it would be necessary to include in the statute a clause on a customs union between Trieste and Yugoslavia.

Such a customs union would considerably facilitate trade relations between Trieste and the Balkan States, and with the countries of Central Europe as well. Moreover, it would enable the industries of Trieste to sell their output to Yugoslavia.

Such a customs union would also be justified by the fact that the most important railway lines linking Trieste with the whole of Central Europe crossed Yugoslav territory. Before the Italian occupation of Trieste, 93 per cent. of all consignments from Trieste were carried over these lines.

It would be wise, continued Manuilsky, to institute a joint administration of the Trieste railways, posts and telegraphs. "We ought to go further," he continued. "and institute a common monetary system for the free territory of Trieste and Yugoslavia. After the pattern of the statute which regulated relations between the Free City of Danzig and Poland, Yugoslavia should be authorised to represent Trieste in foreign relations. Such a close union between Trieste and Yugoslavia could, to a certain degree, obviate the grave economic consequences of the new division of this part of the Balkans, and create conditions for normal commercial and economic relations in this part of Europe."

INDUSTRIAL EQUIPMENT IN WESTERN GERMANY

Being Ransacked Despite Reparations Obligations

TASS reports from Berlin :—

Facts have become public here which testify that in the American occupation zone of Germany equipment of enterprises included by the Control Council in the list to be dismantled as part of reparations payments is being ransacked.

As a result, many plants included in the reparations lists are now either completely stripped of industrial equipment, or contain only worthless, unrelated units of incomplete equipment. For instance, the entire equipment of ten aircraft factories in the American zone, branches of the "Messerschmitt" company, included in the reparations lists, has vanished. The American authorities in Landsberg have stated that no equipment is available at the Dornier plant. The firm of Keller and Mantz, in Ansbach, is also without equipment : some fifty automatic lathes have been removed from this plant to a brewery warehouse.

Similar facts have come to light in the British zone. In Hamburg, on the instructions of the occupation authorities, an experimental base was blown up, the valuable equipment of which, with the consent of the British occupation authorities, had previously been included in the reparation list by the Control Council.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274516

Canadian "Spy" Comedy

WHO BOUGHT IGOR GUZENKO?

An Anti-Soviet Organisation Working on Gestapo Lines

By D. Zaslavsky

ON February 15 this year the Canadian Government published a statement to the effect that secret information had been communicated in Canada to persons who had no right of access to it, including persons attached to a foreign mission in Ottawa. At the same time it became known that the statement referred to certain members of the Soviet Mission. Forthwith, the Canadian reactionary press began an anti-Soviet song and dance.

The action of the Canadian Government received the appraisal it deserved in the Soviet Government's statement of February 20. Towards the end of the war individual members of the staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada obtained from Canadian citizens of their acquaintance certain information of a secret character which, however, was of no great interest to the Soviet authorities. The communication of this information was in no sense a threat to Canada's security. However, the Soviet attache was recalled as soon as the Soviet Government heard of the impermissible activities of certain members of his staff.

The Motive

Had it desired to do so, the Canadian Government could easily have settled the whole affair by ordinary diplomatic methods. But that was exactly what it did not desire to do. On the contrary, it wished at all costs to inflate the petty incident into an event of international importance.

The Soviet Government pointed out that the aims of the Canadian authorities had nothing to do with the security of Canada. The unbridled anti-Soviet campaign to which it gave encouragement was intended to do political harm to the Soviet Union. Events soon confirmed this.

For six months past the Canadian anti-Soviet press has been putting out slanderous fabrications based on "secret material" collected by a Royal Commission appointed to investigate the matter. This Commission has been working with studied slowness. From time to time it has published interim reports referring to a "widespread conspiratorial organisation directed from Moscow."

Greedily lapping up these vague hints, the reactionary press has painted a gaudy picture of a "secret Comintern" existing even now, of a revolutionary "fifth column" in Canada, and all the rest of it. The entire shop-soiled stock of anti-Soviet lies has been brought out to blacken the Soviet Embassy on the one hand, and the Canadian Labour Progressive Party on the other. Leaders of this party were put on trial. Fred Rose, its representative in the Canadian Parliament, got a six-year prison sentence.

733 Pages of Gossip and Lies

The Royal Commission, having dragged out its work to the ultimate possible limit, had finally to produce its conclusions, which were published in Canada on July 15. The length of the report, at least, is something to boast of—733 pages of market-place gossip, ridiculous inventions, and obvious lies. This will be no good memorial, in the history of Canadian justice, for the judges who signed this pile of rubbish. The entire report is, essentially, an account of the twaddle, slanders and unconscionable lies spoken by one Igor Guzenko, traitor to the Soviet Motherland, deserter and betrayer.

For several months on end he cooked up before the Commission his hash of untruths and nonsense. The worthy judges listened with ears wide open. They made notes, issued statements, had photographs taken. Over 100 witnesses were called, but the Commission itself is forced to admit that they either denied what Guzenko ascribed to them, or else knew nothing whatever about the affair.

And so Guzenko has the stage to himself. On his gossip the entire charge is built. The Commission pretends to believe him. But even the Commission is aware that not a single word uttered by this scoundrel can be trusted.

Until September of last year Guzenko worked as cipher clerk in the office of the Soviet Military Attache in Ottawa. Following the normal practice in diplomatic correspondence, he had access to certain secret documents. In September, having embezzled a large sum of money, he ran away, seizing certain papers. On these the entire case is built.

Among the stolen documents were some genuine ones. These, however, do not seem to have had much interest for the Commission, or for the organisers of the anti-Soviet campaign. They referred to facts relating to the communication of unessential information, mentioned in the Soviet Government statement. There was nothing sensational about those documents, and it was not those documents that interested the slanderers.

Framing Progressive Leaders

They were looking for something else—documents to confirm the allegation that progressive political leaders in Canada had received "directives" from Moscow, that there was a so-called "Fifth Column" at work, preparing sabotage and conspiracies under the leadership of "Comintern agents." They were looking for documents to confirm the existence of a big organisation receiving important military secrets.

Guzenko obligingly presented them with some scraps of paper torn from a notebook—"secret instructions," he said. He imparted to them dozens of conspiratorial pseudonyms, which he said covered the identity of various democratic leaders in Canada. The judges, diligent as the fabulous cock searching in the dung-heap, proceeded to investigate, but found not a single grain of truth.

It turned out that Guzenko had translated falsely from Russian into English, and had to be corrected. There were "cases of inaccuracy"—a euphemism adopted by the Commission to gloss over Guzenko's forgeries. It was impossible directly to establish the genuineness of the documents. Twisting and turning in its tracks, the Commission declares: "It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the documents which Guzenko produced are genuine."

Commission Has "No Confirmation"

The central accusation—that certain Soviet agents give directives to Canadian political leaders—has had to be rejected. The Commission declares: "We have to state that we have no confirmation in any Russian documents at our disposal concerning that part of Guzenko's depositions in which he speaks of the transmission of political directives."

The "fifth column" hue and cry rested on Guzenko's testimony about the registration by the Soviet authorities of citizens of Russian and Ukrainian origin who had expressed the desire to return home. It was alleged that this was done with the object of "creating secret Communist detachments." The Commission has had to dispose of this wild rubbish by declaring it has no grounds for concluding that the registration had any sort of improper purpose.

As for the conspiratorial pseudonyms, one can judge their genuineness from the fact that even the Commission had to admit that Guzenko in many cases slandered completely innocent people.

In its statement of February 20 the Soviet Government declared that the security of Canada had not been infringed in the slightest degree—that the information passed on was of so little significance that the incident could involve no danger whatever to her security. The Commission is forced to confirm that this is so. It admits that the Soviet Ambassador in Canada, and the Embassy as a whole, had no connection whatever with the passing on of the insignificant information, so that

(*Concluded on page 3*)

Who Bought Igor Guzenko?—*(concluded)*

C 274515

the whole incident was, in fact, artificially inflated for political purposes.

It admits that no attempt was made to discover the secret of the production of the atomic bomb—if only for the simple reason that nobody in Canada was in a position to reveal it. Not a single person in Canada had such information at his disposal.

Yet what an anti-Soviet din was raised in the Canadian press about attempts to discover atom bomb secrets! And how much rubbish Guzenko piled up on this point!

Evasively, the Commission speaks of other military secrets. "Certain information, taken separately, was of no value, or of very insignificant value. It is impossible to establish the total volume of information received by the Russians." Oh sages of provocation! So the mountain has given birth to a mouse! The Canadian authorities are like the Russian writer Shchedrin's hero Toptygin, who promised a great blood bath, and eventually ate a sparrow!

As is proper, the Commission ends its report by summarising its conclusions, but they are all built on sand—or rather, dirt. The only simple, irrefutable conclusion to be drawn from the pitiful story is that Canada, by turning herself into a tool of international intrigue, has allowed a despicable provocateur to pull her leg, and fallen into the ranks of the war incendiaries.

There is, indeed, a secret organisation in Canada—but the Commission did not look for it in the right quarters. This organisation, immensely wealthy and powerful, persuades a person attached to a foreign mission to work for it, corrupts him, buys him, teaches him how to betray his Motherland, with his aid obtains secret documents from the Soviet Embassy—in a word, engages in provocation to undermine the friendly relations between the Soviet people and the people of Canada.

The name of this underground organisation is very well known to the Canadian authorities. It follows the tried methods of the German Gestapo. The happenings in Canada recall Hitler's burning of the Reichstag—it had to burn, so that the Fascist conspirators could deal with the German Communists. The leaders of the Labour Progressive Party in Canada were dealt with directly after the provocative procurance of secret documents from the Soviet Embassy.

We are profoundly convinced that the whole shameful comedy that has been enacted in Canada is quite at variance with the real interests of the Canadian people. We have reason to say that the Canadian Government, in trying to do political harm to the Soviet Union, has first of all done profound harm to its own authority and its own good name.

For six months the Canadian people have been fed with lies aimed at eradicating their sympathy with the Soviet Union. But the poison has not worked. The Soviet writers recently in Canada were convinced that warm, firm sympathy with the U.S.S.R. is felt in the widest circles of the Canadian public.

HUNGARIAN REPARATION DELIVERIES

U.S.S.R. Accepts Hungarian Suggestions

TASS reports :—

The Hungarian Government has requested the Government of the Soviet Union to permit Hungary to make smaller deliveries in the early years of the fulfilment of her reparations obligations, and to deliver progressively more industrial and agricultural goods in subsequent years. In making this request the Hungarian Government points out that if it is satisfied, Hungary will be enabled to stabilise her currency, which will facilitate her internal economic stabilisation and help her fully to discharge her obligations to the Soviet Union.

In view of this, and of the fact that the Soviet Union has already extended the term of payment of reparations by Hungary, the Hungarian Government has worked out and proposed a new plan of reparations deliveries.

The Soviet Government, meeting the wishes of the Hungarian Government, on July 27 adopted a decision which fully complied with the Hungarian Government's request. In accordance with this decision, the following plan for reparations deliveries by Hungary to the Soviet Union has been fixed for 1946-53 :

In 1946—21,800,000 dollars; in 1947—23,000,000 dollars; in 1948—25,000,000 dollars; in 1949-53—30,000,000 dollars annually.

With a view to facilitating Hungary's reparations deliveries still further, the Soviet Government also accepted her proposal concerning the transfer to the Soviet Union on account of reparations of the Hungarian part of the shares of the "Petrosani" coal mines in Rumania—50 per cent. of the shares on account of the programme of deliveries for 1946, and 50 per cent. on account of the programme of deliveries for 1947. The Soviet Government completely absolved Hungary from payment of the fine of 6,000,000 American dollars for failure to fulfil on time deliveries during the first year of operation of the agreement.

On August 1 the Hungarian Prime Minister, Ferencz Nagy, on behalf of the Hungarian Government expressed gratitude and appreciation to the Soviet Government for the understanding and willingness it had shown in helping to mitigate the fate of Hungary, struggling against so many difficulties. M. Ferencz Nagy pointed out that the Soviet Government's step would be beneficial, and would contribute to the economic rehabilitation of the country.

The Hungarian Government expressed its especial gratitude because the decision of the Soviet Government supported the Hungarian Government in stabilising the currency, and so had made a considerable contribution to the success of this measure so vital to Hungary's economic life.

2,500,000 RAILWAYMEN WRITE TO STALIN

Soviet newspapers have published a letter addressed to Generalissimo Stalin by Soviet railwaymen on the occasion of Railwaymen's Day, celebrated on Sunday. The draft of the letter was discussed at meetings in all branches of the railway service, and bears over 2,500,000 signatures.

"Transport workers and members of their families, numbering 3,500,000, send you their warm greetings and wish you strength and good health for many years to come," it reads. "To-day we report to you that, having switched to peacetime work, overcoming the difficulties caused by the destruction of railway facilities, the volume of freight is increasing month by month. Between August, 1945, and July, 1946, the railways carried 1,950,000 more wagonloads of freight than in the corresponding period of 1944-45. The wagon-load 'turn-around' has been speeded up, on an average, by 20 hours. The railways carried home millions of war veterans and Soviet citizens freed from Fascist slavery.

"We have overfulfilled the State loading programme for the first seven months of the Five-Year Plan. Many of our best workers have already completed their annual quotas. Socialist emulation has brought to the fore whole groups of workers whose experience and methods are helping to improve the work of the railways. We give you our word, Comrade Stalin, to satisfy the needs of our national economy under any conditions."

The letter ends with lists of concrete undertakings assumed by the railwaymen for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

LABOUR PARTY DELEGATION

Lunch with Soviet Trade Unionists

On August 3 the President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, V. V. Kuznetsov, gave a luncheon in honour of the British Labour Party delegation now in Moscow. The Soviet guests at the luncheon, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, included the Minister of Higher Education, Kaftanov, the president of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Kemenov, the secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Sidorenko, and representatives of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On August 4 the delegates arrived in Leningrad, where they were received by the Chairman of the Executive of Leningrad City Soviet, Lazutin. The guests went sightseeing at the Hermitage Museum and Peter's Palace.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274517

Impressions of a Journey (3)

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN UP-TO-DATE

By Ilya Ehrenburg

ONE would imagine that in America, melting-pot of nations, united by a young patriotism, there would be national equality. But America, though she escaped feudalism, has established a different kind of hierarchy—a racial hierarchy.

To the aristocracy of America belong those of English, Scotch and Irish descent ; on the next rung of the ladder are the Scandinavians and Germans, just below them the French and Slavs, with the Italians a good way lower down, lower still the Jews and Chinese, next the Porto-ricans, and at the very bottom, the Negroes.

America played a prominent part in the war against Hitlerism, yet racial discrimination is the accepted thing there. On my arrival I was asked to fill in a form, one of the questions being, "What race? White or coloured?" If one's grandfather had a dark skin, one still comes into the "coloured" category, even though one's own skin is fair as a lily.

We were the guests of the U.S. Government, and I could not help chuckling as I tried to imagine the predicament of the State Department officials—who are, of course, good, kind men—if Alexander Pushkin had been among us.

* * *

A Nashville lawyer who was my host for several days spent much time trying to persuade me of the existence of lower and higher races. He repeated the theories of Rosenberg and other ideologists of the Third Reich. Then he showed me a photograph of his brother, killed in battle on the Rhine. This race theorist did not sense the bitter irony of the pride he expressed in his brother who had given his life in the fight against racial oppression.

Anti-semitism is so ingrained in America that many people seem quite oblivious of it, and find it quite natural that some institutions hire only Aryan employees, or that certain hotels refuse to book Jewish clients.

On the west coast the Chinese are the pariahs. Some clubs and societies do not accept Italians as members. But the fate of the Negro in America is particularly tragic.

New Yorkers like to call attention to the liberalism of the North. "Our grandfathers fought against slavery," they say. Every southern town has its monument to the soldiers of the Confederate army—a monument to the vanquished, for the south was beaten in that war which shook America. Yet the south has not only preserved the principles of slavery. It has even succeeded in infecting the north with them, to some extent.

True, in New York racial equality exists in theory, at least. One cannot show a Negro out of a restaurant simply because he is a Negro. Yet there is not a single "respectable" restaurant catering for Negroes. If a would-be Negro guest tried to insist on his rights he would be told all the tables were reserved.

A Negro may not take a room anywhere except in the Negro slums. He may work in any part of the city, but he must live in Harlem, New York's Negro town, poor, filthy, miserable, but still gay. New Yorkers frequent the Harlem cabarets—the Negroes are America's best musicians and dancers, gifted with a wonderful sense of rhythm, and free of that stiffness which is native to other Americans. In certain theatres in the centre of New York Negro casts are playing, and they are superb. Their white audiences applaud them heartily. But just let one of the Negro actors try to get a bite to eat in a restaurant near his theatre. He will be shown the door without a second's hesitation.

Real estate speculators have a clever trick. They buy a house in a high-class neighbourhood and rent it to a Negro, whereupon the entire section is at once "taboo." The white residents leave. The speculator buys up the other houses cheap. Then he evicts the original Negro tenant, the neighbourhood regains its repute, and the houses soar in price.

When our hosts asked us what part of America we would like to see, my fellow-travellers said California or Chicago, but I chose the south. And so, after New York's skyscrapers, I saw Uncle Tom's cabin. And allow me to say that Uncle Tom's cabin has not changed very much.

The racial division is very sharply drawn in all the southern states. Negroes are not forbidden to use the railways, but are segregated in special carriages which are always overcrowded. The back seats of street cars are labelled "For Negroes." You see a car move off, the front practically empty, while a crowd of Negroes stand waiting for the next one, because all the seats they are permitted to occupy are full.

Negroes may not attend meetings organised by white people, or worship with white people in church. And of course they may not enter theatres or cinemas frequented by whites.

The United States has a constitution which says that all citizens enjoy the right of suffrage, but the south, to all intents and purposes, has deprived the Negroes of the vote. How do the southern states circumvent the federal constitution ?

There are many ways. First of all, there is the poll tax. Then, there is an examination to test the voter's knowledge of the constitution. This, of course, gives the examiners the opportunity to cross the Negroes off the lists. And if by chance any Negro manages to make the grade, passes the examination and goes to the polls, the guardians of slavery have a way of putting the unwanted voter in his place. Yes, they certainly know their constitution inside out, down in the south !

This kind of thing is done quite openly and cynically, and all Americans, both in the north and in the south, are perfectly well aware that it goes on.

It was while I was in Mississippi that I noticed some American journalists getting hot under the collar about the Yugoslav Government, which had deprived some few thousands of people, who had abetted the German invaders, of the right to vote. But those same American journalists found it perfectly natural for millions of American Negroes, many of whom had helped to win the war for America's freedom, to be deprived of the same right in their own country.

I was tempted to ask them : "Is it more just to disfranchise those with a black skin than those with a black conscience ?"

The north knows that Negroes are deprived of their political rights in the south, but it does not fully realise how terrible is the life of the southern Negroes. I had as my travelling companion one of New York's most brilliant journalists, Sam Grafton. Confronted with a hovel into which three Negro families were crowded, he was aghast. "Surely it's not possible !" he protested. Uncle Sam had come face to face with Uncle Tom.

* * *

In the Mississippi delta, where the cotton grows, the land belongs to the whites and is rented to the Negroes. These "sharecroppers" must give half the cotton they grow to the landlords, and sell the other half to the same masters, who also fix the price. The pittance that the Negroes finally receive can be spent only in stores belonging to the landlord. While *de jure* this may resemble a rent system, *de facto* it is nothing but slavery. The land-owner, who is also the cotton-buyer and the seller of shoes, kerosene and salt, shouts at the Negroes, orders them about, and in general behaves like something between a king and a god.

The Mississippi delta is a long, long way from America's boasted comforts, her refrigerators, elevators and chewing gum. The big, wide, yellow Mississippi—how much black anguish it sees. In New York I was often reminded that all young people have to attend school until they are sixteen. But in the south I saw young people who could not read, who had never been within sight of a school, who had known nothing but back-breaking toil from their tenderest years.

In super-hygienic America there are people who live in pig-sties. But one is told : "Oh, you don't know the Negroes ! Why, they live in heaven—they don't need any more !"

(*All rights reserved.*)

Reproduction of this material in part or in full is permitted. Book, pamphlet and serial rights reserved.

Co-operative Printing Society Ltd. (T.U.), Tudor Street, London, E.C. 4—

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

**PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA**

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/EJF

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C274518

for his file

from Mr. Wilgress.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TRANSLATION

C274519

A PITIFUL FINALE TO A SHAMEFUL COMEDY

By D. Zaslavski

About six months ago on February 15th of the current year, the Canadian Government published a statement with regard to the transfer of secret information in Canada to persons who had not the right of access to this information, amongst whom were certain members of a foreign mission in Ottawa.

It then became known that this statement referred to some members of the Soviet mission. An anti-Soviet hurly burly began in the Canadian reactionary press.

The Soviet Government in a statement published on February 20th gave a fitting appraisal of this announcement by the Canadian Government. During the final stage of the war certain members of the staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada received from people they knew amongst Canadian citizens, certain information of a secret character which was not, however, of great interest to Soviet official organs. Such disclosures could not constitute any threat to the safety of Canada. Nevertheless, the Soviet Military Attache was immediately recalled as soon as the impermissible actions of some members of his staff became known to the Soviet Government. If it had so desired, the Canadian Government could easily have regulated the whole incident through the normal diplomatic channels.

But it was precisely this that the Canadian Government did not wish. On the contrary, it wished at all costs and by whatever means to magnify a trifling incident into a major event on an international scale. In the statement of the Soviet Government it was pointed out that the Canadian authorities were pursuing some other aims which were not related to the security of Canada. The unbridled anti-Soviet campaign, encouraged by the Canadian Government, was aimed at doing political damage to the Soviet Union.

Events were not slow in confirming all the correctness of the declaration of the Soviet Government. In the course of six months the Canadian anti-Soviet press has been indulging in slanderous inventions, referring to some unknown, secret evidence, assembled by a special Royal Commission appointed to investigate the whole business. This Commission worked with deliberate slowness. From time to time it published "preliminary communiques" in which it was indicated that a big conspiratorial organisation had been discovered directed "from Moscow". Hungrily pouncing upon indefinite hints, the reactionary press painted "frightful" pictures about the mysterious "Comintern", existing up to the present time, about a "fifth column" in Canada of a revolutionary character etc. All the out-of-date, long ago compromised arsenal of anti-Soviet lies was made use of in order to cast a shadow upon the Soviet Embassy on the one hand and upon the Progressive-Workers' Party of Canada on the other. Members of this party were brought to trial. A representative of this party in the Canadian Parliament, Fred Rose, was sentenced to six years imprisonment. In a word, there were established in Canada conditions of savage terror against democracy.

However much the Royal Commission dragged out its work, it was obliged finally to publish some results of its investigations. The report of this Commission was published in Canada on July 15th. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mackenzie King made a general exposition of the report in Parliament. The Commission could only boast of 733 pages as the whole result of its "work"! But in content these are 733 pages of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

vulgar slander, stupid invention, evident and unpardonable lies. The judges, Taschereau and Kellock, who put their signatures to this pile of nonsense, will not leave a good memory behind them in the history of Canadian justice.

The whole report in its essence is the exposition of the babbling, slanderous fabrications and generally unpardonable ravings of a certain Igor Guzenko, a traitor to his Soviet Motherland, a deserter and betrayer. For some months he has been uttering improbable, senseless nonsense to the Commission, and the worthy judges have been listening to him, pricking up their ears, taking notes, writing records and taking photographs.

More than 100 witnesses were called. But the Commission itself was obliged to admit that they either contradicted what Guzenko ascribed to them, or in general knew nothing. Guzenko alone was left. The whole indictment has been drawn up on his babblings. The Commission pretends that it believed him. But it too knows that it is impossible to believe a single word uttered by this scoundrel.

Until September last year Guzenko worked as a cipher clerk on the staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Ottawa. He had access to certain secret documents, which are customary in diplomatic correspondence. In September, having embezzled a large sum of money he ran away, taking with him certain papers. It is upon these that the whole case has been built up.

Amongst the stolen documents there were some genuine ones. But these were of the least interest to the Commission and the organisers of the anti-Soviet campaign. They referred to the facts of communicating some unimportant information concerning which the Soviet Government spoke in its declaration. There was nothing sensational in these documents, and they did not interest the slanderers. They looked for something different. They looked for "documents" to confirm the supposition that progressive politicians in Canada receive "instructions" from Moscow, that there is some "fifth column" which is preparing sabotage and conspiracies under the direction of "agents of the Comintern".

They looked for documents which would be confirmation of the existence of a big organisation in search of important military secrets.

Guzenko obligingly produced as "documents" some fragments of paper, some pages torn out of a notebook with mysterious jottings. He mentioned to the judges dozens of conspiratorial pseudonyms, indicating that these referred to various democratic politicians in Canada, according to his own whim. In all this, the judges began to poke about just as zealously as a certain cock poked about in a pile of dung.

However, the judges did not discover a single grain of real truth. It appeared that Guzenko had gone wrong in translation from Russian into the English language. It was necessary to correct him. It appeared that "there are instances of inaccuracy"... By this gentle phrase the Commission attempts to conceal the forgeries of Guzenko. It appeared that there was no possibility of establishing by any direct method the genuineness of the "documents". Having discussed the matter this way and that, the Commission declares: "It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the documents presented by Guzenko are genuine..." This is the language of pettifoggers who attempt to wash a blackamoor white!

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

It proved necessary to refute the main accusation that some Soviet agents give "instructions" to Canadian politicians. The Commission declared:

> "We must state that we have no confirmation in any Russian documents in our possession relating to this part of Guzenko's evidence - with regard to the giving of political instructions"...

The babbling about a "fifth column" depended upon Guzenko's evidence that the registration by the Soviet authorities in Canada of citisens of Ukrainian and Russian extraction, who expressed a wish to return to their Mother Country, supposedly had the aim of creating secret units of Communists. With regard to this wild nonsense, the Commission was obliged to declare that it had no grounds for considering "that this policy of registration was dictated in the main by any unsuitable aims"...

The Commission attached the conspiratorial pseudonyms entirely on Guzenko's evidence, and the nature of those pseudonyms can be seen from the fact that even the Commission acknowledged that in a number of cases Guzenko lied about people who were known to be entirely innocent.

The Soviet Government on February 20th declared that no damage had been done to the defence of Canada and the information which had been communicated was of so little importance that it could not constitute any threat to the security of Canada.

The Commission was obliged to confirm this. It acknowledged that the Soviet Ambassador in Canada and the Embassy as a whole were not concerned with the communication of this unimportant information, so that the incident was in fact artificially magnified with malicious intent.

The Commission acknowledged that there were no attempts to find out the secrets of the manufacture of the atom bomb, and this if only for one reason, that "no one in Canada was able to communicate the means of manufacturing the atom bomb. There was not a single person in Canada who possessed such information".

But what an anti-Soviet hubbub was raised in the Canadian press around this imaginary attempt upon the secret of the atom bomb! Ahd what nonsense Guzenko talked on this matter....

The Commission speaks about other military secrets in a general, evasive way;

"Certain information, taken separately, was not of any value or very inconsiderable value".

"It is impossible to establish the full extent of the information received by the Russians".

And in conclusion a pearl of judicial profundity: It is impossible to prove anything, there are no documents, it may be that all this is not worth an empty egg-shell, but "It would not be wise to suppose anything different".

Oh, sages of provocation!

And so the mountain has brought forth a mouse. The Canadian authorities are like Schedrin's Toptygin, who promised great bloodshed, and in the end swallowed a sparrow!

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Commission ended its report, as is usual, with certain conclusions. They are all built upon the sand, or more truly, upon the mud. And the only firm, irrefutable conclusion of the whole melancholy story is that Canada, becoming the tool of international intrigue, has allowed a base provocateur to take her by the nose and lead her in the train of the warmongers.

In Canada there really is a secret organisation. But not where the Commission was looking for it. This organisation, which possesses large funds and great authority, enrols in its service a member of a foreign mission, corrupts him, bribes him, instructs him how to act in accordance with the anti-Soviet "crib" against his own Motherland, with his help steals secret documents from the Soviet Embassy, - in a word, occupies itself with provocation in order to undermine the friendly relations between the Soviet people and the people of Canada. The name of this organisation? It is very well known to the Canadian authorities.

This underground organisation works in accordance with the tried methods of the German Gestapo. On a different scale the Nazi burning of the Reichstag resembles what has been done in Canada. It was required by the Nazi conspirators in order to deal with the German Communists. The rough justice with the members of the Progressive-Workers' Party in Canada followed directly after the provocative pilfering of secret documents from the Soviet Embassy.

We are deeply convinced that the whole shameful comedy in Canada has nothing in common with the real interests of the Canadian people. We have grounds for asserting that the Canadian Government, wishing to deal a political blow at the Soviet Union, has rather dealt a severe blow to its own authority and its own good name. For six months the Canadian people has been poisoned with anti-Soviet lies, in order to root out the sympathy which they had for the Soviet Union. But the poisoning has not taken effect. Soviet writers in Canada have been able to become convinced that the Soviet Union enjoys warm and deep sympathy amongst wide circles of Canadian public opinion.

(2 columns) (Full translation) from Joint Press Reading. PRAVDA 3.8.46.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E 526 © 274523

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 48 MOSCOW, February 10th, 1947.

No. 48. February 10th. Zaslavski, in "Pravda" of February 8th, has made vituperative attack on "anti-Soviet slanderers and instigators of war" who have recently landed in Canada like locusts - Randolph Churchill, Beverley Baxter and William White, who have joined forces with a "Canadian-born slanderer, the well known Drew". Latter is said to have become "the laughing stock of the whole of Canada on account of his addiction to slander".

The result of recent speeches by the "slanderous quartette", according to Zaslavski, has been to "kindle a warlike mood amongst backward sections of the population and to attempt to disseminate alarm, uncertainty and fear of war among wide circle of the people. The main object is an attempt to calumniate the Soviet Union".

In making this campaign, they are said to be fulfilling orders of certain reactionary circles who are alarmed that relative peace has made its appearance in the world. The Soviet Union stands for peace, but certain unnamed groups in Canada are taking exactly opposite line in encouraging anti-Soviet slanderers and those propagating a new war.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Sent: 11:46 p.m.
Rec'd: 1:35 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274523A

PERSONS INVOLVED IN ESPIONAGE

E

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

J

C 274524

EXTRACT from Sir T. Erskine May's
PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE, 13th Edn.

Page 121:-

".....In 1815, Lord Cochrane, a member, having been indicted and convicted of a conspiracy, was committed by the Court of King's Bench to the King's Bench Prison. Lord Cochrane escaped and was arrested by the marshal, whilst he was sitting on the privy councillors' bench, in the House of Commons, on the right hand of the chair, at which time there was no member pre sent, prayers not having been read. The case was referred to the committee of privileges, who reported that it was entirely of a novel nature, and that the privileges of Parliament did not appear to have been violated, so (p.122) as to call for the interposition of the house, by any proceedings against the marshal of the King's Bench.

Thus the house will not allow even the sanctuary of its walls to protect a member from the process of criminal law; though, as has been mentioned (p.88) service of a criminal process on a member within the precincts of Parliament, whilst the house is sitting, may be a breach of privilege. But in all cases in which members are arrested on criminal charges, the house must be informed of the cause for which they are detained from their service in Parliament. ....."

The B.N.A.Act. .....

Sec.18

An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons,

Chap. 147, R.S.C., secs. 4 and 5.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The charge laid against Fred Rose. (M.P. Cartier (3)

CANADA
Province of Quebec
District of Montreal
CITY OF MONTREAL

C274525

PEACE OFFICE

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF

RENE J. NOEL

Occupation: Member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, of the City and District of Montreal, taken upon oath, this fourteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, before the undersigned, Judge of Sessions of Peace, acting in and for the District of Montreal, Who saith: I reside at No. 5244 Saranac Street, Montreal.

I am credibly informed and do verily believe that at Montreal, said district, and elsewhere in the Province of Quebec and the Dominion of Canada, between the 1st day of January 1943 and the 31st day of December 1944, FRED ROSE, electrician, did commit indictable offences in that he did unlawfully,

A) for purposes prejudicial to the safety and interest of Canada, obtain, collect, record, publish and communicate to other persons, sketches, plans, models, articles, notes and other documents and information which were calculated to be and intended to be directly and indirectly useful to a foreign power, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

B) having in his possession and control sketches, models, articles, notes, documents and information which related to and were used in a prohibited place and something in such a place and which had been entrusted in confidence to him by persons holding office under His Majesty and which he had obtained and to which he had access owing to a position as a person holding and having held office under His Majesty and as a person who held or had held a contract made on behalf of

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

His Majesty, and a contract the performance of which in whole or in part was carried out in a prohibited place, and as a person who was or had been employed under a person who held and had held such an office and contract; did

1) communicate sketches, plans, models, articles, notes, documents and information to a person other than a person to whom he was authorized to communicate it, and a person to whom it is in the interest of the State his duty to communicate it;

2) use information in his possession for the benefit of a foreign power, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in other manners prejudicial to the safety and interest of the State;

C) receive sketches, plans, models, articles, plans, notes, documents and information, knowing and having reasonable ground to believe at the time when he received them that the sketches, plans, models, articles, notes, documents and information were communicated to him in contravention of the Official Secrets Act, 5 George VI, Chapter 49;

D) having in his possession and control sketches, plans, models, articles, notes, documents and information relating to munitions of war, communicate them directly and indirectly to a foreign power, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in other manners prejudicial to the safety and interest of the State;

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

E) conspire with DOCTOR RAYMOND BOYER, together and with one another and with other persons presently unknown to commit the foregoing indictable offences;

The whole contrary to the Official Secrets Act, 5 George VI, Chapter 49.

(Signed) René J. NOEL

Sworn and acknowledged
before me at Montreal
this year, month and day
first above mentioned.

(Signed) Gustave Perrault

Judge of Sessions of the Peace.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The Hon. Member for Peace River, speaking in this House on March 19th, also said that:

"The Liberal Government stands charged today with gross negligence, as a result of which vast spy rings appear to have grown up within our country".

I do not accept this charge. I deny the negligence. It cannot, I think, be assumed that a Government which discovers an espionage ring within its territory, and takes steps to destroy it, is necessarily more negligent than a Government which does not make such a discovery or take such action.

Let me say a few words about one of the persons named in a report by the Royal Commission of Enquiry, in reply to a particular question raised in this House. Then I will revert for a moment to the general question of prevention of disloyal practices--which is I agree very important.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

On Thursday, March 21st, the Hon. Member for Lake Center, enquired as to how Mrs. Emma Woikin, who is at present under arrest in connection with the current investigation, came to be in the cypher section of the Department of External Affairs. ~~I think it is desirable that I should make the record perfectly clear on this case in order that there may be no misunderstanding.~~

Mrs. Woikin was employed by the Civil Service Commission after examination in the same way as are other stenographic and clerical personnel who join the government service. I want this to be clearly understood, since the Hon. member referred to the fact that Mrs Woikin is from the constituency of Prince Albert, and it is possible that some persons who do not understand the procedure in these matters might ~~think~~ that patronage or favour of some sort was involved. ~~I am sure the Hon. Member himself knows that it could not be involved.~~

In 1943 the Commission was encountering some difficulty in supplying the need for stenographers and typists to meet the war needs of various departments, and travelling examiners were sent throughout the country to recruit suitable persons wherever they could be

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

found available. At one of the examinations held by the Civil Service Examiner in the Prairie Provinces, Mrs. Emma Woikin of Blaine Lake was a candidate and was found suitable for work as a Typist Grade I.

The usual references were required of Mrs. Woikin and the normal investigation of her background was conducted. The information was that she was born in Canada, came of a good family and the report on her was favourable. As a result, Mrs. Woikin was appointed a Typist Grade I in the Passport Office of the Department of External Affairs on September 10, 1943.

At the time of Mrs. Woikin's appointment, the pressure upon the Passport Office was severe. However, later in the year it grew less and five stenographers and typists were released for use elsewhere in the Department. Mrs. Woikin's work and record were good and she was assigned to the cypher section as a typist.

I ~~think the information I have given will make Mrs. Woikin's case quite clear. One thing I would point out is that~~, so far as ~~our~~ information ~~at present~~ discloses, the associations and influences that led Mrs. Woikin to become ~~concerned~~ involved in the ~~investigation~~ network occurred after and not before her employment. The possibility of this has to be recognized as one of the limitations upon the protection afforded by any investigation that may be conducted as a prerequisite to employment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

The general question of investigation of civil servants or of applicants for the civil service is one which arises naturally, in many minds, as a result of recent disclosures. The subject however is not one for hasty opinions.

References are required by the Civil Service Commission for all applicants, and these references are looked up. But some persons, including the Hon. Member for Peace River, seem to suggest the desirability that investigations of a very different and more far-reaching type should be undertaken, as a matter of routine, at least of all civil servants, if not indeed of the staffs of educational institutions and also of the community at large. These investigations, it has been suggested, should be investigations of political opinion.

I do not agree with any such suggestion.

Such investigations, if undertaken, would obviously have to be continuous, and not merely a routine prior to appointment. Otherwise they would not be effective--for political opinion is no static thing.

Detailed investigations of the political opinions of all applicants for positions in the public service would inevitably tend, over a period of time, to lead to charges of political appointments and patronage.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Ultimately, as the trend continued, such charges would probably not be unfounded.

Continuing investigations of the personal political views of civil servants, with concomitant discharge of those whose views the Government of the day did not approve, would strike to the heart of one bulwark of our democracy.

Moreover, such investigations, to be effective, would have to be carried out on a large scale and in secret. I do not like to imagine the investigating instrument which this would entail--the huge apparatus of secret political police that would be necessary. Such instruments are the chief characteristic of totalitarian distatorships.

I say that political opinion in Canada is free and must remain so. That freedom is an essential condition of human progress, and the guarantee of that freedom is the proudest heritage of our Western Civilization.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Freedom of political opinion is crystalised and assured in freedom of organization of political parties and groups.

It is , however, desirable to distinguish clearly between genuine political parties, groups, and clubs on the one hand, and fifth columns on the other. This is one of the lessons which humanity has learned from the history of the last fifteen years. Democracies have paid for these lessons with blood, and we cannot yet afford to forget them. The techniques used by Hitler, in developing throughout the world political pseudo-parties, cultural organizations, and clubs of all kinds, and manipulating them to further the foreign policy of totalitarian Germany, are by now fairly well known.

Such fifth columns were dangerous, chiefly because most of the members of the fifth-column organizations in democratic countries did not realize the true nature or purpose of the apparently innocent organizations which they had been induced by clever propaganda to join or to support.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Faced with danger from fifth columns, police forces and investigating instruments are of course to some extent necessary. But, in general, there is a better guarantee of loyalty than investigating instruments. I have said before, and I say again, that the sovereign cure, and the sovereign preventive of evil, is the shedding of light in dark places.

The shedding of light will prove more fruitful than any large-scale inquisition on political opinions.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Faced with danger from fifth columns, police forces and investigating instruments are of course to some extent necessary. But, in general, there is a better guarantee of loyalty than investigating instruments. I have said before, and I say again, that the sovereign cure, and the sovereign preventive of evil, is the shedding of light in dark places.

The shedding of light will prove more fruitful than any large-scale inquisition on political opinions.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In this connection there is one technique, used by one so-called political party on which I feel I should say a few words, because it is peculiarly relevant to the present enquiry.

I understand that Communist Parties make a practice of advising a large proportion of such would-be adherents as they find among university students and similar classes not to join the ranks of that party openly, but to enroll in so-called secret cells or study-groups. These young persons are told that this technique is designed to protect them from economic discrimination later in seeking jobs.

Actually, of course, its real purpose is gradually to accustom these adherents or sympathisers to a conspiratorial atmosphere and ethic.

Coupled with this process, the study groups encourage the gradual development of a divided loyalty, somewhat analogous in effect to that which the German Bund organizations sought to develop among adherents on this continent.

Over a period of time the combined effect of conspiratorial conditions and a "double-life", plus a divided or gradually transferred sense of allegiance, coupled with a remarkable tradition of rigid obedience

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

to senior party officials which the study groups also instil, facilitate the recruiting of some of the most "advanced" or "developed" adherents for more serious work, such as espionage or sabotage.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

In the statement which I made to the press on February 15th regarding the present enquiry, I suggested that some persons on the fringes of the conspiracy might be found to be more or less innocent dupes of designing men, taking part in schemes more far-reaching than they understood.

I hope that any young Canadians who may find themselves being led along a path which seems calculated to lead to eventual participation in conspiracy of any kind will take thought before it is too late to preserve their integrity and reputations.

If any man or woman in a democracy has strong political convictions of any kind, he owes it to himself and to the Canadian people to make them known to his fellows that he may take his full part in legitimately influencing the political development of our democracy.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve Illisible

I have always believed that the fullest freedom for all lawful political opinions and organizations is not only desirable but essential to the good life. Recent disclesures have strengthened, not shaken, that belief.

Criminal conspiracies of any kind must of course be investigated and punished by the appropriate agencies of government.

But the most effective preventive of disloyal practices is not, I believe, inquisition into political opinion as such. It is the shedding of light into dark places. It is fuller and franker information and knowledge--including fuller knowledge of other countries. It is reliance on the common sense of the Canadian people.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC1E514

NAR/LF
16.4.46

C 274539

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

After discussing the question with Mr. St. Laurent, I am inclined to think you should answer Mr. Irvine's question in some such words as these:

> "The matter of the espionage inquiry is now before the courts where the character and credibility of accused and witnesses will have to be passed upon. In the circumstances I do not think it advisable to make any statement which might be thought to have a bearing on the judicial disposition of these cases."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Attached hereto is a draft statement which has been prepared for possible use in reply to the enquiry raised by Mr. Diefenbaker concerning the employment of Mrs. Emma Woikin in the Cypher Division of the Department of External Affairs. Also attached is a letter of to-day's date from Mr. Bland giving the facts with regard to Mrs. Woikin's examination and selection.

So far as Mrs. Woikin's record in the Department is concerned, it is as follows:

Assigned for duty to the Passport Office
Sep. 10, 1943.

Rank at time of employment - Typist
Grade 1 - Salary $720.

Transferred to the Cypher Division
March 1, 1944.

Reassigned to the Passport Office
Sep. 1945.

Re-classified as Typist Grade 2
Oct. 1, 1945 - Salary $1080.

Mrs. Woikin's appointment to the Passport Office was at a time when there was very severe pressure on that part of the Department. Later, in 1943, the pressure was reduced and Mr. Connolly, the Passport Officer, was asked to indicate what reductions in staff could be made. There was a severe need for personnel in other parts of the Department and the typists and stenographers who were no longer needed at the Passport Office were assigned to other divisions in the Department.

2...

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Four typists and one stenographer were involved in the transfer and of these, two went to the Cypher Division. One was subsequently moved to the Typists' Pool, leaving Mrs. Woikin as the only one who remained in the Cypher Division. Her selection for that position was largely on the basis of elimination. The stenographer and one of the typists who had stenography were more urgently needed for stenographic work than as typists. One of the typists was only a part-time employee and another was married and expecting a child so that her departure from the Department could be expected at an early date. As a result, Mrs. Woikin was the person best suited for the place to which she was sent.

I have not included the above details in the statement, but you may wish to have them for your own information.

N.A.R.

23rd March, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

On Thursday ~~last~~ March 21 the honourable member for Lake Center, enquired as to how Mrs. Emma Woikin, who is at present under arrest in connection with the current investigation, came to be in the cypher section of the Department of External Affairs. I think it is desirable that I should make the record perfectly clear on this case in order that there may be no misunderstanding.

Mrs. Woikin was employed by the Civil Service Commission after examination in the same way as are other stenographic and clerical personnel who join the government service. I want this to be clearly understood, since the honourable member referred to the fact that Mrs. Woikin is from the constituency of Prince Albert and it is possible that some persons who do not understand the procedure in these matters might think that patronage or favour of some sort was involved. I am sure the honourable member himself knows that it could not be involved.

In 1943 the Civil Service Commission was encountering some difficulty in supplying the need for stenographers and typists to meet the war needs of various departments, and travelling examiners were sent throughout the country to recruit suitable persons wherever they could be found available. At one of the examinations held by the Civil Service Examiner in the Prairie Provinces, Mrs. Emma Woikin of Blaine Lake was a candidate and was found suitable for work as a Typist Grade 1.

The usual references were required of Mrs. Woikin and the normal investigation of her background was conducted. The information was that she was born in Canada, came of a good family and the report on her was favourable. As a result, Mrs. Woikin was appointed a Typist Grade 1 in the Passport Office of the Department of External Affairs on September 10, 1943.

At the time of Mrs. Woikin's appointment, the pressure upon the Passport Office was severe. However, later in the year it grew less and five stenographers and typists were released for use elsewhere in the Department. Mrs. Woikin's work and record were good and she was assigned to the Cypher section as a typist.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274543

I think the information I have given will make Mrs. Woikin's case quite clear. One thing I would point out is that, so far as our information at present discloses, the associations and influences that led Mrs. Woikin to become concerned in the investigation occurred after and not before her employment. The possibility of this has to be recognized as one of the limitations upon the protection of any investigation that may be conducted as a prerequisite to employment.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274544 RC/E

July 22, 1946. CR/FDJ/USSR

Sarah

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. ST. LAURENT

I note from the file that we have not sent you copies of a few communications concerning the withdrawal from the Soviet Embassy of the remaining members of the staff named in Section II 7 of the Royal Commission's Report. I think you should be aware of exactly what transpired.

On July 12th the Prime Minister verbally suggested to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires that his Government of its own initiative might wish to withdraw the six named persons. Mr. King expressed the hope that they would take action immediately. On July 15th the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires wrote to the Prime Minister enclosing a memorandum in which, after referring to the Soviet Government's statement of February 20th, he said that nevertheless in view of the Prime Minister's request the Soviet Embassy was informing the Canadian Government that Krotov, Pavlov, Farafontov and Levin "will leave Canada in next few days".

No reference was made to Major and Mrs. Sokolov, whose withdrawal we had also requested. On July 17th Mr. Robertson, after the matter had been discussed with Mr. King, sent a letter to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, in which he said that Mr. King appreciated the prompt compliance with his request for the withdrawal of the four named above. He asked whether the Sokolovs had already left Canada or would leave in the near future and concluded by saying that he would be glad to receive an assurance that all the members and former members of the Embassy's staff whose names were mentioned in Section II 7 of the Report had already left Canada or were going to leave within a few days. We have not received a reply from the Soviet Embassy and I propose to let the matter rest for two or three days longer before taking it up with them again.

The Embassy in Moscow has informed us that there has been no mention in the Soviet press of the publication of the Royal Commission's Report up to July 20th.

No.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

TMP to find out abt Rose conviction sentence

C274545

RC/E

Varcoe

S. 1034 Cr Code
anyone convct. I ofc
> S 421
wepns of stng or voting

Ho hs pwr to expel
but w/o the any action
until

O section is read
+ record is sent to Spkr

if he is expld query whether
this vacates the seat.
17/6/46

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RCIE J 12 274546
C

TELETYPE

From THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

TELETYPE

WA-3251

WASHINGTON, August 30th, 1946.

WA-3251. Top Secret. Following for Wrong from Stone begins:

Mr. Parsons of the State Department showed us a Top Secret telegram this morning from the United States Ambassador in Paris. The Ambassador reports that a high official of the French Ministry of the Interior told him that Sam Carr was known to have been in Paris between July 7th and July 10th. He may have arrived in France earlier than July 7th, but on July 10th or shortly thereafter he took a plane for Sweden presumably en route to the U.S.S.R. He is known to have visited French Communist Headquarters while in Paris.

Carr was identified from photographs furnished to the French by the British Intelligence Service. Ends.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Rec'd: 4:18 p.m.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY C274547 RC/E

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

RE CONVICTION OF FRED ROSE

It seems that the case of the Member for Cartier (Fred Rose) comes under section 1034 of the Criminal Code which reads as follows:

Disabilities.

1034. If any person hereafter convicted of treason or any indictable offence for which he is sentenced to death, or imprisonment for a term exceeding five years, hold at the time of such conviction any office under the Crown or other public employment, or is entitled to any pension or superannuation allowance payable by the public, or out of any public fund, such office or employment shall forthwith become vacant, and such pension or superannuation allowance or emolument shall forthwith determine and cease to be payable, unless such person receives a free pardon from His Majesty, within two months after such conviction, or before the filling up of such office or employment, if given at a later period.

2. Every such person sentenced to imprisonment as aforesaid or on whom sentence of death has been passed which has been commuted to imprisonment, shall become, and, until he undergoes the imprisonment aforesaid or suffers such other punishment as by competent authority is substituted for the same, or receives a free pardon from His Majesty, shall continue incapable of holding any office under the Crown, or other public employment, or of being elected, or sitting, or voting, as a member of either House of Parliament, or of exercising any right of suffrage or other parliamentary or municipal franchise.

3. The setting aside of a conviction by competent authority shall remove the disability by this section imposed. R.S., c. 146, s.1034.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274548

It is a well known principle that the power of expulsion is absolutely necessary to the conservation of the dignity of the House of Commons, and it has been reserved in the past for such flagrant cases as would render a person unfit to sit in Parliament or whose continous membership would be a discredit to the House. May and Bourinot show many cases of members having been expelled for having been guilty of treason, rebellion, forgery, breaches of trust, corruption or conduct unbecoming the character of a gentleman and a loyal citizen.

Expulsion is generally consequential upon a sentence pronounced on a Member by a Court of Law for a crime committed by him. The practice has been in the past for the Judge to forward to Mr Speaker a copy of the conviction and sentence which is laid on the table for the consideration of the House. If any action is to be taken a motion has bo be made by the Leader of the House.

Arthur Beauchesne.

June 17, 1946.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

COPY

C274549

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE
UNITED KINGDOM
Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
9th March, 1946

1027/8A

SECRET AND PERSONAL.

Dear Norman:

We have heard from London that some consideration had been given to the answer to be made in the case of press enquiries about Miss Willsher's arrest. The only point to which I think I need call your attention is that, if the question is being, or to be, put whether there was consultation between the Canadian and United Kingdom Governments before the arrest took place, the answer should be in the affirmative. Otherwise it was proposed to say that the matter was sub judice and that, therefore, no statement could be made but to supply very brief particulars of her engagements and service in this Office.

Yours sincerely,

STEPHEN L. HOLMES

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C274550

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON

Ottawa, March 8th, 1946.

No. 589
TOP SECRET
CYPHER - Public

Your telegram No.629 of March 5th.

1. Reference your paragraph one, I agree best line is to refuse comment while matter sub judice.

2. Your paragraph two. May's arrest has in fact been taken as a result of Canadian enquiries into Soviet espionage network here, and in due course the Royal Commission here may include in a report some reference to certain evidence, including documentary evidence, regarding his activities. This will, of course, be done after consultation with United Kingdom authorities, and timed to avoid prejudicing his trial. However, it would be wiser to refuse comment than to deny any connection with Canadian enquiries.

3. Your paragraph four. I hope announcement about Moodie's plans can be made promptly and these rumours repudiated.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274551 RCE

COPY

BY AIR

Office of the
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
CANADA HOUSE
LONDON, S.W.1.

AR.13/13

16th November, 1946.

No. A.967

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the case of Dr. Alan Nunn May, who, as you are aware, was sentenced in May last to ten years' imprisonment for the disclosure of secrets.

2. At the time of the sentence there was a considerable protest in this country at what was considered to be its undue severity. This protest was by no means confined to Communist and fellow-traveller circles.

3. In the House of Commons at Westminster on 5th November the Secretary of State for the Home Department was asked whether he had considered the representations that had been made to him by a number of representative organisations respecting the sentence passed on Dr. Alan Nunn May, calling for clemency; and what steps he proposed to take to reduce the sentence. Mr. Ede replied:

> "I have considered the representations to which my hon. Friend refers, but I can find no sufficient ground to justify me in recommending any interference with the sentence which the court thought fit to impose".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant

/s/ N.A. Robertson
High Commissioner

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274552

COPY

BY AIR

Office of the
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
CANADA HOUSE
LONDON, S.W.1.

AR.13/13

16th November, 1946.

No. A.967

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the case of Dr. Alan Nunn May, who, as you are aware, was sentenced in May last to ten years' imprisonment for the disclosure of secrets.

2. At the time of the sentence there was a considerable protest in this country at what was considered to be its undue severity. This protest was by no means confined to Communist and fellow-traveller circles.

3. In the House of Commons at Westminster on 5th November the Secretary of State for the Home Department was asked whether he had considered the representations that had been made to him by a number of representative organisations respecting the sentence passed on Dr. Alan Nunn May, calling for clemency; and what steps he proposed to take to reduce the sentence. Mr. Ede replied:

> "I have considered the representations to which my hon. Friend refers, but I can find no sufficient ground to justify me in recommending any interference with the sentence which the court thought fit to impose".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant

/s/ N.A. Robertson
High Commissioner

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E C274553

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Pearson:

At the Prime Minister's request I forward to you the attached excerpt from a letter recently received by Mr. King from a personal friend in the United States, and one whom Mr. King regards as being unusually well-informed.

J.A.G.

8:1;47

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

I wanted to get the Russian who wrote "I Chose Freedom" to talk at the Dutch Treat Club but Mr. Budenz told me that he is strictly incomunicado still and protected by the police here. His address is constantly changed for his safety and he can make no public appearances on account of the danger to his life. These people are certainly bad ones to deal with. Budenz told us that he knew they killed Trotzky and he knows who did it and how it was worked. They will stop at nothing.

I am really alarmed at the United Nations idea that any surveillance could prevent them from making bombs when they know how, and using them as they please. If we should give up and destroy our bombs we would be destroyed certainly some time. I understand privately that the U.S. Senate will never agree to the destruction of the bombs we have and making our selves defenceless. If we did the United Nations would result in handing the world over to Russia and Communism. I have no faith whatever in any treaties or agreements. Every nation is sovereign at all times and no generation can bind future generations as to what they must do. They will do as they please when the time comes. The only salvation for the world is to have predominant power in the hands of those who will use it wisely and fairly. The Commonwealth of Nations and ourselves are the only nations on earth now who will use power fairly and wisely. While this is not the perfect solution it is the best there is at present. If we keep strong we will be safe. If we disarm and get weak we will perish. The United Nations will be no help.

I am sorry to take this pessimistic view but I have lived a long while and have come to this conclusion. England and ourselves have learned our lesson through centuries of experience. Other nations have not yet done so, and I have no faith whatever in them.

I hope we don't make any agreement on the atomic bomb control but keep control by means of the bombs ourselves. Anyway, this is what is going to happen, whether we like it or not. If we are strong enough no one will attack us. Germany showed this when they did not use poison gas. They knew if they did, they would get far more than they gave, and they were afraid of it. If we had not had the gas and the planes to deliver it with they would certainly have used it. The same will be true of the atomic bomb. If we have plenty of them and means to deliver them they will not be used by others as they know what they would get in return.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Russia can't allow inspection at all times and all over its territory by outsiders. The knowledge of conditions inside Russia would get to the world and they just can't allow this to happen. They will turn down all agreements of this kind just as soon as they have stalled as long as they can. The sooner they are unmasked the better for the world.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Russia can't allow inspection at all times and all over its territory by outsiders. The knowledge of conditions inside Russia would get to the world and they just can't allow this to happen. They will turn down all agreements of this kind just as soon as they have stalled as long as they can. The sooner they are unmasked the better for the world.

REPEAT
REPETER

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

MISSCELLANEOUS

a. Letter from M. Briantchaninoff de Starys-Lipy.

b. News conference held by G.G. McGeer, Vancouver Province, Feb. 13, 1946.

c. Editorial, Vancouver Province, concerning statement by G. G. McGeer, Feb 14, 1946.

d. Question by Mr. Eden in House of Commons concerning leakage of information.

e. Delivery of documents to Secretary of State of the U.S. by Canadian Ambassador.

f. Prime Minister's telegram to Mr. Attlee concerning speech by Mr. Churchill.

g. Memorandum from N.A.R. concerning request for information by Brazilian Charge d'Affaires.

h. Request from the Canadian Press for further information concerning espionage.

i. Letter from Secretary of National Council for Canadian-Soviet Freindship.

F

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Re King to see

MEMORANDUM
Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

Seen by PM

274556 A

~~Mr Gibson~~ C

Laurier House.

The P.M. I believe, wants to see this letter again. JWP-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

RC/E J 14

C 274557

Ottawa, 15th April, 1946.

M. Briantchaninoff de Starya-Lipy,
11 av. Helios,
Lourdes,
France.

Dear Sir:

The Prime Minister has directed me to acknowledge your letter of March 14, and to let you know that he had read it with great interest.

As requested, I am returning the four sheets of your daily diary.

Yours sincerely,

G.J.Matte
Private Secretary.

JWP/JMC

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

C 274558

Copy

To the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

11 av. Helios, Lourdes,
France.

14.3.46.

Private and confidential

Dear Mr. Mackenzie King:

Allow me to congratulate your Excellency most heartily for the civic courage which you showed disclosing under the pretext of a vulgar and alas, very ordinary military attache, spying affair, the most dangerous hidden preparation of a world political cataclysm, the centre of which is presently in Moscow, hiding itself behind Russian Imperial Nationalism, the geopolitical aims of which are partly legitimate, but were always during the existence of the Russian Empire, christian in its bottom and essence, considered and fought for by Russian historical traditions, obvious economic and strategic interests and the man's in the street psychology, an object to be attained not by a general upheaval but by treaties, like those which the government, under Nicolas II has signed in the Far-East, or in 1915 with Great Britain for the straits solution.

As Canadian public opinion rightly grasped in the spy affair the important point is not in an atom-bomb secret, as a matter of fact and most happily not stolen at all, but in the systematic corruption psychologically even more pernicious that the money one that a great state is cynically practising, pretending in the same time, as we saw it with an incomparable disgust at the London conference of the O.N.U. during May to give public lessons of international morality, and to whom? to the most nobly idealistic states of the present time, Great Britain, having risked her life in order to save a principle, having heroically ruined herself for the trijmph of the principle of self-destruction and spending all her efforts not so much for her own benefit, but for a new equilibrium, impossible to be attained with such partners as U.R.S.S.

And that is the point for which I do work increasingly writing and encouraged by the answers of some of the most influential world statesmen.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES.
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

1. It is the most dangerous mistake to try to make a lamb out of a wolf; 2. a world conspiracy in order to prepare a world progressive domination is the will not hidden aim of U.R.S.S. the tyranny of which, camouflaged in a false democracy are ruinous and therefore not seizable, is 1000 times more pernicious for the oppressed human people and as a bad example for all mobs of the world (coloured ones especially!) than that of Franco over the Spaniards; 3. as a matter of fact the III world war has already begun in a state-larve and the greatest danger for real democracy after it consists not in external, but in the internal battles with mob tyranny, scientifically prepared and propagated by the Soviets, supposed by the people and workmen organizations to be the most advanced flank of democracy, being in fact the most awful reaction of nationalistic paganism against the essence of Christian teaching of love and direction by consent - Liberty! 4. therefore, the most urgent moral necessity of a tragic situation is to purify one's own front, with metapolitically? thinking. I see since 20 years as a pro deo alliance of all who understand that the fight is not only going on on this planet, although for the next stage of the Man as a God's or Satan's son. 5. The formula, cede and win, which since Months I developed in my diary and letters to most influential statesmen, is to be understood in the way to win the Russian people a very medium and most capable one, indeed, therefore, necessary, being God's or Satan's but not half by half, as most others are, to the Atlantic liberal decision for which we, Russian Liberals, fought in our country for more than a century, but lost the last battle because of too much Tolstoy factions non-resistance idealisation of the peasant (Russia's false theory, too, of the good and sound nature of man) The Emperor, by chance or God's will, having been a gentleman of the Tourgneuff? type, too delicate and spiritual to win a fight against the rude Ostrovsky? type, yet as profoundly Russian as the romantic ones, too. 6. In order to win the Russian people, two ways are simultaneously urgent (a) to unmask the Moscow dealers as tyrants and deceivers of true democracy putting them out of O.N.U. because not civilized in the democratic spirit (the citizen master, not the slave of the State) treaties by free consent, not spyionage and arms being the of government and growth, social and international) and to spend millions of £ and $ at once for propaganda by agents and figures showing the Siberian and Russian people serfdom as it is comparatively to the

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR PRINT
Epreuve illisible

Western Ideals and Practice, telling openly and clearly, that the fight between the two ideologies has begun and that the bomb will serve the United Nations against every aggressor taking territory without its permission; but also (b) even before that, cede to the Russian people as such, and telling it, in spite of the despotism from which it suffers, all what historically Russia is entitled to - but this no otherwise than by treaties with Turkey Persia, Norway, China, Korea. No obstacles and intrigues from the Atlantic against such acquisitions by treaties, but no connections with tyrants, of Moscow or Madrid, put on the same level, until citizen liberties will be guaranteed by local public opinion solidly "de facto".
7. It is awful, but better to bomb than to wait until Western Christian civilization will be killed after her towns bombed unscrupulously. Please do trust me: it is very hard for me to write this - but I feel it to be my duty! Once a rather very rich, very influential because absolutely independent man, not a bit ambitious and therefore happy, now old and totally ruined, alone with God and my thought, I pledge my word of honour not to write in revenge but in love and admiration of my Russian people hoping to help to save its soul, even on behalf of its body. Do please, be so kind as to pardon me this outspokenness, as my poor English (no practice in this holy hole "where I am entertained as a refugee from Paris) as, too, this handwriting - no typewriter to be available here!

Do, please, order too, to send me back this only copy of four sheets of my daily diary, which, perhaps, will interest you.

very
Yours/respectfully and sincerely,

(Sgd.) Briantchaninoff de Starya-Lipy

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Public Archives Canada | Archives publiques Canada

Central Microfilm Operations | Services centraux du microfilm

79 ave. Bentley Ave.
OTTAWA, Ontario
K1A 0N3

190 ch. Carrier Rd.
REXDALE, Ontario
M9V 2C1

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHENTICITY | CERTIFICAT D'AUTHENTICITÉ

This is to certify that the microphotographs appearing on this Film-File starting with

La présente certifie que les microphotographies faisant partie de ce fichier et allant de

VOL - 389 - PAGE - 273153 - 54

and ending with

à

VOL - 390 - PAGE - 274560

are accurate and complete reproductions of documents in the custody of the Public Archives of Canada as delivered in the regular course of business or photographing.

sont des reproductions exactes et intégrales des documents confiés à la garde des Archives publiques du Canada et livrés pour être photographiés.

Date Produced/Date d'exécution

Day/Jour	Month/Mois	Year/Année
JAN	24	1984

Camera Location/Emplacement de la caméra

395 WELLINGTON ST. OTTAWA-ONT

Camera Operator/Opérateur de la caméra

5-17

ARC-740(6/78)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

END OF REEL

FIN DE LA BOBINE

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 390, pages C274023-C274736

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA