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MG 26
J

King, William Lyon Mackenzie. (1874-1950). Prime Minister of Canada.

William Lyon Mackenzie King fonds
Original, 1641, 1703, 1815-1950, 252.710 m. Photocopy, 1908-1950, 5.000 m. Transcript, 1893-1950, 15.000 m. Finding Aid No. 502.

1996-02-02
7-2061

William Lyon Mackenzie King, a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, was born in Kitchener (then Berlin), Ontario, 17 December 1874. He attended the University of Toronto (B.A., LL.B., M.A.), the University of Chicago, and Harvard University (M.A., Ph.D.). His field of study was Political Economy, with labour problems as his special interest. In 1900, he was appointed the first Deputy Minister of Labour and editor of the *Labour Gazette*. In 1908, he resigned to enter the House of Commons and in 1909 he entered the cabinet as the first Minister of Labour. He left politics after his defeat in the election of 1911 and from 1914 to 1917, he worked for the Rockefeller Foundation investigating industrial relations. He re-entered politics in 1919 after he was chosen leader of the Liberal Party. At the end of 1921, he became Prime Minister and held the post (with the exception of three months in 1926) until his party's defeat in the election of 1930.
He was Leader of the Opposition until October 1935 when the Liberals came back into power. From that time he was Prime Minister until he retired on 15 November 1948. He died 22 July 1950 at his Kingsmere estate.

The William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers were deposited in the Public Archives of Canada by the terms of Mr. King's will. The papers were the property of his literary executors until 22 July 1975 when they became the property of the Crown. The final transfer occurred 30 June 1977.

Access is Restricted.

For the series which are available in microform, the originals have been removed from circulation. Researchers must use the microform. In the case of the Diaries (J13), transcripts are also available.

Some type of finding aid exists for each series in the King Papers. The description of each series includes a note about that series' finding aid(s). Consult the Prime Ministers and Ministers Archives for any possible finding aids in process.

Two original master moulds, recordings of the Carillon Bells and King's speech on 1 July 1927, transferred to the appropriate division in 1995.

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The following portions of the King Papers are available in microform: Primary Series Correspondence (J1), Memoranda and Notes Series (J4), Volumes 1-409, Speeches (J5) 1899-1932, Volumes 1-34, Family Papers (J7) and the Diaries (J13). The finding aid for each of these series includes a microfilm conversion list.

Public papers, 1876-1950, 208.400 m.; personal papers, 1641-1969, 48.602 m.

Public Papers.

Primary Series Correspondence, J1 Series. Original, 1889-1950, 44.700 m. (Vol. 1-447).

This series consists of the important correspondence both from the Prime Minister's Office and from Laurier House. The correspondence is arranged alphabetically by author within each year, with enclosures and any replies kept together. The pages of the entire series are numbered consecutively. For the correspondence up to 1921, there are both subject and author indexes. The subject index is an alphabetical list of subjects. The author index consists of index cards. The subject index is also available on microfilm reels C-4591 to C-4593. For the 1922-1950 correspondence, a detailed letter by letter index is available on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM. A microfilm conversion list for the whole series is available in the finding aid and on microfiche. Because the 1922-1932 J1 correspondence in Volumes 69-193 (reels C-2242 to C-2331) was reboxed after it was microfilmed, the volume numbers on the targets and running heads with the reels are incorrect.
Check the conversion list for the correct volume number. Also available on microfilm, reels C-1901 to C-1952, C-2242 to C-2331, C-3672 to C-3695, C-3723 to C-3751, C-4566 to C-4576, C-4860 to C-4872, C-6804 to C-6814, C-7034 to C-7060, C-9871 to C-9887, C-9166 to C-9181, C-11035 to C-11055, C-4632.

Prime Minister's Office Correspondence, J2 Series. Original, 1921-1930, 1935-1948, 52.000 m. (Vol. 1-520).

This series consists of the subject files remaining after the Primary Series correspondence was selected. A file list is available in two separate bound volumes and on microfiche.

General Correspondence, J3 Series. Original, 1915-1950, (Vol. 1-161). 15.200 m.

This series consists of personal letters which were kept at Laurier House. These letters were left after correspondence was selected for the Primary Series (J1), the Family Papers (J7), and the Personal Correspondence Series (J8). A box list is available in the finding aid and on microfiche, a more detailed author list is available in the Political Archives Service.

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Memoranda and Notes, J4 Series. Original, 1887-1950, 43.800 m. (Vol. 1-432).

Memoranda, notes and some correspondence are found in this series, arranged in subject files within four chronological periods (1887-1921, 1922-1932, 1933-1939 and 1940-1950), with additional material at the end. A complete file list is available in a separate bound finding aid, on microfiche and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.

Volumes 1-409 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1953 to C-1983, C-2475, C-2475A, C-2476 to C-2480, C-2575 to C-2576, C-2622 to C-2626, C-2693 to C-2731, C-4253 to C-4289, H-1471 to H-1562.

Speeches, J5 Series. Original, 1899-1950, 10.600 m. (Vol. 1-105).

This series contains speech notes, drafts, printed copies, newspaper reports and comments. The material is arranged chronologically. A list giving subject, date and place of each speech is available in a separate bound finding aid and on microfiche.

The speeches from 1899-1932 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1984 to C-1988, C-2788 to C-2800

Pamphlets and Clippings, J6 Series. Original, 1876-1950, 42.100 m. (Vol. 1-245).

This series consists of clippings, pamphlets, obituaries and brochures arranged alphabetically in subject/nominal files. This series is divided into two parts: pre-1921 and 1921-1950. A file list is available in the finding aid and on microfiche.

Personal Papers.

Family Papers, J7 Series. Original, 1880-1950, 6.100 m. (Vol. 1-31).

This series consists primarily of King's correspondence from members of his family. The letters are arranged chronologically up to the end of 1917 and after that by name of correspondent. A file list is available in the finding aid and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.

Also available on microfilm, reels H-2244 to H-2270

Personal Correspondence, J8 Series. Original, 1897-1950, 4.000 m. (Vol. 1-41).

This series includes the personal correspondence received by King between 1897 and 1950. This correspondence was from friends rather than from acquaintances or the general public. A file list is available in the finding aid and on microfiche.

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Spiritualism, J9 Series. Original, 1919-1950, 1.400 m. (Vol. 1-7).
This series includes correspondence, publications and memoranda arranged in subject files.

Laurier House and Kingsmere, J10 Series. Original, 1919-1950, 2.800 m. (Vol. 1-28).
This series includes financial, property, hospitality and job application files relating to King's two residences. A file list is available in the finding aid.

Finances, J11 Series. Original, 1907-1950, 1.600 m. (Vol. 1-16).
This series includes annual statements, material on investments, etc. arranged in subject files.

Personal Miscellaneous, J12 Series. Original, 1905-1950, 2.100 m. (Vol. 1-21).
This series consists of subject files on personal matters such as cars, church, health, insurance and staff.

Diaries, J13 Series. Original, 1893-1950, 7.420 m. (Vol. 147-209). Transcript, 1893-1950, 10.760 m. (Vol. 1-118, 127-129, 132-146). Microfiche, 1893-1946, 1949, 492 fiches. T-1 to T-275, M-1 to M-217. Photocopy, 1947-1948, 1950, 1.110 m. (Vol. 119-126, 130-131).
A list of the diaries and a microfiche conversion list is available in the finding aid and on microfiche.

King Family Papers, J14 Series. Original, 1840-1950, 2.000 m. (Vol. 1-20).
This series consists of correspondence of members of the King family with persons other than W.L.M. King. Included are the papers of John and Christina King, Mr. and Mrs. John King, Isabel King, Dr. and Mrs. Macdougall King, Mr. and Mrs. H.M. Lay, and the Lindsey family. A file list is available in the finding aid and on microfiche.

Souvenirs, J15 Series. Original, 1641, 1703, 1815-1950, 7.250 m. (Vol. 1-18).
This series, rearranged in 1981, contains a wide variety of material including programmes, historical documents and memorabilia collected by Mackenzie King. It is organized by type of document. A file list is available with the finding aid and on microfiche.

Election Campaign Posters, J16 Series. Original, 1940, 0.002 m.
These posters are in horizontal storage, 6 pages.

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Literary Executors of the King Estate, J17 Series. Original, 1938-1969, 1.800 m. (Vol. 1-9).

Included is the correspondence of the Literary Executors, 1950-1958, relating to the writing of the W.L.M. King biography and the placement of the King Papers in the Public Archives. Also included are financial records of the Rockefeller Foundation grant for the W.L.M. King memoir project, 1950-1957. A file list is available with the finding aid and on microfiche.

McGregor, F.A., J18 Series. Original, 1950-1956, 0.100 m. (Vol. 1).

F.A. McGregor: Secretary to Deputy Minister of Labour, 1909-1910; teacher at Woodstock College, 1913-1914; assisted King in his studies in industrial relations under the Rockefeller Foundation, 1914-1919; private secretary to Leader of the Opposition and to the Prime Minister of Can^Aada, 1919-1925; Registrar, Combines Investigation Act, 1925-1937; Commissioner, Combines Investigation Act, 1937-1949; member of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, 1939-1950, and enforcement administrator, 1941-1946; literary executor and a trustee of the estate of W.L.M. King. The papers were presented in 1980 by Mr. A.N. McGregor.

Correspondence between F.A. McGregor, the literary executors and others involved in the estate and in the biography of King, as well as personal correspondence. A file list is available with the finding aid.

Royal Trust Estate Papers. J19 Series. Original, 1950-1960, 0.160 m. (Vol. 1-2).

This series consists of the Royal Trust Company files relating to the W.L.M. King estate. File list.

Card Indexes, J20 Series. Original, n.d., 1919-1945, 9.300 m. (Vol. 1-31).

Comprises fourteen separate card indexes: Mackenzie King Papers (nominal), vols. 1-4; Liberal candidates, 1940 and 1945 elections, vol. 5; birthday and Christmas (nominal), vols. 6-8; biographical, vol. 9; birthday and Christmas acknowledgments - subjects, vols. 10-11; speeches, vols. 12-13; King's papers D-U, vol. 14, papers 1880-1919, vols. 15-16; war records, vols. 17-18; autograph letters, invitations, photographs, correspondence - British, U.S., Foreign A-Z, vol. 19; Canada correspondence (nominal), vols. 20-22; Mackenzie King papers F-Z, vols. 24-25; Mackenzie King papers 1922-1925, vols. 26-30; nominal, A-6, vol. 31.

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MG 26
J

King, William Lyon Mackenzie (1874-1950). Premier ministre du Canada.

Fonds William Lyon Mackenzie King
Original, 1641, 1703, 1815-1950, 252.710 m. Photocopie, 1908-1950, 5.000 m. Transcription, 1893-1950, 15.000 m.
Instrument de recherche no 502.

1996-02-02

William Lyon Mackenzie King, petit-fils de William Lyon Mackenzie, est né à Kitchener (alors Berlin), Ontario, le 17 décembre 1874. Il étudie aux universités de Toronto (B.A., LL.B., M.A.), de Chicago et Harvard (M.A., Ph.D). Il se spécialise en économie politique et s'intéresse particulièrement aux problèmes ouvriers. En 1900, il est nommé premier sous-ministre du Travail et rédacteur de la Gazette du travail. Il démissionne en 1908 pour entrer à la Chambre des communes; en 1909, il devient le premier ministre du Travail. Il quitte la politique après sa défaite aux élections de 1911 et de 1914 à 1917, il étudie les relations industrielles à la Rockefeller Foundation. Il revient à la politique en 1919 après avoir été élu chef du parti Libéral. En 1921, il devient premier ministre et conserve ce poste (sauf pour quelques mois en 1926) jusqu'à la défaite de son parti aux élections de 1930.
Il est chef de l'Opposition jusqu'à la reprise du pouvoir par les Libéraux en 1935. Il réintègre alors son poste de premier ministre qu'il conservera jusqu'à sa retraite en novembre 1948. Il meurt le 22 juillet 1950 dans son domaine de Kingsmere.

Les papiers W.L. Mackenzie King furent déposés aux Archives publiques du Canada conformément au testament de M. King. Les papiers sont demeurés la propriété de ses exécuteurs littéraires jusqu'au 22 juillet 1975, date à laquelle ils sont devenus celle de la Couronne. Le dernier transfert eut lieu le 30 juin 1977.

Accès contrôlé.

Les originaux pour les séries aussi disponible sur microforme ont été retirés de la circulation. Les chercheurs doivent consulter le microforme. Les Journaux intimes (J13) sont aussi disponible comme les transcriptions.

Les instruments de recherche des papiers King ne sont pas encore tous terminés. La description de chaque série comprend une note explicative sur son (ses) instrument(s) de recherche. Consultez les archives des premiers ministres et ministres pour les instruments de recherche en préparation.

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Deux matrices originales des enregistrements du Carilon de la Paix et du discours de King, 1er juillet 1927 ont été confiées à la division appropriée.

Les séries suivantes sont disponibles sur microformes : Première série de correspondance (J1), Mémoires et notes (J4), Volumes 1-409, Discours (J5), 1899-1932, Volumes 1-34, Papiers de famille (J7), et Journaux intimes (J13). L'instrument de recherche de chacune de ces séries comprend une liste de conversion des microfilms.

Papiers publics, 1876-1950, 208.400 m; papiers personnels, 1641-1969, 48.602 m.

Papiers publics. Original,

Première série de correspondance. Série J1. Original, 1889-1950, 44.700 m. (Vol. 1-447).

Cette série comprend un choix des lettres les plus importantes des dossiers du cabinet du premier ministre et des dossiers de la maison Laurier. La correspondance est classée par ordre alphabétique d'auteur pour chaque année avec pièces jointes et réponses réunies à la lettre principale et numérotées consécutivement. Il existe un index des auteurs et des matières pour la correspondance antérieure à 1921. L'index des auteurs est sur fiches et l'index des matières consiste en une liste alphabétique des sujets. L'index des matières est également sur microfilm (bobine C-4591 à C-4593). Pour la période 1922-1950, un index détaillé est disponible sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.
Une liste de conversion des numéros de bobines de la série est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiches. Parce que la correspondance de la série J1 pour les années 1922 à 1932, volumes 69-193 (bobines C-2242 à C-2331) a été reboîtée après le microfilmage, les numéros de volumes apparaissant dans les entêtes des microfilms sont inexacts. Il faut donc vérifier la liste de conversion pour avoir le bon numéro de volume.
Aussi disponible sur microfilm, bobines C-1901 à C-1952, C-2242 à C-2331, C-3672 à C-3695, C-3723 à C-3751, C-4566 à C-4576, C-4860 à C-4872, C-6804 à C-6814, C-7034 à C-7060, C-9871 à C-9887, C-9166 à C-9181, C-11035 à C-11055, C-4632.

Correspondance du Cabinet du premier ministre. Série J2. Original, 1921-1930, 1935-1948, 52.000 m. (Vol. 1-520).

Cette série comprend les dossiers-matière non compris dans la première série de correspondance. La liste des dossiers est disponible dans deux volumes reliés séparément ainsi que sur microfiches.

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Correspondance générale. Série J3. Original, 1915-1950, 15.200 m. (Vol. 1-161). Photocopie, 8 pages.

Cette série comprend des lettres personnelles que King conservait à la maison Laurier et qui n'ont pas été retenues dans la première série (J1), dans la série des papiers de famille (J7) ni dans celle de la correspondance générale (J8). Une liste des boîtes est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche. Une liste des auteurs est disponible au Service des archives politiques.

Mémoires et notes. Série J4. Original, 1887-1950, 43.800 m. (Vol. 1-432).

Les mémoires, notes et quelques lettres qui n'étaient pas inclus dans la correspondance se trouvent dans cette série et sont classés en quatre périodes chronologiques : 1887-1921, 1922-1932, 1933-1939 et 1940-1950 avec matériel additionnel à la fin. Une liste complète des dossiers est disponible dans un volume relié, sur microfiche et sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.

Les volumes 1-409 sont aussi disponibles sur microfilms, bobines C-1953 à C-1983, C-2475, C-2475A, C-2476 à C-2480, C-2575 à C-2576, C-2622 à C-2626, C-2693 à C-2731, C-4253 à C-4289, H-1471 à H-1562.

Discours. Série J5. Original, 1899-1950, 10.600 m. (Vol. 1-105).

Cette série comprend des notes de discours, des brouillons, des copies imprimées, des commentaires et comptes rendus de journaux classés par ordre chronologique. Une liste donnant le sujet, la date et l'endroit de chaque discours se trouve dans un instrument de recherche relié séparément et sur microfiche.

Les discours de 1899-1932 sont aussi disponibles sur microfilm, bobines C-1984 à C-1988, C-2788 à C-2800

Brochures et coupures de journaux. Série J6. Original, 1876-1950, 42.100 m. (Vol. 1-245).

Cette série contient des coupures de journaux, des dépliants et des brochures qui sont classées alphabétiquement dans des dossiers de noms et de sujets. Cette série est divisée en deux parties : les documents antérieurs à 1921 et ceux de 1921 à 1950. Une liste est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Papiers personnels.

Papiers de famille. Série J7. Original, 1880-1950, 6.100 m. (Vol. 1-31).

Cette série contient des lettres écrites à King par des membres de sa famille. La correspondance est en ordre chronologique jusqu'à la fin de 1917; après cette année, elle est classée par correspondant. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.

Aussi disponible sur microfilm, bobines H-2244 à H-2270.

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Correspondance personnelle. Série J8. Original, 1897-1950, 4.000 m. (Vol. 1-41).
Cette série comprend la correspondance reçue par King entre les années 1897 et 1950. Cette correspondance provenait de ses amis plutôt que de ses connaissances ou du public en général. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Spiritisme. Série J9. Original, 1919-1950, 1.400 m. (Vol. 1-7).
Cette série comprend des lettres, des publications et des mémoires classés par matière.

Maison Laurier et Kingsmere. Série J10. Original, 1919-1950, 2.800 m. (Vol. 1-28).
Cette série comprend des lettres ayant trait à des plans, des meubles, etc., des résidences de King. Elle est organisée en dossiers-matière. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche.

Finances. Série J11. Original, 1907-1950, 1.600 m. (Vol. 1-16).
Cette série comprend des états annuels, des documents relatifs à des placements, etc., organisés en dossiers-matières.

Papiers personnels divers. Série J12. Original, 1905-1950, 2.100 m. (Vol. 1-21).
Cette série comprend des dossiers-matières sur des affaires personnelles (voitures, église, clubs, santé, assurances et personnel).

Journaux intimes. Série J13. Original, 1893-1950, 7.420 m. (Vol. 147-209). Microfiche, 1893-1950, 492 fiches. T-1 à T-275, M-1 à M-217. Transcription, 1893-1946, 1949, 10.760 m. (Vol. 1-146). Photocopie, 1947-1948, 1950, 1.110 m.
Une liste des journaux intimes et une liste de conversion de ces journaux sur microfiche, sont disponibles dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Papiers de la famille King. Série J14. Original, 1840-1950, 2.000 m. (Vol. 1-20).
Cette série comprend la correspondance des membres de la famille King avec d'autres personnes que W.L.M. King. On y trouve des lettres de John et Christina King, M. et Mme John King, Isabel King, Dr. et Mme Macdougall King, M. et Mme H.M. Lay et la famille Lindsey. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

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Souvenirs. Série J15. Original, 1641, 1703, 1815-1950, 7.250 m. (Vol. 1-18).
Cette série ré-organisée en 1981, comprend une variété de documentation y compris des programmes, des documents historiques, des souvenirs collectionnés par Mackenzie King. Elle est organisée par type de document. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Affiches de la campagne électorale. Série J16. Original, 1940, 0.002 m.
Ces affiches sont dans le classeur horizontal, 6 pages.

Exécuteurs littéraires de M. King. Série J17. Original, 1938-1969, (Vol. 1-9).
Cette série comprend de la correspondance des exécuteurs littéraires, 1950-1958, au sujet de la biographie de W.L.M. King et les documents sur le dépôt des papiers de M. King aux Archives publiques. Il y a aussi des dossiers financiers ayant trait à la fondation Rockefeller et au don de celle-ci au projet des mémoires de King, 1950-1957. Une liste des dossiers est disponible à l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

McGregor F.A. Série J18. Original, 1950-1956, 0.100 m.
F.A. McCregor; Secrétaire du sous-ministre du Travail, 1909-1910; professeur au Collège Woodstock, 1913-1914, assista W.L.M. King lorsqu'il fit des études en relations industrielles grâce à une bourse de la fondation Rockefeller, 1914-1919; secrétaire particulier du chef de l'opposition et du Premier ministre du Canada, 1919-1925; greffier, Loi relative aux enquêtes sur les coalitions, 1925-1937; commissaire, Loi relative aux enquêtes sur les coalitions, 1937-1949; membre de la Commission des prix et du commerce en temps de guerre, 1939-1950, et agent d'exécution, 1941-1946; l'un des exécuteurs littéraires et des fiduciaires de la succession de W.L.M. King. Les papiers ont été présentés aux Archives en 1980 par A.N. McGregor.
Correspondance entre F.A. McGregor, les exécuteurs littéraires et les diverses autres personnes concernées par la succession et la biographie de W.L.M. King. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche.

Trust Royal. Série J19. Original, 1950-1960, (Vol. 1-2).
Cette série comprend les dossiers de la compagnie Trust Royal concernant la succession de W.L.M. King.

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Fichiers index. Série J20. Original, n.d., 1919-1945, 9.300 m. (Vol. 1-31).

Les quatorze fichiers, comprennent un index nominatif, vols. 1-4; les candidats Libéraux, les élections de 1940 et 1945, vol. 5; les cartes de souhaits - nominatif, vols. 6-8; un index biographique, vol. 9; les réponses des cartes de souhaits - sujets, vols. 10-11; les discours, vols. 12-13; les papiers de King, D-U, vol. 14; les papiers 1880-1919, vols. 15-16; les archives de guerre, vols. 17-18; les lettres signées, les invitations, les photos, la correspondance - anglaise, américaine, étrangère, vol. 19; Canada - la correspondance - nominative, vols. 20-22; les papiers de Mackenzie King F-Z, vols. 24-25; les papiers de Mackenzie King 1922-1925, vols. 26-30; un fichier nominatif A-6, vol. 31.

Section des archives politiques.

W.L.M. King Speeches Series MG 26 J 5

INTRODUCTION

The W.L.M. King Speeches series contains speech notes, drafts, printed copies, newspaper reports and comments on speeches. The material is arranged chronologically. A list giving the subject, date and place of each speech is available in the King finding aid, number 502. The arrangement of the speeches reflects the way the papers came to the National Archives in several series of overlapping files. The Bound Volumes contain mainly typewritten speech notes and speech material. The Chronological files consist mainly of clippings reporting on speeches as well as some typewritten material. The St-Laurent files (so-called because they were received from the Prime Minister's Office when Louis St-Laurent was in office) contain both clippings and typewritten material.

W.L.M. King, Série des discours, MG 26 J5

INTRODUCTION

La série des discours du fonds W.L.M. King comprend des ébauches e discours, des textes manuscrits et imprimés des discours, des coupures de presses et des commentaires áu sujet des discours. Les documents sont classés en ordre chronologique. On peut trouver dans l'instrument de recherche numéro 502 (King) une liste indiquant le sujet, la date et le lieu de chaque discours. Le fait que les discours sont parvenus aux Archives nationales en différentes séries se chevauchant se réflète dans leur classement. Les volumes reliés contiennent principalement des textes dactylographiés de discours et des documents de référence. Les dossiers chronologiques contiennent surtout des coupures de presse relatives aux discours et des documents dactylographiés. Les dossiers St-Laurent (ainsi nommés parce qu'uils ont été transférés du Bureau de premier ministre lorsque Louis St-Laurent était en poste) comprend également des coupures de presse et des documents dactylographiés.

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

See p 5
D 52815

CALL FOR A NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: THE PROBLEM OF PRICES

ADDRESS

by

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

on the occasion of

The meeting of the Advisory Council of the
National Liberal Federation of Canada.

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JANUARY 20, 1948

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The following address was delivered at a largely attended dinner, held under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation, at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, on the second day of the meeting of the Advisory Council of the Federation. Representative members of the Liberal Party from all parts of Canada were present. The Prime Minister was introduced by Mr. J. Gordon Fogo, K.C., President of the National Liberal Federation. Mr. Mackenzie King then addressed a few words of appreciation to Mr. Fogo and the Executive, and words of welcome and greeting to those who had come to be present at the meetings of the Advisory Council. These introductory remarks were followed by his address which dealt, in turn, with: The International Situation; The Problem of Rising Prices; and The Call for a National Convention of the Liberal Party of Canada.

I: THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

MR. KING SAID:

Let me speak first of the international situation.

Any true appreciation of Canada's domestic problems must begin with an understanding of the world situation. This has not always been the case. It was not true of Canada before Confederation. It was not true of Canada in Sir John A. Macdonald's day. It was not true in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's day. It began to be true in the years Sir Robert Borden was in office. The first world war made us aware that Canada's freedom was bound up with the freedom of other nations — if not of all, at least with the freedom of those countries which shared a belief in freedom and free institutions similar to that held by ourselves.

The Menace of World Domination

In the years following the first Great War, we and many other nations solaced ourselves with the belief that the world had witnessed the last of its great conflicts. We thought that war, on such a scale, could never afflict the nations again. We reposed comfortably under the soothing shades of a League of Nations, which was holding meetings and many conferences in the heart of Europe, at Geneva. To this body, we were prepared to relegate consideration of problems that might give rise to war. We went on our way thinking mainly, and all but exclusively, of our own domestic affairs. It was only in the thirties we began to experience a growing concern and

D 52817

anxiety at what was taking place in Europe. Then, in 1939, came the attempt at European domination by Germany, and in 1941 a similar attempt at domination of the Orient by Japan. For a time the skies of the entire world were overcast by the sinister menace of world domination by tyrannies which based their power upon material force. At the end of six years of war, that menace was seemingly crushed. It was certainly subdued. But it was not obliterated. The menace of world domination ceased for the time being, at least, to appear in the open. But it began to work its way underground, and from quarters that were at times unexpected.

Signs of the New Tyranny

Today the signs of the new tyranny that seeks world domination are unmistakable. Communism is no less a tyranny than Nazi-ism. It aims at world conquest. It hopes to effect its purpose by force. Its patterns of procedure are similar, but they go further. They seek to create unrest in all quarters of the globe, and, by devious underground and underhand methods, to penetrate and undermine the established social systems of many lands. So far as may be possible in freedom-loving nations, Communism seeks to unsettle and undermine, where it does not openly defy, the authority of government itself.

The world is in an appallingly dangerous condition today. After our second experience with war on a world scale, let us beware of again mistaking appearances for realities. Let us not speak of having entered upon an era of peace, where all about us are evidences of strife. Let us not allow another wolf-like menace to masquerade in sheep's clothing, seeking, all the while, whom it may devour.

The Supreme Task of Liberalism — Defence of Freedom

The task of liberalism at all times has been the extension and preservation of freedom. That was its supreme task in the years of the two world wars. For years to come, its supreme task will, I believe, continue to be the preservation of freedom against this new and terrible menace. This preservation, Liberalism must strive to effect by continuing to guard the freedom of the individual, and the freedom of our own and other lands.

To improve the lot and to help preserve the freedom of men and women of our own and other lands, let men and women of liberal mind and heart seek, by all means, to promote the great principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. But let them not believe that the words of any charter, however strong their appeal, nor how oft repeated, can effect anything of themselves, or that they will effect anything in the end unless, where force threatens, it can be kept at bay by superior force. So long as Communism remains as a menace to the free world, it is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain a preponderance of military strength on the side of freedom, and to secure that degree of unity among the nations which will ensure that they cannot be defeated and destroyed one by one. The United Nations, in my opinion, will be well advised to concentrate upon the organization of the international force by which,

D 52818

in the words of Lord Tennyson, it was to "hold a fretful realm in awe". In some other particulars it would, I believe, be wise to limit, for the time being at least, some of its multifarious activities. Force has not in itself the power to create better conditions. But a measure of security is a first essential. If properly organized, the force required to provide security would have the power to save from destruction those who have at heart the aim of creating better conditions.

The Appeal of Communism

Nor let any of us think that the support of any organization, however high its aims, can relieve any individual, or any party, or any nation, of a responsibility which is its own. We all know, or ought, by now, to know that for centuries in many countries, multitudes of men and women and little children have been deprived of any real opportunity to develop their individual personalities, and to share, through an equitable distribution of the world's wealth, in the bounty which Providence has bestowed on mankind. Communism deliberately exploits this situation to which it professes to have found the remedy. That constitutes the attraction of Communism for the under-privileged, and for many of those who sympathize with and wish to improve the lot of their fellow-men. Let us not underestimate that fact.

But Communism, as its present day promotors practise its precepts, is based on force and on the class war. It fosters ill-will; it foments strife. No enduring order can be based on Force. Consent, not force, is the only sure basis of an enduring social order. Ill-will has never effected anything enduring, neither has strife. It is to the opposite of these, we must look for an increase in human happiness.

Opposition to Communism must be Positive

It is equally essential to Victory in the struggle with Communism that the cause of Freedom should not become merely a negative cause; that the defence of Freedom should not be left to reactionaries, but that the free nations should find not only a better, but a more attractive social gospel than Communism provides. If we are to win against Communism in its struggle for the minds and souls of men, if we are to help save the world from a tyranny as ghastly as any which has hitherto menaced mankind, it will only be by recognizing, wherever we may go, wherever we may be, that we remain our brother's keepers, and that, at home and abroad, we have an obligation to lend our individual and national efforts to furthering to the extent of our abilities, more in the way of equality of opportunity and of social justice. As opportunities of self development are enlarged, as inequalities and obvious injustices are removed; as good-will supplants ill-will in human attitudes and relationships, as fear gives place to faith, an all-consuming Communism will cease to be able either to attract or to deceive. If we are to be true to our Liberal faith, we must put forth every effort to further equality of opportunity, and to effect, in all possible ways, a larger measure of social justice.

D 52819

Liberalism's foremost aim

However short Liberalism may have fallen in achieving these high purposes, Liberalism may at least claim that such has been its purpose in the past, that its supporters have accomplished more in these directions than have those of any other political persuasion, and that such is its foremost aim today. If Liberalism is true to itself, such, throughout the future, as never before, will be its supreme endeavour.

D 52820

II: THE PROBLEM OF RISING PRICES

Let me now turn from the international to the domestic scene.

There is no problem with which, for some time past, the people of Canada have been more profoundly concerned, than the problem of the rise in prices, and the consequent increase in the cost of living. It is not surprising that this should be so. Whatever immediately affects one's home and family is certain to be a matter of personal interest. We all are quick to see and to feel those things which affect our well-being, or make increasingly difficult conditions which are already difficult enough. We do not as readily see beyond the immediate situation to the causes which have created the conditions which affect us. This is particularly true when the causes, in part at least, lie beyond the range of local or national affairs.

Rising prices a world-wide phenomenon

In considering the problem of rising prices, the first fact to be noted is that this problem is not peculiar to our own country. In practically every country, it is the problem of greatest immediate concern to the people. In regard to prices, we in Canada have been more fortunate than almost any other country. That is a significant fact, but it is one we often do not keep in mind.

World-wide shortages have resulted in soaring prices abroad. These shortages have increased the urgent and pressing demands of overseas countries on Canadian supplies. As long ago as January 31, 1946, I gave a public warning that widespread and significant advances in prices might occur, and that when full "decontrol" was achieved, the level of prices might be moderately increased. Unfortunately the recovery of Western Europe has been much slower than was then expected. The bad European harvest of 1947 has created even worse shortages than could reasonably have been anticipated. The pressure of world prices on Canadian prices has correspondingly increased.

Inflationary conditions, and rising prices after a war, are not something exceptional. Nor are they something peculiar to any one country. Inflation and rising prices have been the general rule in post-war periods. In the world at large, the present period is no exception. The most a government can hope to do in any one country is to strive, by as many means as it is in a position to command, to keep inevitable inflationary effects within bounds. Our country is more dependent than most countries upon conditions beyond its borders. We cannot hope to insulate Canada from the effects of rising prices all over the world.

Liberal policy on prices

The government has shared to the full the public concern over rising prices. We have given active and continuous consideration to the measures it was advisable to take to meet the situation. On Thursday last, the Minister of Finance announced steps which were being taken immediately to check the rise of certain prices which the government felt had gone up unduly. Tonight, I intend to announce additional steps in the government's policy.

I wish, first, to make certain general observations about the government's position — the Liberal position — regarding the control of prices. We are naturally proud of the success achieved in the control of prices during the war. It is at once gratifying and amusing to see how ready our political opponents now are to give the government credit for the success of wartime controls. But we do not forget that they were not loud in their praises while the wartime policy was in force. The time may come when our opponents will be not less ready to praise our present policies.

We now see one political party demanding a return to an over-all price ceiling. Until recently, we saw another political party demanding the abolition of virtually all price controls. By both these parties, we are opposed. Notwithstanding that they are poles apart in their policies, the chances are ten to one that they will vote together whenever they think there is a chance to embarrass the government.

The C.C.F. Party — the over-all price ceiling party — wish to know why, if price control worked in wartime, it won't work now. No doubt many of our own friends feel that is a question which deserves a serious answer.

Why no over-all price ceiling

What is the answer? There are, in fact, several answers. But the most important is that over-all price control can succeed only if it is accompanied by wage control, salary control and other controls of costs of production. Indeed, to work effectively, over-all price control must be accompanied by complete control of the processes of production and distribution, and by rationing. Consumers' prices can only be controlled if farm prices and industrial costs are also controlled. To keep up production, if costs were not controlled, huge and ultimately uncontrollable subsidies would have to be paid by the taxpayers.

During the war, consumers' prices were, broadly speaking, held at the late 1941 level. Wage stabilization was accepted by Labour, but wages were not rigidly frozen. Costs, accordingly, rose slowly but steadily. Farm prices were permitted to increase considerably. The gap between prices and costs was largely met by subsidies. The cost of subsidies also increased from year to year.

The government always recognized — and always said — that over-all price control was purely a war measure. It was, in fact, a weapon of war — and its successful operation vastly increased our total war effort.

But let us never forget the setting in which war-time price control operated. It was our deliberate policy to keep down and, indeed, to reduce civilian production so that more and more of our resources could be used to make war. In other words, we were creating scarcity. Price control and rationing were both necessary to ensure a fair distribution of scarce goods.

Peacetime objective — expansion of production

But once fighting ceased, our first concern was to reverse the engines, and to put the economic machine into full speed forward.

We no longer wanted to create scarcity. Our aim was the exact opposite. We sought to encourage the rapid expansion of production to meet the pent-up demand for goods. The government knew that production would not be expanded if the nation's economy was kept in a war-time strait-jacket. We were equally sure, however, that if we took all the controls off at once, as was advocated by one of the other political parties, prices would shoot away up before increased production got under way. We chose a middle course — orderly and gradual de-control. That is what, during and before the 1945 election, we promised to do. That is the course we have since followed.

No one would claim that every individual control had been taken off at precisely the right moment. But, by and large, our policy of orderly and gradual de-control has, I believe, served the general interest more effectively than it could otherwise have been served. I am equally sure it is wise, in this period of transition, to retain the power to re-impose controls wherever, in specific cases, that may seem advisable in order to protect the public from exploitation. We have shown that we do not hesitate to use this power when necessary. That fact, of itself, has been a great protection to the public.

Desire of Labour and Agriculture to relax wartime controls

It was perfectly clear that, having, on the whole, loyally accepted wage control and the control of farm prices, during the war, both Labour and Agriculture felt that, after the war, these controls should not be long retained. Wage control and the control of farm prices were the foundations of the wartime price ceiling. As wage controls were relaxed, and as the prices of primary products rose, the prices to consumers had also to be permitted to rise. This sequence has now become more or less apparent. What has not been seen so clearly is the way in which, for more than two years, the inevitable rise in prices has been slowed down by the gradual and measured way in which controls have been taken off. It should not be forgotten that, from the point of view of the cost of living, the most important single control — that of residential rents — is still retained.

Why not merely control food prices?

The most striking increases have taken place in the price of foodstuffs. There are many — particularly among city and town dwellers — who agree that an over-all price ceiling is not practicable, but who feel that there should be ceilings on the prices of essential foodstuffs. Such a proposal makes an immediate appeal to those with modest incomes who see their food bills going up month by month. But let us look at the picture from another point of view. If the prices of foodstuffs are kept down by governmental control, and other prices are allowed to rise, farmers and other food producers are going to feel that the cost of living of people in cities and towns is being kept down at their expense. In the case of most foods produced in Canada, prices are still considerably lower than prices of the same foods in the United States. Our farmers have been

prepared to accept somewhat lower prices because other prices and costs are, also, still somewhat lower in Canada, and because our farmers wish to secure a long term policy of stabilization of farm prices.

Why not subsidies?

We already hear protests, in certain quarters, that the farmers are expected to bear the burden of lower prices for the rest of population. It is asserted that the government should let farmers get world prices, and that prices to Canadian consumers should be kept down by means of subsidies. The example of Britain is frequently cited in support of this proposal. In this connection, it is important to note that the British government has announced it will provide no additional subsidies for this purpose. There are many of its own supporters who openly maintain that the existing burden of food subsidies in Britain is too heavy.

Reasons for increased prices

Actually, two factors have combined to account for the larger part of the increase in Canadian prices since the war. One has been the removal of subsidies. Subsidies were removed, to help to give the people a substantial measure of relief from wartime levels of taxation.

The other factor which has sent up Canadian prices has been the much more rapid rise of world prices, and, especially, of prices in the United States. Everyone must surely agree that it is impossible to avoid having Canada's price structure influenced by prices outside Canada. Canadian prices are affected particularly by prices in the United States. This is inevitable since we draw so large a part of what we consume from that country, and since our producers sell such a large volume of goods in that country.

Our price level cannot diverge very widely from the American level without creating unbearable stresses and strains between classes and interests in Canada. Incidentally, the devaluation of the Canadian dollar would still further increase the cost of living in Canada. Yet, devaluation is the only solution offered by one of the Opposition parties to the exchange problem.

While we cannot keep Canadian prices widely different from American prices, what we can do, what we have tried to do, and what, so far, we have largely succeeded in doing, is to prevent the extreme rises which have taken place across the line, and the much more extreme increases which other countries have experienced.

Public outcry against rising prices

It is not surprising that the rise in prices should have given rise to indignation and accusations. As I have already said, human nature would not be human nature if people did not cry out against a condition of things which, in difficult times, makes life still more difficult for almost everyone. It is not to be wondered at that special interests which are believed to be responsible, and governments, too, should be subjected to all kinds of abuse, and misrepresentation of their powers, as well as of their motives.

In certain quarters, we hear that the rise in prices is due to profiteering; that the country is in the grip of monopolies and combines which the government ought to destroy. In other quarters, we hear that the government itself is seeking to protect this and that special interest, regardless of what the effect may be upon the general interest. When, in the light of the knowledge it is in a position to obtain, the government imposes new controls, or restores old controls, its action is ridiculed as being too late, or as a "cruel practical joke". It is at once claimed by some that the government's action goes too far, by others, that it does not go far enough. All this, as I have said, is natural enough; and perhaps, where political parties may be looking to votes at some future contest, that kind of declaration is inevitable under any democratic system of government.

Cure for profiteering

How then is the present situation to be met? Without doubt there are abuses, and they may be more widespread than we realize. No doubt, on the part of some, there has been, and continues to be profiteering. As long as human nature remains what it is, there will be selfish, as well as unselfish people in the world. Mean men, where opportunity presents itself, will seek, at the expense of others, to profit by their own meanness.

Clearly, the task of all right-minded citizens, the task of governments and the task of Parliaments is to make this sort of thing impossible, or as nearly so as it can be made. It is to cope with such situations that certain controls were recently re-imposed, and that others have been retained. To retain the necessary power to deal with such conduct in the coming fiscal year, we intend, as already announced, to ask Parliament to continue the Wartime Prices and Trade Board in being after March 31st.

Here I wish to draw attention to something I have all along believed, and asserted. It is that however mean and contemptible individuals may be in their private lives, there is nothing they abhor quite so much as the exposure of their meanness in public. One other thing I have long believed and asserted, is that for social evils, or anti-social behaviour, publicity is a much more effective remedy than penalty. This is the philosophy on which the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act and the Combines Investigation Act were founded. When the glare of an aroused public opinion is properly focussed upon industrial or social wrongs, the latter are likely to disappear, just as certain types of malignant germs cease to exist when exposed to the rays of the sun. What is all important, however, is not merely that public opinion should be aroused, but that it should be intelligently informed. A misdirected and misinformed public opinion may work an even graver injustice than some continuance of an evil itself. It is easy to arouse public opinion and indignation. It is not quite so easy to make sure that the public is intelligently informed.

Interests of Community paramount

Where the Community itself is affected by any course of procedure which is unjust or unreasonable, whether it be excessive profits which unduly enhance the cost of living, or unjustifiable strikes or lock-outs which, by lessening production, equally adversely affect the cost of living, and create hardship in other ways, the Community has not only a right, but a supreme duty, to see that its interests are fully protected. Without the part which the Community plays in the production and distribution of wealth, neither production nor distribution, on a scale worthy of the name, could be carried on for a single day. What could Capital, or Management, or Labour, win for themselves in the way of remuneration or reward but for what the Community makes possible through the nation's defences, through its maintenance of law and order, through facilities of transportation and communication made possible at the instance of the State, to say nothing of much else in the way of organized Community service to which we have grown so accustomed, that its source has almost ceased to be recognized. In my opinion, of all the parties to Industry—Capital, Management, Labour and the Community — the Community is the most important. The interests of the Community should be supreme. If this be so, means must be found to assert the rights of the Community, and to have those rights respected.

The need for Information

But how, you ask, is so vast an entity as the Community able to exert an influence sufficient to protect its paramount interest? There are a number of ways by which this can be effected to a greater or lesser extent. These, however, I have not time to speak of tonight. I shall mention but one, but this, to my mind, is the most likely to be of greatest service in coping with the present situation which is one that is nation-wide.

So far as Canada is concerned, we are justified in looking, first and foremost, to the Parliament of Canada. Parliament represents the people as a whole. It exists not for the purpose of furthering or protecting any special interest at the expense of other interests, but to further and protect the general interest. Every member of Parliament has that obligation with respect to his own constituency. He has it also in relation to the whole of Canada.

You will probably suppose that I am now about to say that what we need is more in the way of legislation. In my opinion, it is not more in the way of legislation that is required, but more in the way of information. So far as the evils of unjust and unreasonable prices are concerned, we have, I believe, under existing legislation, very nearly all, if not all, the powers that are necessary to meet any situation that can be demonstrated to be unfair and unjust. The handicap under which Parliament acts in dealing with this problem today is in its limited knowledge of the facts. Accusations are made first against one interest or group in the community, then against another. Those attacked immediately reply that

they are being accused unjustly. It may be that the accusation relates to excessive profits. It may be that it relates to hoarding. It may be that it relates to unwarranted restrictions, or it may be to one or many more other causes. In relation to much of what is being alleged, what is not known are the facts. In practically all this class of cases, once the facts are known, I believe means can speedily be found to remedy the situation if it be capable at all of remedy. I believe the facts themselves will point the way to what further action may be necessary to protect the Community in its rights.

Investigation by Special Committee of House of Commons

What then obviously, is needed is the most effective means to disclose the facts. I do not believe that the people of Canada expect the government to deny reasonable prices to the farmers or reasonable returns to other producers, or fair and just return for necessary services to distributing or other agencies. But people do want to be satisfied that advantage is not being taken, by anyone, of conditions of scarcity, in order to exploit the great mass of consumers. There may be individuals or corporations who are taking advantage of an exceptional position or opportunity to charge exorbitant prices. Powers of investigation rigidly, legitimately, and carefully exercised, will, I believe, go far towards remedying such social wrongs.

Believing all this so firmly, I intend, at a suitable time after Parliament reassembles, as a part of the goverrntment's programme, and in addition to the government's own measures in other directions, to move that a Special Committee of the House of Commons be appointed to investigate this all-important national problem. The House will be asked to give the Committee the necessary powers to ascertain the facts with regard to the causes that have operated or are operating adversely to affect the cost of living. Provision will be made for inquiry into cases where there are reasonable grounds for believing that increases in prices are due to a course of conduct which is unjust and unreasonable in relation to the production, distribution and exchange of commodities and services essential to human well-being. On this Committee, provision will be made for the representations of members of all political parties. As it is the public interest the investigation is intended to serve, the Committee, subject to reservations the Committee itself may deem it advisable to make, will be expected to hold its hearings in public.

Aim of Committee

I need scarcely say that it would wholly destroy the value of such a Committee were it to be made an instrument for witch-hunting, or a vehicle to embarrass unnecessarily any legitimate business, or any individual. No properly conducted business should have anything to fear. Indeed, any individual or corporation being unjustly accused, will, through the agency of the Committee, be afforded the best possible means of having grounds for suspicion removed. I do not believe that the people of Canada wish to do an

D 52827

injustice to anyone, or to have an injustice done to anyone. In this matter of the cost of living, their primary interest is not in prosecutions. It is in the prevention of the need for prosecutions, by preventing the evil of exploitation.

Prosecutions, where necessary, can be instituted, as some already have been, under the Combines Investigation Act. The Commissioner of the Combines Investigation Act has been told that, as a part of government policy, it is the wish of the administration that this Act should be vigilantly administered. He has been told that he and the members of his staff will be expected to exercise, to the full, the authority given under the provisions of the Act where there is justification for bringing its provisions into operation.

The Minister of Finance has already announced that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board has been requested to examine further into recent sharp price increases to see whether, under the provisions of the Prices Board order, there are grounds for launching exemplary prosecutions against persons for selling at prices that are higher than is just and reasonable.

The Commissioner of the Combines Act and also the Prices Board will continue to function independently of the House of Commons Committee. The Parliamentary Committee will not be expected to act either for or in the place of any other board or agency of government or of the state. The Committee will not be in the nature of a prosecuting tribunal. It will be a fact-finding body. Its functions will be to ascertain the facts with regard to situations where, today, because of insufficient knowledge of the facts there is a possibility of the most effective action, on the part alike of parliament and of the government being thwarted or delayed.

Once again, let me say that in those classes of social evils which affect the happiness of homes and the well-being of human lives, publicity is generally much more effective as a remedy than penalty. With an open forum before which the facts of an existing situation can be established, there should be an end to allegations and recriminations between political parties on a matter of so great concern to the people of our country as a whole. Is it too much to expect that with the opportunity thus afforded, there will be a common endeavour on the part of members of all Parties in Parliament to regard the general interest as supreme?

No Panacea for Cure of Social Ills

Let me add this further word. The most zealous of social workers have long since learned that there is no panacea for the cure of social ills. To this truth, the Committee of Investigation, when established, will be no exception. So long as prices are rising everywhere else in the world, nothing can be expected to stop entirely the rise in prices in Canada. We believe, however, that the mere existence, to say nothing of the work of the Committee, will help

D 52828

to slow down the increases; and in cases where, for example, there has been or is hoarding or profiteering, to effect a reduction in prices.

The cure for high prices—the real cure—is production, not only in Canada, but in countries with which Canada trades. That is why the restoration of Europe matters so much to us all—to our daily lives—to our cost of living. What we are living through now is really another phase of the war; the weapons are different but the struggle is still going on. All experience goes to prove that no country can hope to find permanent economic health in a sick world. That is one reason why Canada looks so favourably upon the Marshall Plan. In the restoration of starving peoples and devastated nations, we must continue to lend what aid we can.

In our present anxieties, it may help us to retain a true sense of proportion, and at the same time of pride, if we do not forget that Canada today is the happiest country in all the world, and that this fortunate position is not wholly the result of our geographical position and our natural resources. Not a little of the credit may properly be claimed for the policy of relatively rigid price control pursued through six years of war, and the policy of orderly and gradual de-control followed through two years of transition, by a Liberal government.

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D 52829

III: THE CALL FOR A CONVENTION

Let me now speak on another theme, one which, at this moment, arises naturally out of existing world and domestic conditions, and which relates more exclusively to the affairs of our own Party.

It seems to me that, in the light of changed and changing conditions, the time has come for the holding of a National Convention. The Liberals of all Canada should be afforded opportunity to review the Party's present position and policies, and to consider the most effective means by which Liberal principles may be applied to a solution of problems that have followed in the wake of war, and which will continue to present themselves in increasing measure, as nations seek to bring into being a new world order.

Previous Liberal Conventions

There have been but two dominion-wide Liberal Conventions since Confederation; the one held in this city in June, 1893, and the one held, also in Ottawa, in August, 1919. It is of interest to observe that from the date of Confederation these Conventions were held at intervals of 26 years, a little more than a quarter of a century. We of today have exceeded the 26 year period. It is now more than 28 years since the last nation-wide convention of the Party was held. It is also worthy of note that the conventions were called in anticipation of the next ensuing general elections, and that, in each case, they were followed by sweeping victories for the Party at the polls.

Reasons for Convention in Present Year — New Problems

There is another striking parallel. The convention of 1919 was called because of problems confronting the country as a result of years of war. These new problems, in the opinion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, demanded the widest possible consideration by Liberals throughout the country, as well as by their representatives in Parliament. For some time past, I have held, very strongly, a like opinion in reference to the conditions which have arisen as a result of the last great war. The war which ended in 1918 was a war of four years; the recent war lasted over six years. Each of these world conflicts served to change considerably many aspects of our national economy; each brought new political parties to the fore, and each gave rise to questions and problems which, if not wholly new, were on a scale never heretofore experienced.

This of itself would seem to necessitate the calling of a convention at the earliest date at which it can be arranged, having in mind the length of time required to make the necessary arrangements, and to occasion as little as possible in the way of interference with the nation's business in Parliament.

There are, however, two additional reasons which I regard as of first importance. One is the question of Party Organization, and the other the question of Party Leadership.

The need for effective Party Organization

This is perhaps not the time nor the occasion to discuss Party Organization at any length. One thing is certain, however: no party, however good its principles, and however sound its policies, can

52852 D 52830

hope in these days to win in a general election without the aid of an effective organization. This our party does not possess at the present time, nor has it since the last general election begun to have what is required to ensure the party's record and its policies being brought before the people as they should be. The Party does not possess in the Dominion, in the provinces, or in the constituencies, the kind of careful scrutiny of the party's position which should exist at all times, if full justice is to be done cause and candidates alike.

For such organization of a national character, as the Party has at the present time, we are indebted, in a very special measure, and for the most part, to our Chairman of this evening, Mr. Fogo, to his little band of workers on the Executive Council of the Federation, and to a few friends who have given them assistance from time to time. For far too long, far too much has rested on the shoulders of far too few. Mr. Fogo, I know, will be the first to tell you that the National Liberal Federation with its limited personnel and appropriations is wholly inadequate to cope with what is expected of it. As the Party's future is dependent in so great measure on its organization, I feel that the actual position should be known to the Party, and its members be given an opportunity, before it is too late, to make the necessary provision for this important branch of its work.

The Question of Party Leadership

Now a word as to the Party leadership. As you will recall, I was chosen Leader of our Party at the Convention held in this city, in August 1919, and have enjoyed this high position ever since. Should I be spared, and continue to command the confidence of my fellow-Liberals, to a corresponding date in the present year, I will then have entered upon my 30th year in the leadership of the Party. For very obvious reasons, I have for some time past been asking myself if the time had not arrived when the Party should be afforded an opportunity of choosing a new leader.

As you well know, I have not concealed my desire to be allowed to retire from active politics, just as soon as the Party's interests and the country's would seem to justify that step.

You will recall that, after the first Great War, Sir Robert Borden, who had been Prime Minister throughout the years of war, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier who had led the Opposition in those years, both felt that they should ask their followers to relieve them of continuing to carry the responsibilities and duties of leadership of their respective Parties. Though not stated at the time, this was one of the objects which Sir Wilfrid had in view when, in 1918, he issued the call for a convention in the following year. On more than one occasion, he so stated this intention to myself and others. Unhappily, Sir Wilfrid's life came to its close before the Convention, over which he had hoped to preside, assembled.

Sir Robert Borden, whose years in office and in the leadership of his Party, had been much fewer than those of Sir Wilfrid, felt it necessary to resign both as leader of his Party, and as Prime Minister, within less than two years of the Armistice which terminated hostilities.

The Stress and Strain of Leadership

The second World War lasted two years longer, and was on a scale much vaster, than the first World War. Had the war against Germany and the war against Japan been brought to a close before the date for the general elections of 1945 had been fixed, and had time permitted the choice of a new leader for that campaign, I would not have hesitated to advise the Party at that time, that, my years of life and of office being what they then were, I felt my task had been completed, and that in the interests of all concerned the responsibilities of Party leadership should be entrusted to another. Well, it is now over two and a half years since the last general elections. Should I be spared to lead the Party for another six months, three years will have elapsed since the end of the second World War.

Knowing something of what the six years of war, and the years of uncertainty immediately preceding, had involved of stress and strain, and knowing as well the demands political campaigns make one one's energies and strength, I stated at the commencement of the last general election, and repeated at different times in the course of the campaign, that, come what may, the general election of 1945 would be the last general election in which I would lead the Party.

The length of Leadership

I have, as you know, for the same reason, made similar statements from time to time, both to our own Party organizations, and in public. I should not like now to be accused of never having meant what I said: to have said what I said for what might be termed party political reasons. These are not the kind of tactics, I had ever resorted to in the course of my public life; nor are they the means by which I have come to enjoy the trust which the Party still holds in me as its Leader. I have sought to be perfectly frank in what I have had to say to the party and to the public. I have also tried, at all times, to look ahead.

The one thing which I would dislike more than anything else, after the years I have had of Party leadership and of office, is that I could ever be accused of having held on to the position of leadership to what might be termed "the last moment", and then, whatever the circumstances might be, to have it said that I had "let the Party down", so to speak, because of not having let the Party know, sufficiently in advance, of any fears I might have entertained of finding myself unequal to the tasks of leadership in a nationwide political campaign.

The decision to call a Convention

I need scarcely say that my decision to ask for the calling of a convention for the purposes I have mentioned is not a recent decision, suddenly reached in the light of any new situation which has arisen either in Canada or in any part of the world. Much less is it a decision based on any change of attitude toward myself on the part of my colleagues in the government, the Liberal members of the two Houses of Parliament, or the Party throughout the

country. It is true, I believe, that while I have very great reason to congratulate myself upon having had the unbroken support and confidence of all these constituent elements of the Party, ever since I was chosen leader in 1919, I have never enjoyed that confidence in fuller measure than I do today. This is a reward of years of public service which nothing else can equal.

I must confess that, over the two and a half years since the last general elections, I have continued to enjoy powers of endurance which, at many times in the past, I had not felt I had a right to expect. That I enjoy the measure of health I have at the moment is, I recognize, due in no small measure to the consideration shown my years by my colleagues in the Cabinet, and by my fellow Members in Parliament, and I think, I should add, by the Canadian public. This, however, is a consideration which, in the Party's interests, and in the public interest, I have no right to expect to have shown indefinitely. At the end of the last session of Parliament I saw only too clearly that I should not continue to delay in the calling of a convention, and so informed my colleagues in the Cabinet.

Selection of Party Leader should be by a Convention

The life of a Parliament is five years. Assuming that a general election were not to take place before the expiration of the life of the present Parliament, that would leave to a newly appointed leader but two years before he would have to undertake a nationwide campaign. In some respects, that is a short enough time. It is, however, by no means certain that the government would wish to wait until the expiration of the life of the Parliament before seeking a renewed expression of the people's confidence. It has seemed to me, therefore, that the selection of a new leader of our Party should not be further delayed.

I should like to see the new leader of our Party chosen, as I, myself, was chosen at a National Convention by representative members of the Party throughout the country, as well as by its representatives in Parliament.

The planning and arrangements of a National Convention are not something easily brought about. In a country the size of ours, it requires a certain amount of time. Knowing this, and feeling that the date of the Convention should be definitely fixed before we entered upon another session of Parliament, I wrote a letter to each of my colleagues, in July last, informing them that I was anxious to have matters of importance to the Party considered at special meetings of the members of the Cabinet to be held early in September. When the September meetings were held, I again informed my colleagues of my intention not to lead the Party in another general election, and said that I thought a National Convention should be arranged for forthwith. It was then decided to ask the Advisory Council of the Federation, at its next meeting, to assume this undertaking.

Federation requested to arrange for Convention

I hope I may not be placing too heavy a burden upon the shoulders of our very willing President, Mr. Fogo, and the members of his able executive, if I now venture to ask them to assume responsibility for the calling of a Convention, and for making the necessary arrangements for its proceedings. They will have, in this task, the assistance of members of the government, and of the Party in both Houses of Parliament, and also, I am sure, of provincial and local party organizations and leaders in the several provinces. Fortunately, as a guide, they will have, as well, the carefully prepared and preserved record of the proceedings of the two previous nation-wide Liberal Conventions—that of the Dominion Liberal Convention held in Ottawa in June 1893, and which preceded the return of the Liberal Party to power in the memorable victory of 1896, and that of the National Liberal Convention of 1919, also held in this city, and which preceded the return to power of the Liberal Administration in the victory, no less memorable, of 1921.

I hope, Mr. Fogo, that before its meetings are over, you will be able to give the assurance that the Advisory Council of the National Liberal Federation is prepared to assume this most important task, and that we may all look forward to the third nation-wide Convention of the Liberal Party in Canada being held in the summer of the present year.

Severance of Party Relationships not pleasing to contemplate

I need not tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is with mixed feelings, indeed, that I make the request of the National Federation which I am making tonight. It is now nearly 40 years since I first became a member of the Parliament of Canada, and 39 years since I first sat in the Council Chamber as a Minister of the Crown. For an even longer time, my life has been given over mostly to public affairs. It has been all but exclusively devoted to the party and to Parliament ever since I became the Party's Leader.

I do not look lightly upon the possible severance of relationships which have made up so large a part of my life. I wish I could feel it were in the interests of the Party not to contemplate that severance, but just to hold on, taking chances on what the future might bring to pass. That, however, would, I know, in the end, be a mistake. Were I twenty years younger — were I ten years younger —I should greatly prize the opportunity to continue in a position of leadership in times like the present, where issues as vital as any the world has faced are being discussed and decided. I cannot forget, however, that man's allotted time is three score years and ten, and that I am now in my 74th year. It seems to me, therefore, imperative that the Party should have at least the opportunity to consider what in its own interests may be for the best; and that, as its leader, I should not be responsible for longer withholding that opportunity.

Many opportunities for service

I am far from believing that such service as I may be able to render in promoting Liberal principles and policies, and of service

to our country in other ways, would not be all the greater were I afforded more in the way of time for reflection than is possible as the leader of a political party. There are, too, a few things I should still like to do, and to enjoy, before my day of life is over, if, in God's Providence, I should still be permitted the necessary health and strength. May I mention only one of these:

Speaking at a dinner given by Members of Parliament, a year or two ago, I chanced to remark it was a great pity that niether Sir John A. Macdonald, nor Sir Wilfrid Laurier had found it possible to leave a personal account of some of their life's experiences. That it was equally unfortunate that we did not possess from the pen of each, some account of national developments, and great events, as they, themselves, had known them in the making.

Some glimpses of Public Life

From time to time, since I made that observation, I have read in the press that I had already entered upon the task of writing my memoirs. Indeed, I have received from more than one publishing house, enquiries as to whether their representatives might not discuss with me terms upon which the memoirs might be published. I do not deny that there are a few things which I should like to say, or to leave in written form, which I would hope might encourage younger men to take some part in public life, and which I would also hope might be helpful to them in the service of their country. I should like, too, to leave some account, were that possible, of some of the great events of our times, as I have watched them develop, and have glimpsed them from behind the scenes. Such a record might be of interest and value to a succeeding generation if not to our own. I must tell you, however, that this is not a task which can be performed in a day, nor yet in a year, nor is it a task that could be entered upon so long as one's responsibilities continue to be what mine have been in the past, and what they are at present. I regret to have to say that up to this moment, I have not found it possible to write a single line.

There are a few other matters, too long neglected, which perhaps I may be pardoned for also wishing to overtake. I believed, while the war was on, that the chance for all this would come when the war was over. I now see, if it is to come at all, it must come very soon. I have never sought either ease or idleness. I have found my greatest happiness in work. That happiness, if spared, I expect to continue to find along this well tried path. I know, however, that, in the even-tide of life, the shadows lengthen speedily, and that "the night cometh wherein no man can work".

Present Duty and Plans for the Future

Of one thing, you may be sure. If I cease to lead the Party, I shall never cease to have the Party's interests and its future near to my heart. Nor is it likely, be the sacrifice what it may, that I shall knowingly shirk any responsibility which the needs of our time may seem to demand, and which I feel I am able to meet.

D 52835

At most, we can make but plans. Our futures will be determined by events, and by a Power beyond our own. In asking that a Convention be held this year to review the Party's policies, and to decide upon Party leadership, I am planning what I believe to be best for the Party's future. What may be best for all, when the Convention meets, we may leave with confidence to the sound judgment of the Convention itself. Our present duty is to see that the calling of a Convention is not longer delayed.

D 52836

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address on the Opening
of the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

TORONTO, APRIL 19, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

D 52837

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address before the Canadian Club of Toronto

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Toronto, April 19, 1943

May I express to you, Mr. President, and to other officers and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto, my warm appreciation of the invitations so kindly extended to me from time to time. I am especially pleased that the occasion to address the Club's members has presented itself at the opening of Canada's Fourth Victory Loan campaign. I am not less grateful that the opportunity to make an appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion should be afforded in the city which, for me, holds so much in the way of personal association.

An Urgent and Compelling Appeal

The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

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D 52838

There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit has not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training has been continous, and is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and efficiently with the efforts of our allies. Canadian forces and Canadian supplies have become a telling part of the total strength of the United Nations.

D 52839

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

D 52840

The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. On the Pacific Ocean, and in the waters of the Mediterranean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

The Merchant Marine

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's merchant marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. Our merchant seamen are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

After Dunkirk, the First Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send

D52841

reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

If our forces overseas have remained so largely, and for so long, within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of those concerned with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada. War strategy must be planned as a whole. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 435,000 men, of which

D 52842

number over 190,000 are in Britain. A few thousands more are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to and are fighting as part of the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

D 52843

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers, in men, over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel over 435,000. In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all

parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores daily face the prospect of invasion. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects.

There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

As I think of the ordeal through which our country will be called upon to pass in the days of supreme effort, I wish I were able to express to you the thoughts that will be required to sustain the hearts of us all. I can but say, quoting from words of inspiration with which you are already familiar:

> "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you."

Rather, let us rejoice that it has been given to us to be partakers of the spirit of those—the flower of our land—who, to save mankind, proudly have gathered

> "rank on rank to war
> "As who had heard God's message from afar."

Difficulties of Invasion

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It

D 52846

would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft to cover the advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable of cutting off the needed reinforcements and supplies.

The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won, the sea lanes must be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic, though hidden largely from view, is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

D 52847

I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has

D 52848

never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

D 52849

A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

D 52850

CANADA AND THE WAR

Freedom from Fear

LABOUR AND THE WAR

An Address to the American Federation of Labour
1942 Convention

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

TORONTO, OCTOBER 9, 1942

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

D 52851

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

An Address to the American Federation of Labour
1942 Convention

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Toronto, October 9, 1942

It affords me much pleasure, both personally and on behalf of the Government of Canada, to add my voice to that of those who have already extended to you, Mr. President, to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labour, a warm welcome to our country.

I may perhaps be permitted to extend a word of special greeting to Mr. Green, in whom I also welcome a friend of many years standing.

We, in Canada, much regret the illness which has prevented Mr. Tom Moore from sharing in our welcome to the American Federation of Labour. The honourable place which organized Labour has come to hold in the minds of the Canadian people owes much to Mr. Moore's life long devotion to the cause of Labour, and to his many years of leadership of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

Delegates from the United States do not come to Canada as strangers. The unions federated in the American Federation of Labour are at once Canadian and American unions. The international organization of Labour on this continent is one of the outstanding examples of that unique relationship between Canada and the United States which is without parallel in the history of international relations.

Significance of the War to Labour

I should like to speak to you today of the significance to Labour of the present war, and of the significance of Labour's part in the war.

D 52852

This war, as I see it, is a conflict on a world scale between the forces which seek material gain and those which aim at human well-being. Neither of these opposing forces is new to us. What is new is the magnitude of the conflict and what it serves to disclose of the powers of good and evil.

We have before our very eyes a panorama of world dimensions, the significance of which none can mistake. The conflict is portrayed, not by some prophetic vision, as in the days of old, but in the stern realities of our own day.

It has been truly said that the angels of Light do not preside over certain nations and the angels of Darkness over others. In each and all they contend for victory. We do well, however, to remember that sooner or later, nations, no less than individuals, are forced to answer the question: Whom do ye serve, God or Mammon?

We are all agreed that we are fighting this war for freedom. I doubt, however, if we yet fully understand what freedom really is. Freedom, I would define as the absence of fear. As men's fears increase, so their freedom is lost. Man is only free to the extent that he has eliminated fear.

Destruction of Freedom by Fear

The Nazis owe much of their success to an understanding of this fact. But by them fear has been used systematically as the instrument of domination.

It was by exploiting men's fears that Hitler and his gang seized control of Germany. With one class, they used the fear of Communism; with another class, the Nazi weapon was the fear of unemployment and want; still others were brought into subjection by fear of violence to themselves, or attacks upon their families.

Once in control in Germany, the Nazis used Fear to gain their ends in other countries. The fear of other classes and other races, the fear of social change, the fear of revolution, the fear of war—all these fears have been used by them to weaken the powers of resistance of other peoples. The war of nerves, in reality, is simply the exploiting of fears. Throughout this war, in the conquered countries, the use of fear has become a reign of terror.

When we see how systematically fear has been used to destroy freedom, we come to understand how great is the truth that freedom means the elimination of fear. As fear vanishes, freedom grows. This is as true of nations as of men. It has been true in all periods of history. It is true in all departments of life.

Today, our freedom, as nations and individuals, is menaced by the overpowering fear of Fascist domination. There is but one way to destroy that fear. It is to destroy the powers which are striving to dominate and enslave all peoples on all continents.

D 52853

The Fears to be Overcome

The overthrow of despotism based upon the military might of Germany and Japan is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if true Freedom is to be attained. Until the enemy is defeated, we must bend all our energies to the elimination of the one great fear of world domination and world slavery. But this is merely a clearing of the ground on which the structure of a new order will rest.

Next to the fear of war, the greatest fear today, to most men, is the fear of unemployment. It is one of the bitter ironies of our time that full employment has been achieved only as a result of war. Men everywhere are asking the question: Why, if there is no lack of work in wartime, is work not to be had at a time when men, instead of devoting themselves to the work of destruction, might enjoy the fruits of their labour?

I believe the war is teaching us that the obstacles to full employment were not real obstacles; that a partnership of management, of workers and of the community can make useful work available, in time of peace no less than in time of war, for all who need or want to work.

When the war is won, there will be an immense task to repair the great physical destruction caused by war; there will be a pent-up demand for all the goods and services which are increasingly denied in war-time; there will be the huge task of providing food for the starving peoples of the old world. These tasks alone will provide work for millions of men and women for many years.

But the work of repairing and restoring the ravages of war will not be enough. Fortunately, we are also learning that the only limit to our productive capacity is the limit of our resources, and our will and skill to use them to satisfy human need instead of human greed.

The Conservation of Human Resources

Before the war, we talked about the conservation of natural resources. Unhappily, we heard much less about the conservation of human resources—the lives and health and happiness of men and women and children. Today, our aim is total mobilization of resources and of manpower for the waging of total war. When the war is over, we must seek, above all else, to use our natural and material resources to conserve human resources—to promote the health and happiness of all the people. Our resources of land, of sea, of forest, and of mine, were given to man by the Creator for the preservation, and not for the destruction of life. The people of no country can be made happy, contented and prosperous except by safeguarding the lives and welfare of the many, and by protecting from injustice and misfortune the homes of the humble in the land.

D 52854

The fear of unemployment which arises where, despite a willingness to work, work is not to be had, is only one of many fears which arise out of a sense of insecurity to haunt the minds of the workers. These fears arise where, through inadequate compensation, sickness, invalidity or accident, the capacity to earn is gradually, if not wholly, lost. Fears arise where extra outlays to meet the most immediate of family needs result in extra privation. Fear is ever present at the mere thought of age being confronted with the alternative of poverty or dependence. Until these fears have been eliminated, the war for freedom will not be won.

The Basis of the New Order

A new world order will come into being only as the legitimate fears of mankind are removed. The old order has been based on fear, resulting in conflict alike in industrial and in international relations. The new order must be based on faith, leading to co-operation between the parties in industry and to co-operation among the nations of the world. The new order must be based on human rights; not on the rights of property, privilege, or position. The new order must be a world order. It must be governed by a universal rule of law. To bring the new order into being, we shall need a spiritual, not a material interpretation of life. In estimating human values, the new order will be concerned with men's character and personality, not with their power and position, nor with the extent of their possessions. The souls of men will be more precious than their bodies.

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations.

It is necessary that social security and human welfare should be expressed in definite terms. It is, however, not my purpose to attempt to give a blue-print of the new order. Of the kind of objectives I have in mind, I would merely mention the following as a national minimum: useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age.

The Rights of the Community

In war, the preservation of the existence of the community is placed before the interests of individuals or groups. Here, too, is a lesson for meeting the problems of peace.

D 52855

By placing the interests of the community before the interests of individuals or groups; by social control, in which government, labour and management all share, human well-being can be vastly increased.

Monopoly of control must give way to joint control in all that pertains to industrial relations. I should like to see labour-management committees in every industry in our country. I should like to see production committees in every branch of agricultural effort. Happily the principle of the partnership of management, of workers and the community is making steady progress. Where it is tried, it is proving its worth. It is only by fully realizing and accepting this partnership that the necessities of industry can be harmonized with the hopes of humanity.

The war has shown us that the way of monopoly, of unrestricted power, is a way that leads to destruction, desolation and death. The only path of prosperity and of peace is, I believe, the path of equality, of co-operation, and of human brotherhood.

That is the victory for which alike in international and industrial relations we must fight and work. Nothing less can give us the will to accept the hardships, to make the efforts and to bear the burdens which are ours to-day at the crossroads of humanity. No lesser hope will suffice to sustain our march on the highway to a better future.

I do not need to remind you of what free men have to lose in a Nazi victory. I do not need to tell an audience of workers how the Nazis, in their own country and in the lands they have conquered, regard the rights of Labour. We all know something of what has happened to the workers in Poland, in Norway, in the Low Countries, in France, and in Central and Southern Europe.

No Compromise with Evil Forces

None of us would willingly do anything to contribute to a Nazi victory. There is, however, a subtle danger that such might be the effect of Nazi propaganda. We begin to hear it said that the war must end in a stalemate—in some kind of compromise. This is a dangerous suggestion for the very reason that it exploits many of our deepest fears:—the fear of the hardships, burdens and sacrifices of war; the fear of the bloodshed and horrors of war, the fear of the loss of our loved ones. It is the old idea that we are not our brothers' keepers; that what happens in other continents need not be our concern. It hints at a compromise between slavery in the old world and freedom in the new.

Those of you who are Americans have but to turn back the pages of your own history to know that such a compromise cannot endure. Compromise nearly destroyed the American union. To attempt such a compromise to-day would, in the end, be no less fatal to the future of the world.

Consider what it would mean. At best, it would be an armistice. Both sides would have to be prepared for a renewal of the struggle. This continent would remain an armed camp. All the burdens, all the restrictions which are accepted as a temporary necessity, would become a permanent feature of our lives. The greater part of our energies, our wealth and our resources would have to be devoted to the building up of armaments. By bitter competition, our standards of living and human well-being would gradually be dragged down to the levels which Germany and Japan are imposing on Europe and Asia.

Without the hope of a better future which now sustains us, the burden would become unbearable. In the end, it would lead to internal dissension which would play into the hands of the totalitarian conquerors, or it would lead to repression on this continent little better than domination from abroad. There can be no compromise with the evil forces of domination. The world cannot endure half-slave and half-free.

Axis New Order Based on Inequality

Hitler boasts of his new order. What is the foundation on which the Nazi order is to be established? Essentially, it has one basis, and one basis only: not equality, but inequality among men. In the Nazi system, the Germans are a master race, all other peoples are inferior to them. The mass of men are fit only to be slaves or are considered mere brutes. Hitler goes so far as to deny the very humanity of the coloured races.

In the Nazi system, even the so-called master race itself is not a band of equals. It is divided sharply between leaders and led; between the glorified party and the despised masses. For the leaders, all privileges are reserved:—power, position, material advantage. The mass of men exist only to serve their masters, and to fight and die in order to impose the will of their masters on the whole world.

Nor let it be forgotten that the "co-prosperity sphere" of Japan is essentially the same thing. The Japanese are unsurpassed in the art of imitation. What are these totalitarian systems that Germany and Japan would fasten upon the world? They are but the old order in its worst aspects; an order no longer restricted and gradually vanishing, but one to be made permanent and world-wide.

Any new order worthy of the name must place the emphasis on equality among men. The hope of the future is the universal recognition of our common humanity.

Significance of Labour in the War

In speaking of the significance of Labour in the war, you, who represent so vast a number of the workers of this continent, would, I know, be the first to protest were I to fail to pay to your comrades

in the fighting forces their due and fitting tribute. Whatever burdens and hardships may fall to your lot, or to mine, we all know that nothing can compare with the readiness to sacrifice life itself which the soldiers, sailors, airmen and merchant seamen accept as the condition of their service.

But the men in the fighting forces—the vast majority drawn from the ranks of workers—would wish me to pay every possible tribute to the men and women, without whose daily toil, their own service would be of no avail. They, above all others, are looking to-day to the men and women on the farms and in the fisheries who keep them fed; to the men in forest and mine whose daily toil is the foundation of industry; to the men and women in factory and workshop who fashion their weapons and make their munitions; to the men and women in transport and in all the services of supply of a modern nation at war. In a word, the toil and skill and devotion of a vast industrial army are essential to keep the troops in the field, the ships on the sea, and the planes in the air, on all the fronts of a world-encircling struggle. Side by side with our fighters, it is to the workers that we must look if the enemy is to be destroyed and if freedom is to prevail.

The Unknown Warrior and the Unknown Worker

The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without weapons, munitions, supplies and food produced by the worker. The worker of today cannot escape a return to serfdom save by the might of the armed forces. The freedom of the world depends upon the combined efforts of the fighting brotherhood of warriors and the producing brotherhood of workers.

At the close of the last great war, the unknown soldier became the symbol of humanity's struggle for freedom. To my mind, that symbol told but half the story. In the symbolism of the unheralded forces that are contributing so largely to victory in the present war, the hand of the unknown fighter will clasp the hand of the unknown worker. Together they will stand—the symbol of those who have fought and worked to save their fellowmen.

But symbols are not enough. They merely proclaim to the world a meaning it should take to heart. I wonder if today we fully appreciate the part the unknown soldier is playing in this war? I am perfectly certain we have not begun to comprehend the heroic service of the unknown worker, not alone at a time of war, "with a world on-looking", but at all times—from day to day, from year to year, from the dawn of manhood to the close of life.

The unknown soldier has been honoured in death because, though his identity was lost in the vastness of the numbers to which he

D 52858

belonged, his service and sacrifice were recognized as a main factor in the winning of the war. Most meritorious of all, to my mind, is the fact that service and sacrifice alike were accepted by him without thought of glory, but just as a part of his human lot. I doubt if all the codes and courts of chivalry have given to the world anything so noble, so heroic, as these brotherhoods of the unknown who fight and who toil without thought of personal aggrandisement, moved only by a something in their hearts which causes them to look forward to a better day.

A Vision of the Truly Heroic

You will find in the writings of William James an understanding and a vision of the truly heroic, which may help to sustain you all, and all of those whom you represent, in the mighty task which is yours in these days of war. His words, moreover, help to unite, in a true perspective, the sacrifices of the soldiers in the field and the patient service of all who toil. Let me give you Professor James' message in his own words:

"Not in clanging fights and desperate marches only is heroism to be looked for, but on every railway bridge and fireproof building that is going up today. On freight trains, on the decks of vessels, in cattle yards and mines, on lumber rafts, among the firemen and the policemen, the demand for courage is incessant; and the supply never fails. There, every day of the year somewhere, is human nature in extremis for you. And wherever a scythe, an axe, a pick, or a shovel is wielded, you have it sweating and aching and with its powers of patient endurance racked to the utmost under the length of hours of the strain.

"As I awoke to all this unidealized heroic life around me, the scales seemed to fall from my eyes; and a wave of sympathy greater than anything I had ever before felt with the common life of common men began to fill my soul. It began to seem as if virtue with horny hands and dirty skin were the only virtue genuine and vital enough to take account of. Every other virtue poses; none is absolutely unconscious and simple, and unexpectant of decoration or recognition, like this. . . .

"In God's eyes the differences of social position, of intellect, of culture, of cleanliness, of dress, which different men exhibit,... must be so small as practically quite to vanish. . . . The exercise of the courage, patience, and kindness, must be the significant portion of the whole business; . . . At this rate, the deepest human life is everywhere, is eternal. And, if any human attributes exist only in particular individuals, they must belong to the mere trapping and decoration of the surface-show.

D 52859

"Thus are men's lives levelled up as well as levelled down,—levelled up in their common inner meaning, levelled down in their outer gloriousness and show."

The Inner Meaning of the Struggle

Do we not find in these words of William James the inner meaning of the struggle through which men and nations are passing to-day? Will this war not determine whether we are to go on, in the future, as we have too largely in the past, ever seeking to emphasize the differences between nations and between individuals, or whether "men's lives are to be levelled up as well as levelled down—levelled up in their common inner meaning, levelled down in their outer gloriousness and show!"

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D52860

MEMORANDUM

The Prime Minister:

1) Balfour Declaration -
November 1926

2) Statute of Westminster - 1931

3) Number of casualties:218,000
in 1st Great War

Number of fatalities: 60,000

Prime Ministers

Supplementary Notes by J.W.P. 9.VI.48 JWP

Sunnybrook hospital a symbol of the record of healing
Record of Mayor.
Nation - service

D 52861

CIVIC BANQUET

Toronto, June 12, 1948.

After preliminary courtesies regarding Mayor and Corporation - and suitable references the long family connection with Toronto - indicate that in reply to toast

"To Those Who Served"

main purpose is to attempt to assess the true significance of the service of two generations of youth of Canada in two world wars largely fought thousands of miles from Canadian soil.

Ceremony at Sunnybrook associated with the constructive task of the restoration of health - but of health requiring restoration because of service in war.

Set out in contrast the task of healing vs. the work of destruction.

Brings to mind passage from Pasteur often cited - but cannot be cited too often because of profound truth.

(Quote passage)

What do we say of the service we are seeking to honour

It was service in war -
But the forces of freedom were not serving the law of blood and of death

In the words of Pasteur they were, in very truth, delivering man from the scourges which beset him

Surely the task of liberation was nothing less than "the relief of Humanity" from one of the most evil forces the world has known; from a disease of the spirit spread by wicked men

The true significance of the service of our fighting men was in beating back the forces of aggression, which sought by Blood and Death to extend their conquests and their oppression.

By their Victory, they gave us a new opportunity, by Peace, Work and Health to extend the frontiers of life.

It is right that we should pay honour in words to their service; it is right that we should commemorate their glorious deeds; it is right that we should care for those who were maimed and disabled in our defence; all this we do gladly.

But the greatest honour of all; the highest recognition we can give is to seize the opportunity they preserved for us with our freedom - what I have called the opportunity to extend the frontiers of life.

Three years after the close of the greatest war of all time, humanity shudders beneath the shadow of an even more terrible war.

The age-old struggle between the law of blood and of death and the law of peace, work and health has not yet been won.

What we face today is the same conflict in a new guise.

D 52864

Today the forces of destruction and ill-will wear the mask of a new social gospel: it is not enough to remove the mask and disclose the true face beneath. The free peoples must have not only a better, but a more attractive social gospel.

In applying the Law of Peace, Work and Health - consider each separately

1. PEACE

Unity of spirit among free peoples;
Preponderance of force on side of peace;
Attitude of good-will and conciliation;
Ultimate goal of human brotherhood.

2. WORK

Removal of fear of unemployment;
Avoidance of depressions with their appalling waste of human and material resources;
Conservation.

D 52865

3. HEALTH

Education and opportunity for youth;
Enlargement of access to preventive
and curative health measures;
Increased health facilities;
Security for old age.

In world affairs

substitute for national ideological rivalries

SECURITY FOR ALL NATIONS and HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

In national and local affairs

substitute for fear, insecurity and strife between classes

SOCIAL SECURITY and ENLARGED OPPORTUNITY.

D 52866

And the British Empire must assume this grander character, and rise to its higher ideal. Not inferiority, but equality. Not subservience, but equipollence. Not subjection either of Canada to the United Kingdom now, or of the United Kingdom to Canada when their proportionate importance shall be reversed, but absolute and unreserved brotherhood, making with Australia, South Africa, and other great Kingdoms, "a galaxy of nations" (a), which by their example of concord and affection, by their strength and widely extended situation, and by that regard for right conduct which alone can give true glory to a people, may not merely induce the world to tread the paths of peace and good will, but may inspire among men nobler sentiments concerning their common humanity, and their duty of mutual helpfulness.

(a) Sir Wilfrid Laurier's phrase at Dominion Day banquet, 3rd July, 1902.

"The Kingdom of Canada" Speech by John S. Ewart, K.C. to Canadian Club, March 31, 1904.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

D52867

Ottawa, 5-VI-48

Prime Minister

re. Toronto Civic Dinner.

Attached are some suggested headings -

W.L.M.

Suggested Points for Prime Minister's Reply

to the Mayor's toast "To those who served" D 52868

Civic Dinner

Toronto, June 12, 1948

Wish at outset to say no toast to which I would rather respond than toast "to those who served"

Before making formal response:

(1) Pleasure in thanking the Mayor and Council of the City of Toronto for high compliment of tendering banquet in honour of myself and my fellow members of Parliament.

(2) Honour from City of Toronto particularly pleasing because of intimate family connection over three generations.

Reference to first Mayor, to Father's long connection with Osgoode Hall and the University, to own years at University.

No place in Canada ~~in history of~~ with which feel more closely associated.

D 52869

(3) Gratification to return in closing period of public life to this city where caught early vision of public service -- deeply moving to receive so overwhelming a mark of civic recognition.

(4) Great satisfaction that occasion associated with official opening of an institution which <u>for years to come</u> will be a landmark in this great city.

(5) Above all grateful that this complimentary dinner associated with the vast Sunnybrook Hospital which is a tangible evidence of resolve of Canadian people to honour debt <u>to those who served</u>.

Brings me to my <u>task of evening</u>:

To respond to His Worship's tribute

"TO THOSE WHO SERVED"

Response to a toast is usually made by the person - or the representative of the persons - whose health proposed.

In this particular case that is not my purpose - nor do I think it is what the Mayor intended.

My purpose <u>instead</u> to join with the Mayor and with all present in heartfelt tribute those who, by service and sacrifice, saved our freedom and helped to save the freedom of mankind.

More than once have attributed Canada's great effort in war and vast contribution to victory to unbroken partnership of warriors and workers.

Am confident our veterans would not wish to have efforts of families and friends who served at home forgotten. All who faithfully discharged duty in hand had a share - and an essential share - in victory.

D 52871

But those of us who served in other ways, wish always to give first place to the men and women who risked life itself in the fighting forces and in the service of the fighting forces. Feel, on this occasion, should make special mention of the doctors and nurses who served under fire and bomb to care for the wounded and maimed.

To them we owe all that makes life worth living - freedom and opportunity to live our own lives in our own way in the sight of God.

To the fighting men of Canada <u>in two great wars</u> we owe much that is best in our national tradition - the example of devoted service freely offered - deeds of daring and devotion never surpassed in the annals of war - the noblest of self-sacrifice.

Nothing can repay the debt we owe to those of our youth of two generations who - in

their thousands and tens of thousands - gave their lives that freedom might live.

But their first wish would be that we care for the wounded, the maimed, the ill, the widowed, the orphaned.
Sunnybrook Hospital but one - though an outstanding example of what people of Canada are doing to keep faith.

Their next wish, I believe, would be the assurance of opportunity for their comrades who returned: that opportunity all Canada has sought to afford in the fullest measure.

Their third wish, I am sure, would be that Canada itself should be made a land where peace, prosperity and happiness is the lot of all the people.

My concluding word:

The finest tribute we can pay <u>to those who served in war</u> is to serve our country and the

D 52873

cause of humanity in peace with the same voluntary zeal, the same united spirit, and something of the devotion and self-sacrifice of Canada's fighting men.

See treatment of Palestine
Encls: pp 5-7

D 52874

Speech by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

at the Plenary Session of the

Peace Conference, Paris.

August 2, 1946.

The nations represented at this conference have willingly accepted the invitation of the great powers to be associated with them in the task of making peace with Italy and the eastern European belligerents. It was with particular pleasure that the government of Canada received this invitation at the hands of the government of France.

The special ties between Canada and France reach back for more than 400 years. During two centuries our countries shared a common history. Twice in the past 30 years in the defence of civilization French and Canadian fighting men have been valiant comrades on the battlefields of Europe.

Canada is happy today to be associated with France in rebuilding the peace of Europe. Canada's interest in the successful outcome of the deliberations of thisconference is obviously less immediate and direct than that of some of the participating countries. Clearly there are many countries represented here that will be more closely and directly concerned with the specific solutions of questionsof territorial boundaries, population transfers, war damage, indemnities and so on.

I can truly say that Canada has no specific national interest in the adoption of any particular formula for the solution of individual conflicts and differences which, in the aggregate, will constitute the general settlement, but we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations.

D 52875

Our principal duty and interest lies, it seems to me, in helping the countries more directly concerned to work out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure. Our concern as a nation is to see that, as far as we can help to make them so, the peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity.

Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we do seek to build a lasting peace. Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationhood.

It might have been thought from our geographical position that we were remote from and had no concern with Central Europe. But the fact that we were early in the struggle and that Canada entered the war by the deliberate decision of the Canadian parliament was evidence of our immediate realization that the peace of the world was one and indivisible. If the peace and security of Europe were threatened so also were the peace and security of Canada. No one could say where the aggressor might strike.

The war effort of Canada was an all out effort. It was planned, and carried out to the limit of our ability, for two main reasons. We wanted to help to bring the war to a victorious close at the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contribution to be an order which would entitle us to share effectively in the making of the peace.

May I say a word in reference to the nations of Europe against which Canada, in common with her allies, declared the existence of a state of war and with whose future the present conference is immediately concerned. Italy and Finland, Hungary and Roumania have, like other nations of Europe, each made their contribution to the up-building of the Canadian people. Many thousands of our citizens whose parents came to Canada as humble immigrants not so very long ago returned to fight in Europe as Canadian soldiers - volunteers in the war to preserve democracy from Fascist aggression.

D 52876

We welcome the opportunity, which the making of peace affords, for the emergence, in the lands of their forefathers, of new governments and institutions dedicated to the realization of those ideals of right and justice for which we believe the war was fought.

Of the countries in the world taking part in this conference, Canada has from these close associations of blood and history, a particular interest in hoping that out of the peace treaties will come settlements which will be definitive because they will be recognized as fair and just. The process of peacemaking is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit that the course which has been followed has not in all respects been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps, may be said of all the countries represented here. We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference, not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping as best we can to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake.

If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities. For this reason I hope that the conference arrangements will permit of each member nation making its maximum contribution to the solution of the problems confronting us. It would be unfortunate if, in this conference, the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations.

The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants, nor of their relative contributions to victory. The final test is what is right and what is just. Already difficulties

D 52877

have arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have given emphatic expression within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers. I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than anyone here. It certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not, therefore, been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr. Evatt and Mr. Molotov.

I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent. With this in mind I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the Foreign Ministers' proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest, and I believe the suggestion to be important, that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the conference has ended to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers, all of whom will be attending the conference, should meet from time to time during the conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations.

This course would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. Saying that it is of the highest importance that we should at this time do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here, - indeed, for the peoples of an anxious world.

Then there is the question of time. For many reasons it would be unfortunate were the conference to be unduly prolonged. It is certainly our duty to see that our work is done thoroughly. It is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly.

Were the council of foreign ministers to meet during the conference in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage, provided for under the Moscow agreement, would still take place and the foreign ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal they would, I believe, find at that time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of peace.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the present conference if for no reason other than that it is the first of the conferences concerned with the treaties of peace. It must pave the way for future conferences. If it succeeds the success of future conferences will be commensurately ensured. Should it fail what hope would be left of future success in the making of peace? If we succeed we shall [illegible] lighten Humanity's load as it seeks to be relieved of its heaviest burdens. To lighten a man's spirit by giving him fresh hope is to increase his strength and his ability to pursue his way. It is the same with nations as with men.

To fail to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely would be to discourage the nations and to hold them back in their onward march.

I would be untrue to my deepest convictions were I not to give to this gathering of nations a statement of the magnitude of the task with which as I see it, our world is faced today. Fortunately for what I have to say I have high scientific authority. Ours is an age in which there has been much of scientific progress and in which great store is placed upon scientific discovery. High honor is paid to Science itself. Of her many contributions to the advancement of Science and to the betterment of the human race, France has bestowed no

D 52879

gift comparable to that of the researches of her great scientist Louis Pasteur.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Pasteur Institute in the city in which we are assembled today Louis Pastour, in whose honour the institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself. We are all members, one of another.

Henceforth, in the interest of its own people, no nation can afford to serve selfish national ends whether

these ends be isolated self defence or world domination. It is for every nation to remember that "Over all nations is Humanity".

We have had enough of the mailed fist. What our world needs today is the hand of the physician. By Blood and by Death, forces of aggression have sought to extend the frontiers of their already vast domains. By Peace, Work and Health obeying the laws of Humanity, we, in the words of Louis Pasteur, shall seek with the aid of Science, to extend the frontiers of life.

D 52881

CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members of the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in whichx we have, the associations of this memorable day.

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

In speaking of the co-operation between the Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public spirited

citizens, known as the Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt.Col. W.J.Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

I wish time permitted me to mention the names of others whose visits have been equally frequent and equally pleasant. Perhaps it is just as well that I

D 52884

should not carry the enumeration too far. You might think that I have in mind that they also had Federal ambitions.

Reference to Board of Control - two days entertainment

May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Officers' Mess Queen's York Rangers - Fort Garry Horse

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers (Armoured Regiment) at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

Word on my own behalf

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention

D 52885

of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

Parliament Buildings, Toronto

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both which would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

D 52885-1

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in Law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

Reason for pride in city, congratulations in honours today

Toronto, indeed, has associations for me second to none of the communities in which I have lived. It will therefore not surpise you, Mr. Mayor, that I should have felt a special pride in congratulations that have come to me on different occasions from the Mayor and Council and Board of Control of this City, and for which I should like to express my thanks anew tonight. Having advanced in years to an age at which I feel I should ask my Party to relieve me of the duties of leadership, and should seek shortly thereafter to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office which I have held in all for now more than 21 years, including a period of 6 years of war, you will not wonder that I should feel a special measure of

D 52886

pride at finding myself a guest of the City today, in company with fellow-members of both Houses of Parliament, and that I should have been the one chosen formally to open the magnificent military hospital at Sunnybrook Park, and to be the recipient of other honours which, in more directions than one, this City should have conferred upon me today. For the good-will so generously extended after the many years I have been in public life, and all that this means to me, I can only thank you. But this, I do with all my heart.

Perhaps most - at least "to those who served"

And this brings me, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the esteem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served: - the gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realize how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

D 52888

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the word "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted Empire-wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

I well recall the excitement, and, in some quarters the controversy, to which this reference to Canada as a nation gave rise. It was not in the minds of the old timers only, but was ~~a part of~~ the conviction of not a few prominent men of the day, that Canada was not a nation - but that it was still a colony. To them the talk of nationhood meant independence, separation from the Empire and much else.

Canada's nationhood movement Has Second in World War I

This was just after the South African War. Some twelve years later came World War Number One. In both these wars Canadian troops crossed the sea to fight on soil

D 52889

far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the position of Canada as a nation of equal status with Great Britain and other Nations of the Commonwealth was confirmed by the so-called Balfour Declaration. In 1931 it was given statutory recognition in the Statute of Westminster.

In the years which followed the 1st world war, Canada began to assume more and more, the external attributes of nationhood. Of these, none have been of comparable significance to the establishment of diplomatic missions abroad, and the presence at Ottawa of missions from other countries. When I came into office in 1921, Canada did not have a Minister in a single foreign country, nor did we

D 52890

have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

We have High Commissioners not only in Great Britain, but in all the nations of the Commonwealth, and all the nations of the Commonwealth have their representatives in Ottawa. Today, Canada has Embassies, Legations or High Commissioners' Offices in thirty countries abroad; thirty-one countries are represented in Ottawa by Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners.

The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance. What is important is the standing of our representatives. Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world. This recognition of Canada as a nation came in fullest measure during the years of the Second World War, and in the years since. Again it was Those Who Served who have given Canada her high place among the nations of the world.

It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

in munitions, in finance, and in international Conferences , was equal, if not greater, in proportion to her population, than that of any of the allied countries. We have now ceased to speak apologetically when we refer to Canada as a nation. How much of this is owing to Those Who Served will perhaps never be known; but of their memorials it is the greatest of all.

a Capital worthy of a Nation - symbol to those who served

This brings me to a thought which I have had very much in mind and which I believe has found general acceptance in Parliament. It too relates to Canada as a nation and to those who served in the last Great War. I need not tell this great gathering how much the different countries of the world are known by their Capitals. Washington, London, Paris, Rome, come to our minds the moment we speak of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is the same with other countries. It is in capitals of countries that the representatives of other countries congregate, where international conferences are held, and to which visitors are particularly attracted.

Monuments to 2 Wars

After the war of 1914-18, a very fine monument was erected in the Capital of Canada to those who served. It is a monument of stone and bronze. It is known as

"the Response". It represents the branches of the armed services of Canada responding to the call for service abroad. There is, as yet, no specific Memorial in the Capital of Canada to those who served in the last Great War. The government, in considering how their service and sacrifice might be commemorated in the Capital, have felt that this might best be effected by improvements of the Capital itself, which would help to give expression to what Canada as a nation is likely to become in the course of years.

This would involve beginning immediate improvements which it could not be expected the municipality of Ottawa should undertake, but which, in the course of time, will become wholly necessary if Ottawa is to meet the demands which will be made upon it as the Capital of a rapidly expanding nation. I mean such improvements as the zoning of districts for industrial and residential places, the transfer to more appropriate areas of some of the railway tracks which today are a menace in the heart of the city, the construction of the necessary approaches to the city and provision for open spaces and parks in the city and its environs. For some time past, all of this has been a subject of planning by experts. If the plans already made are carried out over a series of years, Ottawa will indeed become, as a half a

century ago it was hoped it might, - the Washington of the North.

What I should like to see is the larger Capital thus planned become a real Memorial to the service and sacrifice of the men and women of Canada in the last Great War. It can be done in a number of ways which will serve to keep before our people, and those who visit us from other lands, the battles that have been fought on land, at sea and in the air, by Canadian armed forces and much else that contributed to victory in the last war. I hope this great object may some day be achieved - a fine beginning has already been made.

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

D 52894

On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

> "Two contrary laws seems to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows".

analyses of international conflict made more allusion

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself; that we are all members, one of another.

2 laws conflict + must is mechanism in world today

What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, and Work and Health prevail, not only in our own land but as

D 52896

a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously near the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

decision must be finally made

With scientific research holding ever greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life". We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

D 52897

Your Worship,
Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto,
and Gentlemen:

Invitation to Members of Parliament -
a kind thought.

Occasion, demonstration of good-will -
Toronto and Ottawa.

Convey thanks.

Completion of hospital - completion of
years of co-operation City & Government.
Achievement - pride of both.

Honours evenly divided - City & Govt.

Special credit due Greater Toronto
Veterans Hospital Committee & Stewart.

Ex-Mayor Saunders - visit to Ottawa.
Other names - no time for.

Board of Control - today's entertainment.

Officers' Mess - Queen's York Rangers -
Col. Hunter.

Word on own behalf - specially named on
invitation.
Mayor's remarks & testimonial.

D 52898

Precious associations with Toronto -

background of public and private life.
grand-father,
first mayor - M.L.A., journalist
battles for reform, £ 1,000.
Homestead; mother's marriage.

University, father - Law School.
last resting place.

Reason for pride in city's congratulation
and honour today - after years of
public life.

Prize most - reply "to Those who Served"
Replied to many toasts.
Canada's place - due to those who
served

A word about Canada as a nation.
How national status achieved.

When term "nation" first used.
Sir Wilfrid & Coronation of Edw. VII-
1902.
Galaxy of free nations - excitement.

Canada's nationhood won by those who
served in world war 1 - 60,000 lives.
Separate signature at Versailles.
Balfour declaration - 1926.
Statute of Wesminster - 1931.

Commonwealth of Nations -
United Nations.

D 52899

External attributes of nationhood -
diplomatic missions created -
1921 and today.

Embassies, Legations - offices of H.C.
Canada in 30 countries -
31 in Canada.
Standing vs. numbers. Serve
came during war - due to"Those who /
Ceased to speak apologetically.

A capital worthy of a Nation -
related"to those who served"

Countries known by Capitals.

Monuments of 2 wars -
Monument 1914-18 - the Response.
" 1939-45 - give expression to
what Canada as a nation is likely
to become.

The Washington of the North.

The larger Capital - a real memorial
Keep record before public.

<u>The International Situation</u> - serve
Immediately related to those who /

Impressions of Sunnybrook Hospital
Hospital - Pasteur - 2 contrary
laws.

D 52900

Analysis of international conflict

Needs more attention.
Two world wars since.
War - no matter of chance.

The two laws illustrative of what ~~is~~ brought home by what see in world tod

Canada can help to make law of peace, etc. part of inheritance of mankind.

Decision must be quickly made.

This the fitting and enduring monument "for Those Who Served".

Brotherhood vs. annihilation.

D 52901

Invitation to M.P.s

Completion of Hospital.

Credit due Greater Toronto Veterans Hospit Committee - Stewart.

Board of Control.

Precious associations with Toronto.

Reason for pride in city's congratulations and honour today - after years of public life.

Prize most - reply "To Those Who Served".

A word about Canada as a nation.

Canada's nationhood won by those who served in World War 1.

External attributes of nationhood.

A Capital worthy of a Nation.

Monuments of 2 wars.

International situation.

Analysis of international conflict.

Two laws - Pasteur.

Canada can help to make law of peace, etc. part of inheritance of mankind.

Brotherhood vs. annihilation.

Civic Dinner
June 12/

D 52902

Your Worship,
Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto,
and Gentlemen:

Invitation to Members of Parliament -
a kind thought.

Occasion, demonstration of good-will -
Toronto and Ottawa.

Convey thanks.

Completion of hospital - completion of
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Achievement - pride of both.

Honours evenly divided - City & Govt.

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Other names - no time for.

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Officers' Mess - Queen's York Rangers -
Col. Hunter.

Word on own behalf - specially named on
invitation.
Mayor's remarks & testimonial.

D52903

Precious associations with Toronto -

background of public and private life.
grand-father,
first mayor - M.L.A., journalist
battles for reform, £ 1,000.
Homestead; mother's marriage.

University, father - Law School.
last resting place.

Reason for pride in city's congratulation
and honour today - after years of
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Prize most - reply"to Those who Served"
Replied to many toasts.
Canada's place - due to those who
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A word about Canada as a nation.
How national status achieved.

When term "nation" first used.
Sir Wilfrid & Coronation of Edw.VII-
1902.
Galaxy of free nations - excitement.

Canada's nationhood won by those who
served in world war 1 - 60,000 lives.
Separate signature at Versailles.
Balfour declaration - 1926.
Statute of Wesminster - 1931.

Commonwealth of Nations -
United Nations.

D 52904

External attributes of nationhood -
diplomatic missions created -
1921 and today.

Embassies, Legations - offices of H.C.
Canada in 30 countries -
31 in Canada.
Standing vs. numbers. Served
came during war - due to"Those who /
Ceased to speak apologetically.

A capital worthy of a Nation -
related"to those who served"

Countries known by Capitals.

Monuments of 2 wars -
Monument 1914-18 - the Response.
" 1939-45 - give expression to
what Canada as a nation is likely
to become.

The Washington of the North.

The larger Capital - a real memorial
Keep record before public.

<u>The International Situation</u> - served
Immediately related to those who /.

Impressions of Sunnybrook Hospital.
Hospital - Pasteur - 2 contrary
laws.

D 52905

Analysis of international conflict

Needs more attention.
Two world wars since.
War - no matter of chance.

The two laws illustrative of what ~~is~~
brought home by what see in world today

Canada can help to make law of peace, etc.
part of inheritance of mankind.

Decision must be quickly made.

This the fitting and enduring
monument "for Those Who Served".

Brotherhood vs. annihilation.

Civic Dinner

SPEECH AT TORONTO

D 52906

Toronto - Here lies

Background of one's home and private life -

Family associations -

Brother served in S.A. War (direct attention to)

Significance of duties in Toronto -

Hospital for sick children
Christian hospital -

in between 2 world wars.

2 contrary laws: Pasteur

The points we have come to -

brotherhood or annihilation

Even imagining new means of destruction -

Atomic bomb -

Political parties vying with each other -

social security.

A period of transition -

the Christian spirit.

D 52907

Mechanical instruction -

Interpretation of history.

Class struggle vs. freeing of bonds

?

Wards of hospital

beginning and ending of public life -

completing of a circle

Courtesy of Mayor - official car for day.

(Mention Somers) (note his last days-

deputation to
write me)

Civic Dinner

SPEECH AT TORONTO

52908

D

Toronto - Here lies

Background of one's home and private life -

Family associations -

Brother served in S.A. War (direct attention to)

Significance of duties in Toronto -

Hospital for sick children
Christian hospital -

in between 2 world wars.

2 contrary laws: Pasteur

The points we have come to -

brotherhood or annihilation

Even imagining new means of destruction -

Atomic bomb -

Political parties vying with each other -

social security.

A period of transition -

the Christian spirit.

D 52909

Mechanical instruction -

Interpretation of history.

Class struggle vs. freeing of bonds

?

Wards of hospital

beginning and ending of public life -

completing of a circle

Courtesy of Mayor - official car for day.

(Mention Somers) (note his last days-

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D 52910

CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

D 52911

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members on the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in which we have, the associations of this memorable day.

In speaking of the co-operation betweenthe Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public spirited

citizens, known as the Greater Toronto Advisory Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt.Col. W.J.Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

I wish time permitted me to mention the names of others whose visits have been equally frequent and equally pleasant. Perhaps it is just as well that I

D 52913

should not carry the enumeration too far. You might think that I have in mind that they also had Federal ambitions.

May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention

of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both which would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in Law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

Toronto, indeed, has associations for me second to none of the communities in which I have lived. It will therefore not surpise you, Mr. Mayor, that I should have felt a special pride in congratulations that have come to me on different occasions from the Mayor and Council and Board of Control of this City, and for which I should like to express my thanks anew tonight. Having advanced in years to an age at which I feel I should ask my Party to relieve me of the duties of leadership, and should seek shortly thereafter to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office which I have held in all for now more than 21 years, including a period of 6 years of war, you will not wonder that I should feel a special measure of

pride at finding myself a guest of the City today, in company with fellow-members of both Houses of Parliament, and that I should have been the one chosen formally to open the magnificent military hospital at Sunnybrook Park, and to be the recipient of other honours which, in more directions than one, this City should have conferred upon me today. For the good-will so generously extended after the many years I have been in public life, and all that this means to me, I can only thank you. But this, I do with all my heart.

And this brings me, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

D 52917

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the esteem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served: - the gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realize how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the wordd "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

I well recall the excitement, and, in some quarters the controversy, to which this reference to Canada as a nation gave rise. It was not in the minds of the old timers only, but was a part of the conviction of not a few prominent men of the day, that Canada was not a nation - but that it was still a colony. To them the talk of nationhood meant independence, separation from the Empire and much else.

This was just after the South African War. Some twelve years later came World War Number One. In both these wars Canadian troops crossed the sea to fight on soil

far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the position of Canada as a nation of equal status with Great Britain and other Nations of the Commonwealth was confirmed by the so-called Balfour Declaration. In 1931 it was given statutory recognition in the Statute of Westminster.

In the years which followed the 1st world war, Canada began to assume more and more, the external attributes of nationhood. Of these, none have been of comparable significance to the establishment of diplomatic missions abroad, and the presence at Ottawa of missions from other countries. When I came into office in 1921, Canada did not have a Minister in a single foreign country, nor did we

have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

We have High Commissioners not only in Great Britain, but in all the nations of the Commonwealth, and all the nations of the Commonwealth have their representatives in Ottawa. Today, Canada has Embassies, Legations or High Commissioners' Offices in thirty countries abroad; thirty-one countries are represented in Ottawa by Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners.

The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance. What is important is the standing of our representatives. Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world. This recognition of Canada as a nation came in fullest measure during the years of the Second World War, and in the years since. Again it was Those Who Served who have given Canada her high place among the nations of the world.

It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

D 52921

in munitions, in finance, and in International Conferences , was equal, if not greater, in proportion to her population, than that of any of the allied countries. We have now ceased to speak apologetically when we refer to Canada as a nation. How much of this is owing to Those Who Served will perhaps never be known; but of their memorials it is the greatest of all.

This brings me to a thought which I have had very much in mind and which I believe has found general acceptance in Parliament. It too relates to Canada as a nation and to those who served in the last Great War. I need not tell this great gathering how much the different countries of the world are known by their Capitals. Washington, London, Paris, Rome, come to our minds the moment we speak of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is the same with other countries. It is in capitals of countries that the representatives of other countries congregate, where international conferences are held, and to which visitors are particularly attracted.

After the war of 1914-18, a very fine monument was erected in the Capital of Canada to those who served. It is a monument of stone and bronze. It is known as

"the Response". It represents the branches of the armed services of Canada responding to the call for service abroad. There is, as yet, no specific Memorial in the Capital of Canada to those who served in the last Great War. The government, in considering how their service and sacrifice might be commemorated in the Capital, have felt that this might best be effected by improvements of the Capital itself, which would help to give expression to what Canada as a nation is likely to become in the course of years. This would involve beginning immediate improvements which it could not be expected the municipality of Ottawa should undertake, but which, in the course of time, will become wholly necessary if Ottawa is to meet the demands which will be made upon it as the Capital of a rapidly expanding nation. I mean such improvements as the zoning of districts for industrial and residential places, the transfer to more appropriate areas of some of the railway tracks which today are a menace in the heart of the city, the construction of the necessary approaches to the city and provision for open spaces and parks in the city and its environs. For some time past, all of this has been a subject of planning by experts. If the plans already made are carried out over a series of years, Ottawa will indeed become, as a half a

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

D52923

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 52924

On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

> "Two contrary laws seems to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately preval, God alone knows".

D 52925

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself; that we are all members, one of another.

What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, and Work and Health prevail, not only in our own land but as

D 52926

a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously near the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

With scientific research holding over greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life". We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

civic dinner

SPEECH AT TORONTO

D 52927

Toronto - Here lies

Background of one's home and private life -

Family associations -

Brother served in S.A. War (direct attention to)

Significance of duties in Toronto -

Hospital for sick children
Christie Street Hospital -

in between 2 world wars.

2 contrary laws: Pasteur

The points we have come to -

brotherhood or annihilation

Even imagining new means of destruction -

Atomic bomb -

Political parties vying with each other -

social security.

A period of transition -

the Christian spirit.

 D 52928

Mechanical instruction -

Interpretation of history.

Class struggle vs. freeing of bonds

?

Wards of hospital

beginning and ending of public life -

completing of a circle.

Courtesy of Mayor - official car for day.

(Mention Somers) (note his last days-

deputation to
write me)

D 52929

SPEECH AT TORONTO

Toronto - Here lies

Background of one's home and private life -

Family associations -

Brother served in S.A. War (direct attention to)

Significance of duties in Toronto -

Hospital for sick children
Christian hospital -

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The points we have come to -

brotherhood or annihilation

Even imagining new means of destruction -

Atomic bomb -

Political parties vying with each other -

social security.

A period of transition -

the Christian spirit.

 D 52930

Mechanical instruction -

Interpretation of history.

Class struggle vs. freeing of bonds

?

Wards of hospital

beginning and ending of public life -

completing of a circle.

Courtesy of Mayor - official car for day.

(Mention Somers) (note his last days-

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 52931

MEMORANDUM

Text not used

D 52932

CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members on the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in which we have, the associations of this memorable day.

In speaking of the co-operation between the Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public-spirited citizens, known as the Greater Toronto Advisory Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt. Col. W. J. Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

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May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

D 52936

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both which would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

D 52937

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

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And this brings me, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

D 52939

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the esteem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served:- The gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realize how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the word "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

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far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the position of Canada as a nation of equal status with Great Britain and other Nations of the Commonwealth was confirmed by the so-called Balfour Declaration. In 1931 it was given statutory recognition in the Statute of Westminster.

In the years which followed the 1st World War, Canada began to assume more and more, the external attributes of nationhood. Of these, none have been of comparable significance to the establishment of diplomatic missions abroad, and the presence at Ottawa of missions from other countries. When I cameinto office in 1921, Canada did not have a Minister in a single foreign country, nor did we

have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

We have High Commissioners not only in Great Britain, but in all the nations of the Commonwealth, and all the nations of the Commonwealth have their representatives in Ottawa. Today, Canada has Embassies, Legations or High Commissioners' Offices in thirty countries abroad; thirty-one countries are represented in Ottawa by Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners.

The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance, What is important is the standing of our representatives. Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world. This recognition of Canada as a nation came in fullest measure during the years of the Second World War, and in the years since. Again it was Those Who Served who have given Canada her high place among the nations of the world.

It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

in munitions, in finance, and in international Conferences, was equal, if not greater, in proportion to her population, than that of any of the allied countries. We have now ceased to speak apologetically when we refer to Canada as a nation. How much of this is owing to Those Who Served will perhaps never be known; but of their memorials it is the greatest of all.

This brings me to a thought which I have had very much in mind and which I believe has found general acceptance in Parliament. It too relates to Canada as a nation and to those who served in the last Great War. I need not tell this great gathering how much the different countries of the world are known by their Capitals. Washington, London, Paris, Rome, come to our minds the moment we speak of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is the same with other countries. It is in capitals of countries that the representatives of other countries congregate, where internationsl conferences are held, and to which visitors are particularly attracted.

After the war of 1914-18, a very fine monument was erected in the Capital of Canada to those who served. It is a monument of stone abd bronze. It is known as

"the Response". It represents the Branches of the armed services of Canada responding to the call for service abroad. There is, as yet, no specific Memorial in the Capital of Canada to those who served in the last Great War. The government, in considering how their service and sacrifice might be commemorated in the Capital, have felt that this might best be effected by improvements of the Capital itself, which would help to give expression to what Canada as a nation is likely to become in the course of years. This would involve beginning immediate improvements which it could not be expected the municipality of Ottawa should undertake, but which, in the course of time, will become wholly necessary if Ottawa is to meet the demands which will be made upon it as the Capital of a rapidly expanding nation.. I mean such improvements as the zoning of districts for industrial and residential places, the transfer to more appropriate areas of some of the railway tracks which today are a menace in the heart of the city, the construction of the necessary approaches to the city and provision for open spaces and parks in the city and its environs. For some time past, all of this has been a subject of planning by experts. If the plans already made are carried out over a series of years, Ottawa will indeed become, as a half a

century ago it was hoped it might, - the Washington of the North.

What I should like to see is the larger Capital thus planned become a real Memorial to the service and sacrifice of the men and women of Canada in the last Great War. It can be done in a number of ways which will serve to keep before our people, and those who visit us from other lands, the battles that have been fought on land, at sea and in the air, by Canadian armed forces and much else that contributed to victory in the last war. I hope this great object may some day be achieved - a fine beginning has already been made.

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

D 52946

On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

> "Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death over imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows".

D 52947

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself; that we are all members, one of another.

What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, Work and Health prevail,

D 52948

not only in our own land but as a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously near the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

With scientific research holding ever greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life." We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

June 14/48

52949

World Must Soon Choose Brotherhood Of Nations Or Face Annihilation

Time For Decision Dangerously Near, Declares Mr. King — Tribute to Those Who Served

World brotherhood or total annihilation are the alternatives nations face today, and the world is "dangerously near" the place where a decision must be reached, Prime Minister King told senators, members of the House of Commons, and civic officials at a dinner Saturday night.

The civic dinner was the concluding function of the day which commenced with the official opening of Sunnybrook Hospital by the Prime Minister in the afternoon.

In his brief reference to the international situation, Mr. King said wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or circumstance.

"They are hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within," he believes.

"What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to nations where their people come under the domination of the law of blood and death.

TOAST INSEPARABLE

Prime Minister King's remarks were made in reply to a toast: "To Those Who Served." He said the toast he had most frequently proposed or responded to was the toast to Canada.

"To night I feel that the two—a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada—are inseparable. If our country holds a place of esteem in the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmned by fears, it is due to those who served."

Reviewing events which have led to nationhood in Canada, Prime Minister King recalled that when he first took office in 1921 Canada did not have a minister in a single foreign country, nor a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa.

"Today," he continued, "Canada has embassies, legations or high commissioners' offices in 30 countries abroad; 31 countries are represented in Ottawa by ambassadors, ministers and high commissioners.

"The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance. What is important is the standing of our representatives," he said. "Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world."

COMMITTEE PRAISED

Mr. King paid tribute to those who had been instrumental in making Sunnybrook Hospital a reality. He particularly stressed the Greater Toronto Veterans' Hospital Committee. Among those he named personally were W. J. Stewart, CBE, and the former mayor, Robert Saunders.

Mr. Stewart outlined to the gathering the history of the development of Sunnybrook, and gave all credit to members of the GTVHC, of which committee he is chairman.

"Sunnybrook has a beautiful location. The imposing building stands as a challenge to each to preserve that which has been committed to our trust — Freedom," said Mr. Stewart.

"The structure reminds us, also, of the cost of war. The patients within its walls, suffering, remind us that eternal vigilance is the price of peace. He who sleeps on watch deserts just as he who goes over to the enemy."

WORTH FIGHTING FOR

"Let us all resolve to take up the duties of citizenship and preserve for future generations our goodly heritage. A country worth fighting for, worth dying for, is worth living for. Love the land you live in, or live in the land you love," he concluded.

Mayor McCallum greeted the Prime Minister on behalf of the city, and said the city had always attempted to deal with the government on a non-partisan basis because "we feel it is best. We have not been influenced by the recent elections either," he added.

Earlier in the day, the Prime Minister officially opened Sunnybrook Hospital. Some 2,000 persons attended the opening.

Two color parties of the Canadian Legion, British Empire Service League, and the Canadian Corps Association formed up on either side of the main entrance.

At 3 p.m., just prior to the official opening ceremony, the Prime Minister, with the Lieutenant Governor, Hon. Ray Lawson, circled the hospital to examine the exterior and site. Then, he toured several sections of the interior and talked with a number of wheel-chair patients.

SHOWS GRATITUDE

"In Sunnybrook Hospital, the people of Canada have given expression to their deep feeling of appreciation and gratitude to those who have served," said the Prime Minister in his opening address.

"It will be, over the years, a memorial to those Canadians who were wounded or died in defense of our liberties." He told the assembled throng of dignitaries and patients that Sunnybrook was an institution which has received the highest praise from hospital authorities throughout the world.

"It is the nation's recognition of the sacrifice made by those it honors. As Prime Minister, I am proud to have had a part in its planning and in its official opening," he concluded.

Voicing similar remarks, Hon. Milton F. Gregg, V.C., Minister of Veterans' Affairs, paid tribute to the many public spirited citizens, organizations and municipal authorities who had helped to make the project possible.

UNVEILS PLAQUE

The opening ceremony, which lasted about 30 minutes, was begun with a prayer led by Rev. J. Y. Fraser, hospital chaplain. This was followed by the Doxology and tne 23rd Psalm. Rev. H. F. Caley led the Psalm, following which the Minister of Veterans' Affairs was introduced by Mr. Stewart.

Official opening by the Prime Minister followed a prayer led by Lt.-Col. the Rev. Sidney E. Lambert, OBE, and hospital chaplain. Mr. King then unveiled a Memorial Plaque.

D 52950

CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

D 52951

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members on the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in which we have, the associations of this memorable day.

In speaking of the co-operation betweennthe Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public spirited

citizens, known as the Greater Toronto Advisory Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt.Col. W.J.Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

I wish time permitted me to mention the names of others whose visits have been equally frequent and equally pleasant. Perhaps it is just as well that I

should not carry the enumeration too far. You might think that I have in mind that they also had Federal ambitions.

May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention

of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both which would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in Law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

Toronto, indeed, has associations for me second to none of the communities in which I have lived. It will therefore not surpise you, Mr. Mayor, that I should have felt a special pride in congratulations that have come to me on different occasions from the Mayor and Council and Board of Control of this City, and for which I should like to express my thanks anew tonight. Having advanced in years to an age at which I feel I should ask my Party to relieve me of the duties of leadership, and should seek shortly thereafter to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office which I have held in all for now more than 21 years, including a period of 6 years of war, you will not wonder that I should feel a special measure of

D 52956

pride at finding myself a guest of the City today, in company with fellow-members of both Houses of Parliament, and that I should have been the one chosen formally to open the magnificent military hospital at Sunnybrook Park, and to be the recipient of other honours which, in more directions than one, this City should have conferred upon me today. For the good-will so generously extended after the many years I have been in public life, and all that this means to me, I can only thank you. But this, I do with all my heart.

And this brings me, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the estem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served - the gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realise how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the word "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

I well recall the excitement, and, in some quarters the controversy, to which this reference to Canada as a nation gave rise. It was not in the minds of the old timers only, but was a part of the conviction of not a few prominent men of the day, that Canada was not a nation - but that it was still a colony. To them the talk of nationhood meant independence, separation from the Empire and much else.

This was just after the South African War. Some twelve years later came World War Number One. In both these wars Canadian troops crossed the sea to fight on soil

D 52959

far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

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have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

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It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

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century ago it was hoped it might, - the Washington of the North.

What I should like to see is the larger Capital thus planned become a real Memorial to the service and sacrifice of the men and women of Canada in the last Great War. It can be done in a number of ways which will serve to keep before our people, and those who visit us from other lands, the battles that have been fought on land, at sea and in the air, by Canadian armed forces and much else that contributed to victory in the last war. I hope this great object may some day be achieved - a fine beginning has already been made.

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

D 52964

On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph

> "Two contrary laws seems to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows".

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

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What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, Work and Health prevail, not only in our own land but as

D 52966

a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously near the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

With scientific research holding ever greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life". We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

D52967

OFFICIAL OPENING - SUNNYBROOK HOSPITAL

Address by

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister

Toronto, June 12, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You will allow me, I am sure, at the outset of my remarks this afternoon, to extend to my colleague, the Minister of Veterans Affairs, my warmest thanks for inviting me to participate in the opening of this magnificent Hospital. I wish, in the presence of all, to assure Mr. Gregg that no honour could have touched me more deeply than to have been accorded the privilege of ~~declaring~~ officially opening Sunnybrook Hospital ~~officially open~~.

I am particularly pleased to have had, this afternoon, the opportunity to see something of the facilities of the hospital, and especially to ~~greet~~ meet some of the patients. We all rejoice that so many of those being cared for in the hospital are able to witness today's official opening.

See insert 1a

At the conclusion of my remarks, I am to have the honour of unveiling the memorial plaque which has been placed on the wall to the right of the main entrance. I feel I should give to you at once the words of dedication which appear upon the plaque. They disclose that the Hospital is, in a very special way, a Memorial to Canada's sons and daughters who served and suffered in the two Great Wars. ~~It~~ The Hospital

To the patients of Sunnybrook Hospital, one and all,

I extend the warmest of greetings and best of wishes on behalf of my colleagues in the government at Ottawa and myself. I should like to extend similar greetings and good wishes on behalf of all members of both Houses of Parliament, many of whom have come from Ottawa to be present and are present with us at today's ceremony.

D 52969

is but one of many Memorials which already exist, and which will continue to be erected as long as the Nation's gratitude seeks to make itself felt. A more fitting Memorial, however, it would, I believe, be difficult to conceive.

These are the words of dedication:

> "Dedicated to the gallant men and
> "women of the armed forces of the Dominion of
> "Canada who have suffered in two wars for freedom,
> "and to the doctors, nurses and staff whose services
> "are devoted to their healing, comfort and welfare."

Indicative of the larger significance of the Hospital as a Memorial to all who served in Canada's armed forces are the names that have been given to the several wings of the building. The names are Ypres, in honour of the Army in World War I; Ortona and Falaise, in honour of the Army in World War II; Atlantic, in honour of the Navy; Lancaster and Spitfire, in honour of the Air Force. These names are but a few of those to be found in the long catalogue expressive of Canadian heroism in two World Wars. Of themselves, they are permanent reminders of the valiant achievements in arms of two generations of young Canadians.

It is exceedingly appropriate that the dedicatory plaque should make special mention of the doctors, nurses and staff to whose helpful ministrations have been entrusted the "healing, comfort and welfare" of those who receive treatment here. It is a tribute to the zeal of Canada's Department of Veterans Affairs that the Department has succeeded in gaining

for the hospital the professional services of an exceptionally fine type of full time doctors, also part time consultants from among the top ranking medical and surgical specialists in Toronto. In particular, I should like to congratulate the Minister upon the Department having secured, as Superintendent of the Hospital, Dr. K. E. Hollis, the distinguished physician whom we are all proud to see presiding over today's ceremony.

May I now speak of a few of those to whose vision and initiative, generosity and public spirit, our country, and all who receive treatment here, will feel a sense of abiding obligation. Many hearts, many minds, many hands have combined to bring this great edifice into being, and to provide it with equipment second to none in the world.

To the veterans of the first great war, who suffered injury, disability and serious illness, and to the men and women who vigorously championed the cause of improved hospital facilities, the credit, in the first instance, I believe, is due. They were the ones who, while undergoing treatment at the Christie Street Hospital as they saw their numbers being augmented by fellow sufferers of World War II, made apparent the need for enlarged hospital facilities. It was they, too, who were able to demonstrate the services a Veterans' Hospital of the most modern design and up-to-date equipment, located in spacious grounds, might render to those who, amid the dangers and perils of war, had become maimed and wounded in body, mind or spirit.

D 52971

The honours for the next step towards the realization of this high aim should, I think, be divided between the Department of Veterans Affairs at Ottawa, and that group of public spirited citizens who have become so well known to us all as The Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Veterans Hospital Committee.

Mr. Greg has already referred to what is owing to the vision and vigilance of his predecessor in the office of Minister of Veterans Affairs, the Right Honourable Ian Mackenzie. Mr. Mackenzie it was who first urged this great project upon his colleagues in the Cabinet. It was he who, in 1943, turned the first sod, and, in 1945, laid the corner-stone. In 1947, the building having neared completion, the auditorium was given Mr. Mackenzie's name, in recognition of his unflagging interest in the work of construction over the years. How well deserved these tributes to his services were, no one knows better than myself. In Cabinet Council we watched together every stage of the progress made. I can bear full testimony to Mr. Mackenzie's earnest, untiring advocacy of an institution that, in every respect, would be a worthy expression of a nation's gratitude to those gallant men and women who, to use his own words, "saved the precious things of life for us all, amid the clouds, on angry seas, and on the grim and ugly battlefields."

Mr. Mackenzie had hoped to be present at today's formal opening of the Hospital, but plans made some time ago, to be in Scotland before the end of the present month, necessitated his embarking for overseas this afternoon. While his thoughts on the voyage will be much of the heather-clad hills of his native, ever-loved Scotland, we may be sure that, this afternoon, they will be even more of the official opening of the Hospital at Sunnybrook Park.

Had he been present this afternoon, Mr. Mackenzie would have been the first to tell you that, in overcoming the difficulties in the establishment and construction of the Hospital, more was owing to the Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Veterans Hospital Committee than he could begin to acknowledge. I wish it were possible for me to give you the names of all the members of that Committee, and to detail their services. That would demand more time than is at my disposal. Fortunately, however, the Department of Veterans Affairs has spared no effort in preparing a most attractive souvenir programme for this afternoon's ceremony. The programme will give you this information, and much else on which you will wish to be informed about the Hospital itself. I would commend a careful perusal and the retention of this historic document by all into whose possession a copy may come. The facts it records will warm your hearts, and make you proud for life of your association, be it immediate or remote, with this magnificent institution.

Veterans Hospital

The Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Committee has, from the outset, had as its Chairman, Colonel W. J. Stewart. As all present are aware, Colonel Stewart is a former Mayor of this City, and a former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of this Province. I should fail in what is expected of me this afternoon if I did not make special mention of the great part taken by Colonel Stewart in making known the needs of the hospital and securing public co-operation in having these needs so successfully met. I should fail even more did I not express to Colonel Stewart and to all the members of the Advisory Committee and to those public-spirited individuals and organizations who have co-operated with them, the thanks of the government for their good offices, performed so faithfully and efficiently over so many years. This I do most warmly. Theirs has been, indeed, a fine public service.

I have reserved to the last, mention of what should, perhaps, have had its place at the very beginning. I mean, of course, what is owing to the City of Toronto for providing the magnificent site on which this vast hospital is located. The story of the acquisition of the site is one of the most pleasing in the records of municipal and private benevolence. Few properties anywhere could be more beautiful in themselves. The property was owned by the late Mr. Robert Kilgour, a leading Toronto industrialist, and, one might add, philanthropist. It was known as Sunnybrook Park. It was bequeathed by Mr. Kilgour to the City to be used as a Civic Park - a truly magnificent bequest.

When the need of a new Veterans' Hospital in the Toronto area became apparent, the City authorities approached the Kilgour Estate, and asked permission to offer the Park to the Federal authorities as a gift for the location of the new hospital. The City's proposal was agreed to by the Kilgour heirs, and the site was made available to the Dominion Government at no cost. On this site there has now been erected by the Government of Canada what has been referred to by United States authorities as the finest Veterans' Hospital on the North American continent, if not in the world. What could better express the gratitude and obligation felt by all Canadians towards those veterans of the two Great Wars who were maimed, disabled or rendered infirm in the defence of freedom, and who are still in need of medical care and attention!

The best that our country could do for them would be but a symbol of the nation's gratitude. Sunnybrook Hospital symbolizes Canada's recognition of the sacrifices made by those members of the armed forces whom this hospital aims to serve, and seeks to honour. It will be the prayer of all who have been privileged to attend today's ceremony, that here, in these beautiful surroundings, as its patients are ministered to by the healing arts of Nature, the tenderest of human sympathy and the best of medical care, Restoration may abound in ever-increasing measure. This will be the prayer of Canadians in every part of our wide Dominion.

D 52975

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen: The official opening of Sunnybrook Hospital expresses the resolve of the Canadian people to provide the best of medical care and treatment to those who were maimed or disabled in the defence of our own and the world's freedom. My earnest hope is that it may equally express our resolve to share in the building of a better world in which the need for veterans' hospitals will no longer arise. In that spirit and in that hope, I declare Sunnybrook Hospital officially open.

D 52976

CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

D 52977

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members on the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in which we have, the associations of this memorable day.

In speaking of the co-operation between the Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public-spirited citizens, known as the Greater Toronto Advisory Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt. Col. W. J. Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

I wish time permitted me to mention the names of others whose visits have been equally frequent and equally pleasant. Perhaps it is just as well that I should not carry the enumeration too far. You might think that I have in mind that they also had Federal ambitions.

May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both wh'ch would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

Toronto, indeed, has associations for me second to none of the communities in which I have lived. It will therefore not surprise you, Mr. Mayor, that I should have felt a special pride in congratulations that have come to me on different occasions from the Mayor and Council and Board of Control of this City, and for which I should like to express my thanks anew tonight. Having advanced in years to an age at which I feel I should ask my Party to relieve me of the duties of leadership, and should seek shortly thereafter to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office which I have held in all for now more than 21 years, including a period of 6 years of war, you will not wonder that I should feel a special measure of

pride at finding myself a guest of the City today, in company with fellow-members of both Houses of Parliament, and that I should have been the one chosen formally to open the magnificent military hospital at Sunnybrook Park, and to be the recipient of other honours which, in more directions than one, this City should have conferred upon us today. For the good-will so generously extended after the many years I have been in public life, and all that this means to me, I can only thank you. But this, I do with all my heart.

And this bringsme, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the esteem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served:- The gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realize how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the word "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

I well recall the excitement, and, in some quarters the controversy, to which this reference to Canada as a nation gave rise. It was not in the minds of the old timers only, but was a part of the conviction of not a few prominent men of the day, that Canada was not a nation - but that it was still a colony. To them the talk of nationhood meant independence, separation from the Empire and much else.

This was just after the South African War. Some twelve years later came World War Number One. In both these wars Canadian troops crossed the sea to fight on soil

far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the position of Canada as a nation of equal status with Great Britain and other Nations of the Commonwealth was confirmed by the so-called Balfour Declaration. In 1931 it was given statutory recognition in the Statute of Westminster.

In the years which followed the 1st World War, Canada began to assume more and more, the external attributes of nationhood. Of these, none have been of comparable significance to the establishment of diplomatic missions abroad, and the presence at Ottawa of missions from other countries. When I cameinto office in 1921, Canada did not have a Minister in a single foreign country, nor did we

have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

We have High Commissioners not only in Great Britain, but in all the nations of the Commonwealth, and all the nations of the Commonwealth have their representatives in Ottawa. Today, Canada has Embassies, Legations or High Commissioners' Offices in thirty countries abroad; thirty-one countries are represented in Ottawa by Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners.

The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance, What is important is the standing of our representatives. Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world. This recognition of Canada as a nation came in fullest measure during the years of the Second World War, and in the years since. Again it was Those Who Served who have given Canada her high place among the nations of the world.

It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

in munitions, in finance, and in international Conferences, was equal, if not greater, in proportion to her population, than that of any of the allied countries. We have now ceased to speak apologetically when we refer to Canada as a nation. How much of this is owing to Those Who Served will perhaps never be known; but of their memorials it is the greatest of all.

This brings me to a thought which I have had very much in mind and which I believe has found general acceptance in Parliament. It too relates to Canada as a nation and to those who served in the last Great War. I need not tell this great gathering how much the different countries of the world are known by their Capitals. Washington, London, Paris, Rome, come to our minds the moment we speak of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is the same with other countries. It is in capitals of countries that the representatives of other countries congregate, where internationsl conferences are held, and to which visitors are particularly attracted.

After the war of 1914-18, a very fine monument was erected in the Capital of Canada to those who served. It is a monument of stone abd bronze. It is known as

"the Response". It represents the Branches of the armed services of Canada responding to the call for service abroad. There is, as yet, no specific Memorial in the Capital of Canada to those who served in the last Great War. The government, in considering how their service and sacrifice might be commemorated in the Capital, have felt that this might best be effected by improvements of the Capital itself, which would help to give expression to what Canada as a nation is likely to become in the course of years. This would involve beginning immediate improvements which it could not be expected the municipality of Ottawa should undertake, but which, in the course of time, will become wholly necessary if Ottawa is to meet the demands which will be made upon it as the Capital of a rapidly expanding nation. I mean such improvements as the zoning of districts for industrial and residential places, the transfer to more appropriate areas of some of the railway tracks which today are a menace in the heart of the city, the construction of the necessary approaches to the city and provision for open spaces and parks in the city and its environs. For some time past, all of this has been a subject of planning by experts. If the plans already made are carried out over a series of years, Ottawa will indeed become, as a half a

century ago it was hoped it might, - the Washington of the North.

What I should like to see is the larger Capital thus planned become a real Memorial to the service and sacrifice of the men and women of Canada in the last Great War. It can be done in a number of ways which will serve to keep before our people, and those who visit us from other lands, the battles that have been fought on land, at sea and in the air, by Canadian armed forces and much else that contributed to victory in the last war. I hope this great object may some day be achieved - a fine beginning has already been made.

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following speech marking paragraph:

> "Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death over imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows".

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself; that we are all members, one of another.

What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, Work and Health prevail,

not only in our own land but as a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously nea. the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

With scientific research holding ever greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life." We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

D 52991

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

House of Commons
February 16, 1949

D 52993

I should not like the debate on this resolution to conclude without ~~expressing something of the gratitude~~ saying how pleased and grateful I am and pride I feel at finding it possible to participate, as a member of this House, in the concluding stages of the steps necessary to effect the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation.

Statement by P.M. on Sunday

With the adoption of the resolution now before it, this House of Commons will have taken, so far as its authority extends, the last necessary step to effect the union of Newfoundland with Canada.

I count myself singularly fortunate to have been the one, as head of the government at the time, to have had the privilege of welcoming in the name of Canada, the Honourable F.G. Bradley and his colleagues when, on June the 25th, 1947, they came as a delegation from the National Convention of Newfoundland to consider and discuss with representatives of our government whether there was a fair and generally acceptable basis for federal union with Canada. I am pleased to have had a part also in some of the subsequent proceedings.

Now that the basis of union has been established, and its terms approved by this House, I should like,

as a supporter of the administration

as a supporter of the administration, to express my congratulations to the Prime Minister and his colleagues who have carried on the subsequent conferences with representatives of Newfoundland, ~~and the government of the United Kingdom,~~ on the successful manner in which they carried through the negotiations which resulted in the agreement this House has approved. This was not an easy task. It required, on all sides, much in the way of tact and judgment and patience. In this connection, I should like to say that it would not be possible to overestimate the contribution made by the present Prime Minister who, from the outset, has been ~~enthusiastic in his promotion~~ of the cause of union, and untiring in his efforts to see it successfully accomplished.

I should like, as the oldest member of this House of Commons - oldest, I hasten to say, in years of membership only - to congratulate ~~all~~ members of the House upon the quality of the debate on the approval of the agreement. It ~~has been~~ a debate of which Canada's House of Commons may well be proud, a debate, in every way, worthy of the high and noble purpose it was intended to serve.

D 52995

May I congratulate the members individually for having won, for themselves, a distinction not likely to be questioned, once this far-reaching transaction is completed, of having become entitled to be numbered among the Makers of Canada. They have helped to bring about what, ~~in early settlement days~~, was visualized as a union of all the British-American colonies. To-day we think of what is being achieved as ~~the~~ rounding out, in its true proportions, the Canada we had all hoped to live to see.

Above all, as a Canadian, and speaking, as other honourable members have, as a representative of the people of Canada in Canada's Parliament, I should like to take this final opportunity of saying how warmly and sincerely all Canada, as at present constituted, will welcome the entrance into Confederation of the island province of Newfoundland.

It will be, I am sure, for all time, a source of the deepest satisfaction to the people of Newfoundland as it will also be to the people of Canada that, with respect to each of the essential successive steps in this historic transaction, there has been, with the exception of a single dissenting voice, unanimous approval by the members of Canada's House of Commons. The single dissenting voice has only served to emphasize the completeness of the unanimity.

Nothing could more eloquently express the warmth of the welcome which will be given by the nine provinces of Canada to their sister province on its entry into Confederation.

It will be a day of nation-wide rejoicing, rejoicing across an entire continent, from sea to sea; rejoicing from the break of dawn on the Easternmost shores of the Atlantic to the last glow of the setting sun on the Westernmost shores of the Pacific.

The union of Newfoundland and Canada ~~- two North American democracies in the British Commonwealth -~~ will, I believe, add strength to both. The talent, the resources, the enterprise which each will contribute to the other will prove, I believe, to be to their mutual advantage. ~~The outstanding fact is, and it is of real significance in the present day world that~~ Together we may look forward to the future with much more confidence than if we were to remain separate political communities.

There will, of course, be difficulties to be overcome, unforeseen obstacles to be surmounted, rough places to be made smooth. Re-adjustments inevitably demand much in the way of patience. These, however, are minor considerations, and are in the nature of domestic problems which ultimately will be worked out satisfactorily.

But there is something of even greater significance ~~than this~~. It is the more effective co-operation between free nations which the union of Newfoundland and Canada is certain to ~~effect~~ much broader. The union will be more than of mutual advantage to Canada and Newfoundland. It will be of advantage to all countries directly or indirectly concerned with the maintenance of peace. At this time of great uncertainty in world movements and affairs, it means much to have ~~the more~~ the larger effective co-operation between all those nations that cherish kindred ideas and ideals and which are anxious to protect their freedom. In an immediate way, the union of Canada and Newfoundland will mean this and more to the Nations of the Commonwealth as a whole, and to the United States. It will be a contribution in the nature of greater security to the entire free world.

On such a union, we may well invoke a Divine blessing.

Express gratitude and pride at participating concluding stages.

Adoption resolution -
last necessary step.

Fortunate to have welcomed Bradley.

"a fair and generally acceptable
basis for federal union with Canada".

Now basis of union established and
terms approved.

(I) As supporter of Administration:

congratulate P.M.

subsequent conferences;
task required tact, judgment,
patience;
contribution of P.M.

(2) As oldest Member of H. of C.:

congratulate Members collectively
on quality of debate;

congratulate Members individually
on Makers of Canada -

the Canada we all had hoped to
live to see.

D 52998

I should have like the debate on this resolution to conclude, without saying how pleased and grateful I am at finding it possible to participate as a member of this House, in the concluding stages of the steps necessary to effect the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation.

D 52998-1

(3) As a Canadian:

how warmly and sincerely welcome
island province;

deepest satisfaction all stages.

Single dissenting voice.

Eloquently express warmth of welcome.

A day of nation-wide rejoicing
over entire continent -
break of dawn to glow of
setting sun.

Union of two North American democracies -

add strength to both;

talent, resources, enterprise
of mutual advantage.

Each look forward with more confidence

Difficulties to overcome, etc.

Readjustments demand patience.

D 52999

Greater significance -

union means more effective co-operation between all countries.

Concern with maintenance of peace.

British Commonwealth - U.S.

Greater security to entire free world.

May well invoke Divine blessing on such a union.

D 53000

D 53001

MR. KING'S LAST SPEECH

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

WED. FEBRUARY 16,

1 9 4 9

I should not like the debate on this resolution to conclude, Mr. Speaker, without saying how greatly pleased and grateful I am to have the opportunity of joining with my fellow members of this House of Commons in the concluding stages of the necessary steps to be taken to bring Newfoundland into confederation. When the resolution is adopted, this House of Commons will have taken, so far as its authority extends, the last necessary step to effect the union of Newfoundland with Canada.

As you, Mr. Speaker, will recall, on Friday afternoon last the Prime Minister indicated that there were some hon. members who would wish to speak on the terms of union but who were not present at the time, and that an opportunity would be given them to speak on this motion. It was the desire, I think, of all who were present that the third reading should be carried on Friday afternoon, and it was so carried, after but one hon. member had spoken.

In my remarks this afternoon, which will be brief, I hope no exception will be taken to my referring to the debate on the terms of union as approved by this house. In other words, I do not wish to be held too strictly to speaking solely on the matter of procedure, which is the one dealt with in the resolution.

D 53002

MR. KING'S LAST SPEECH

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

WED. FEBRUARY 16,

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I count myself as very fortunate in having had the privilege, as head of the government at the time, of welcoming to Ottawa in the name of Canada the delegation from the national convention of Newfoundland, headed by the Hon. Mr. Bradley, which came to Ottawa to consider and discuss with representatives of our government whether there was a fair and generally acceptable basis for federal union with Canada. The delegation had its first meeting with representatives of our government on June 25, 1947. That was the beginning of the conversations which led to the negotiations that resulted in a basis of union since drafted into an agreement that has met with the approval of hon. members. It was also my privilege to have shared with some of my former colleagues in some of the other proceedings which led up to that agreement.

The basis of union having been firmly established, and the terms of agreement having been approved by this house I should like to take the earliest opportunity of warmly congratulating the Prime Minister (Mr. St-Laurent) and his colleagues, who carried on the subsequent conferences with representatives of Newfoundland, on the successful manner in which they have carried through the negotiations. Their task was not an easy one. It required on all sides a good deal in the way of tact, judgment and patience. It speaks well for the representatives of Newfoundland and the representatives of Canada that in the time at their disposal it was possible for them to reach an agreement which has since commended itself so favourably to hon. members of all parties in this house.

D 53004

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I should like to say a special word about the Prime Minister's contribution to the success of the working out of the terms of the agreement. I happen to know something of the zeal which he showed in upholding the cause of union. From the very beginning he made the cause of union his own. He spared neither time, energy, nor aught of his great abilities in seeking to bring about the happy result which in this house we are rejoicing over today.

May I be permitted, Mr. Speaker, as the oldest member of this House of Commons - I hasten to say, not oldest in years, but in years of membership in this House - to congratulate hon. members collectively on the quality, yes the excellence of the debate which took place on the terms of union. The debate, naturally, was one of the memorable debates in the annals of our country's history. It is bound to be so regarded, it will be so regarded, since it marks one of the significant milestones in Canada's development. It was a debate of which Canada's House of Commons may well be proud, a debate in every way worthy of the purpose that it was intended to serve, the high and noble purpose of bringing confederation to its full stature.

May I congratulate hon. members, not only collectively but individually, on having come into the right of being included among members of that distinguished company which is known as the Makers of Canada. Every one in this house who assisted in bringing about this union has earned some title to that distinction.

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It was all of a century and a quarter ago that one and more of the leading public men in this country began to advocate what was then referred to as a union of all the British-American colonies. It is that union which has been all but brought about at this time. Not only has that result been achieved, but today we have all but succeeded in bringing about what we all I think have had much at heart, namely, the rounding out, in its true proportions, of the Canada we had all hoped to live to see.

I should like particularly this afternoon to speak as a Canadian, as a representative of the people of Canada in this House of Commons. I hope we all remember that we are here not merely as representatives of individual constituencies, but as representatives of the people of Canada as a whole. In speaking as one of such, I should like above all to say how warmly and sincerely all Canada, as at present constituted, will welcome the entrance into confederation of the island province of Newfoundland and how delighted we are at the welcome which we know awaits Newfoundland when, as the tenth province of Canada, she is greeted by her nine sister provinces.

It must be a source of deepest satisfaction to the people of Newfoundland who followed the debate on the terms of union, as it is to the people of Canada, to realize that with respect to each of the essential successive steps in this historic transaction, there has been, with the exception of a single dissenting voice, unanimous approval by the members of Canada's House of Commons. The one dissenting voice has only helped to emphasize the completeness of our

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I have desired to say only these few words, Mr. Speaker, I have felt that in the minds of some, the discussion of the last day of two on a matter of procedure may have served to dim the brightness of the achievement itself, the great objective which was reached so splendidly in the course of the debate on the agreement.

There can be no doubt that the union of Newfoundland with Canada will be to the mutual advantage of the peopples of both countries. It will, however, mean more than mere mutual advantage. The talent, the enterprise, the resources which each will contribute to the other will help to strengthen both. What is more, at a time such as the present, it will help to give each of us a greater confidence as we face the uncertainties of the future.

There will undoubtedly be difficulties to be overcome; there will be obstacles to be surmounted; there will be rough places to be made smooth once the union has taken place. Readjustments

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There will undoubtedly be difficulties to be overcome; there will be obstacles to be surmounted; there will be rough places to be made smooth once the union has taken place. Readjustments

are always difficult but these are domestic matters which will be as successfully met as similar problems in the past have been met. What, I believe, is most important of all, is the fact that this union, when it comes into being, will be of great mutual advantage not only to Newfoundland and to Canada, but to all countries which, directly or indirectly, are concerned with the maintenance of peace. It will mean more effective co-operation between free nations at this time of great uncertainty in world movements and affairs. It means much to have the most effective co-operation between all of those nations that cherish kindred ideas and ideals and which are anxious to protect their freedom.

Union will be of advantage not only to the provinces which have combined to make a larger Canada, advantages in the way of strength and secutiry. It will be of advantage in particular to other parts of the British Commonwealth of nations and to the United States of America in their common efforts at the maintenance of peace. The more that can be brought about in these days by way of effective co-operation between nations which seek to maintain the peace, the better it is going to be for mankind.

It is true that sometimes it takes the small things of the world to confound the strong. It may well be that out of this union of two democracies on the North American continent, this union of forces in no way comparable to some of the great world forces, there may nevertheless be imparted to other communities some of that strength which will help to preserve the

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D 53013

freedom of mankind. May we not all wish and believe that a divine blessing will rest upon such a union.

.....

D 53014

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

Alexandria, May 27/49.

GLENGARRY CONVENTION P 53015

Two occasions of special significance -
Nomination and declining nomination.
Mixed feelings.

Elections of 1908 - Sir Wilfrid's Cabinet
Succession - Two Leaders, 60 Yrs

Youngest MP - Oldest M.P.
P.M. - 21½ yrs.

Participated in 10 general elect/
ions.

Leader in 7

Why said in 1945 time has come to retire from active politics

1) Long service - strain - war

2) Desire to secure successor in time to lead Party in Prlt.
(Steps to that end)

Meeting of Federation.
Convention
Mr. St.Laurent chosen

3) Retirement not due to ill-health.

Wish it were possible to accept re-nomina/
and to campaign. tion

If strength would permit

An additional reason -
impairment of health - London Oct '48
obliged to limit activities
avoid contention.

D 53016

Relations with constituency

Understanding when Dr. MacDiarmid retired.
Would not seek re-nomination.
Spend little time in constituency.
Hope to see people

Material interests of people
kept constituency intact - re-distbn

Re-participation present election

All in all or not at all
No political address

No doubt where I stand -
St. Laurent and Gov't
Liberal principles and policies.

Reasons same as in Par'l't

Two reasons here

1) Thank Liberals etc., -
Enable to continue leadership,
Name associated with Glengarry
Mackenzie 100 yrs ago
Beginning a new period

I am rounding out my years of active politics - thanks

2) Plea for unity in
a) support of present administration
b) candidate chosen
many names in nomination.

D 53017

Reasons for supporting present administration

World in state of transition.
Menacing clouds on all horizons.
Confused and dangerous times.
Canada making fine contribution in /world affairs.

Personnel of present Gov't known

P.M. and Ministers.

Principles and policies known.

Before change - ask who is to take their place during next 5 yrs.

Ask leaders to tell you wherein better than today.

Think twice before change for sake of /change.

Thanks around
for refreshing [illegible] Parliament
[illegible]

D 53018

GLENGARRY CONVENTION

Alexandria - May 27, 1949

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the life of one seeking to represent the people of his country in its halls of Parliament, there are two occasions of special significance. The first is the day on which he receives nomination for the House of Commons; the other the day on which he asks those whose confidence he has enjoyed to allow to forego becoming again a candidate in a General Election. The second of these occasions has arrived for me today. I assure you that it is not without mixed feelings that I realize that such is the case.

We are now in the General Elections of 1949. I well recall the General Elections of 1908. That was over forty years ago. Sir Wilfrid Laurier opened the campaign in the constituency of Waterloo. It was then that I received my first nomination as a candidate of the Liberal Party for the House of Commons.

Little did I think at that time that a year later I should be a Minister of the Crown in Sir Wilfird Laurier's cabinet. Much less could I have imagined that I would later be Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor in the leadership of the Liberal Party, and still later, his successor as a Liberal Prime Minister of Canada.

It is difficult to believe that until the Liberal Convention of last year our Party has had but two leaders in the period of over fifty years - Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself.

When I entered Parliament in 1908 I was, if I mistake not, the youngest Member in the House of Commons. Before I gave up the leadership of the Party I had become its oldest Member.in the point of years of service in the House of Commons. Of those years, I had held the office of Prime Minister for over 21 1/2 years.

From 1908 to the present, I had participated in every General Election held in Canada, and in several by-election contests as well, - some elections in all.

I mention these facts that you and the people of Canada may understand just why it is that, greatly honoured as I feel I have been in the representation during recent years of this fine, old, historic riding of Glengarry, I felt it advisable, not less in the public interest than in my own, to make it perfectly clear, as I have throughout the last Parliament, that I would not again either be leading the Party at another General Election or be a candidate for Parliament itself.

For many reasons, I should greatly have welcomed the privilege of continuing to represent the constituency of Glengarry at Ottawa. I feel I should leave no room for doubt as to why it will not be possible for me to do so. Let me enumerate some of those reasons. In a larger way they relate to my retirement from active politics.

I have already given you the first of these reasons, - the long years of public service I have already had and what they have involved in the way of strain. I should perhaps remind you that those years included the years of the last Great War, periods of uncertainty and unrest which preceded and which have followed them. At the time of the General Elections of 1945, I saw only too clearly what these years had occasioned in the way of strain and exacted in the way of health and strength. I knew that with further years of service, the strain could not possibly lessen but would increase. It was for this reason that throughout the campaign of 1945 I told the electorate that I would not be leading the Liberal Party at another General Election, but would seek so to arrange matters as to have a successor in the leadership of the Party in the office of Prime Minister appointed before another General Election.

I said more than that. I made it clear that I would seek so to arrange matters as to have my successor

/chosen sufficiently in advance

D 53021

chosen sufficiently in advance of another General Election to be able to demonstrate his powers of leadership in Parliament, as well as in the campaign itself. Accordingly, I arranged nearly two years ago for a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in January, 1948, at which I issued a call for a National Convention to be held in the month of August. At this Convention, as we all know to our great delight today, Mr. St. Laurent was chosen the leader of the Party, and when Parliament reassembled thereafter, had become the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons. Let me repeat today what I said at the close of the Convention, that I do not believe that a better choice of leader of any political party could have been made than the choice of Mr. St.Laurent as the Party's and the country's leader.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish it were possible for me to be taking an active part in the present campaign. Had I the strength so to do, and were it in accordance with the Party's wish, I should enjoy nothing more than joining with my former Colleagues in campaigning from one end of Canada to the other in support of Mr. St. Laurent and of the present Liberal Administration. I believe it to be in every way in the interests of Canada that Mr. St. Laurent and the members of his government should be returned.

D 53022

That it is not possible for me to take the part I should like in the campaign is due to another reason more imperative than all others, which would make it impossible for me to accept the re-nomination as a candidate today. That reason, as you all are aware, is due to the impairment of my health, which was only too evident at the time of the Conference of Prime Ministers in London in October of last year. On the best of medical advice, I have since been obliged to limit my activities as much as possible, and above all, to avoid undue contention and excitement. How inseparable both are from debate, either in Parliament or on the hustings, it is scarcely necessary for me to say. There is one point, however, which I wish to emphasize. It is that my retirement from the leadership of the Party and of the Government is not to be attributed to ill health. It was due wholly to a decision reached before, and at the time of the last General Election - a decision based entirely upon what I believed to be in the interests of the Party after my many years of service. How wise that decision was must now be apparent in the light of the break which came in health some months ago.

And this brings me more immediately to my xxxx relations with this constituency, and the understanding which was reached at the time, when after my defeat in Prince Albert

/our late dear friend

our late dear friend Dr. MacDiarmid offered to retire to make possible my re-entry into the House of Commons in time to continue the leadership at the first session of the new Parliament, which the Liberals of this constituency so generously offered to accept me as their representative in Dr. MacDiarmid's stead. Having stated at the General Election that I would not be leading the Party at another election, it was clearly understood at the time I became the candidate in the by-election that I would not be seeking re-election at another General Election. More than that, it was understood that with the public issues what they had become, and the responsibilities attaching to the office of Prime Minister, it might not be possible for me to spend much time in the constituency, notwithstanding its proximity to the Capital. I had hoped, ladies and gentlemen, that the nearness of Glengarry to Ottawa would enable me to see a good deal of the people of this County. Unfortunately, what with the sessions of Parliament, the representations of Canada at Conferences and meetings abroad, and the impaired condition of my health, it has not been possible for me to carry out to the extent I should have liked that hope and expectation. That, however, only makes more evident to me the extent of my obligation to the people of Glengarry for the consideration shown me in the discharge of my public duties and as their representative in Parliament.

I can say, I believe, that though I have seen but little of the constituency itself, I have with the aid of those associated with me been able to watch its interests closely and with fidelity. I might even go so far as to say that had anyone other than the Prime Minister been representing Glengarry in the last Parliament, the constituency itself might have disappeared.at the time of redistribution. I claim no personal credit for that, as when I was elected Member for Glengarry it was generally believed that at the next redistribution, because of its size, this constituency might become part of ~~xhm~~/a new and much larger unit of representation. The Committee however,which had the matter in hand and which made its representations to the House of Commons, did recommend to Parliament that in the redistribution, no change should be made in the boundaries of Glengarry. As there will not be another distribution for another 10 years by which time, I hope the Constituency itself will have greatly increased in importance and in numbers, Glengarry will remain as it has been over the years, one of the best known of the many constituencies in our Dominion. As already mentioned, I have felt as regards participation in the present campaign that it should be all in all, or not at all. You will excuse me, therefore, if this afternoon, I do not attempt anything in the nature of a political

/address.

D 53025

I do not think there can be any doubt as to where I stand. I am solidly behind Mr. St.Laurent and the Members of the present administration.

I am not participating in the present election for the same reason, that I did not participate except on one occasion in the Debates in the House of Commons during the last Session.

I am here this afternoon for two reasons and for two reasons only. The first is, to thank the Liberals of Glengarry and in deed, the electors of Glengarry generally, for the honour conferred upon me by having elected me as their member in the last Parliament and thereby, enabling me to continue to their close, my duties as Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and its Prime Minister over many years and thereby giving to my name through the years to come, an enviable association with this historic constituency.

It is something of which I am proud, indeed. It is something for which I thank you all with all my heart.

The other reason is to urge as strongly as I possibly can, that the people of the constituency support the present administration and that, as a means to that end, all present and others throughout the constituency unite as solidly as possible behind whoever may be the choice as Liberal Candidate in today's convention. It is not surprising that many names should be placed in nomination. It is natural that different parts of the constituency and those of different callings should have special interest in one or other of those whose names

may be placed in nomination. Once, however, a candidate is chosen, I would urge upon all that all personal interest - that all special interest of race or class or creed should be second to the all important objective of making certain the return of the Liberal Candidate for Glengarry in the next Parliament of Canada. It is in that way and in that way only, that you can be certain of returning the present administration into power and that is the all important consideration.
Let me as a last word, give my reasons for saying this. The world is in a period of transition. Look abroad where you will, in Europe or in Asia, menacing clouds are everywhere upon the horizon. We are living in confused, yes dangerous times. In world affairs, Canada is today making an exceptional fine contribution. The Prime Minister and the members of his administration are held in high respect by the leaders of other nations everywhere. You know who it is, to whom you are entrusting the affairs of Government: your affairs. Each particular period has its special needs for special men. You know the qualities for Government possessed by those who are members of the present administration.

Before you change, ask yourselves and demand from those who are seeking your support in the formation of new administrations: who are the men by whom they propose to surround themselves in the administration of Canada's affairs over the next 5 years; what their experience in Government has been,

D 53027

and wherein they are likely to surpass those who today have in their hands the administration of public affairs. In other words, where you have in the Government today men whose industry, intelligence and integrity are known and tried. Think twice before you lessen or destroy their power and give their trust and place into other and unknown hands.

The Montreal Star, May 28, 1949.

'49 Elections

D 53028

King Gives Last Speech To Electors

Ex-Premier Talks In Old Riding; Backs St. Laurent

By James A. Oastler
Star Staff Correspondent

ALEXANDRIA, Ont., May 28 — Making what was in all probability the last political speech in a career of public service extending over nearly half a century, Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, former Prime Minister of Canada, turned back yesterday to the electors of the riding of Glengarry the trust he had accepted as a member of Parliament four years ago.

To the gathering, meeting in Alexandria Hall just one month before the general election, he had a parting word of advice, "return the present Liberal Government to power."

Felt Sadness

As the man who had been Prime Minister of this country for close on half a century looked into the weatherbeaten faces of the electors seated jampacked in the little hal, he seemed to feel a certain sadness about it all. He was saying farewell from the public platform in an election for the last time. He was closing another chapter in a full life.

Mr. King, the man who had always recognized that politics was the 'art of the possible' and had constantly sought to increase the area of the possible, spoke to the Liberals of Glengarry as an elderly neighbor, a man concerned about their welfare.

Mr. King told the meeting, which picked W. J. Major, a North Lancaster farmer as Liberal candidate to contest the Federal seat, that there were two occasions of special significance in the life of one who sought to serve in parliament. Those were the first nomination and the refusal of the last nomination.

The former Prime Minister was speaking to the proposal that he again be a candidate in the forthcoming election. Much as he would like to and nothing would give him greater pleasure than to campaign for the government led by Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, he was unable to take part. It was with mixed feelings that he attended the meeting to say au revoir if not goodbye.

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1 of/de

The Montreal Star, May 28, 1949.

'49 Evening

D 53028

King Gives Last Speech To Electors

Ex-Premier Talks In Old Riding; Backs St. Laurent

By James A. Oastler
Star Staff Correspondent

ALEXANDRIA, Ont., May 28 — Making what was in all probability the last political speech in a career of public service extending over nearly half a century, Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, former Prime Minister of Canada, turned back yesterday to the electors of the riding of Glengarry the trust he had accepted as a member of Parliament four years ago.

To the gathering, meeting in Alexandria Hall just one month before the general election, he had a parting word of advice, "return the present Liberal Government to power."

Felt Sadness

As the man who had been Prime Minister of this country for close on half a century looked into the weatherbeaten faces of the electors seated jampacked in the little hal, he seemed to feel a certain sadness about it all. He was saying farewell from the public platform in an election for the last time. He was closing another chapter in a full life.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

1 of/de

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There was no doubt where he stood on the matter of a general election. However there had been reports that he was not taking part in the campaign because of a difference of opinion with the present government.

"I am solidly behind the leader Prime Minister St. Laurent and the policies of the present Liberal administration," Mr. King told the cheering crowd.

Continuing he said of his stewardship "I can look back on 30 or 40 years in public life and I have held the trust in reverence and carried it out. I have no regrets for those things left undone for one reason or another."

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The Montreal Star, May 28, 1949.

'49 Election

D 53029

FAREWELL TO GLENGARRY

WHEN Mr. Mackenzie King said in 1945 that he would not fight another election there was the usual murmur of disbelief from his political opponents. Last week Mr. King motored to his riding of Glengarry and made his word formally good. In a moving and eloquent speech he thanked his constituents for their favors, and withdrew his name from nomination. He had meant what he said in 1945 and the incredulity of the opposition parties at the time was merely a reflection of their own repeated failures to measure adequately the man who led the nation for so long.

His speech at Glengarry deserves to be read. There is a maturity and a mellowness about it that no man in Canada can rival. He is a man who deliberately dedicated himself to public life very many years ago, and the capacity for reflection which he possesses makes it possible for him to express in general terms the detailed knowledge that has come to him through the years.

We are glad he has read himself out of public life; glad for his own sake that the gruelling ordeals of politics should not be imposed upon a man of his years and strength; but still more glad because it is another step toward a long period of tranquil activity among his papers and books. Mr. King still has much to offer to the people he has served so long. He can put down in written form the ripe judgments of his mature years. He can pass judgment, as few men can, upon the events through which he has passed. He can offer us invaluable signposts for the future. All this he can do only with leisure and with material help. The latter has been provided through the far-sighted generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. The former he is now clearing room for. The next phase of Mr. King's life may be one of the most interesting of all.

Editorial from Star.

D 53030

Daily Star, May 30/49

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA JOURNAL

Date MAY 28, 1949

Subject "END OF A LONG TRAIL"

D 53031



END OF A LONG TRAIL—Former Prime Minister Mackenzie King waves to a section of the last political audience he will address. He is leaving the Alexandria hall where he made a speech he said marked his departure from the political stage where he has been in the limelight since he first was nominated as a candidate in 1908. First at his right is W. J. Major, nominated to contest the Glengarry constituency for the Liberals in the present general election.

Quietly Great Career Comes to an End

No Drama, No Fanfare When 'Mr. Canada' Leaves Political Field

By JAMES McCOOK,
of The Journal Staff.

William Lyon Mackenzie King, laden with years and honor, ended his political career yesterday.

In the little red hall at Alexandria the close of a historical episode in Canadian history was without drama.

Mr. King had driven 80 miles from Ottawa to bid farewell to the people of Glengarry constituency who in a 1945 byelection gave him a seat in the Commons afer he had been defeated in Prince Albert.

Heeds Doctor's Advice.

He now heeds his doctor's advice to take life more easily at 74. He drove to Alexandria with his secretary, Ed Handy, and rested at an hotel before being summoned to the hall by a delegation of prominent Liberals sent from the meeting.

He came in wearing his light overcoat, carrying his hat and his cane, making his polite half-bow to those on either side of the passageway who stood and cheered.

By the time he reached the platform he had shed coat, hat and stick and his eyeglasses on a black cord twisted on the front of his plain blue suit.

He had been nominated to run again as candidate for Glengarry, but everyone knew he would not accept. Six others also were nominees and he shook hands with them. He listened with his usual rapt attention to the introductory address by E. A. McGillivray, and then he had the floor for the last time.

A month ago he said goodbye to Parliament, sitting in the Commons he dominated so long to hear his successor as prime minister announce the general election date. Like Winston Churchill he had been a child of the House of Commons, his fame spread by what he achieved in the halls of Parliament.

Served Them Well.

But Mackenzie King at Alexandria was remembering he was also the child of the rural constituencies, the protege of rural Canada of varied races and tongues who thought he served them well.

Concluded on Page 2, Col. 1.

PLEASE SEE
CONTINUATION
OF ARTICLE
BENEATH
STUB

They came forward diffidently and extended shy hands to be shaken. They walked a little way with him down the hall and then they returned to admire the colored balloons hanging from the ceiling.

A little crowd gathered about the door of the hall as he came out, some of them passers-by from the street.

He shook hands with Mr. Major again. At the foot of the steps he took off his hat, turned about and waved at those who had come to say goodbye. He gave the impression of casual leisure, with time to listen to all those who wished a word with him.

There were a few final handshakes at the sidewalk and someone commented Mr. King should get out to Kingsmere and enjoy the sunshine.

Mr. King turned off up the street towards his hotel, walking with his precise pace, the pace known to Ottawa, Washington, London, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, the pace of a statesman the world of his time has known and respected.

There, on that peaceful avenue in the town of a constituency where Highland Scots have lived in harmony with their French-speaking neighbors for generations, William Lyon Mackenzie King walked away from politics.

What Am I Saying!

By FRANK MORGAN.

CIRCUS — After taking my little nephew to the circus this season I'm convinced that a kid is nothing but a tummy entirely surrounded by curiosity. Not that I blame him. The elephants, the cotton candy, the clowns pack the same old thrill. Even the world's heavyweight champion was there—the fat lady, that is—not to mention the giant and the India rubber man. The rubber man is the only freak I know who reminds me of a football player. He, too, can go around his own end.

Minneapolis and St. Paul of the United States Hockey League re-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 53032

Name of Publication OTTAWA CITIZEN

Date MAY 28, 1949.

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Mr. King Announces Retirement

W. J. Major New Liberal Glengarry Candidate

By J. A. Hume
Citizen Parliamentary Writer

ALEXANDRIA — "I am sure that the verdict which will be given one month from today will be that the nation has great confidence in Mr. St. Laurent, as a parliamentary leader, as Liberal leader, and as the leader of the people of our country at this time," emphatically declared Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, OM, former prime minister, making his farewell political speech to the Glengarry Liberal convention here Friday afternoon. About 400 attended the convention.

"I do not believe that, in the whole of Canada, another gentleman could be found so well qualified in every way politically as Mr. St. Laurent, particularly under existing world conditions," Mr. King added. In a voice that often trembled with emotion he thanked the Glengarry Liberals for putting his name in nomination but declined.

Proclaiming that he is solidly behind Prime Minister St. Laurent and his able cabinet, which he said is carrying out Liberal principles so splendidly, Mr. King appealed to Glengarry voters at large, to give the St. Laurent Liberal government a strong vote of confidence on June 27 which will show to the world that Canada stands as a strong, united nation.

"Who will take Mr. St. Laurent's place and that of his industrious, intelligent, honest ministers if the government is not returned?" Mr. King asked his audience. "You have a right to ask other political leaders who their colleagues will be and then, I am sure, you will see the wisdom of not making any change in the government at the present time."

W. Major Candidate

William J. Major, North Lancaster poultry farmer, Glengarry Liberal Association president for many years past, was chosen as the party standard bearer in the June 27 election. Mr. Major won the honor over six other strong nominees with victory going to him on the fourth ballot.

Transport Minister Lionel Chevrier, representative of nearby Stormont riding, contrasted the outstanding capacity and qualifications of Prime Minister St. Laurent with those of Opposition Leader Drew and voiced confidence that the Canadian people will give the Liberal leader the victory. Mr. Chevrier sharply criticized Mr. Drew for his frequent violent personal attack on public men opposing him. He claimed also that Mr. Drew had frequently changed his opinions on many important political questions.

"The Liberal party is the instrument of the Canadian people as a whole," Mr. Chevrier asserted, "because it does not stand for the protection of the privileges of the few or the prejudices of the many."

Mr. King spoke in reminiscent vein about his long public career, extending back to his first election to Parliament in 1908, his thirty years as Liberal leader, and about 22 years as prime minister.

"On leaving forever the political stage, I say to you that the public trust which has been placed in me over my long career I have held in reverence and have carried out to the best of my ability," Mr. King said. "I have no regrets," he added.

No Regrets

Of Prime Minister St. Laurent's cabinet, Mr. King said: "I venture to say you could search the whole world over and in no country would you find a larger number of ministers of greater experience, integrity or ability than in the present government."

Mr. King paid tribute to the memory of the late Dr. W. B. MacDiarmid for having resigned in his favor after the 1945 election to enable him to have a seat in Parliament. He expressed his great thanks for the kindness of Glengarry electors in having made him their member in the subsequent byelection.

While he took no personal credit for it, Mr. King said he was pleased that Glengarry had been left as a separate constituency following the last redistribution in Parliament.

George T. Fulford, Liberal candidate in nearby Leeds riding, paid his compliments to Opposition Leader Drew in saying, "The Conservatives thought in selecting Mr. Drew as leader they had picked a Moses to lead them out of the political wilderness; he has led them to the Red Sea, but the waves have not parted. Conservatives, I believe, have never been more dissillusioned over any past leader than they are over Mr. Drew today because of his great lack of constructive policies on behalf of his own party."

E. A. MacGillivray, ex-MLA for Glengarry, convention chairman, announced that Prime Minister St. Laurent will address a meeting in Alexandria Armories next Tuesday afternoon.

On The Platform

Others on the platform included John D. MacRae, ex-MP for Glengarry; Dr. H. L. Cheney, Ottawa, former Glengarry Liberal Association secretary and Mayor Romeo Rouleau of Alexandria.

John D. MacLeod, Dunvegan farmer, has been named as Progressive Conservative candidate for Glengarry. Roland Cholette, Alexandria, has been invited to be the candidate for the Social Credit but he has not yet given his answer.

Mr. King was given a courtesy re-nomination, but, of course, he declined, though, "from his heart of hearts", expressed his thanks. Six candidates went to the ballot. They were Wm. J. Major, poultry farmer, North Lancaster, association president for many year past; Campbell Fraser, Alexandria High School teacher; Dr. D. D. McIntosh, Alexandria dentist; Dr. Dominic Dolan, Alexandria; Donald Alexander Macdonald, KC, Alexandria; Horace Marjerison, Apple Hill, dairy farmer.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA CITIZEN D 53033

Date May 28, 1949.

Subject "MR. KING ANNOUNCES RETIREMENT"

A total of 131 accredited delegates voted in the balloting, embracing 100 percent representation for the riding.

The first ballot resulted as follows:- Major, 42; Fraser, 35; McIntosh, 26; Dolan, 10; Macdonald, 10; Marjerson, seven.

The second ballot resulted:- Major, 58; Fraser, 40; McIntosh, 21; Dolan, seven; Macdonald, four.

Dr. Dolan, well as Mr. Macdonald dropped out and the third ballot resulted:- Major, 61; Fraser, 48; McIntosh, 20.

Mr. Major won on the fourth ballot with 71 votes to 60 for Mr. Fraser, who promptly congratulated Mr. Major and promised him his full support in the coming campaign.

The candidate asked for the assistance of all in making June 27 a day of victory for the Liberals in Glengarry.

The convention began at 2.02 p.m. and did not conclude until about 6.25 o'clock.

And so, Mr. Mackenzie King, known at home and abroad, as "Mr. Canada", voluntarily wrote finis to a long and distinguished public career. Mr. King now retires to become Canada's most renowned elder statesman, with Laurier House, Ottawa, as his address and Kingsmere as his country home.

D 53034

171ST YEAR Montreal Gazette May 28/49

King Says Farewell To Politics Forever

Former Prime Minister's Voice Trembles with Emotion as He Bids Goodbye to Glengarry

Alexandria, Ont., May 27.—(CP)—Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former Prime Minister, today attended what he said would be his last political nominating convention and said farewell to Glengarry Liberals who elected him to Parliament in 1945.

The 74-year-old veteran of nearly half a century in Canada's political arena told a crowded and cheering convention that only years and ill-health were keeping him out of the current political campaign.

In a voice that often trembled with emotion he thanked Glengarry Liberals for againt putting his name in nomination for the June 27 general election.

But he said he knew it was only a compliment. His Glengarry friends knew he was out of politics forever.

This constituency elected Mr. King when he was defeated in Prince Albert in the 1945 general election.

He drove down the 80 miles from Ottawa to be a guest speaker and to tell his former supporters they should work hard to keep the Liberal Party in office.

W. J. Major Nominated

On the fourth ballot, the convention picked W. J. Major, a North Lancaster, Ont., farmer over six other candidates to contest the seat for the Liberals.

Mr. King recalled that 100 years ago, when his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, who led the rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada, returned from exile in the United States, he spent his first night in Canada in Glengarry County.

It was fitting, he said, that William Lyon Mackenzie's grandson should make his last political appearance in Glengarry after more than 40 years in the midst of every campaign during that period.

He assured his listeners that there were no differences between him and the present administration or any member of it.

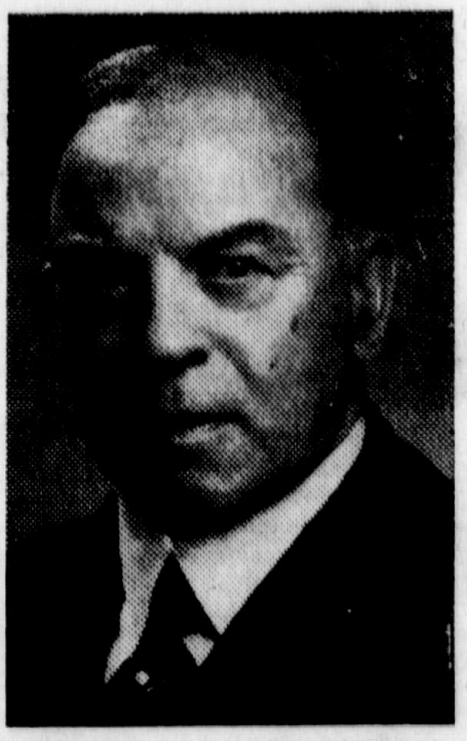
Prime Minister St. Laurent, he said, was a happy choice as Liberal Leader and Prime Minister.

"I don't think a better man could have been found in all of Canada to lead the Liberal Party and this country in this critical period."

But for his age and the advice of physicians that he must avoid "contention and excitement" he would be on the hustings at Mr. St. Laurent's side, Mr. King said.

Now, "on leaving public life for all time," he felt satisfied that he had been true to the trust the people had placed in him. He had no regrets and no recriminations.

He spoke of his defeat in Prince Albert in 1945 and said it was not the people of that constituency who defeated him but the votes of soldiers who were located there at the time of the election.



RT. HON. W. L. M. KING

But it was no disgrace for a party leader to be defeated. He had to worry about every constituency as well as his own. It had been impossible for him to spend any time in Prince Albert and the same was true of the nearly four years in which he represented Glengarry.

He suggested that his election by Glengarry had had one good effect — it had saved the old riding from disappearing in the 1947 redistribution.

The parliamentary committee on redistribution had been told that it would not be fitting to alter the boundaries of a riding represented by the Prime Minister and the committee had agreed.

Mr. King said the world was full of unrest with "menacing clouds on every horizon."

It was a time to keep a strong and experienced Government in power. He urged that Canadians should not vote for a change of Government "merely for the sake of a change."

D 53035

King Gives Last Speech To Electors

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Ex-Premier Talks In Old Riding; Backs St. Laurent

By James A. Oastler
Star Staff Correspondent

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How he wished it were possible to campaign Mr. King said and so accept the nomination. Certainly if strength permitted he would have. There had been the impairment of health in London in October of 1948 and his medical advisors both in Canada and in Britain had advised him to limit his activities as far as contention and excitement were concerned. The audience laughed when Mr. King suggested that it was pretty difficult not to get into controversy or excitement in a political campaign or in Parliament.

There was no doubt where he stood on the matter of a general election. However there had been reports that he was not taking part in the campaign because of a difference of opinion with the present government.

"I am solidly behind the leader Prime Minister St. Laurent and the policies of the present Liberal administration," Mr. King told the cheering crowd.

Continuing he said of his stewardship "I can look back on 30 or 40 years in public life and I have held the trust in reverence and carried it out. I have no regrets for those things left undone for one reason or another."

To the people of the riding of Glengarry he was deeply grateful for the honor bestowed on him by them.

As he rounded out his years of activity in political life, Mr. King urged the Liberals of the riding to unite solidly behind whichever candidate was chosen.

Canada Unequalled

Canada was unequalled in her constructive contribution in world affairs. No government in the world had a better body of men in it than did Canada.

"Think twice before you make a change just for the sake of a change," Mr. King said. He was quite sure in his mind however that a month from now the people would show their confidence in the present government and in the leadership of Mr. St. Laurent.

Although he was not going to make any other speeches in the campaign nevertheless he was behind Mr. St. Laurent and the Government all the way.

Then came his last words and as he turned to take his seat, cheers ringing in his ears, he took out a white pocket handkerchief and blew his nose vigorously. As one of the audience said "why its the ending of an era."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA JOURNAL

Date May 27, 1949

Subject

D 53036

Mr. King Making Farewell Appearance Today in Glengarry

5 O'Clock Edition Service.

ALEXANDRIA, Ont., May 27. — (Special) — Glengarry constituency Liberals this afternoon expected to hear the last election platform speech by former Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

He was to speak at a nominating convention for the constituency in which he was elected at a byelection in 1945.

In constrast to his own 1945 nomination meeting, when he was welcomed with a pipe band and parade, the former Prime Minister drove quietly to the meeting hall this afternoon.

Keen competition for the Liberal nomination was expected, with as many as seven nominees possible.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA CITIZEN

Date May 19, 1949

D 53037

Subject

Glengarry Liberal Convention May 27

The Glengarry County Liberal Association has decided to hold a nomination convention on Friday, May 27 at 2 p.m. in the Alexander Hall at Alexandria. Former Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King is expected to attend the meeting.

Names mentioned as prospective candidates for the nomination are A. E. MacGillivray, ex-MLA for Glengarry; B. A. Macdonald, KC, president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association; W. J. Major, president of the Glengarry Liberal Association; Mayor Romeo Rouleau of Alexandria, Dr. D. D. McIntosh, dentist of Alexandria, and Campbell Fraser, high school teacher at Alexandria.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication GLENGARRY NEWS

Date May 6, 1949

D 53038

Subject

Liberal Committee Will Set Convention Date For June 27 Election

Both Major Parties In Glengarry Readying For Vote Following Saturday's Dissolution Of Parliament

With dissolution of Parliament at noon Saturday, and confirmation of Monday, June 27th, as date of the federal election, both major parties in Glengarry are readying their organizations for the vote.

Members of the executive of the Glengarry Liberal Association and ward chairmen met here, Tuesday night, to discuss organization for the election. A committee consisting of President W. J. Major, Secretary-Treasurer Eugene Macdonald and Associate Secretary Albert Dancause is to select a suitable date for holding of the nominating convention Feeling of those present was that it should be held the latter part of May.

It is expected the officers of the Progressive Conservative party will meet in the next few days to plan their preparations.

At Tuesday's meeting a resolution of condolence was moved in the tragic death of the late John Baptiste Roy of Glen Roy, a director of the Association and poll chairman at Glen Roy. Temporary appointment of Phillip Legroulx, as chairman, and Robert McDonell, as vice chairman, in the Glen Roy ward, was made pending the next annual meeting.

Leopold Lalonde of Alexandria, an aspirant for the Liberal candidature announced his retirement for reasons of health.

Proclamations announcing the election were issued early this week by Returning Officer J. J. Morris of Alexandria. Enumeration will get underway at once and the official Nomination Day is set for June 13th.

Many Mentioned As Possible Candidates

Not in many years has pre-election talk brought out the names of so many potential candidates in both major parties in Glengarry and interest seems correspondingly high in the coming contest. Nine Liberals are mentioned and no less than 14 Prog. Cons

Heard in street talk as possible contenders for the Liberal standard are the names of the following: Donald A. Macdonald, K C , E. A. MacGillivray, ex-M.P.P., Dr. D. D McIntosh Mayor Romeo Rouleau, Dr D. J. Dolan all of Alexandria; Horace Marjerison, Apple Hill; Arch. S. Macdonald, North Lancaster; Campbell Fraser of Alexandria and Glen Sandfield Former Prime Minister Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King may also be included in view of the lack of official word of his retirement.

Rumoured as seeking the Prog. Con. candidatcy are: Osie Villeneuve, M. P.P., and W. A. MacEwen of Maxville; L C Kennedy, Williamstown; Jos. Vaillancourt and Jos. Filion, Green Valley; John D MacLeod, D. D. MacKinnon, Dunvegan; J. W. MacLeod, Dalkeith; A. A. Fraser, Apple Hill; Stewart MacGillis, Lanraster; Myles Campbell, Arnold Weir, Reeve A A McDonald and S. A. Kennedy, Alexandria

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 83, pages D 53039 - D 53520

D 53039

Press Gallery Dinner

April 22, 1939.

53039

13.

REPEAT
REPETITION

22.4.39

D 53040

PRESS GALLERY DINNER

Visit of King and Queen -

kind offer of Press Gallery

to assist in looking after

visiting pressmen.

Appreciate it if Gallery would assist

in acting as hosts.

Make use of Room 16.

Regret unable to accommodate all

on Royal train or en route.

Walter Thompson done best.

D 53041

Annual Dinner of Press Gallery
April 22, 1939.

Glad to have this opportunity - an occasion now enhanced by passing of years -

to express appreciation of general moderation and good sense of lack of sensationalism; of desire to present news fairly and promptly which has characterized the press of Canada.

This is one occasion when official responsibilities can be laid aside for an evening

Glad to see so many old faces - "old" used advisedly, as with some Press Gallery Veterans time has dealt but lightly.

And so many valued friends:

Governor-General(returned from trip across Canada: recent felicitous references to right use of English language; he himself a master craftsman in weaving spells with sheer words);

Colleague C. A. Dunning: will be much in thoughts of press and financial editors next week (budget)

Dr. Manion: for tonight the genial doctor - not even "Fighting Bob" (a Press Gallery label).

The Speaker: no occasion tonight to call for order or invoke rules of House.

R. S. White, M.P. - all remember gracious reply on occasion of his 83rd birthday; everyone delighted to see this evening the oldest member of House (in actual age) - former member of Press Gallery).

Sometimes supposed that Governments and their leaders do not welcome criticism;

this has never been true in Canada;

in this respect members of Press Gallery in special position of advantage;

not only to observe day to day happenings in House

but to weigh into their despatches

the essence of opinion
reflected by members and
by constituents behind
those members.

In a country as far flung as Canada,
where sectional preferences,
almost inevitably are bound to
spring up from time to time,
the press of Canada performs a
distinctive service
both in news-gathering
and in news-reporting

Congratulations to incoming officers
Appreciation to all members.

D 53045

Complimentary Banquet

Toronto - August 8th, 1939

Rt. Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King

1919 - 1939

53043

Complimentary Banquet

Toronto - August 8th, 1939

Rt. Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King

1919 - 1939

14

REPEAT
REPETITION

8.8.39 (14a)

Toronto Civic Luncheon

D 53046

Thanks for honour -

Public not on partisan grounds.

Accord with British tradition.

Previous occasions.

Mackenzie associations.

Bitterness lessened.

Portrait.

Municipal government.

Struggle for responsible government.

Memorial to responsible government and Commonwealth.

Record of Mackenzie's relation to city and struggle.

Eminent artist: Walter Allward.

Family associations.

House on Bond Street.

Father born,
married,
practised profession.

D 53047

University.

Osgoode Hall.

St. Andrew's Church.

St. Andrew's Institute.

Necropolis and Mount Pleasant.

Other associations: met Mulock

Journalistic associations:

1896 - brought me in touch with
Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Advantages of a great city.

Laboratory for social problems.

Spender: the old order and the new.

Evolution versus revolution.

Toynbee Hall.

Lord Milner.

Archbishop of Canterbury and Asquith.

United States - social problems.

Social settlements -
articles in "Mail and Empire".

D 53048

Defence forces.

Advice to younger men:

Associate with institutions.

Government and art - not a science or

business concerned with human relations;

means of so ordering human society that men and women may work together for the common good.

Glad Government has made contribution to city:

Agricultural fair,

Viaduct,

Air port,

Customs House,

Post Office,

City planning.

Thank Toronto for opportunities afforded and associations.

Thank citizens of Canada for good-will and co-operation.

8.8.39.

(148)

BANQUET ADDRESS

D 53049

Thanks

tribute to colleagues and party.

those before me
" past

- compliment after 20 years.

20 years long time.

How account for

Not a matter of chance.

Party true to itself and Leader.

Liberalism - what it is.

equals expression of a wider human freedom.

to defend and extend freedom.

general vs. special interests.

common vs. class.

personality vs. property.

A united Party - Country.
(to further freedom)

What is a Party?

3rd parties - history and effect of.

Dictatorship - dangers of.

D 53050

Leadership - my conception of

Primus intra pares.

Canada-difficult country to govern.

race, class, creed, section.

Period since Confederation.

Time and space,

dual leadership

Lapointe
other colleagues

Dominion-Provincial relations.

development vs. human problems.

Tried to maintain Constitution.

True of Responsible Government

Government) many minds
) by Cabinet.

Reform industrial and social conditions.
(to further freedom)

Preserve peace and understanding.

domestic - foreign relations

in industry - Department of Labour,
Industrial Disputes Act.

In international affairs.

(In international affairs) D 53051

Opposed to economic nationalism.

Trade with U.S. and other countries.

To further development of Canada as a nation

equal status

Treaties,
Legations,
King,

national Capital.

Canada - a power for good among nations - (to preserve freedom)

re plain speaking,

unwilling make commitments in advance,

avoid extremes,

keep even keel.

Times in which we live - full of danger

need to defend and extend freedom.

Liberalism for freedom.

Pasteur and British officer.

Resistance and conciliation.

Over all nations is humanity.

Co-operation - Canada
Empire
world

Maintain freedom for mankind.

November 21, 1939

D 53052

Strange aspects of British Empire

sometimes = Commonwealth of Nations

one - many

Physical aspect

Part - Island
" - Continent

Island continents.

Different parts of world -
Atlantic - Pacific - Indian Ocean
North Pole - South Pole - Equator
some winter - others summer
some spring - others fall season.
" rainy seasons - others dry /

Constitutional aspect

Like British Constitution.
Partly within - partly without.
Traditions - customs.
Charters - petitions.
Statutes - Acts of Parliament.
Elasticity - any kind of situation.

Partly - self governing
" - colonial
" - Crown colony
" - depending.

McIntosh - Eng. Country House
- difft. additions & changes
suit convenience of age.

not mechanical but a growth.

War aspect

Some declare war by Government
" " " by Parliament
" don't declare war at all
(neutral)

Others change Government
but not Parliament in time of war

Part of one country for - against.

Story: "Ain't no such animal"

Secret -

Freedom - little Isles
carried to other parts of
Empire.

acorns and oaks
(King's Coronation -
Royal Record)

Unity in diversity - not uniformity.
Recognize centre:
Crown - embodiment of ideals.

Speak common political language

Unspoken as well as spoken word.
Breath of the spirit

Pym: "That form of Government best".

21.11.39

D 53054

Notes for Prime Minister

Variety in the British Commonwealth:

Stress of war conditions and the response to war effort have focussed attention anew on variety to be found among the Dominions:

geographically far-flung;

culturally - springing from a common British stock,

enriched by special influences:

French in Canada;

Dutch in South Africa;

Maori in New Zealand, &c;

constitutionally - springing again from a common British model, but modified by local circumstances -

the federal system in action;

care for protection of civil and religious rights, also of language;

Perhaps a happy counterpart of this variety that there has grown up, within the Commonwealth, a marked ability to meet changing conditions and necessities;

for example: the way in which war was declared by the several Dominions:

by action of Parliament;

" " " Cabinet;

in others, no formal declaration at all;

To explain this variety and this ability to meet conditions,

Some special quality must hold us together:

is it not the quality of FREEDOM based upon and combined with UNDERSTANDING -

D 53056

an understanding of each other which resides not less in unspoken ideals than in spoken professions of a common faith.

D 53057

"And the chief captain answered,
With a great sum obtained I
this freedom. And Paul said,
But I was free born."

- The Acts, XXII, 28.

D 53058

Brooke-Popham,

Air Chief Marshall Sir Robert,

G.C.V.O., K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.,

A.F.C.

born September 18, 1878;

educated Haileybury, Sandhurst,

Staff College;

entered Army 1898;

" Royal Flying Corps 1912;

served in European War, rising to rank of Colonel with various decorations;

continued in Royal Air Force;

Commandant of Royal Air Force Staff College 1921-26;

Air Officer Commanding Fighting Area Air Defences of Great Britain 1926-28;

D 53059

Air Officer Commanding IRAQ command,
1928-30;

Commandant, Imperial Defence College,
1931-33;

Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief,
Air Defence of Great Britain,
1933-35;

Principal Air A.D.C. to the King,
1933-37;

Inspector-General of Royal Air Force,
1935-36;

Governor and Commander-in-Chief
of KENYA, 1937-39.

D 53060

Brooke-Popham, Sir Robert

Air Chief Marshal

Born September, 1878.
(Assumed additional surname of Popham by Royal Licence, 1904)

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Kenya (pronounced ~~Keenya~~) 1937

Entered army 1898, Oxford Light Infantry.

Royal Flying Corps, 1912.

Served European War 1914-18.

Air Officer Commanding Fighting Area Air Defences of Great Britain, 1926-28

Inspector General of Royal Air Force, 1935-36

Air Training Missions

Government Dinner

November 9th, 1939

D 53062

Lord Riverdale,
Chairman,
U.K. Air Training Mission.

Hon. Mr. J. V. Fairbairn,
Minister for Civil Aviation,
Australian Air Training Mission.

Group Captain H.W.I. Saunders
Chief of the Air Staff,
N.Z. Air Training Mission.

Captain Harold H. Balfour, M.C., M.P.
Under-Secretary for Air,
(U.K. Air Training Mission)

-- friends Cabinet.

Mr. Victor Podoski
Consul General for Poland.

The Immensities

Space

Time

2

D 53063

November 9, 1939

Dinner for Air Training Missions

Lord Riverdale,
Captain Balfour,
Honourable Mr. Fairbairn,
Group Captain Saunders.

Meeting in Canada of representatives of nations of British Commonwealth.

Of inter-imperial gatherings and conferences, none has attracted same world interest.

Honour and pleasure of colleagues and myself at meeting those who join in co-operative effort on Canadian soil, which will have far-reaching, if not decisive influence in winning war.

No desire to speak of war.
Hope to relieve minds of strain and think of opportunities to renew old friendships and form new acquaintances.

Warm welcome to U.K. Air Train. Mission Head - prominent in business, long experience in international negotiations;

adviser of Governments, as well as great industrial interests.

Honourary freedom of city of Sheffield

3

D 53064

Lord Riverdale (continued)

Head of family.

Characteristic - large heart,
wide circle of own family and
friends to whose interest
giving special care at
this time.

Beautiful country home
filled with little children,
provided with food,
clothing,
shelter,
tender care by family.

Truest picture why
devoting time, thought, energy
in great mission.

D 53065

THE AUSTRALIAN AIR TRAINING MISSION

Honourable J. V. Fairbairn

Vice President of the Executive Council;

Minister for Civil Aviation;

Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence of Australia.

Distinguished Aviator, served in Royal Flying Corps in late war.

Sheep breeding;

Active interest in flying;

Flew his own plane from England to Australia.

Importance attached to joint air training scheme.

D 53066

THE NEW ZEALAND AIR TRAINING MISSION

Group Captain H.W.I.Saunders

Epitomizes co-operative nature of Commonwealth.

By birth, a South African.

Distinguished service in Irak.

Associated with development of Military Aviation.

Now Chief of the Air Staff in New Zealand.

I understand, attached to the service of the New Zealand Government from the Royal Air Force.

First visit to Canada.

Experience here will qualify him as complete citizen of the Commonwealth.

D53067

Captain Harold H. Balfour, M.C., M.P.

M.P. for Isle of Thanet, since 1929.

Served in Royal Air Force during Great War.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air, 1938.

Journalism and business (since 1923).

D 53068

Mr. VICTOR PODOSKI

When appointed Consul General for Poland was Councillor at Foreign Office, Warsaw.

Born in 1895 in the Ukraine.

Studied engineering in Scotland.

During Great War, fought with Polish forces

Appointed assistant military attaché at Polish Legation in London, 1921,

1925, transferred to Foreign Office, Warsaw.

Has seen diplomatic service in most of countries of Europe, including Russia.

Spent 3 months in Canada, 18 years ago.

In Warsaw, when war broke out.

D 53069

Navigation of the air

The Immensities - fire imagination
join together as one
of Space
of Time

Space - Br. Commonwealth of Nations
opposite ends of Earth
Southern Cross, Northern Star.

Time

Past - in relation to commerce & war
land - water - air.

Present - decisive part in war.

Future - Human progress
Body - Mind - Spirit
The ether - the Ultimate
Prophecy - Tennyson

"common sense of most, hold a
fretful realm in awe"

a new era of security - good-will
heralds of a new dawn -
morning star.

Conquered Space -
help to conquer thought.

The Poetical Works of Tennyson - "Locksley Hall."

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

D 53070

D 53071

The Mountains

first the inspiration

North Star – Southern Cross

Dependers of faith – Heralds of the brighter dawn

Jungcoe – minimal Arrian – federation of worlds

highest form – prophecy

Land, water, air

Body, mind, spirit

The Ethic – the Ultimate

Last water –

conquered Space – next job conquer thought

arm plan for Unity

D 53072

Dinner given by

Honourable J. V. Fairbairn
and Captain H. H. Balfour.

November 16, 1939

D 53073

Notes for Dinner given by
Honourable J. V. Fairbairn and
Captain H. H. Balfour, -
November 16, 1939

The immediate circumstances which have brought together in Ottawa representatives of various Commonwealth governments have had one especially happy consequence in the friendships which have arisen out of our meetings here. They are friendships which, if I may say so, transcend the ordinary courtesies of business negotiations.

It is impossible to foresee how long the circumstances which have brought about these meetings will continue, but no one, I am sure, will deny the wish that the friendly relationships which have grown and flourished here

D 53074

may continue long after peace has been restored. I should like to thank my friends, Mr. Fairbairn and Captain Balfour, for their generous hospitality and for the personal good-will which their invitation signifies.

Significance of air training negotiations as a practical manifestation of equality of status among nations of the Commonwealth;

In the past, lines of communication largely between each of the Dominions and the United Kingdom. Direct connections of one Dominion with another slow in developing.

D53075

Recent appointment of Mr. C. J. Burchell, as Canadian High Commissioner to Australia a recognition of the growing importance of more intimate and constant relations between the Dominions.

A further link between Canada and Australia was forged when the Governor General of Canada acted on behalf of the Governor General of Australia in administering the oath of office to Mr. Fairbairn, so as to enable him to take up his new portfolio at once in the reorganized Government of Australia.

A new constitutional precedent set by this ceremony, illustrating flexibility and growth of the Commonwealth relationship.

D53076

Congratulate Mr. Fairbairn on new honour, also on honour to Canada, when it is realized that one of the most important Ministers has been entrusted with the present mission.

Council title 7

Freeworkship

Equality of Stations

Lord mean [illegible]
centralized
decentralized

[illegible] Government
[illegible]

[illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] - [illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] not
[illegible]
[illegible] not [illegible].

[illegible] to world.

D53077

Dinner by

The Rt. Hon. Lord Riverdale

November 21, 1939

D53078

Notes for reply to Toast to
Prime Minister's health.

Lord Riverdale's dinner - Nov. 21/39.

Thank Sir Robert Brooke-Popham for proposing toast, and all present for cordial way in which they have honoured it.

One Canadian newspaper, a few days ago, described Lord Riverdale as the most typical of John Bull seen in these parts, in some years.

Glad to know, and it will be a satisfaction widely shared, that the best attributes of the British character can find so sturdy a personification.

Genuine,
large hearted,
hospitable.

Gets way in end.

Santa Claus - gifts for all.

Sir Robert Brooke-Popham comes to Canada after a long and honourable record with the R.A.F., and more recently from the chief office of one of the most interesting parts of the overseas Empire, a post (Governor of Tanqyika) which he relinquished to resume active service.

D 53079

All may be assured that generous hospitality shown to myself and my colleagues by members of visiting Mission is warmly appreciated.

Should like to think of these friendly gatherings as welcome corollaries to detailed and complicated conferences now in progress in effecting fruitful outcome of negotiations.

(Wilfred Campbell)

The Avenging Angel

D 53080

(To Flight-Lieutenant Robinson and all the heroic aviators of the Royal Flying Corps.)

When the last faint red of the day is dead,
And the dim, far heaven is lit
With the silvern cars
Of the orient stars,
And the winged winds whimper and flit;

Then I rise through the dome of my aerodrome,
Like a giant eagle in flight;
And I take my place
In the vengeful race
With the sinister fleets of night.

As I rise and rise in the cloudy skies,
No sound in the silence is heard,
Save the lonesome whirr
Of my engine's purr,
Like the wings of a monster bird.

And naught is seen save the vault, serene,
Of the vasty realms of night,
That vanish, aloof,
To eternity's roof,
As I mount in my ominous flight.

And I float and pause in the fleecy gauze,
Like a bird in a nest of down;
While 'neath me in deeps
Of blackness, sleeps
The far, vast London town.

But I am not here, like a silvern sphere,
To glory the deeps of space,
But a sentinel, I,
In this tower of the sky,
Scanning the dim deep's face.

For, sudden, afar, like a luminous star,
Or a golden horn of the moon,
Or a yellow leaf
Of the forest's grief,
When the autumn winds are atune;

There is borne on my sight, down the spaces of night,
By the engines of evilment sped,
That wonderful, rare,
Vast ship of the air,
Beautiful, ominous, dread.

One instant she floats, most magic of boats,
Illusive, implacable, there;
Throned angel of ill,
On her crystal-built hill,
O'er a people's defenceless despair.

Then sudden, I rise, like a bolt through the skies,
To the very dim roofs of the world;
Till down in the grey,
I see my grim prey,
Like a pallid gold leaf, upcurled.

And I hover and swing, until swiftly I spring,
And drop like a falling star;
And again and again
My death-dealing rain,
Hurl to the deeps afar.

Then I hover and listen, til I see the far glisten
Of a flame-flash blanching the night;
And I know that my hate,
That has lain in wait,
Has won in the grim air-fight.

D 53082

Then I curve and slant, while my engines pant,
And the wings of my great bird tame;
While the sinister Hun,
In his ill, undone,
Goes out in a blinding flame.

Poetry
Prophecy.

D 53083

November 21, 1939

Sacrifice of personal interest -
men who have come great distance
to be present.

Strange aspects of British Empire
sometimes - Commonwealth of Nations
one - many

Physical aspect
Part - Island
" - Continent

Island continents.

Different parts of world -
Atlantic - Pacific - Indian Ocean
North Pole - South Pole - Equator
some winter - others summer
some spring - others fall
" rainy seasons -
others dry season.

Constitutional aspect
Like British Constitution.
Partly within - partly without.
Traditions - customs.
Charters - petitions.
Statutes - Acts of Parliament.
Elasticity - any kind of situation.

Partly - self governing
" - colonial.
" - Crown colony.
" - depending.

D 53084

McIntosh - Eng. Country House
- difft. additions & changes
suit convenience of age.

not mechanical but a growth.

War aspect

Some declare war by Government
" " " by Parliament
" don't declare war at all
(neutral).

Others change Government
but not Parliament in time of war

Part of one country for - against.

Story: "Ain't no such animal".

Secret -

Freedom - little Isles,
carried to other parts of
Empire.

Acorns and oaks -
(King's Coronation -
Royal Record).

Recognize that Commonwealth has
been founded on sacrifice and
struggle and liberties - a
priceless heritage.

Freedom of mind and action.

Speak common political language

Unspoken as well as spoken word.
Breath of the spirit.
Pym: "That form of Government best".

Re: Purpose

No sacrifice too great to insure
for ourselves and generations
to come, joy of life,
blessings of peace,
happiness of quiet homes,
and hearts that rest in
security.

All united in this purpose.
Much to discuss in ways and
methods.

Through the aeroplanes, to preserve
for ourselves and obtain for
others, conditions of life
which will make war an obsolete
method.

If unity can be found in an Empire,
so diverse as the British Empire,
world unity should be possible.

Recognize in Crown -
embodiment of ideals.

Objective is to live as our conscience
has bid us to live -

give same priceless possessions
to others.

In training and equipping youths, let
us have, in our hearts, motives
that may help them to soar.

D 53086

Opening of

New Post Office

November 28, 1939

Nov 28/1939

D 53087

I declare this new

Ottawa City Post Office Building

open to the public, for the

transaction of public business.

JAG/MP
20.11.39

Draft Remarks

for Prime Minister D 53088

(Opening of new Post Office Building,
Ottawa, November 1939.)

Significance of Occasion

Opening of Post Office an occasion for general gratification;

Old Post Office building, long a landmark, has given place to erection of the beautiful National War Memorial, formally unveiled, last May, by His Majesty the King.

New Post Office building a visible symbol of the important place filled by the postal service -

in life of capital city;

in life of Canada as a whole.

D 53089

Civic Importance of New Building

New Post Office building also an important addition to public buildings of City of Ottawa; a further step in the beautification of Ottawa, to which Government of Canada has been giving continued attention.

Educational Values of Public Buildings

In a country as vast as Canada, distances sometimes operate against public appreciation of architectural merit and against the cultural and educational value of attractive public buildings;

Welcome this latest addition to public buildings of Ottawa;

hope that it may inspire further interest in standards of good taste in architecture;

hope also it may be a visible reminder of the importance of the conduct of the public business of government;

no department of government has more direct contact with the people of Canada, and here in Ottawa most fitting that Post Office should have so attractive and imposing a building with such convenient arrangements.

Congratulations on completion of building

(1) to Postmaster General, for initiative and continued progress of his department;

(2) to Minister of Public Works and his officers for care given to construction of new building;

D 53091

(3) To architect on attractiveness of design;

(4) To contracting firm on workmanship.

D 53092 JAG/MP
24.11.39

Formal Opening of New Post Office Building

Elgin and Sparks Street, Ottawa,

Tuesday, November 28, 1939

2.30 p.m. Prime Minister arrives at main entrance (car stops on Elgin Street facing South.)

Prime Minister is greeted at steps by Minister of Public Works and Postmaster General.

Mr. Cardin hands gold key to Prime Minister, who unlocks door and formally declares the building open. Prime Minister then hands key to Mr. Power (signifying that the building is ready for use).

(Flag to be broken out from flagstaff after door is opened).

Mr. Power then invites Prime Minister to enter building. Prime Minister walks with Mr. Power and Mr. Cardin to reserved area, and waits while invited guests take up position.

Remarks by Mr. Power.

Remarks by Prime Minister (5 min.).

Remarks by Minister of Public Works.

D 53093

Presentations to Prime Minister
by Minister of Public Works:

(Deputy Minister of Public Works
(J. B. Hunter)
(Asst. Deputy Minister of Public Works
(N. Desjardins)
(Chief Architect of Public Works
(C. D. Sutherland)
(Architect of Building (W. E. Noffke)
(Representative of Contracting Firm,
(, A. Janin, Ltd.)
(Clerk of Works, ( )
(Representative of Workmen
(

Presentations to Prime Minister
by Postmaster General:

(Deputy Postmaster General
(J. A. Sullivan)
(Asst. Deputy Postmaster General and
General Superintendent of Postal
Service (P. T. Coolican)
(District Director of Postal Service
(C. C. McGrail)

Mr. Power then purchases first stamp at stamp wicket, and hands it to Prime Minister.

D 53094

Prime Minister affixes stamp to letter addressed to Right Honourable Sir William Mulock, (Senior Privy Councillor, - oldest surviving holder of office of Postmaster General),

and posts it in appropriate mailing slot.

Prime Minister then accompanies Mr. Power and Mr. Cardin on tour of inspection of building.

D 53095

Opening of new Post Office Building
Ottawa, November 28, 1939.

Significance of Occasion

civic importance
national importance

occasion for general gratification;

reference to old Post Office bldg;

new building visible symbol of
important place filled
by postal service -
in life of capital city;
in life of Canada as a whole

evidence of growth of business
of Post Office Department

Civic Importance of New Building

important addition to public
buildings of City of Ottawa;
further step in the beautifica-
tion of Ottawa;

D 53096

Educational Values of Public Buildings

welcome this latest addition to public buildings of Ottawa;

Congratulations on completion of building:

1. to Postmaster General, for initiative and continued progress of his department;
2. to Minister of Public Works and his officers for care given to construction of new building
3. to architect on attractiveness of design;
4. to contracting firm on workmanship.

D 53097

Significance of occasion;

Civic importance of new building;

Educational value of new building;

Congratulations on completion of
new building:

1. Postmaster General

2. Minister of Public Works

3. Architect

4. Contracting firms

(4) JAG/MP
20.11.39

Draft Remarks

for Prime Minister D 53098

(Opening of new Post Office Building,
Ottawa, November 29 1939.)

Significance of Occasion

Opening of Post Office an occasion for general gratification;

reference to Old Post Office building, long a landmark, has given place to erection of the beautiful National war Memorial, formally unveiled, last May, by His Majesty the King.

New Post Office building a visible symbol of the important place filled by the postal service -

in life of capital city;

in life of Canada as a whole.

D 53099

Civic Importance of New Building

New Post Office building also an important addition to public buildings of City of Ottawa; a further step in the beautification of Ottawa, to which Government of Canada has been giving continued attention.

Educational Values of Public Buildings

In a country as vast as Canada, distances sometimes operate against public appreciation of architectural merit and against the cultural and educational value of attractive public buildings;

Welcome this latest addition to public buildings of Ottawa;

hope that it may inspire further interest in standards of good taste in architecture;

D 53100

hope also it may be a visible reminder of the importance of the conduct of the public business of government;

no department of government has more direct contact with the people of Canada, and here in Ottawa most fitting that Post Office should have so attractive and imposing a building with such convenient arrangements.

Congratulations on completion of building

(1) to Postmaster General, for initiative and continued progress of his department;

(2) to Minister of Public Works and his officers for care given to construction of new building;

(3) To architect on attractiveness of design;

(4) To contracting firm on workmanship.

D 53102

Opening of

Uplands

Service Flying Training School

August 5th, 1940.

5-8-40

D 53103

Service Flying Training Schools

Thanks to Governor General.

Appropriateness of good offices.

Emphasizes co-operative nature of training plan.

Congratulations - Minister for Air, & also

" Air Vice-Marshal Breadner

Workmen and contractors -

part all playing.

Responsibility of an air force.

Air power the key to victory.

Each action important -

saving of life,

achieving of victory.

Fate of lives and nations.

Begin to visualise magnitude of plan.

History of - Poland, etc.

Significance of plan - (see exhibit).

Air training not whole picture of

Canada's air contribution.

Exhibit

D 53104

Before the Agreement was concluded United Kingdom government informed Canadian government of its opinion that "participation in the Air Training Scheme would provide for more effective assistance towards ultimate victory than any other form of military co-operation which Canada can give".

Air Training Plan is one great brotherhood of youth of the Empire, joined together to achieve any victory.

D 53105

Notes for Opening of No. 2
Service Flying Training School
at Uplands, August 5, 1940

Thanks to the Governor-General

Appropriate that the representative of His Majesty the King should officiate

Emphasizes the co-operative nature of British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Stages in British Commonwealth Plan

1. Polish campaign revealed decisive role of warfare in the air.
2. Proposal made by United Kingdom on September 26.
3. First public announcement October 10.

D 53106

4. British Mission arrived (October 15);
Australian Mission (Nov. 1);
New Zealand Mission (Nov. 3).

5. Details worked out in Ottawa in October and November by 4 governments.

6. Basis of agreement reached (November 27).

7. Agreement signed (Dec. 17).

8. Opening today of the first new Service Flying Training School marks beginning of the third stage in training of pilots.

9. Magnitude of enterprise easier to grasp when it is realized this School is only the second of 18 Service Flying Training Schools which will be in operation when the Plan is fully developed.

(Note: No. 1. Service Flying Training School at Camp Borden was already in existence before the outbreak of war).

Stages in Training of Pilots

First stage: initial training	4 weeks
2nd stage: elementary training	8 weeks
3rd stage: service flying	14 weeks
4th stage: bombing	2 weeks

Congratulations to Air Vice Marshal

Lloyd S. Breadner

Born Carleton Place (July 14,1894);

Lived in Ottawa since childhood;

Joined Royal Naval Air Service 1915

Served in France

Distinguished Service Cross, Apr.1917

Squadron Commander R.N.A.S.,Nov.1917

later in Royal Air Force until

March 1919;

Appointed to Canadian Air Board, Apr.1920

and to Royal Canadian Air Force

(August 1922);

Officer Commanding at Camp Borden

1924@1925;

R.A.F. Staff College 1926-27

National Defence H.Q.Staff 1928-32

Officer Commanding at Trenton 1932-35

Imperial Defence College 1936

D 53109

Staff Officer at Headquarters
since until appointment as
Chief of Staff, 1940
Recently promoted to rank of Air
Vice Marshal

Record an indication of qualifi-
cations for his tremendous
task.

Air Power the Key to Victory

Canadian training programme greatly enlarged on outbreak of war.

At request of British government Canadian training merged in Commonwealth Plan.

In September, United Kingdom government indicated proposed co-operative effort "may prove to be of the most essential and decisive character".

Before the Agreement was concluded United Kingdom government informed Canadian government of its opinion that

"participation in the Air Training Scheme would provide for more effective assistance towards ultimate victory than any other form of military co-operation which Canada can give.

Immense proportions of Plan difficult to grasp;
some impatience at length of time required to produce results;

When Blitzkrieg came, government criticized for sacrificing immediate assistance to long-range plans;

Demands made that the Air Training Plan be abandoned; government

and air force refused to
be stampeded;

Modifications made which speeded up
instead of slowing down
training programme while,
at same time, giving immediate
assistance to Britain;

Recent developments have vindicated
policy: tide of war can be
turned only by development
of air superiority.

Air Training not the whole picture of
Canada's air contribution

Home defence squadrons on coast
guard and convoy duty;

Canadian pilots and airmen have

distinguished themselves
in Royal Air Force;

A Canadian Squadron was formed in the R. A. F. which has seen much service and had many casualties and many decorations;

Royal Canadian Air Force represented now in the United Kingdom by two Army Co-operation Squadrons and one Fighter Squadron;

These are the fore-runners of the stream of pilots, observers and gunners who will be trained in the British Commonwealth Air Training Schools in ever-growing numbers.

D 53114

Marriage of

Miss Dorothy Crerar

to

Mr. Bernard Naylor.

September 24, 1940.

D 53115

United States Journalists

Dinner in Honor of

September 25, 1940

United States Journalists
Dinner in Honor of
25-9-40.

(21)

D53116

Refer to Mr. Davies, President
Canadian Press;

Mr. Victor Sifton,
Vice-President.

Pleasure of visit.

Thanks to journalists. (guests of the
Thanks to Canadian Press (country.

Those present at table
representative of British Empire,
of United States.

(Refer to new public spirit).

Purpose of visit -

see Canada - at war.

Privilege of visit.

Express appreciation of U.S. in war

1. co-operation
2. propaganda
3. our attitude towards U.S.opinion

Express appreciation of relations
with U. S.

D 53117

Express view on war chart -

Before the war(Class revolution
)
Beneath the war(" betrayal
)
Beyond the war(Democracy.
)

<u>Expansion of England</u> - Seeley

A national ideal

substitution of reason for force -

world freedom.

<u>Expansion of North American ideal</u> -

an international ideal.

Why Germany cannot win.

Test is endurance, based on <u>whether course of action is one that can be indefinitely maintained</u>.

The difference between right and wrong.

<u>Bohn</u> - a country at war
" peace -

plumb the depths of our lives
emotions
thoughts
words.

<u>Hilton</u> - deep answering unto deep.

Dinner in honour of United States Journalists
25-9-40.

Purpose of Dinner

Thanks
Welcome

D 53118

Government work re information

Canada at War

1/2 picture overseas
Strategy, etc.

3 lines of defence

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain
" " ourselves
" " United States
thanks for

At War with Hitler

3 loyalties
beneath all -- Christian civilizatio
darkness or light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy
different concepts of life

before,
beneath,
beyond.

Privilege, possessions, power vs.
liberty, equality, fraternity.

25/9/40

D 53119

Mr. Reid, Mr. Howell--
other members of press of U. S.,
other gentlemen present

Purpose of Tour --

observation of war effort
no speeches by politicians

Purpose of dinner

acknowledge National honour
thanks to Davies, Sifton
thanks to U. S. press
privilege to meet
bright page of country at time of war

welcome -- as neighbours, friends
and well-wishers -- allies
interest in cause
significance of conflict

many visits -- this most memorable
friend in need

Government's wish to gain information

attitude towards

Canada at War -- only half picture

basis of our strategy
3 lines of defence
war organization at home
what sent overseas

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain
" " ourselves
" " United States
how possible
each for ourselves
helping one another

thanks for U.S. assistance
come to see community of interests

Canada at War with Hitler

peace herself

3 loyalties) self
) ---Great Britain
) League of Nations

beneath all Christian civilization
a war between Darkness and Light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy for world

different concepts of life

before) Privilege, possessions, power
beneath) liberty, equality, fraternity
beyond)

D53121

25.ix.40

Dinner in honour of U.S. Journalists

Purpose of tour -
No speeches.

Names of journalists -
Compliment and national honour.
Acknowledgment of.

Thanks to those present:
(1) who planned tour,
(2) who out of busy and important lives give up a week.

Thanks to Davies and Sifton.
Tour - a contribution to war effort.

To U.S. visitors - time and thought.
A privilege - names distinguished.
A bright page.

To see Canada at a time of war,
and at war.

Welcome as neighbours and allies.

Visit evidence of interest in cause.

Grateful for sympathy and co-operation.

Other visits of journalists -
Time of need.
None so expressive of friendship.

Opportunity to gain fullest knowledge and information.

Nothing to conceal -
intentions or actions.

Only half picture of war effort in Canada.

At entry of war, scene of hostilities distant.

Re invasion of our own land:
3 lines of defence.

Strategy - distant front.
Contribution accordingly.

Maginot Line, no longer a first defence.

British Channel; London.

Our forces placed at disposal of Britain.

Not sufficient to see war organization at home,

but on what has gone abroad.

Army,
Navy,
Air Force.

Equipment and munitions,
aircraft, guns.

Anglo-American Relations.

Done for Britain,
for ourselves,
for you.

Looking after our own interests,
helping each other as well.

Our interests bound up in note of
similar aims, ideals and actions.

Canada's contribution possible because
of understanding, friendly and
powerful neighbour.

Confidence given Canada by practical
expression of support.

List contributions and thank for.

Past and present position,
respect for each other's problems,
common interest.

Bohn - war with Hitler - peace with
herself..

War with Hitler for reasons help explain
peace with ourselves.

Canada's three loyalties:

1. to herself - a nation
no subordination or compulsion
unity.

2. to British Commonwealth -
British stock, British institu-
tions;
freedom secured menaced by Hitler

3. to League of Nations -
begetting sense of obligation
progress of Hitler's aggression
conscious of significance of aggression.

Reasons for prompt and united entry into war.

Something more profound beneath all this.

Viewed with alarm rise of dictatorships.

Crushing Christian civilization.

War between powers of darkness and powers of light.

Conclusion

Darkness and light; everywhere world faced with democracy or dictatorship freedom - tyranny.

War between opposed concepts of life.

Monopoly of privilege, possessions and power, as liberty, equality and fraternity.

If democracy to be preserved - must defeat enemies and restore ideals and rights,

first to France

All lovers of freedom to seek to further.

Canada and U.S. working together

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
	Bound Volumes, 1939-1949				
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

D 53125

T O P I C A L A N A L Y S I S

of the

principal speeches and statements

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

since

the outbreak of war

D53126

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1939 Sept.3	Canada at the side of Britain	No. 1
Sept.8	Canada and the war	2
Sept.12	The Department of Munitions and Supply	3
Oct. 27	The issue in the present war	4
Oct. 31	The organization of Canada's war effort	5
Dec. 17	The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan	6
1940 Feb. 7	Parliament and the people	7
Feb. 21	War record of the Mackenzie King Administration	8
Feb. 23	Canada's war effort - how best promoted	9
March 8	The training of British pilots and the joint Air Training Plan	10
March 21	The choice that lies before the electors	11
March 23	The defence of freedom at home and abroad	12
March 26	A word of thanks to the people of Canada	13
May 20	A review of Canada's war effort	14
June 4	The Battle of Flanders	15
June 7	New situations and responsibilities	16
June 10	New situations and responsibilities	17
June 18	The collapse of France	18

D 53127

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1940		No.
July 8	An outline of the organization of the war administration	19
July 29	Introduction to a review of the war effort	20
Sept. 1	Labour and the war	21
Nov. 12	A review of the war and Canada's war effort	22
Dec. 2	The war brought up to date	23
Dec. 31	A message to the Canadian people	24
1941		
Feb. 2	Total war and total effort	25
Feb. 17	The progress of the war and Canada's external affairs	26
March 12	Lease-Lend Bill	27
March 24	A new World Order	28
March 25	What Canada is doing	29
April 7	The invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece	30
April 28	A review of recent development in the war	31
April 28	The Hyde Park Declaration	32
June 1	The Victory Loan	33
June 13	To-day's situation and Canada's contribution	34
June 17	Canada's contribution to freedom	35

D 53128

Canada at the Side of Britain

D 53129

September 3, 1939.

CANADA AT THE SIDE OF BRITAIN

The real issue of the war

A struggle between the pagan conception of a social order and the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man.

Canada prepared for effective co-operation

Appeal of the King for support of the cause of freedom.

Government announced intention to seek authority from Parliament for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain.

Parliament summoned to meet September 7th.

Measures for defence of Canada

War Measures Act invoked.

Defence of Canada Regulations in effect.

Canada's effort to be voluntary.

Appeal to unite in national effort

Freedom of all Canadians bound up in present struggle.

Appeal to all Canadians to unite in a national effort.

D 53131

Canada and the War

D53132

September 8, 1939.

CANADA AND THE WAR

(Speech on the Address, at special war session)

The preservation of liberty

A plea for toleration

Appeal for generous attitude to German Canadians.

A truce to party strife

Reference to consultation with Leader of Opposition.

Consultation with party leaders

References to telephone conversations with Mr. Woodsworth, Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Coldwell.

Government policy duly set forth

The Defence of Canada.

Co-operation at the side of Britain.

Germany's aims and ambitions

The folly of isolation.

Helpful suggestions welcomed

Announcement of establishment of Voluntary Service Registration Bureau.

Government's attitude towards profiteering and patronage

Empire and domestic problems

Evacuation of British children to Canada (not desired by Britain)

No exploitation of the unemployed.

Reply to pacifist views of Mr. Woodsworth.

The forces of good and evil

The essence of the present conflict

III Background of the present conflict

A sense of impending calamity from 1935.

A steady progression of acts of aggression.

Continuous increase in Canadian defence expenditures.

The invasion of Poland.

Brief review of events since March 15, 1939.

Measures taken to meet apprehended war.

Relative position of government and Parliament.

Canada's efforts at conciliation - telegrams to heads of governments of Poland, Germany and Italy.

Announcement of government policy and summoning of Parliament.

Broadcast of September 3rd.

Canada's war effort

II Procedure and methods set forth at Imperial Conference, 1937:

(a) suggested means of national defence;

(b) suggested methods of Empire co-operation.

Details of Canada's war action.

D 53135

Measures respecting the defence and security of Canada

Military measures of defence.
Measures for internal security.
Measures for economic defence.
Prevention of profiteering.

Measures of co-operation with the United Kingdom

Share in defence of Newfoundland and Labrador, and other British and French possessions in the Western Hemisphere.
Co-operation in economic pressure.
Provision of munitions of war.
Visit of Canadian manufacturers to England.
Arrival of British Mission in Canada.
Consultation proceeding re action in other theatres.
No decision as to expeditionary force.

No conscription of men for overseas service

Repetition of the undertaking given in Parliament on March 30, 1939.

Support from provincial governments and other organizations

Responsibility for the present conflict

Responsibility for war placed by Hitler on himself.

The issue

World slavery or world freedom.

D 53137

The Department of Munitions and Supply

D 53138

September 12, 1939.

THE DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

(Unrevised Hansard, p. 188)

Purpose of Bill

New department not to be established immediately.

Power given to government to establish it when necessary.

References to importance of munitions in Lloyd George's memoirs.

War Supply Board to be established by Order-in-Council

To purchase supplies; to investigate stores and supplies; to work out measures of conservation; to forecast prospective needs; to co-ordinate industrial production.

The Issue in the Present War

October 27, 1939

D53140

THE ISSUE IN THE PRESENT WAR

The nature of the conflict

The doctrine of might versus the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man.

Naziism founded on the doctrine of force

The rise of Naziism in Germany

The threat and use of force within Germany

The suppression of opposition.

The monopoly of power.

The threat and use of force against other countries

The technique of Nazi aggression

Apparent success of Nazi methods

Austria, Munich, Czecho-slovakia, Memel, Poland.

The Nazi ambition of world domination

The domination of Europe, -

a step towards domination of the world.

Hatred of war and dictatorship

Efforts to preserve peace.

The need to withstand aggression.

The preservation of Christian civilization.

D 53142

5.

The Organization of Canada's War Effort

October 31, 1939.

D 53143

THE ORGANIZATION OF CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

The special session of Parliament

Declaration of war.

The budget.

The provision for a Department of Munitions and Supply.

The regulation of war charities.

The speedy despatch of public business

The co-operative attitude of all parties.

The value of the War Measures Act.

The careful preparation of the legislative programme.

Careful planning of Canada's war effort

The importance of mechanized warfare.

The danger of comparisons with war of 1914 - "New weapons demand a new technique of warfare."

D 53144

Problems of defence and co-operation

Responsibilities in the defence of the territory and coasts of Canada - importance of the Pacific coast.

Defence of Newfoundland and the French Islands, in the Gulf.

A share in convoy duty.

The great development of air power.

The importance of economic warfare - Canada the vital source of supplies.

A carefully co-ordinated national effort

"Canada's effort in this war must be a planned and concerted national effort."

Military aspects of Canada's war effort

The Army: A division for overseas service.

A second division in reserve, as well as coastal defence units and other forces necessary for internal security.

The Navy: Already actively engaged in coastal defence patrols and in convoy work.

The Canadian Air Force:

Engaged in coastal defence and in convoy duty;

The Air Training Missions from Britain, Australia and New Zealand engaged in negotiation of the Air Training Plan.

Visit of Mr. Crerar to London to discuss co-operative measures.

<u>The economic aspect of Canada's war effort</u>

Shift in emphasis in modern war from crude manpower to material resources and technical skill.

Re-organization of economic life of Canada.

The organization and development of the War Supply Board - to take over from Defence Purchasing Board on November 1st.

Protection of consumers - the War-time Prices and Trade Board.

D 53146

The vital importance of finance

The war to be financed from taxation as far as possible.

Success of short-term loan - purpose of loan to finance repatriation of Canadian securities in Britain.

Establishment of Foreign Exchange control.

Non-economic organizations

Censorship,

Voluntary Service Registration Bureau.

Maintenance of National Unity

Importance of success in provincial elections in Quebec.

D 53147

6.

The British Commonwealth

Air Training Plan

D53148

December 17, 1939

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AIR TRAINING PLAN
(Announcement of conclusion of agreement)

Plan proposed by United Kingdom (September 26th.)

Accepted in principle by Canada (September 28th.)

Training to continue in Australia, New Zealand and United Kingdom.

Joint training to be in Canada.

Negotiation of agreement

Riverdale Mission arrived Ottawa, Oct. 15th;
Fairbairn Mission (Australia) arrived Nov. 1st;
New Zealand Mission arrived Nov. 3rd;
Basis of agreement reached Nov. 27th for submission to the four governments;
Agreement signed Dec. 17th.

The objective of the plan

Most effective means of training maximum number of pilots, observers and gunners.

Joint training programme

Canadian training to be merged with joint training.

Facilities used in varying degree by the four partners.

D 53149

Joint training plan cont'd.

Most United Kingdom air recruits to be trained at home.

In Australia and New Zealand, air recruits to receive initial and elementary flying training at home.

Most Australian and some New Zealand pupils will receive advance training at home.

About one-fifth of pupils in joint training to come from Australia and New Zealand.

Some pupils from United Kingdom, Newfoundland, and elsewhere (meaning U.S.A.)

Great majority Canadians.

The stages in air training

A description of stages for pilots, observers, and gunners.

The extent of the training establishment

Total number of schools, 67

Operational staff of about 40,000

Large programme of air field construction.

The apportionment of costs

United Kingdom to provide bulk of aircraft.

Canada to pay all costs, except aircraft, of initial and elementary training and about four-fifths of remaining costs.

D 53150

Administration of the plan.

Administered by the Government of Canada.

Organization and executive command of training schools entrusted to the Royal Canadian Air Force.

General supervision vested in a Supervisory Board on which the four governments represented.

All four governments to co-operate in the provision of instructors.

Pre-war discussions of air training in Canada.

To clear up misconception that the Plan has any relation to conversations in 1938, regarding possibility of establishing Royal Air Force "advanced" training schools in Canada.

Canadian Government prepared to provide facilities in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments, but not to permit Royal Air Force establishments on Canadian territory.

Declaration cordially received by British government.

On July 7, 1938, exploratory investigations carried out by British government in collaboration with Dept. of National Defence.

In 1939 Parliament appropriated six millions for joint training of British and Canadian pilots. These discussions and this appropriation the genesis of the plan for joint training.

Pre-war discussions laid foundation for war-time air training plan.

<u>The progress already made</u>.

Royal Canadian Air Force schools at Trenton and Borden converted for the training of instructors.

Airfields of Trans-Canada Airway being adapted for air training.

Aerodrome sites surveyed.

Preparations made to order equipment.

Plans for schools prepared.

<u>Arrangements for active service</u>.

Concentration of Canada on training will prevent immediate despatch of Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons to theatres of war;

United Kingdom Government accordingly arranged for formation of an all-Canadian squadron in the Royal Air Force. Pilots and airmen trained under the plan to be identified with their own country in the field according to arrangements to be worked out later.

Relation of air training plan to Canada's military effort as a whole.

United Kingdom Government felt that participation in the air training scheme would provide for more effective assistance than any other form of military co-operation.

United Kingdom also indicated it would welcome Canadian land forces.

On September 19th, government announced that a division was being organized for service overseas.

No time lost in its despatch. (Actually it landed very day this broadcast was made, only announcement of the landing was not made until two days later.)

The real contribution.

"It is the lives of our young men which are being pledged".

D53153

Enlistment in the spirit of the crusaders of old.

D 53154

7.

Parliament and the People

D 53155

February 7, 1940

PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE

Unity and Freedom

How Canadian Unity Might Have been Destroyed

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded

Explanation of statement regarding general election not being held before Parliament is summoned.

Organization of Canada's War Effort

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration

"The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine".

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative

The Preservation of National Unity

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe

D 53156

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People -
(a) in Canada's War Effort

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People -
(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

D 53157

War Record

of the

Mackenzie King Administration

D 53158

February 21, 1940

WAR RECORD OF THE MACKENZIE KING ADMINISTRATION

National Defence and International Co-operation

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

The Land - The Sea - the Air - Industrial Activity

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

The Charge of Unpreparedness

Necessary to distinguish between preparedness in peace-time for national defence, and preparedness in peace-time to send forces overseas.

Outline of the government's war record.

The declaration of war.

Consultation with Britain.

The military programme.

Co-operation on the sea.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

Air training plan may be decisive.

Plan developing rapidly.

An armed division overseas; another to follow shortly.

D 53159

Outline of the government's war record cont'd.

Air squadrons overseas.

The furnishing of supplies.

The adaptation of transportation, communications, and industry to wartime needs.

The Agricultural Supplies Committee.

The protection of consumers.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable.

The People to Decide

The government quite prepared to be judged on its record.

D 53160

Canada's War Effort

How Best Promoted

D 53161

February 23, 1940

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT - HOW BEST PROMOTED

"National" Versus "Union" Government

Leader of the Opposition contradicts himself regarding National Government

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real

The True Meaning of National Government

Union Government - What it Means

Place of Political Parties in Government

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship

Union Government a Pretext For Other Ends

Leader of Opposition in a Quandary

Who Are to Compose Union Government?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

No Possibility of a Conservative Government

OPPOSITION an Essential Part of Parliamentary System

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

Responsibility for Government One Thing - Monopoly of Government Another.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World

A Strong and Experienced Government - Canada's Greatest Need.

D 53163

The Training of British Pilots

and the

Joint Air Training Plan

D 53164

March 8, 1940

THE TRAINING OF BRITISH PILOTS AND THE JOINT AIR TRAINING PLAN

False Representations Respecting Training of British Pilots in Canada.

A True Statement of the Matter

Question One Not of Facilities but of Administration

Canada's Offer Cordially Welcomed by the British Government

Agreement Respecting Joint Training Between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada

Dr. Manion Confuses Two Wholly Different Matters

Dr. Manion's Study Not Sufficiently Close

Complete Misrepresentation Respecting Establishment of Aircraft Industry

No Attempt at Briberty by the British Government

Visit of British Aircraft Missions

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Assisted and Accelerated by Canada's Action in 1938 and 1939.

A Fair and Impartial Judgment

Lord Riverdale described the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire."

D 53166

The Choice

That Lies Before The Electors

D 53167

March 21, 1940

THE CHOICE THAT LIES BEFORE THE ELECTORS

A final word to the Canadian People

The national and international significance of the elections

The importance of looking to the future

Far reaching decisions

Dissolution of Parliament more than justified

The importance of wise counsel in political affairs

Necessity for Prime Minister to be at seat of government

The nation's business at a time of war

Country before Party - Participation in the campaign

A two-fold task - the making of war and the making of peace

The question to be decided

Necessity for clear and unquestioned mandate

Support of third party candidates a positive danger

Abuse substituted for argument - personalities for policies

D 53168

Degraded standards of public controversy a menace to Canada's future.

Dr. Manion's many promissory notes

The choice of a war-time government

Achievements of the Mackenzie King administration

Methods taken to ensure victory

A pledge of service

The voice of Canada

D 53169

The Defence

of Freedom at Home and Abroad

D 53170

March 23, 1940

THE DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AT HOME AND ABROAD
(Broadcast to Ontario)

Defence of Freedom at home and abroad

Doing the right thing

Representatives, Government and Parliament all responsible to the People.

The Dissolution of Parliament more than justified

Prime Minister's duty to protect People in rights secured by Constitution.

Election at earliest possible date imperative

National interest the first consideration

What would have followed had parliament not been dissolved

Obvious advantages which have followed dissolution

Highest interests of the people served

Striking vindication of democratic government

Reasons for an election in time of war

D 53171

Abraham Lincoln faced with a similar situation

Chapters in the history of democracy.

The case for and against National Government

Motive underlying Dr. Manion's advocacy of National Government

Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden

Dr. Manion and his lieutenants

Evidence of Nazi mentality in public utterances.

Impossibility of Dr. Manion now forming a National Government

The governments of the United Kingdom and Australia

Impossible for Dr. Manion to form a strong united government.

Attempt to form another one-man party

Serious consequences were present government to fail of a majority

Danger of War Cabinet becoming a debating society

Government's return evidence of a united war effort of a united Canada

An appeal to the Canadian people

D 53172

The real aim: - Victory, Peace, Freedom

The real issue:- Canada's destiny and the fate of the world.

D 53173

A Word of Thanks to the People

of Canada

D 53174

March 26, 1940

A WORD OF THANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA
(Broadcast on election night)

Canada's war-time general election.

The making of history and the safeguarding of liberty

Standards in Canadian public life preserved by the people

An appeal to all to unite for Victory, Peace and Freedom.

The service of country in a great cause.

D 53175

A Review of Canada's War Effort

D 53176

May 20, 1940.

A REVIEW OF CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

(Unrevised Hansard p. 48)

Speech devoted exclusively to Canada's war effort.

No time to review at length the state of the world.

No simple matter to move from an economy of peace to an economy of war.

Changed conditions from 1914.

Importance of navy and air force in this war.

Financial situation differs from 1914.

In last war Canada borrowed in United Kingdom and United States.

In present war, Canada providing Britain with financial aid.

Actual expenditures in first eight months double expenditures in last war.

Estimated expenditure 1940-41 seven hundred millions - subject to increase.

War Supply.

Total contracts to May 15th:

Canadian:	$200,000,000
Allied governments:	$ 75,000,000

A few details given re progress of production.

The Armed Forces.

1. The Navy

Current details re personnel and ships.

2. The Air Force

Personnel, duties, and disposition.

3. The Active Service Force.

Personnel and disposition of forces.

4. Summary.

100,000 men on active service.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Origin, purpose, magnitude.

Summary of progress already made.

Discussions with British government led to decision not to try to increase immediate output at expense of ultimate magnitude.

Division of costs - British government to supply aircraft.

Plan to be accelerated wherever possible.

Construction already ahead of schedule.

Administrative organization - appointment of J. S. Duncan as Deputy Minister for Air.

A new Minister to be appointed, to be known as Minister of National Defence for Air.

Minister of Munitions and Supply to give full time to that department.

Tribute to Mr. Wallace Campbell as Chairman of War Supply Board.

Government to assist industry in organiza- for fullest use of resources.

Reference to orders from United Kingdom - no delay on Canada's part.

Sabotage and subversive activity.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police and government taking all necessary action.

Appeal to citizens of foreign extraction for full loyalty to this country.

Appeal to all citizens to refrain from persecution and panic action.

A new programme.

Date of despatch of 2nd division advanced.

Date of despatch of reinforcements for 1st division also advanced.

Recruitment of reinforcements for 2nd division to be pushed forward.

Canadian Corps to be formed in the field.

3rd division to be raised for service in Canada or overseas.

Certain naval and military formations to be assigned to duty in the Caribbean and North Atlantic areas.

2nd Army Co-operation Air Squadrons to be sent overseas.

Strategic picture very different from 1914.

References to Japan, Russia, Italy, the United States.

Changed problem of coastal defence.

Danger to Canada itself.

An appeal for speedy despatch of parliamentary business, particularly the war appropriations.

Possibility of referring war appropriation bill to a committee or committees of the House.

War programme discussed with allied powers - based on full agreement.

Necessity of maintaining secrecy regarding some measures.

D 53180

Dangers of hysteria and panic,

Reliance on support of all sides of

the house.

<u>Canada united at the side of Britain and France</u>.

D 52181

The Battle of Flanders

D 52182

June 4, 1940

THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS

(Unrevised Hansard p. 527)

Holland and Belgium over-run.

The breach of the allied line in France.

The surrender of King Leopold. (May 28th)

The evacuation from Dunkirk.

The role of Canadian armed forces, and other Canadian co-operation.

Intention to send Canadians to Norway.

Several proposals to send Canadians to France or Flanders.

General McNaughton's visit to France.

Canadians prepared to help meet invasion or to share in re-constituting the line in France.

Canadian troops sent to West Indies to relieve British troops.

Advance party of 2nd Canadian air squadron already in Britain.

Despatch of pilots intended for instruction in Canada.

Release of aircraft in Britain to British government.

D [illegible]83

Return to Britain of bombers on the sea en route to Canada.

Canadian destroyers sent to British waters.

Message to Commander of destroyers.

Other commitments which are still secret.

New Situations and Responsibilities

D 53185

June 7, 1941

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Canada's War Effort Viewed in Relation to the War Effort of the Allied Powers.

The Critical Situation in France.

Public Questionings and Doubts.

Three Distinct Periods

The Shadow of War

The Outbreak and Beginnings of War.

The Blitzkrieg - Lightning War.

An Altered and Much Needed Perspective.

Extent of Canada's War Effort Obscured by Nature of Events.

Measures Taken to Meet Emergent Conditions

The Army

The Navy

The Air Force

Money and Materials

War Supply

Need for Confidence and Calm.

Operations in New Theatres of War

New Factors and Friends

D 53186

Canada's New Responsibility

D 53187

17

New Situations and Responsibilities

D 53188

June 10, 1940

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Italy's Entry into the War.

Proceedings in the Canadian Parliament.

State of War Between Canada and Italy Proclaimed.

Measures Taken to Maintain Internal Security

Italy's Treachery Foreseen

Betrayal of an Ancient Friendship

The Strength and Weakness of Italy

Mussolini's Action the Most Ignoble Recorded in History

An old friend and a new friend.

Reference to speech by President Roosevelt,
at the University of Virginia.

Canada More Resolute than Ever.

The Collapse of France

June 18, 1940 D 53190

THE COLLAPSE OF FRANCE

(Unrevised Hansard, p.931)

The demand by France for an armistice

Military situation obscure.

No hope of further French resistance on land.

Determination of Britain to fight on

No criticism or recrimination

Recognition that Canada especially affected.

New situation

The war much nearer to Canada.

British Isles threatened with invasion.

Extension of Canadian responsibility in the western Atlantic.

Canadian troops in Iceland.

National Resources Mobilization Bill to be introduced

Compulsory service solely and exclusively for the defence of Canada on our own soil and in our own territorial waters.

All material resources to be available to the government.

Recruitment for overseas services to remain voluntary.

D 53191

National registration to be undertaken.

Department of National War Services to be established

To co-ordinate voluntary services, and to help Canadians to help Canada.

Additional Ministers to assist in direction of war effort

Many considerations must be taken into account in selection of new Ministers.

Mr. Ralston to become Minister of National Defence as soon as budget has been brought down.

Seriousness of the present hour

Reference to helpful attitude of Opposition leaders.

D 53192

An Outline of the Organization of the

War Administration

July 8, 1940 D 53193

AN OUTLINE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR ADMINISTRATION

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET

Ways and means of increasing effectiveness of Canada's war effort

Meeting new needs as they arise.

Review of appointments since outbreak of war

Department of National Defence.

Auxiliary Services.

Department of National Defence for Air.

Department of Munitions and Supply.

Department of Finance.

War Loan and War Savings campaigns.

Foreign Exchange Control Board.

War-time Prices and Trade Board.

Department of Agriculture.

Department of Secretary of State.

Departments of Trade and Commerce and Transport.

Enlisting the "Best Men" in an advisory capacity

National Labour Supply Council.

Department of Transport.

Department of Agriculture.

War-time co-operation with the provinces

War organization of the Cabinet

Cabinet committees and related agencies.

Cabinet organization framed to further efficiency of war effort

Department of National Defence.

Department of Munitions and Supply.

Department of National Defence for Air.

Department of National Defence for Naval Services.

Department of National War Services.

Contraction of peacetime services.

D 53195

Considerations governing cabinet reconstruction

Parliamentary experience an all-important factor.

Advisory Committee to War Committee of Cabinet considered.

Associate members of War Committee.

Conferences with the Opposition.

Cabinet transfers and additions

Ralston - Finance to National Defence;

Ilsley - National Revenue to Finance;

Howe - Munitions and Supply, full-time;

Cardin - Transport, as well as Public Works;

Gardiner - National War Services, as well as Agriculture;

Macdonald - National Defence for Naval Services;

Power - Associate Minister of National Defence, as well as National Defence for Air;

Mulock - Postmaster General;

Gibson - National Revenue.

Maintenance of responsible government

D 53196

20.

Introduction to a Review

of the War Effort

July 29, 1940.

D 53197

INTRODUCTION TO A REVIEW OF THE WAR EFFORT

("Canada Carries On" - No. 1)

Secret session not desirable

Preferable to have statements from war Ministers and Minister of Finance in open session.

Review of the war

Early stages - largely concerned with conflict at sea and in the air.

Apart from Poland, war on land began with Denmark and Norway.

A chronology of events.

List of broadcasts and statements in Parliament by members of government

Blitzkrieg coincided with meeting of Parliament

Ruthless violation of neutrality.

Speeding up of war effort to meet new situation.

D 53198

Creation of new departments of government.
Methods changed to meet new phases of war.
Need for maintaining perspective.

War effort in outline

1. Organization and expansion of Canadian defences.
2. Maximum aid to common cause.
3. Organization of production of machines and munitions of war.
4. Organization of production of foodstuffs.
5. Control of prices.
6. Strengthening financial structure.
7. Machinery to mobilize material and human resources.
8. Internal security.
9. Reception of prisoners of war from Britain.
10. Co-ordination of war services.

D 53199

21.

Labour and the War

D 53200

September 1, 1940

LABOUR AND THE WAR

A word to and from Labour.

A year of war in review.

The significance of the war for Canada.

The significance of Labour Day.

The historical and geographical bases of freedom in Canada.

Labour Day: A lighthouse of democracy.

Dictatorship at war with democracy.

Europe's midnight hour.

The added strength of the Nazi menace.

Common interests of British Empire and United States.

The Canada-United States Joint Board on Defence.

The surest of the safeguards of democracy.

Freedom of Europe essential to North American freedom.

Economic and political consequences of failure to free Europe.

Labour the ally of the fighting forces.

The two great brotherhoods.

A Review of the War and

Canada's War Effort

November 12, 1940

D 53202

A REVIEW OF THE WAR AND

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

(Canada Carries On, No. 2)

The situation in August when Parliament adjourned.

The increase in the strength of Britain.

British appreciation of Canada's co-operation.

Political shifts in Europe

Baltic states and Bessarabia occupied by Russia.

Transylvania ceded to Hungary, and Dobruja to Bulgaria.

German occupation of Rumania.

Nazi economic collaboration with Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Non-belligerency of Spain.

German domination of whole coast of Western Europe.

D 53203

New raw materials available to the Nazis

Mediterranean problems.

Italian attack on Greece.

Precarious British position in Africa and the middle East.

Japan joins the Axis

Hitler's Ultimate Aim

Stages on the road to world domination.

A conspiracy of the aggressors

Canada's participation in the war

Growth of the armed forces.

Development of the Air Training Plan.

Canadian casualties.

National Registration.

Compulsory military training.

Development of munitions production.

Financial cost of war effort.

No financial limitation.

The turning of the tide

The defeat of the Nazi air assault on Britain.

D 53204

Britain - the outwork of the defence of North America.

Relations with the United States

August 16 - Mr. Roosevelt's announcement of conversations with British Government regarding bases.

August 17 - Meeting at Ogdensburg and conclusion of agreement.

August 20 - Mr. Churchill's offer of bases.

August 22 - Formation of Canada- United States Permanent Joint Board of Defence.

September 3 - Mr. Roosevelt's announcement of agreement re bases and destroyers.

Exchange of correspondence with President regarding destroyers.

Review of earlier discussions between Canada and United States.

Joint Defence Board approved by Order in Council.

Board a logical development of Kingston and Woodbridge declarations.

Importance of personal friendship of President and Prime Minister.

D 53205

Value of common background of two countries.

Universal approval of Ogdensburg Agreement.

Canada the linchpin holding together the British and American peoples.

Canada the link between the English and French-speaking peoples

Mr. Lapointe's broadcast to France.

Appeal to all Canadians not to add to the agony of France.

Spiritual side of the struggle

D 53206

The War Brought up to Date

December 2, 1940

D 53207

THE WAR BROUGHT UP TO DATE

Necessity of maintaining proper perspective.

Necessity of a balanced development of all branches of war effort.

A long, hard and terrible struggle.

Need of acquiring air supremacy.

Importance of blockade.

Situation of Britain improved since summer.

Britain's strength under-estimated.

British cities not destroyed.

R.A.F. inflicting heavy damage on Germany.

Shipping situation serious but not desperate.

British Navy still supreme on the seas.

Britain faced with exchange problem in United States, but Germany faced with problem of actual physical supplies.

Future course of war uncertain.

The greatest task in history.

D 53208

A Message to the Canadian People

D 53209

December 31, 1940

A MESSAGE TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

(New Year's Eve Broadcast by the Prime Minister).

The Fortunes of War in the Old Year.

The Tremendous Task in the New Year.

The Fate of Mankind in the Balance.

1941: the Decisive Year

A Resolve for the New Year

Tribute to the late Norman Rogers.

D 53210

Total War and Total Effort

D 53211

February 2, 1941.

TOTAL WAR AND TOTAL EFFORT

(A Broadcast Appeal for War Savings).

Total War and How to Meet It

A Time for Sacrifice

Savings Required to Win the War

The War Programme for 1941

Based on reports presented by
Mr. Ralston and Mr. Howe on
return from United Kingdom.

The Navy

Expansion planned to estimate
its strength of 413 ships and
26,920 men by March 31, 1942.

The Army

For despatch overseas, balance
of Corps Troops, Army Tank Brigade,
Third Canadian Division and a
Canadian Armoured Division.

D 53212

The Air Force

Figures of energetic development of Air Training Plan:
Present strength of 36,000 men in R.C.A.F. to be doubled;
Home war establishment to be strengthened;
Three squadrons overseas to be re-inforced as needed;
Twenty-five new R.C.A.F. squadrons to be formed in Britain from Air Training Plan graduates, rest of graduates to serve with R.C.A.F.

War Production and Supplies

Canadian production to be concentrated on equipment and weapons not obtainable in the United States.
Outline of principal items now in production and items for which production being organized.

Additional Man Power

200,000 additional men and women will be required for armed forces and war industry, including 75,000 skilled or semi-skilled workers.

D 53213

Vocational and plant training schools established to train 100,000 persons a year.

Necessity of cutting down peace-time production to shift labour and equipment to war production.

War Effort Dependent on Individual Effort

Freedom's Crowning Hour

D 53214

The Progress of the War

and

Canada's External Affairs

D 53215

February 17, 1941.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR AND CANADA'S EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(Unrevised Hansard page 879)

The Position of Britain

Night bombing raids less destructive.

Submarine attacks also less destructive.

Output of British industry still growing.

Morale of people unshaken.

R. A. F. continues destructive raids on enemy and enemy-occupied territory.

The African Campaign

Spectacular victories in Libya.

Gradual Italian defeat in East Africa.

Italian Failure in Albania

Naval Successes on the Mediterranean

Italian Defeats must be Viewed in Perspective

Italian power not comparable with German power.

Italian people have no desire for war.

The United States

The abandonment of the neutrality policy.

Determination expressed by the President in message to Congress that freedom shall prevail.

President's policy envisages aid to Britain in increasing measure without immediate payment.

Material assistance of United States decisive in long run.

Problem to hold out until American aid forthcoming.

Enemy likely to strike hard before American aid becomes effective.

Strategic Possibilities

Near East, Western Mediterranean, Far East, Britain.

Long, grim months ahead, setbacks and discouragements may be expected.

Contrast with the last war.

Canada's Plans for the Present Year

(Repetition of programme outlined in War Savings Broadcast of February 2).

D 53217

Canada's Shipments of Foodstuffs Limited by Shipping Space

Canadian effort planned in partnership with Britain.

Imperial War Cabinet or Imperial War Council

The case against such a development.

Tribute to Mr. Massey.

No Extension of Diplomatic Representations to Countries of Europe while Hostilities Continue

Colonel Vanier still titular Minister to France.

Mr. Pierre Dupuy Charge d'Affaires to governments of France, Holland and Belgium.

Relations with France very delicate.

Tension in the Far East

Anti-Japanese Feeling in British Columbia

Report of Investigating Committee tabled in Parliament.

D 53218

Relations with the United States

Work of Joint Defence Board.

Death of Lord Lothian.

Illness of Mr. Christie.

Additional representation at Washington.

Appointment of Lord Halifax and Sir Gerald Campbell.

Sir Gerald Campbell to be succeeded by Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald.

Relations with Latin America

Visit of Mr. MacKinnon.

Legations to be established in Brazil and Argentina.

The League of Nations

The I.L.O. established at McGill University.

Mr. John G. Winant appointed United States Ambassador to England.

Tribute to Dr. Skelton

D 53219

Lease-Lend Bill

D 53220

March 12, 1941

LEASE-LEND BILL

(Unrevised Hansard page 1591).

Satisfaction in Canada at Passing of the Lease-Lend Bill

A practical development of the policy outlined by the President in his message to Congress.

The Fulfilment of a Prediction

"If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us."

United States Aid Will Make Victory Certain

American Admiration for the Courage, Determination and Fortitude of the People of Britain

Canadian Pride at Canada's share in bringing about closer relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth.

D 53221

A New World Order

D 53222

March 24, 1941.

A NEW WORLD ORDER

(Welcome to Mr. Wendell Willkie).

Service in a Great Cause

Britain: The Cornerstone of Freedom

The War Services Appeal

A Union of Effort

A New World Order

One Great Brotherhood

A New Heaven and a New Earth

D 53223

What Canada is Doing

D 53224

March 25, 1941.

WHAT CANADA IS DOING

(A Tribute to the Canadian People).

A Stupendous Effort

Canada's Armed Forces

Canada's Two-fold Task

Canada: A Major Source of Supply

Wartime Industrial Expansion

Canada's Indirect Effort

Financial Assistance to Britain

The Total Burden

A Maximum Effort

D53225

The Invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece

D 53226

April 7, 1941.

THE INVASION OF YUGOSLAVIA AND GREECE

(Unrevised Hansard page 2391).

The Failure of Nazi Intimidation in Yugoslavia

The Nazi attempt followed the classic
Nazi pattern of aggression.
The courage of the Yugoslavs.
A defeat for Nazi diplomacy.

The Main Attack Directed at Greece

Greek success against the Italians.
Greeks facing Nazis with same courage.

The Nazi Attack on Yugoslavia and Greece - a major Development

Yugoslavs and Greeks being supported by
Britain and the British Commonwealth.
An Expeditionary Force of British,
Australian and New Zealand troops
already in Greece.

D 53227

The Chief Obstacle to Nazi Ambitions is still Britain

Need of viewing the struggle in perspective.

The war in the Balkans but a phase in struggle for world domination.

D 53228

A Review of Recent Developments

in the War

D 53229

April 28, 1941.

A REVIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WAR

(Unrevised Hansard page 2485).

The Campaign in the Balkans

The Nazi Successes in Libya

The Defeat of the Italians in East Africa

Unrest in Iraq

Intensified Air Attacks over Britain

The Growing Seriousness of the Battle of the Atlantic

The Visit of Mr. Matsuoko to Berlin, Rome and Moscow

A Detailed Outline of the Operations in Yugoslavia and Greece

Admiration of Australian, New Zealand and British Forces.

Balance of Advantages and Disadvantages in Balkan Campaign

Balkan campaign a stage in battle for Mediterranean basin.

D 53230

The Strategic Situation in the Mediterranean

The control of the Mediterranean
the key to the domination of the
rest of continental Europe.

Dangers to Gibraltar, Suez, Singapore and Britain

The Brighter Side of the Picture

Growth in the strength of the British
defences.
The co-ordination of production by
Canada and the United States.
The United States Atlantic patrol.

The World Wide Character of the Struggle

D 53231

32.

The Hyde Park Declaration

D 53232

April 28, 1941.

THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION

(Co-operation in Economic Defence)

The War Exchange Problem

Risk of Wasteful Duplication of Production

Visit to the United States

The Hyde Park Declaration

Immediate Purpose of the Declaration

The Basic Principle: Co-operation in Production

Practical Operation of the Agreement

Alleviation of the Exchange Problem

Significance of the Declaration

The Economic Corollary of Ogdensburg

Foundations of a New World Order

D 53233

33.

The Victory Loan

D 53234

June 1, 1941.

THE VICTORY LOAN

(A Broadcast to Britain).

Why the Loan is called A Victory Loan

Canada's Sympathy and Admiration for Britain

Why Canada is at War at the Side of Britain

The Real Issue

The preservation of Christian civilization.

Canada's War Effort

A brief summary.

A Personal Message to Mr. Churchill

D 53235

34.

To-day's Situation and Canada's

Contribution

D 53236

June 13, 1941.

TO-DAY'S SITUATION AND CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION

Sunlight and Shadows

A Long, Grim Struggle

War in the Air

The Battle of the Atlantic

Military Operations on Land

Canada's Contribution

- The Army
- The Navy
- The Air Force
- War Production

The Intangible Things of the Human Spirit

D 53237

Canada's Contribution to Freedom

D 53238

June 17, 1941.

CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO FREEDOM

(Speech at New York)

Canada's Entry into War

The Issue

Canada True to Herself

National Unity

Two Major Tasks

Canada's Armed Forces

Contribution of Man Power

War Production

Hyde Parkand Ogdensburg Agreements

War Finance

Financial Aid to Britain

Total Financial Cost

D 53239

Why Canada is Fighting To-Day

What Canada Seeks to Effect

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

Note: 1940 General Elections
Speeches in separate Ring Binder.

1940-1941

D 53240

Speeches - Outside Parliament
Rt. Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Date	Place	Occasion	
Feb. 11	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Death of Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada.	1.
May 10	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	German Invasion of the Low Countries.	1a.
June 7	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Canada's War Effort viewed in relation to the war effort of the Allied Powers.	2.
June 10	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Italy's Entry into the War.	3.
Aug. 5	Ottawa	Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School at Uplands.	4.
Sept. 1	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Anniversaries of Labour Day and Outbreak of European War 1939. "Let's Face the Facts" Series.	5.
Sept.25	Ottawa	United States Journalists - visit to Canada - dinner to.	6.
Sept.29	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Canadian Red Cross Appeal - "The Voices of Mercy".	7.
Oct. 28	Ottawa	National War Savings Committee Meeting.	8.
Dec. 8	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal (Christmas Seals)	9.

D 53241

Date	Place	Occasion	
Dec. 25	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Christmas Day: Greetings to Canada's Armed Forces.	10.
Dec. 31	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	New Year's Eve: Message to the Canadian People.	11.
1941			
Jan. 14	Ottawa	Dominion-Provincial Conference: Opening of.	12.
Jan. 15	Ottawa	Dominion-Provincial Conference: Closing of.	13.
Feb. 2	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	War Savings Campaign.	14.
Feb. 27	Ottawa	Lord Elgin Hotel: Laying of Cornerstone.	15.
Mar. 24	Toronto Radio Broadcast	Wendell Willkie: Welcome to.	16.
Apr. 23	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	St. George's Day Luncheon. Visit of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to Ottawa in connection with Conference of Mayors and Municipalities.	17.
May 21	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Series of broadcasts entitled "Canadians All".	18.
May 26	Ottawa	Lake Superior Regiment: Review of.	19.
June 1	Ottawa Radio Broadcast	Victory Loan Campaign. "Broadcast to Britain".	20.

Date	Place	Occasion	
June 7	Kingston, Ont.	Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald.	21.
June 11	Ottawa	Victory Loan Torch Ceremony.	22.
June 17	Princeton, N.Y.	Conferring of degree.	23.
June 17	New York	Joint meeting of Canadians. "Canada's financial relations with Britain".	24.
June 25	Ottawa (Recorded)	Success of the 1941 Victory Loan.	25.
June 27	Calgary	Western Tour	26.
June 30	Vancouver	Western Tour	27.
July 4	Edmonton	Western Tour	28.
July 7	Prince Albert	Western Tour	29.
July 10	Winnipeg	Western Tour	30.

See Ring Binder 1941-1942 for speeches made after July 10, 1941.

D 53243

Tributes to the Late Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada

BY

RIGHT HON. W. L MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister of Canada

BROADCAST OVER THE NATIONAL NETWORK OF C.B.C.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1940

To-night, in the City of Montreal, there died a great and a good man, John Buchan, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir. With heartfelt sorrow, and in fulfilment of a sad duty, I am called upon to inform the people of our country that the life of His Excellency came to its earthly close shortly after seven o'clock.

In the passing of His Excellency, the people of Canada have lost one of the greatest and most revered of their Governors General, and a friend who from the day of his arrival in this country dedicated his life to their service.

To his great task Lord Tweedsmuir brought wisdom, experience, the grace of words and a generosity of heart which found expression in a wide human sympathy and understanding. He came to know and to share the feelings and the aspirations of the Canadian people in all parts of the Dominion. He visited them on many occasions in the East, in the West, and in the Far North, and was never happier than when he shared the simplicities of their joys and their labours.

Out of that knowledge and understanding, there came an enthusiasm for this country, its institutions, its traditions and its people almost unique in our history. And if Lord Tweedsmuir knew the Canadian people as few, if any, Governors General had known them before, the Canadian people learned to know him and to hold him in unsurpassed affection.

There is not a home in our Dominion which will not be saddened by the loss which our country has sustained; not a part

D53244

of the British Commonwealth of Nations which will not recognize our bereavement as its own. The world itself has suffered in the passing of one whose great sympathies and talents were dedicated to the service of mankind.

He was, like so many great men of his race, a son of the manse. Christian ideals moulded his life and guided his footsteps; and it is an inspiration to recall that, on his last public appearance as Governor General of this country, one week ago to-day, he read the Lesson in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in this City of Ottawa, humbly proclaiming to all men his unshaken belief in the faith of his fathers.

In the discharge of every public duty, Lord Tweedsmuir was fidelity itself. Cut off as he has been in the height of his powers, one can only believe that in the providence of God, he had completed the work which here it had been given him to do.

To the King, in the passing of His Majesty's representative in our Dominion, our country extends an expression of its profound sorrow. No Sovereign ever confided a great trust to a more faithful servant.

To Her Excellency, the Lady Tweedsmuir, to her daughter, to her three sons who to-day serve their King as their father did before them, Canada offers its deepest sympathy on this day of national mourning.

D 53245

Invasion of Low Countries

May 11, 1940.

In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of the Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world. To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of twenty-five years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face far greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will understand and vanquish them again.

With pride we re-join the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

For one hundred years the people of the Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sancturaries of the hearts and minds of men. No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. Today's news, although terrible, has shown that stout-hearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the

cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the allied powers and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict.

I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand or head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have joined the company of nations that are defending in arms the cause of humand freedom.

June 7, 1940

New Situations and Responsibilities
Canada's War Effort Viewed in Relation to the
War Effort of the Allied Powers.

D 53248

Fellow Canadians:

I speeak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day, since their first heroic resistance, has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and

the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave, who have honoured the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts? You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fithing forces, about aeroplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my

attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe, to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict also, in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation by Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period: what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within

D 53251

that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time, became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that,

from month to month, man-power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

The third period is that of the Blitzkrieg - lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. The element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves - sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the

D 53253

ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happemings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The moments of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onsalught, and the

magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparlleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed, equally naturally, a tendency to meausre our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the

swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has, because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis - and Canada is sharing those risks - but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive. To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort, and a grave injury to the allied cause.

You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could

only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and

strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A second division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg", Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our second division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third division.

The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated sudddnness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch

with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army cooperation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Cooperation School.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Cooperation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his

entire time and attention to National Defence for Air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth Plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of May were on their way out to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is

being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between

nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole, in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting

for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge

which joins the new freedom of the North American continent, with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkirk, and from the citadel of Calais, the bravest men in the world, battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France, and the same gallantry of Britain, which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbour will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

D 53265

Italy's Declaration of War

June 10th, 1940.

Fellow Canadians:

The News reached Ottawa a few minutes after one o'clock today that Signor Mussolini, in a speech delivered at Rome, had announced that Italy was entering the war on the side of Germany. The official confirmation of this news was not received until the House of Commons met this afternoon. I immediately introduced a resolution which placed Canada at the side of Britain and France in the war against Italy, as was done with respect to the war against Germany in September last. The motion was seconded by the Honourable Mr. Hanson, the Leader of the Opposition, and was in the following terms:

"Whereas Italy has declared her intention to enter the war on the side of Germany and against the allied powers; and,

Whereas a state of war now exists between the United Kingdom and France on the one hand and Italy, on the other; and,

Whereas at the outbreak of war the parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom:

It is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy, and that this House does approve the same."

The resolution was supported by the Leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democracy groups and was adopted unanimously by the House before four o'clock.

A session of the Senate was held at four o'clock. The same resolution was introduced and unanimously passed. At a meeting of the Cabinet held tonight, an Order-in-Council was passed, tendering to His Majesty the King the advice that a Proclamation should issue, declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and the Kingdom of Italy as and from June 10, 1940. The terms of the Order-in-Council were immediately communicated by cable to the Canadian High Commissioner in London, for submission to the King. As soon as His Majesty's approval has been given a Proclamation will be issued in the Canada Gazette, similar in form to that of September 10th which declared that a state of war existed with the German Reich.

The Minister of Justice has authorized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to take steps to intern all resident of Italian origin whose activities have given ground for the

belief or reasonable suspicion that they might, in time of war, endanger the safety of the State, or engage in activities prejudicial to the prosecution of the war. Other necessary measures have been taken to prevent trading with the new enemy, or performing other acts which are not consistent with a state of war. Preparations for these and other necessary steps had been made well in advance of the declaration of war.

When I spoke to you on Friday evening last, I told you that before many days had passed there was every likelihood that nations which had hitherto avoided or escaped warfare would engage in hostilities. The signs were there for all to see, and messages from Europe served only to confirm the foreboding.

As I stated this afternoon in the House of Commons, after many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the

D 53268

dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Barely eighty years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

Italy grew in power and in influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last Great War, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory. Through many generations, Britain and France and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To

countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From Rome, the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

I do not forget at this time the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamour of the world which is falling in ruins around us. All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

D 53270

While at the moment the allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat has now been removed. It has become a stark reality. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. We now know where Italy stands. The atmosphere is cleared. The hands of Britain and France are freed for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage and to divert the allied effort from the main task of defeating Germany, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts of the conflict and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

History will, I believe, record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey, waiting for brave men to die.

Today, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

D 53271

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the fateful hour for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proferred concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

No one can foretell the horrors that the spread of warfare in lands hitherto untouched by its ravages may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world become gradually but inexorably engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

When I spoke to you on Friday, I used these words: "If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will rise to help us."

Many of you no doubt heard tonight the eloquent voice of both an old and a new friend - President Roosevelt. An old friend, because his heart, and the hearts of his people have always beaten in sympathy with ours. A new friend because in his ringing declaration, he pledged the

D 53272

material resources of his great and powerful country to strengthen and maintain the cause of freedom.

As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

EARNSCLIFFE
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Subject

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UNITE FOR WINGED VICTORY KING TELLS CANADIAN YOUTH

No Part Too Humble for Anyone to Play Efficiently He Declares

AIR SCHOOL OPENED

Special to The Star

Ottawa, Aug. 6.—"No part is too humble for anyone to play if he plays it efficiently," Premier King declared yesterday as he paid tribute to all who work for Canada's rapidly expanding air program.

The occasion was the official opening of the No. 2 service flying training school under the British Commonwealth air training plan. A few moments after the school had been declared open by his excellency the Earl of Athlone, and Premier King had declared the plan represents "the brotherhood of the youth of the British Empire united for the purpose of winged victory", 12 yellow Harvard trainers roared into the air. The school is at Uplands, just outside the capital.

The 200-mile-an-hour two-seater training planes filled the sky after take-offs from a complete airport on which the first sod was turned only two months ago. The school covers 45 acres, has "spoked wheel" runways in all directions and complete facilities for night flying.

Premier King's reference to the "humble" parts that may be played in war services was made after an expression of appreciation to the officers and men of the air force for the part they have played in bringing the air training scheme to fruition. It was a word of appreciation for "those who have co-operated in bringing about the physical establishments which are necessary for these schools."

United for Winged Victory

"Before long," Mr. King continued, "some of the men here will be taking off from this very field for the battlefronts of Europe. To me, it speaks the brotherhood of the youth of the British Empire united for the purpose of winged victory.

"I believe we are witnessing the first stage in that great move from this country across to the old world in connection with this plan. I do not forget that already Canadians have played an important part in the air force overseas.

"There have been many casualties but there have been many decorations. They have brought great distinction to themselves and to this country. They have made every citizen proud of the part Canada is playing in this war.

Preserving World Itself

"This is but the beginning of what will be another part of Canada's history, of which every Canadian will be proud. One can never speak of this war without recalling that what those participating in the service of their country are helping to preserve not only their land, not only the United Kingdom and the British commonwealth of nations, but the world itself in the matter of its freedom.

"They are seeking to preserve the ideals of freedom which make life possible for men who believe in those things which are highest and best. Every man in the air force today is serving the highest ideals not only of his own country but of all that is best in the history of the world."

After thanking his excellency for gracing the occasion with his presence, Prime Minister King noted that the governor-general had referred to the "rapidity with which the work one sees about one has been accomplished."

"It is but a part of the energy that has been put into the commonwealth air training scheme," said Mr. King. "It is interesting to recall that it was in September last that the project was first conceived in the United Kingdom."

He pointed out that at that time the governor-general was in England and now, a few months later, officiated at the opening of the first complete school. Mr. King noted that Air Vice-Marshal L. S. Breadner was born in Carleton county, in which the school is located, and most of those associated with him are Canadians.

"It helps to illustrate the co-operative nature of this plan," he observed.

Mr. King recalled that the plan was conceived last September, that representative missions from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand came to Canada in October, and a formal arrangement for the scheme was signed December 17.

All Within Year

"The work, therefore, that has been accomplished has been pretty well conceived within the present year. We are witnessing today the final stage of the great British commonwealth air-training plan.

"When one recollects that this school is but the first of 16 schools of a similar character which will be opened shortly, one begins to realize how vast this great co-operative effort really is.

D 53274

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

Two Significant Anniversaries

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1940

OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1940

D 53275

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

Two Significant Anniversaries

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Sunday, September 1, 1940

Some days ago, I received, from one of the working men holding a responsible office in the Trade Union Movement, a letter in which he suggested that, on the Sunday before Labour Day, as a former Minister of Labour, I might be willing to give a national message to the workers of Canada.

A day or two later, I received a letter also from the Director of Public Information, inviting me to be the speaker for to-night in the radio series known as "Let's Face the Facts." The writer of the second letter suggested that as this date corresponded with the first anniversary of the war, a talk by myself on its events and lessons might be welcomed by the people of Canada.

My purpose this evening is to endeavour to meet both those requests. I shall try to summarize the facts which stand out after one year of the war, and to relate them to the world situation as we know it to-day, and to the alternatives which the future may hold in store.

A Word to and from Labour

I need scarcely say that I felt much honoured that from one who holds the position of Secretary of the Labour Council in one of the leading cities of the Dominion, I should have received the particular invitation I have mentioned. From my early years, I have been deeply interested in the problems of Labour. One reason, I believe, is that Labour's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty. Labour, too, represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind, that it is almost synonymous with Humanity itself.

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D 53276

The plain picture of the ordinary man, working with the strength of his arm, and the skill of his hand, to feed, to clothe and to shelter his fellows, has always seemed to me to represent Humanity in one of the noblest of its moods. To improve conditions of Labour is to better the human lot on this earth. That, I suppose, is the motive which most of us have closest to our heart when the enthusiasm of young manhood, and the realization of the duties of citizenship, begin to mould our conscience and our conduct. It is one of the tragedies of life that, amid the complexities of the struggle for existence, the enthusiasm and the realization are so often lost. To my mind, the measure of human greatness is the degree to which we continue to hold to the end of our days, an enthusiasm for human betterment.

Let me then talk to you to-night of this war not only in relation to the broad aspects to which I have referred, but in its relation particularly to Labour. Let us consider together what the winning of this war may mean to Labour. Let us ponder what the loss of this war will certainly mean to Labour. Let us think together for a few minutes of what Labour has done, and can do for the winning of the war. In this throughout, let us face the facts.

A Year of War in Review

On this day one year ago, a world that had watched with anxious but hopeful eyes, while men of good-will laboured with all their strength for peace, saw war, with indescribable savagery, begin the devastation of Europe. During the months that have since passed, freedom fleeing from many desolate lands, has followed peace into exile.

At the end of a year, silence and darkness have fallen upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. We mourn, too, the tragedy of a broken France. With her withdrawal from the conflict, we lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we faced another treacherous and rapacious foe. The few nations of the continent of Europe that have not already been subjugated, either tremble or bow before the might and violence of the aggressor.

Fire and slaughter have spread to Africa and the Near East. There is an ominous glow on the horizons of the Middle East. In many parts of the world, the thunder of the storm is heard, even though the lightning has not yet struck. Ships have battled on all the seven seas. From the skies, over the continent of Europe and the British Isles, aerial warfare continues to rain death and destruction. Millions of innocent, peace-loving, plain, ordinary, simple men and women, who have asked nothing more than to live their lives in the quiet of their own homes, and the shelter of their native valleys, have been dispossessed, robbed and enslaved.

D 53277

Many nations had fondly hoped to find security in scrupulous neutrality. They found, instead, that neutrality was only an invitation to invasion, pillage, and enslavement. The souls and minds of the men of many lands to which the world is indebted for art, science, literature, invention, religious thought and most of the other precious gifts of human life, are imprisoned in the bondage of a barbarous and inhuman conqueror.

This year that has just ended was one of the blackest years in human history. These things are not the visions of a prophet of evil, they are not the imaginings of a horrid dream, they are the facts before our very eyes. Let use face them squarely.

The Significance of the War for Canada

Exactly one year ago, it was my duty to speak to you of the great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, of a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered. Speaking on that occasion, I used these words:

> "There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortune and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal. No one to-day can deny the truth of the words that there is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. How true these words are will be even more apparent when we consider the next outstanding fact to which I would draw your attention.

To-day, the nations of the British Commonwealth alone champion in their full strength, the rights of free men. Britain stands majestic and undaunted. To her have rallied those who once caught her great accents of liberty, and learnt from her the lesson of obedience to the law. In this hour of supreme peril, there have come also to her side men of Norway, of Holland, of Belgium, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland and of France. These men are not the ghosts of brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that still live, and will, once again, rise in the full dignity of their freedom, and the renewed vigour of indomitable youth. Nevertheless, we and they fight alone.

D 53278

The Significance of Labour Day

Let me now speak of another anniversary. Tomorrow, Labour in Canada will celebrate in complete freedom a day, which, by Act of Parliament, has been set apart to honour the place which Labour has gained and holds in our national life. It is deeply significant that such a celebration is possible at the end of a year of total war in Europe.

The position of Labour in Canada, its dignity and its freedom, can be fully appreciated, only in the light of both history and geography.

Canada, and likewise the United States, have been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but other fruits of the struggles in Britain for religious and civil freedom. Above all, they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the new land which beckoned them to its shores.

The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens also were of those who sailed the seas, and left their native land for a continent whose broad horizons offered larger opportunities of human happiness. They brought with them skill in the arts and trades, a great capacity for work, a love of home and the simple joys, and a sustaining faith. Upon these ancestral foundations, the men and women of British and French stock built their new freedom.

The Historical and Geographical Bases of Freedom in Canada

As the years passed, the adventurous and the oppressed, from every country in Europe, came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where life and human personality were held as sacred things, where tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory, where the state existed for man and not man for the state.

The frontiers of freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have steadily widened. They, too, have had their forts which consolidated the victories of the past, and protected the onward march of the future.

We have cause for gratitude, for the freedom recorded in our romantic history. We can be equally thankful for the security which geography has given us. We have grown to nationhood in a land separated by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, from the threat of a sudden invasion of its shores. The British navy, and for the last one hundred years, the navy of the United States patrolling the waters of its oceans, have given to our own rising national power a further sense of safety.

Time and space have worked for Canada. To the inheritance of free political institutions, thus assured and safeguarded by historical association and geographical position, democracy on this North American continent owes its existence to-day.

D 53279

Labour Day: A Lighthouse of Democracy

Now what is this democracy to which we so often refer? To me, democracy means that state of organized society which recognizes the right of its members to equality of opportunity. It means the power of the many, in increasing measure, to develop in complete freedom their latent strength and talent. It means the freedom of the many to enjoy, under the protection of those laws which they themselves have made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of their own labours.

Every Labour Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve, we see beneath them the freedom and the well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes to-night, we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. We can see the Canada we have longed for and worked for, a land in which men and women, regardless of race, creed or class, can live their lives without fear. For we have cherished the realities of freedom which are also its ideals; the right to think, the right to speak, the right to organize, the right to work, the right to worship.

We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour. We believe in the sanctity of humanity, and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of Divinity. However much we have failed in what we have done, nevertheless, in our innermost hearts, I believe, we have given a "value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives."

Dictatorship at War with Democracy

France until recently was of this household of democracy. So also were Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Within the space of a single year, we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world to-day. That is the next great fact which we have now to face.

We have not needed Hitler and Mussolini to tell us that dictatorship is at war with democracy. In a world of narrowing distances, there is no longer room for these two systems to survive side by side. Sooner or later, the one will extinguish the other. Light will fade into darkness or the darkness will vanish before the light. As has so frequently been said, it is just as true of the world to-day as it was of the American Union in Lincoln's day, that society no longer can continue to exist half-slave and half-free.

Europe's Midnight Hour

Recently I re-read the little poem entitled "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." It seems to me to reflect the tragedy and the hope of this zero hour. It pictures that great figure restless upon

his native hillside, contemplating the sickness of the world, the bitterness, the folly, the pain and the black terror that have come upon the homesteads of men. Listen to these words:

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come:—the shining hope of Europe free;
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea."

Europe has reached that midnight hour. Whether Labour Day in Canada a year hence will witness the spirit-dawn of a Europe free, or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will, and the untiring work, not of one democracy, but of all the democracies that have survived. In their combined effort, no force can be greater than the truth in Labour's heart and the strength of Labour's arm.

If we lack the vision to see the peril, and the strength to meet it, we, on this North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster in one of two ways. This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world.

The Added Strength of the Nazi Menace

In considering the fate of the democracies, there is another grim fact which we must face. It was unthought of a year ago. It bears immediately both on the possibilities of invasion, and upon the perils of competing industrial standards. This fact is that Nazi Germany has added to her own resources those of the countries she has subjugated. She has acquired a vast supply of the materials and equipment of war which, at the outbreak of war, it was expected would never be used at all, or, if they were, would be used against her. All France, as we know, is in the control of the enemy; the whole western seaboard of Europe from Norway to Spain is in German hands. All the ports and airfields of this continental coast line, once in possession of friendly or allied powers, to-day provide the bases from which the enemy pursues his course across the skies and seas. In addition to the resources of their own land and of France, the Nazis have seized and now possess the resources, the equipment, and the manufacturing plants of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Let me give a fact or two in detail.

Including the conquered areas, the Nazis now have capacity for producing 42 million tons of steel annually, as compared with the capacity in British countries of 17 million tons, and the capacity of the United States to produce 51 million tons.

In addition to steel, Germany has added enormously to her capacity to produce ships, aircraft, motorized equipment, armour plate and munitions.

It is a fact that the great tanks built in the arsenals of Czechoslovakia were used for the destruction of France, Belgium and Holland.

It is equally a fact that, in Nazi hands, the iron and steel, machines and munitions of France and Belgium to-day bring death and destruction to the British Isles.

Great Britain, Canada, and the other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120 million Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources and factories of their own lands.

As a result of conquering most of the industrial nations of Europe, and smashing their state organizations, social institutions and trade unions, Hitler has masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wages. However unwilling may be their obedience, however reluctant their contributions to the Nazi masters, they do represent a powerful addition to the effective strength of the enemy.

Common Interests of British Empire and United States

It was the recognition of these facts which led the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to declare recently, in the Parliament at Westminster, that the two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together, in some of their affairs, for mutual and general advantage. "Some months ago," said Mr. Churchill, "we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its resources.

"We have therefore decided, spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future."

The Canada-United States Joint Board on Defence

The principle of association of their interests for the common advantage of Great Britain and the United States was thus stated by Mr. Churchill on August 20th. This principle had already been recognized in the relations between Canada and the United States, in an equally practical, and an even more immediate manner, in the joint declaration made at Ogdensburg, by President Roosevelt and myself a fortnight ago to-day. The declaration set forth the agreement reached on August 17th for the establishment of a Permanent Joint Board concerned with the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States. As you are aware, the Permanent Board on Defence has since been duly constituted, and is at present engaged upon its studies of sea, land and air problems immediately related to the north half of the western hemisphere.

The establishment of the Permanent Joint Board is the logical, I might even say, the inevitable outcome of two significant declarations made on Canadian soil in August of 1938. The first of these was made on August 18th, at Queen's University in Kingston, by President Roosevelt in these words:

> "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."

On behalf of the people of Canada, two days later, in a speech at Woodbridge, Ontario, I acknowledged Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in these words:

> "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them 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."

These declarations marked the first explicit recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

The Surest of the Safeguards of Democracy

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's respon-

sibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both.

Canada has indeed become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain.

May we not see in the means now being taken to secure the common interests of the British Commonwealth and the United States, not only the surest of the safeguards of Democracy, but a promise of peace and understanding, and an enduring contribution to the cause of freedom in the world.

Freedom of Europe Essential to North American Freedom

So much for North American security from invasion. That, however, is not enough. Unless Naziism in Europe is destroyed, the threat of world domination by a ruthless foe will hang continuously over our heads just as, in recent years, the threat of invasion and domination has hung over the heads of the free peoples of Europe. To meet that threat, our own standards of behaviour and living would increasingly become those of the totalitarian states. Our democratic institutions, one by one, would disappear, and with them what we have won of freedom.

Unless the enemy is defeated and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no prospect of improving or even of maintaining the standards of Canadian life which Canadian energy and Canadian skill have won, no hope of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of our own or succeeding generations. Free labour will have to compete with slave labour. Men who have hitherto had the right to choose where they would work, and at what they would work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labour, automatic, soulless, driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.

Economic and Political Consequences of Failure to Free Europe

Moreover, failure to free the peoples of Europe from their present thraldom, will mean confining within narrowing limits the areas in which the democracies, should they survive, can hope to develop intercourse in trade or friendship. Many of the markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will certainly disappear. Overseas we will be forced to compete with men who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We, in North America, will be subjected to competition from totalitarian economies. In a vain effort to maintain our standards, we will be driven to trade almost exclusively with ourselves. As a last impelling

D 53284

alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

To Labour, these facts have spoken and will speak with emphasis and conviction. Labour knows the stake in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Labour knows what it will lose in the defeat of democracy. It understands the difference between rule by force by those who seek a monopoly of power, and government by consent for the common good. It knows the difference between men who despise equality, and seek privilege, possessions and power, and those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

Labour the Ally of the Fighting Forces

In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the soldier, the sailor and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in the thoughts of this nation; it will live in its memories. But Canadians will remember too the debt they owe to labour. In Canada, Labour has extended its hours, surrendered its holidays, and in its determination to increase and advance production, has taught the young and the inexperienced the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada, realizing these things now, to remember them in the hour of victory.

In the deeds of the men who on land, on sea and in the air, offer their lives to save us, Labour is the partner and the ally. Hundreds of skilful hands, unerring eyes and strong arms helped to create the Canadian planes in which, on Friday last, our own Canadian fighter squadron made the skies of the British Isles vivid with the swift adventure of their skill and courage. How proud Labour must feel to have worked for such men! Thus it is that with labour rests the power to shorten the duration of war and, thereby, to save multitudes of human lives.

Every workman knows that every bolt, every piece of steel, every bullet, every machine part fashioned in Canada is a work for victory. Every workman knows that lacking the machines of war, the bravest men in the world will avail nothing.

The Two Great Brotherhoods

My fellow citizens: A distinguished British journalist who recently visited us, said that he found Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself. We are at war, and we shall remain united in will and purpose. But we can only remain at peace with ourselves if shirking no effort, withholding no wealth, and sparing no sacrifice, we prove ourselves worthy of our two great brotherhoods—the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us, and the brotherhood of Labour that works for their victory.

September 25, 1940.

D 53285

Dinner in honour of U.S. Journalists

Purpose of tour -
No speeches.

Names of journalists -
Compliment and national honour.
Acknowledgment of.

Thanks to those present:
(1) who planned tour,
(2) who out of busy and important lives give up a week.

Thanks to Davies and Sifton.
Tour - a contribution to war effort.

To U.S. visitors - time and thought.
A privilege - names distinguished.
A bright page.

To see Canada at a time of war,
and at war.

Welcome as neighbours and allies.

Visit evidence of interest in cause.

Grateful for sympathy and co-operation.

Other visits of journalists -
Time of need.
None so expressive of friendship.

Opportunity to gain fullest knowledge and information.

Nothing to conceal -
intentions or actions.

Only half picture of war effort in Canada.

At entry of war, scene of hostilities distant.

Re invasion of our own land:
3 lines of defence.

Strategy - distant front.
Contribution accordingly.

Maginot Line, no longer a first defence.

British Channel; London

Our forces placed at disposal of Britain.

Not sufficient to see war organization at home,

but on what has gone abroad.

Army,
Navy,
Air Force.

Equipment and munitions, aircraft, guns.

Anglo-American Relations.

Done for Britain,
for ourselves,
for you.

Looking after our own interests,
helping each other as well.

Our interests bound up in note of similar aims,
ideals and actions.

Canada's contribution possible because of understanding, friendly and powerful neighbour.

Confidence given Canada by practical expression of support.

List contributions and thank for.

D 53287

Past and present position,
respect for each other's problems,
common interest.

Bone - war with Hitler - peace with herself

War with Hitler for reasons help explain peace
with ourselves.

Canada's three loyalties:

1. to herself - a nation
no subordination or compulsion,
unity.

2. to British Commonwealth -
British stock, British institutions;
freedom secured menaced by Hitler.

3. to League of Nations -
begetting sense of oligation
progress of Hitler's aggression
conscious of significance of aggression.

Reasons for prompt and united entry into war.

Something more profound beneath all this.

Viewed with alarm rise of dictatorships.

Crushing Christian civilization.

War between powers of darkness and powers of light.

Conclusion

Darkness and light; everywhere world faced
with democracy or dictatorship,
freedom - tyranny.

War between opposed concepts of life.

D 53288

Monopoly of privilege, possessions and power,
as liberty, equality and fraternity.

If democracy to be preserved - must defeat
enemies and restore ideals and rights,

first to France

All lovers of freedom to seek to further.

Canada and U.S. working together.

D 53289

25-9-40

Purpose of Dinner

Thanks
Welcome

Government work re information

Canada at War

1/2 picture overseas
Strategy, etc.

3 lines of defence

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain
" " ourselves
" " United States
thanks for

At War with Hitler

3 loyalties
beneath all - Christian civilization
darkness or light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy
different concepts of life

before,
beneath,
beyond.

Privilege, possessions, power vs.
liberty, equality, fraternity.

D 53290

Mr. Reid, Mr. Howell --
other members of press of U. S.,
other gentlemen present

Purpose of Tour --

observation of war effort
no speeches by politicians

Purpose of dinner

acknowledge National honour
thanks to Davies, Sifton
thanks to U. S. press
privilege to meet
bright page of country at time of war

welcome -- as neighbours, friends
and well-wishers -- allies
interest in cause
significance of conflict

many visits -- this most memorable
friend in need

Government's wish to gain information

attitude towards

Canada at War -- only half picture

basis of our strategy
3 lines of defence
war organization at home
what sent overseas

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain
" " ourselves
" " United States
how possible
each for ourselves
helping one another

thanks for U.S. assistance
come to see community of interests

Canada at War with Hitler

peace hereself
) self
3 loyalties)--Great Britain
) League of Nations

beneath all Christian civilization

a war between Darkness and Light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy for world

different concepts of life

before) Privilege, possessions, power
beneath) Liberty, equality,
beyond) fraternity

D 53292

Speech by the Prime Minister at the dinner in honour of United States Journalists September 25, 1940.

Mr. Reid, Mr. Howell,
other members of the Press of the United States,
and other gentlemen present.

Purpose of tour - no speeches.

I have been told by Mr. Davies and other officers of the Canadian Press who have had in hand the arrangements for the tour of visiting journalists from the United States that the purpose of the tour is one of observation in relation more particularly to Canada's war effort.

I have also been told that such moments of re-creation as might be afforded en route were not to be marred by speeches either before or after dinner -- particularly speeches by politicans -- whose measure is usually much better known to members of the journalistic profession than to themselves.

I wish, therefore, immediately to assure all present that unless it would occasion disappointment to others not to be called upon, mine will be the only speech to which, out of courtesy, you may be called upon to listen. I promise you that it will be brief.

Names of journalists -
Compliment and national honour - acknowledgment of.
Thanks to those present (1) who planned tour,
(2) who out of busy and important lives give up a week.

When my colleagues and I received the names of those who had accepted the invitation of the Canadian Press to participate in the present tour, we felt that the compliment paid in this way to Canada had been a very real one, and that it would be the wish of the citizens of our country that we should view it as a national honour, and avail ourselves of some appropriate occasion so to express their feelings as well as our own. It is with this in mind, that I should like, while we are gathered in the informal manner in which we are about this table this evening, to thank (1) those present to whom Canada owes the inauguration of the tour and its planning and, (2) particularly, those present who, out of very busy and important lives, have generously been prepared to give an entire week to form, with their neighbours, a more intimate acquaintance, and to learn at first hand, something more of Canada's part in the present war.

Thanks to Davies and Sifton -
tour a contribution to war effort.

Perhaps I may be pardoned if I express, first of all, to Mr. Davies, the President of the Canadian Press, and Mr. Victor Sifton, the Vice-President, and through them the

other officers and members, the very warm thanks of the Government for the thought of the tour and its arrangements, and for the admirable manner in which, I understand, it is being carried out. A service of the kind, at a time such as the present, is in itself a very real contribution to the war effort not of our country only but to that of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole.

<u>To U. S. visitors - time and thought - a privilege - a bright page</u>.

To you, gentlemen, whose time and thought is given so completely (1) to the dissemination of accurate information and (2) the moulding of public thought and opinion, and who are (3) so representative of all that is best in journalism in the United States, I should like to say that, as individuals, we feel privileged indeed to have this opportunity of meeting so many of those whose names are so familiar to all of us but whom, thus far, most of us have not had the pleasure of meeting, and that collectively the people of Canada will view, as a bright page of this country at a time of war, the one which for all time will record the pleasure of your visit in our midst.

To see Canada at a time of war and at war.
Welcome as neighbours and allies.
Visit evidence of interest in cause.
Grateful for sympathy and co-operation.

You have come to see Canada, not only at a time of war, but to see Canada at war -- at war with the most powerful enemy that, thus far, has threatened the freedom and well-being of mankind. We welcome you as neighbours, as friends, as well-wishers, and, so far as the laws of a neutral country will permit, or can be stretched, as allies in a great cause to which we have pledged ourselves, our honour, our loyalty, our material resources, and our lives. We know that were it not for (1) the profound interest which you have in the cause for which we are fighting, were it not (2) for the full appreciation you have of the significance of the conflict in its relation to your own country and all that pertains to its freedom, you would not be here tonight, and certainly would not be spending a week in our midst. We are therefore deeply grateful for this very generous and very practical expression of your sympathy, good-will and, may I add, co-operation.

Other visits of journalists - time of need -
None so expressive of friendship.

We have had, during this period of war, many visits from individual journalists, some from the United Kingdom, and many, I am happy to say, from the United States. In times of peace, we have also had memorable visits from associations

of journalists within and without the Empire. At no time, however, more than the present, could it so truly be said that a friend in need was a friend indeed, and of no visit that it could have expressed more in the way of friendship. For this, alike in the name of the Government and of the people of Canada, I should like to thank you most warmly.

Opportunity to gain fullest information and knowledge. Nothing to conceal - intentions or actions.

I need scarcely say that the Government shall welcome your being given every opportunity of gaining the fullest possible knowledge of what, in the present war, this young country, with its population distinctly limited in numbers, has contributed, is contributing, and hopes to be able to continue to contribute to the successful prosecution of the war. We would like you, at the time at your disposal, to see as much as you possibly can, and, in other ways, to gain as much information as you possibly can. There is nothing in our intentions or in our actions that we desire to conceal beyond what, if disclosed, would be of service to a common enemy. At a time of war, as at no other time, it can truly be said that "actions are louder than words".

Only half picture of war effort in Canada.
At entry of war scene of hostilities distant.

There is one thing, however, that I would ask you to keep in mind. It is that, at most, but half the picture of Canada's war effort is to be gained from anything you may see in Canada itself. When Canada entered the war, which she did within ten days after the German forces had rolled in upon Poland, the scene of hostilities was far distant. We had no illusions about the danger of its spread or how wide it was likely to prove. Indeed, I think it is true to say that, from the beginning, we visualized a possible emergence into a world conflict. What we did not see was the rapidity with which events would take place nor the very great power and ruthlessness of the enemy. We believed time to be on our side.

Re: invasion of our own land. - 3 lines of defence.

As regards the possibility of invasion of our own land, we recognized three major lines of defence: the Maginot line was one, the British Channel was another, and our own Atlantic seaboard and coasts the third. From the outset, our strategy, based on that of the allied powers, was that of having war waged as largely as possible on the most distant front, and making our contribution accordingly. In consultation

and co-operation with the British authorities, our effort accordingly was directed to the sending of men, munitions and supplies across the seas and in planning to do this in the manner likely to be most effective in a war that, in all probability, would last for three or four years.

Maginot Line no longer a first defence -
British Channel - London.
Our Forces placed at disposal of Britain.
Not sufficient to see war organization at home.

In this war, to thwart aggression which aims at world domination, the Maginot Line is no longer a line of first defence. That line, as we all know only too well, is now the British Channel. Behind it, the city of London has become the citadel of the world's freedom. As the British Isles have become increasingly the centre of hostilities, and Britain has found it increasingly necessary to protect her own land and shores by such military, naval and air forces as were immediately at her command, we in Canada have increasingly placed at the disposal of Britain herself in the manner that might most effectively meet the present situation, what, in the way of fighting forces and material, we have been able to send. In seeking to visualize in its true proportion such contributions as Canada has, thus far, been able to make, it is not sufficient that you should see something of our war organization at home:

D 53299

100,000 men under arms in Canada today,
the training camps,
the coast defences and naval stations,
the progress of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan,
the munitions and war equipment industries,
the steps more recently taken for the mobilization of
our human and material resources,

not to mention lesser incidental matters such as:

the internment camps for war prisoners, and refugees,
the care of children from overseas,
the extent of taxation and borrowing, by which the
entire effort is supported,

you must also allow your mind to dwell upon (1) the Canadian divisions which narrowly escaped active service on the coasts of Norway and on the fields of France and which today constitute all but in name the major portion of the best equipped army corps in the British Isles. You have also to think of (2) Canadian battalions that, for months past, have been in New Foundland, Iceland, Bermuda, and in the West Indies; (3) of a Canadian Naval Service, small but efficient, which, from the outbreak of war, has assisted in convoy duty between this new world and the old, and has not hesitated to send what few destroyers it had into European waters, leaving our own coasts, for the time being, largely undefended; and, finally (4) a Canadian Air Force that already has contributed numbers of men to the Royal Air Force, and has fighting squadrons of its own actively participating in the battles of the air in the defence of Britain.

D 53300

You have also to recall that we have not hesitated, realizing how emergent the situation is, to part with a not inconsiderable portion of our own equipment and munitions, aircraft, guns, and other supplies, believing, as I have said that victory to cause and country alike would, in the end, be won with greater certainty and more quickly by the extent to which it is possible to support the first line of defence.

Anglo-American Relations.

Mention of these facts brings me, naturally and inevitably, to just a word about Anglo-American relations of which I hope I may, without danger of being either misunderstood or misinterpreted, say just a word. What we have done and are doing in the directions I have mentioned has been done and is being done for Britain, it is true, but in no less certain and equal measure for ourselves. May I add that I believe it may in its effects rightly be viewed as something which has been done for the United States as well. We, each in our own way, have been looking after our own interests, but we have been helping each other as well. What, perhaps, we are coming to see more clearly than we ever have before is that what we call our own interests, in a world like that in which we are living today, are bound up immeasurably and, I might also say, irrevocably in the interests of those whose national aims, actions and ideals are similar to our own.

We are coming to discern more of the res eternitatis - the eternal truths, the scriptural truths: No man and no nation liveth to itself. We are our brothers keepers. Obviously, we could not have dared to incur the risks we have incurred had our frontier resembled that of the frontiers of the countries of Europe, or had we had, as an immediate neighbour, other than the most understanding, the most friendly, and the most powerful of nations.

Confidence given Canada by practical expression of support.

I should like you to know that that support and the practical expressions that have been given to it so constantly all along the way has enabled us to do and to risk what we have with a confidence without which it would have been extremely difficult to effect very much.

Respect for each other's common interest.

Speaking the truth, we have each seen and have each had great respect for each other's problems. What we have all come increasingly to see is the need for the closest possible co-operation in their solution and how great a community of interests we have in the preservation of the freedom on which is based the Christian civilization which we hold in common.

D 53302

The Canada-United States Permanent Defence Board, the naval bases and air facilities granted the United States in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and other British possesssions in the Atlantic, the destroyers transferred, or being transferred from the United States to British fleets, speak, as words could never speak, of the recognition of a common purpose, but also of a common danger, a common need, and of the necessity of action in common.

Bone- War with Hitler; Peace with herself.

I have made mention of the visits of other journalists to Canada. An observation, as made by one of them, has given me personally a feeling of pride, which I believe is shared by the Canadian people generally, greater than almost any which it would be difficult to express in words. The visitor was Mr. John Bohn, of the Manchester Guardian. Writing of his impressions, Mr. Bohn said: "I found in Canada a nation at war with Hitler, and at peace with herself". That, gentlemen, was a profound and penetrating perception and a very great national tribute. It revealed an insight into the very soul of the Canadian people

War with Hitler for reasons which explain peace with ourselves.

We are at war with Hitler, and the reasons help also to explain why we are at peace with ourselves.

D 53303

Canada's three loyalties.

In her national and international relations, Canada has had three loyalties of which she has constantly sought to take account.

The first has been the loyalty to herself, which has made her a nation in her own right, possessing all the attributes of nationhood in her own eyes and in the eyes of others. That has relieved her citizens of any feeling of subordination, and lies at the very basis of her unity. There has been no compulsion about anything Canada has done in the present war. What she has done has been of her own volition and the free action of a free Parliament. Had there been compulsion, had there been commitments involving this country in war overseas, before the place, the time, and the cause of the war itself was fully known and understood, I question if Canada would have gone to war at all. And, if at war, certainly not as a united nation.

The second loyalty has been that which we owe to the British Commonwealth of Nations of which we are one. The loyalty begotten of the stock to which many of us belong, but even more of what we feel we owe in the way of freedom to British institutions and the security of that freedom through membership in the British Empire. In the rise of Hitlerism and the extension of Nazi power, we have seen

D 53304

freedom itself menaced as never before in the history of mankind.

There has been, too, a loyalty felt, perhaps most strongly by those who were more zealously pacifist in their feelings and professions - a loyalty to the League of Nations and the principles on which that great institution was founded. This loyalty possessed in common by all political parties, over many years, had begotten a sense of obligation in particular to the smaller and less powerful nations, especially where they were the actual or threatened victims of aggression. We had watched with feelings of indignation, the marching into the Rhur in violation of obligations of Locarno; Hitler's annexation of Austria; the broken pledges of Munich, and the conquest of Czechoslovakia, with the result that when Poland next was threatened, and Britain and France had pledged their all in an effort to thwart further aggression in Europe, we had to become fully conscious of the significance of that aggression, not to Europe only, but to the world.

Reasons for prompt and united entry into war.

It is true that the many ties which have united us through the years with the British Isles, associations with the British Crown,made more real and inspiring by the recent visit to this continent of our King and Queen, and the fact

that the stocks of Canada itself is so largely those of French and British origin, and that the alliance of French and English in Europe was paralleled by the more perfect union of interest and purpose by those of English and French descent in our own land, all this helped to make natural and almost inevitable the prompt and united entry of Canada into the war.

Something more profound and beneath all this.

I believe, however, there was something even more profound than all this, and which our people with their youthful vision and idealism were quick to see and to sense. Long before the invasion of Poland, we had viewed with alarm (1) the rise of dictatorships in Europe; (2) the destruction of free political institutions; (3) the growth of the totalitarian states; (4) the substitution of force for reason in matters of government, and, above all else, (5) the use of all these instruments and instrumentalities to crush out the things that, as a people, from our earliest childhood, we had learned, above all else, to reverence: faith in God, and if not love, at least regard, for our fellowmen. In a word, all that could be best described as a Christian civilization.

War between powers of darkness and powers of light.

We have recognized this war was not so much a war between nations as a war between what we believe to be the powers of darkness and the powers of light. Having sensed all this, having felt all this, believing all this, we could not be other than at war with Hitler in the present conflict and being a country at war against what we profoundly believe to be the powers of evil, to say nothing of an enemy who we are convinced seeks to dominate the world and to rule it by force, we are a country at one with our conscience and ourselves.

World faced with democracy vs. dictatorship - freedom, tyranny.

May I say just one word in conclusion. As the war has progressed, it has become increasingly apparent that not Europe only but pretty much the entire world will soon be faced with the choice between democracy or dictatorship, the former seeking the preservation of freedom, and the latter the suppression and the establishment, for years at least, of a world tyranny.

War between opposed concepts of life - Monopoly of privilege, possessions and power vs. Liberty, equality and fraternity.

The present is something more than a war between nations or empires, it is a war between entirely opposed concepts of human life and human well-being between those who

D 53307

seek a monopoly of privilege, possessions, and power, and those who are at enmity with monopoly in any shape or form. This was true of the struggle that had begun in Europe long before the war. It, above all else, lies beneath the war today, and it is the problem which, beyond the war, will still await solution.

Liberty, equality and fraternity has not perished for the time being in France alone. They are perishing, and will continue to perish, wherever democracy in the true sense of that word ceases to exist. If democracy is to be preserved on this continent, and where else it is to be found in the world today, it will not be sufficient to defeat its present enemies, it will be necessary to restore the ideals and the rights which have been trampled in the dust. To restore to France liberty, equality and fraternity will be one of the first tasks, but that task will not be accomplished apart from recognition of the fact that liberty, equality and fraternity are not the rights of Frenchmen only, but are of the essence of democracy everywhere. To that great task all lovers of freedom and all whose freedom may be preserved will have, as never before, to devote their lives. In that great task, as was said so splendidly by Mr. Moffat, the American Minister, in an address which he gave at the Canadian Club today, Canada

and the United States, as free democracies continuing to live side by side and co-operate in all forms of highest endeavour, should be able to make a contribution not only of infinite value to themselves but to the greater good of the entire world.

September 29, 1940. D 53309

RED CROSS APPEAL BY THE PRIME MINISTER

"The Voices of Mercy"

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight the Canadian Red Cross Society is appealing for five million dollars to help Canadian and British men, women and children in the hours of their greatest need. Assisting the Society in its appeal, Canadian and British artists, whose names are among the greatest in the entertainment world, are making a free-will offering of their exceptional gifts. Their voices will be heard in song, in mirth and in drama. You will also hear, in the concert to which you will be privileged to listen, the voices of the five little girls whose lives, from the day of their birth, have been a centre of interest to millions of kind-hearted people, and a special care of the State.

The world famous men and women who are bringing for your inspiration and enjoyment, the gifts with which they have been blessed, are placing their special talents on the altar of our common humanity with the spontaneous generosity which is typical of the great profession to which they belong. To them, I offer, in the name of the people of

Canada, a nation's thanks. To our little friends at Callander, and to Dr. Dafoe, I also send the grateful good wishes of us all.

As we listen in the quiet of this Sunday hour to the voices of the great actors, famous musicians, and happy children who sing, or speak, or play for us, I should like you to think especially of the sorrowing and suffering ones, on whose behalf their individual contributions are being made. I should like each one to ask himself to what extent can I also immediately contribute to the fund of the Red Cross in order that its voice, too, may be heard, in fuller and deeper tones, amid the cruelties and anguish of war.

The voice of the Red Cross is the voice of humanity. It calls to us tonight from scenes of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy. It is to be heard amidst the devastation of ancient monuments and humble homes, and from the waves of the storm swept sea. It is the voice of our own bravest sons and daughters, and of their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas, who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live. It is the voice not only of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agonies and privations for us, but also the voice of women and little children, appealing to God for rescue, from the barbarities of a foe who has

substituted a deity of iron and steel for the Source of Light and Love in the human heart.

Tonight, amidst man's inhumanity to man, the voice of the Red Cross pleads the cause of man's humanity to man. It is the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Chirist-like ministrations. Its work unites into one great community of mercy, all creeds, all classes, all races. Under its banner, doctors and nurses brave pestilence and death. Beneath the sign of its holy symbol, men and women comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying. It is this great humanitarian service which, at this time, we are being called upon to aid.

Our own hearts will need much in the way of consolation before this terrible and ever widening conflict is at an end. In what we, ourselves, have done to lessen its sacrifices and its sorrows, will lie the only real consolation we shall ever have.

Ladies and gentlemen: Many voices appeal to you tonight. Strongest perhaps, is the voice of Conscience, - the celestial and immortal voice - it has been called. Of your generous response to the eloquent appeal of these many voices, I am not the least in doubt.

D 53312

National War Savings Committee - Oct. 28, 1940.

On behalf of the Government, I would like to express our appreciation of the important voluntary work being carried out by the National War Savings Committee. No single phase of the war effort on the home front, is as many sided in its implications and possible effects. It is at once a balance wheel in the national economy, and an important source of money to be converted into the weapons of war.

War Savings in a democracy can produce in voluntary fashion what the totalitarian states can do only under the most rigorous pressure and controls. By regular investment in War Savings Certificates, our people can make an important contribution to the war program; they can avoid inflationary price movements; and they can build a reserve of purchasing power to tide them over the possible rainy days of post-war adjustment.

Canadians are eager to share in a vigorous prosecution of the cause of winning the war. As the government views your services I would say that the National Chairmen of the War Savings Committee, and each of the nine Provincial Chairmen, have undertaken a high mission that can provide an avenue of participation for every man, women and child, and also save Canada from many of the scars of war.

We all know that war involves sacrifices that must be faced and borne by all. Our men and women have answered the call to the colours, and no words can adequately describe the sacrifice they are prepared to make. At home our sacrifices take a material form.

War Savings actually mean intelligent management of one's own affairs in relation to the war effort. Saving alone is not enough - to have its maximum effectiveness it must be wisely directed savings. We must save on products

and services which can be directly diverted to war purposes. Many things which are not luxuries in the usual sense of the word are luxuries now if we are to be honest and thorough in our determination to put first the winning of the war. For example, a dollar spent on imports, even of ordinary necessities, from non-Empire countries, may be just one dollar less available for imports of war necessities from such countries. Dollars spent on products other than those wholly essential which require a large amount of skilled mechanical labour reduces the amount of labour available for the production of aeroplanes, tanks, motor transport, and other war essentials.

It is the stern responsibility of every Canadian to consider whether or not his spending hampers the effort to equip our soldiers, sailors and airmen with the best and most complete equipment. In other words, our private buying should not be competing with the Department of Munitions and Supply for products that involve foreign exchange or construction and mechanical labour.

War Savings Certificates provide a medium through which Canadians can systematically invest a part of current income in a storehouse of purchasing power to be used in later years. Much of the agony of the adjustment from war-time to peacetime pursuits of the nation will be avoided if our people have saved regularly while all are busy producing the sinews of war.

You the members of the War Savings Committee will do a fine service if you carry this message back to the people of your respective provinces. Spend wisely, always with a thought for the war effort; save regularly, with a thought for the future; join Canada's army of regular War Savers. This army of War Savers will help effectively to protect the future of this country when peace returns.

D 53314

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Sunday, December 8, 1940.

My Fellow Citizens:

I pause amid the duties and distractions of this Great War to speak to you for a few minutes about another conflict. It is an age-old conflict. It is one we wage against an invisible foe in our midst. In it we have gained many victories; and, in the last few years, remarkable victories. The invisible foe of which I speak is the dread disease of tuberculosis.

I appeal to you tonight on behalf of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society. At this Christmastide, the Society asks all citizens who wish it well, to purchase Christmas seals, and use them on their Christmas correspondence. By allowing our Christmas letters to carry a message of hope and good will on the outside, as well as on the inside, the Christmas seals offer an easy opportunity to us all to help this work for the relief of human suffering.

It is not without significance that the device on the seal is a combination of the double-barred Cross

of Lorraine, and the Cross of the Church of Greece. Under the Cross of Lorraine, fight the free soldiers of France. The Cross of the Church of Greece is that of the little land which was the first to define Freedom, as it is the latest to defend it.

The results in the battle against tuberculosis have been truly splendid. When the Anti-Tuberculosis Society was first organized in 1900, tuberculosis ended more lives than any other known disease. Today it has fallen to seventh place in the terrible column of death. In the last Great War, as many Canadians died of tuberculosis at home as were killed on the battlefields of Europe. Today, the death rate is only one-third of what it was. The stark facts which marked the experience of 1914-18 caused doctors and scientists, and those interested in human welfare, to act quickly and vigorously.

The great change in public health that has resulted in the last twenty years has been due to increased knowledge amongst the people, and the extension of treatment, and preventive measures. Throughout Canada there have been established clinics and nursing services to assist in the identification, and the treatment of this disease. Two

D 53316

thousand beds that were available for sanitorium treatment in 1914 have been increased to ten thousand beds.

Today, unless we are vigilant and active in our support of this work, there is a danger that ground won will be lost, and that the foe will return with all his former strength to wreak havoc in our land. War, especially when it is accompanied by the living conditions that prevail in Britain, and in many European countries, will be followed by an inevitable increase in the number of tuberculosis cases in the beleaguered countries.

In Canada, additional care has been taken, and must be taken. For the first time in our history all men who enlisted for active service were subjected to a special examination for tuberculosis. 1.6 of those who were X-rayed were rejected. Those who required treatment received it promptly. All other cases have been checked, followed up, and assisted by the Anti-Tuberculosis Society.

In 1941, this great humane organization will need your help more than ever, in order to maintain the health of Canadian youth. Men and women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five are especially liable to the

onset of this white plague. At a time when youth is doing so much to save the world, it is our manifest duty to help to save youth <u>for</u> the world. In the new year there is likely to be a shortage of men and women trained to care for tubercular patients; some lessening of accommodation; some increase in cost. The work must not be allowed to suffer.

Canada has played an honourable part in the wide-world fight against this killing enemy. Throughout our country there exists a brotherhood of science which, in the true tradition of Pasteur and Lister, has worked to diminish the sorrows of humanity. By setting the seal of your Christian charity upon your Christmas letters, you will be adding your own to the efforts of all who labour in this community of mercy.

Greetings to Canada's Armed Forces

D 53317

Ottawa, December 25th, 1940.

Day
Christmas Broadcast by the Prime Minister

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of all Canadians, to extend the Season's Greetings to everyone who is serving in Canada's forces, abroad, and at home, whether on land, on the sea, or in the air. You may be sure that you are more in the hearts and minds of your loved ones today than at any previous Christmastide.

To many, the Christmas message: "peace on earth; good-will toward men" may seem to be strangely out of place amid the din of conflict, and the horrors of war. It will not be so with you who are in arms. You know full well that the whole purpose of your warfare is to slay the dragon of evil, in order that the teachings of the Prince of Peace may prevail among men and nations.

In many lands, this year, Christmas bells are silent, altars are dimmed, and little lights are not aglowon the Christmas trees of happy children. Nevertheless, in millions of homes, darkened with the shadows of war, the flame of Christianity still burns steadily in the sanctuary of the human heart. As crusaders, you seek

to protect that flame. It is your mission to preserve it from extinction. Amid the clamour of evil, the tribulation of suffering, the turmoil of battle, we hold fast to our belief in Christian brotherhood. That is why Mr. James Bone, of the "Manchester Guardian", said, after a recent visit, that he found in Canada, a nation at war with Hitler,but at peace with herself. On no day since Christ was born in the manger at Bethlehem, has the song of the angels meant more to mankind than it does on this Christmas Day.

Especially have we in our thoughts at this Christmas-tide those who, through the devastation of war, have suffered the loss of loved ones, of home, or of country. Despite sadness and suffering, may something of the peace of God find its place in their hearts.

In concluding, I should like to send our greetings to the men, women and children of Britain who hold the front line of freedom. On behalf of the people of Canada, may I say to one and all: "Your fortitude and your faith are the highest possible inspiration to the entire freedom-loving world."

December 31, 1940.

D 53319

A Message to the Canadian People

New Year's Eve Broadcast by the Prime Minister.

Already, as I speak to you, a New Year has begun its onward march around the globe. It has left the past forever behind. What it portends for the future, no man can say. Of one thing alone we may be sure. Before the year 1941 has run its course, events will have happened which will change, for all time, the world as we know it today.

The Fortunes of War in the Old Year

A year ago tonight, men and women belonging to nations that still enjoyed their freedom, were comforting their hearts with the thought that the onset of the aggressor would surely be stayed. In a sacredly guarded neutrality, and behind lines of military and economic defence, unbroken, and which they believed to be unbreakable, they felt a security which would protect their countries and their lives. They did not see - indeed, none of us could have believed - that in the year now all but ended, most of the free nations of Europe would be invaded, and, today, dominated by Nazi power. Nor did their minds then envisage the treacherous role of Italy. Nor did they contemplate the danger to the existence of democracies in the new world, as well as in the old, in the open alliance of Japan

D 53320

with the axis powers. All these things have happened. They have taught us that the prospect of world domination by a single power and its vassal states is no longer merely the dream of tyranny, or the nightmare of liberty. It is a danger upon the threshold of our very doors.

Fortunately, the old year, which has seen so many misfortunes and horrors, has witnessed other things as well. Foremost has been the unconquerable spirit of the British peoples. It has seen the heroism of Greece, and the mortal thrusts at Italian power in Northern Africa and the Mediterranean, by Briton and Greek alike. The year that is ending has also witnessed the calling in of the new world to redress the balance of the old. Within recent months, the United States of America has determined to constitute itself, in the words of President Roosevelt, "the arsenal of democracy". The vast storehouses of the industrial resources of the whole North American continent which, alone, can balance and surpass the industrial strength of Germany, are open to Britain, and closed to her enemies.

Referring more immediately to ourselves, this old year has witnessed a vast increase in our country's capacity to aid in the winning of the war. The Canadian forces have grown

D 53321

in strength on land, on sea, and in the air. Canadian industry, Canadian labour, and Canadian agriculture have worked together to equip and supply our own soldiers, sailors and airmen; and, in increasing measure, to provide munitions, equipment, supplies and foodstuffs for Britain. Above all, the year has witnessed, on the part of the Canadian people, a unity of purpose, a determination of effort, and a readiness to make whatever sacrifices may be involved, second only to Britain herself.

It is an exhilirating thing to see the history of brave men repeat itself through the ages. Pride in the heroism of the defenders of Britain and Greece has vastly strengthened the sense of kinship amongst all free peoples. Moreover, realization of the common danger has fortified the common determination of free nations to end, for all time, the menace of tyranny.

The Tremendous Task in the New Year

Inspired as we have been by British courage and the brilliant successes of the British and Greek arms in the Mediterranean and Northern Africa, above all else, we must refuse, as we enter upon a new year, to be lulled into the

D 53322

dangerous belief that the tide has definitely turned, and that success is now assured. Such a conclusion would disclose a fatal lack of appreciation of the inherent dangers of the present conflict. The victories in the Mediterranean, however splendid, cannot of themselves decide the issue. Moreover, Italy is not the real enemy. The real enemy is Nazi Germany. Her armies stand today unimpaired in their might - as strong, or stronger, than ever. While denied the complete victory they hoped for in 1940, they have, thus far, known only successes. They have never been defeated. While invasion of Britain has been prevented, Nazi warfare in the air and at sea has grown in intensity.

Nor should we count too eagerly upon an early offensive. Instead, we must be prepared for further manifestations of Nazi aggression. The vast resources of conquered Europe are being harnassed by their Nazi masters to drive their war machine. In the valley of the Danube, the Nazi hordes are again possessing themselves of the lands of neighbouring peoples. They are bent on further conquest. The few unconquered nations of Europe live in the shadow of Nazi terror. At the other side of the world, a menacing cloud darkens the Far Eastern sky.

D 53323

We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by viewing, in all its stark realism, the trenendous task which faces the defenders of freedom. That task may well be greater in 1941 than it has been in 1940. It is going to demand more effort, more sacrifice, and far more change in our daily lives than up to now has been required.

The hour is near when the enemy, with ruthless ferocity, may be expected to gather all his strength and strike. He will hardly fail to seek a decision before the industrial contribution of the New World has altered the balance of power, and changed the dogged defence of freedom into a triumphant onslaught against tyranny. It is perilous to imagine that his blow will be weakened by civil war behind his lines, or by the desertion of this associate, or the enmity of that. There is only one sure way to defeat his strength. That is, with greater strength. Our part is to do all we can to help provide that greater strength.

I wish I could believe that the New Year will see the end of the present conflict. That, of course, is a possibility. While the signs of the times are the stars of hope, and not the black omens of despair, they point, nevertheless, to an expansion rather than to a contraction of the

D 53324

areas of conflict, and of the theatres of war. I do believe, however, that the Year 1941 will see a decisive tilting of the balance in which ultimate victory and defeat are being weighed; and that, ere its close, we shall be able to read something of the future which will be our own. That future, I doubt not, will be a new world order which will cherish freedom, truth, and justice. It will be born of all there has been of toil and of prayer, of suffering and of sacrifice.

How soon the balance may incline to ultimate victory will depend upon the endeavour of every one of us. Just as a single particle of dust will weigh down a balance which is evenly poised, so the effort of the least among us may be just the extra something needed to weightthe balance between defeat and victory. Though it be but as dust in the balance, each individual effort, rightly directed, will weight the balance on the wide of freedom. No task is too humble, no labour too insignificant, no individual too poor or weak to make the needed contribution to this great end. Surely, no higher or nobler call can ever go forth to the hearts of any people, than that, by the united power of their own individual labours, they should seek to serve and to save not only their own generation and their own land, but the succeeding generations and other lands as well.

D 53325

The heroic endurance by the men, women and children of Britain in the midst of fire and death from the clouds; the determination of ordinary men and women to carry on with their work amid the wrecks of their homes and in peril of their lives; the gallant resistance of the whole of Britain in the face of terrible odds; these things have taught us that the Nazi might is not invincible. They have taught us, too, that none is too humble to do his part in upholding the cause of freedom.

Some of our tasks may seem to be remote from the making of war. But every duty well and honestly done is a contribution to victory. Let each one of us, whether he works in the factory or on the farm, in the forest or in the mine, at the desk or in the home, labour at his appointed task with all the strength of his arm, and a prayer in his heart. Liberty in the Old World - everywhere in the world - will depend upon labour in the New World.

Tonight, I appeal to you, my fellow Canadians, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, to enter upon the New Year resolved to maintain above everything that unity of purpose, of determination, and of effort, in the winning of the war, which has been, from the outset, and will remain till the end, the secret of our strength. Let us consecrate our individual lives and the collective life

D 53326

of Canada to the preservation of freedom. Let us work and pray for its restoration in all lands which have lost their liberty. It is my firm belief that the events of the New Year will determine for our generation, and for many generations to come, the fate of mankind. The present struggle can have but one of two outcomes. Either tyranny, based on brutality, must be overthrown, or the free peoples of the world, one and all, slowly but inevitably be reduced to a state of bondage.

Let us remember that when we speak of the preservation of democracy, of Christianity, and of civilization, we use no idle words. They are inseparably intertwined, one with another. It is the existence of all three that is at stake. The events of the year 1941 will determine whether this precious heritage will survive.

As I conclude this broadcast, at the close of the old year, my thoughts are with the colleagues with whom I have shared the responsibilities of government since the commencement of the war. I recall the singleness of purpose and high devotion with which they have given of their time and strength to their appointed tasks. Particularly have I in my memory the one of our number who was taken so suddenly from our midst.

D 53327

Canada will not soon forget the services given to her by the late Norman McLeod Rogers. As Minister of National Defence at the time, he had just returned from a visit to Britain where he had conferred with the British authorities upon the best way in which Canada could help with the conduct of the war. On the desk, in Mr. Rogers' office, after his death, were found, in his own handwriting, words in which he recorded his faith and his hope. His faith remains to inspire us; his prophesy is still our hope. For the New Year, as individuals and as a nation, we can form no higher resolve than to make his words our own. They belong to the old year, but they belong even more to the new. It will be found, I believe, that they belong perhaps not to any year, but to all time.

Here are Mr. Rogers' words:

"In the faith we will fight on, we will resist,
we will endure, we will take the offensive,
and we will win."

D53328

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS CHAMBER, OTTAWA, JANUARY 14, 1941

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The Dominion-Provincial Conference which was convened to consider the report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations met in the Commons Chamber at 10.30 a.m., the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, presiding.

The conference opened with formal prayers by His Honour, J. A. Glen, M.P., Speaker of the House of Commons.

OPENING ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King: I desire, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, to express to the premiers of the several provinces of Canada here assembled, our warm appreciation of their acceptance of the invitation extended in my letter of November the 2nd, 1940. We extend a most cordial welcome to you and to the various provincial ministers and officials who have been able to accompany you.

In the letter of November the 2nd, we asked you to meet us in conference to consider the report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. The commission was appointed under an order in council of August the 14th, 1937. Its labours were inevitably lengthy and arduous. It was not possible for the commission to present its report to the government until May the 10th, 1940. Care was taken to see that the dominion and provincial governments received the report at the same time in order that all might be simultaneously informed of its contents. The report was tabled in parliament on May the 16th, 1940.

We desired from the outset to arrange for the earliest possible conference between the provinces and ourselves to consider the commission's recommendations. It was felt, however, that sufficient time should elapse to permit of a careful study of the report and its recommendations, not only by members of the governments concerned, but by all who take a special interest in public affairs.

In order to make possible our present meeting in this first month of the new year, it was necessary to have the proceedings of the several legislative bodies so arranged as to enable a conference representative of all governments to be held in Ottawa at this time. The action taken to this end is particularly appreciated as evidence of the importance which the provinces as well as the dominion attach to the grave questions of mutual concern which have occasioned our meeting together.

While the proceedings of the conference itself must necessarily be restricted to the matters appearing on the agenda to be agreed upon by the conference, my colleagues and I earnestly hope that, during the intervals between its sessions, every opportunity will be taken of the presence of so large a gathering of provincial and federal ministers for informal discussions of any questions of mutual interest. I would venture the opinion that, with reference to the

D 53329

conference itself, the more the subjects on the agenda can be considered and discussed in a free and friendly manner, at intervals between the sessions of the conference, the more fruitful the sessions themselves are likely to be.

The question of procedure will be for the conference to decide. In the proposals that have been made by letter, for your consideration in advance, we have been guided by the methods adopted at Imperial conferences, and at previous meetings between the dominion and the provinces. You will be asked to consider whether verbatim reports are desirable, and to whom they should be made available, and whether the press and public should be admitted to the meetings of the various committees and to other plenary sessions of the conference.

Anticipating the natural desire for as much public information as possible, tentative arrangements have been made for a liaison between the committees and the press which, it is hoped, will serve to meet the needs of the situation. I should like to emphasize that, while the proposals we have made for the conduct of the proceedings of the conference are those which we felt would, both immediately and in the long run, best serve the interests of the country, they are, of course, merely tentative. The opinions of the delegates here assembled will be the deciding factor. Perhaps the best way in which to arrive at a decision would be for the premiers of the provinces to meet together in conference with two of my colleagues to consider the suggested agenda and procedure and then themselves decide to what meetings and to what committees the press and the public should be admitted. I think I may say that my colleagues and I will be quite prepared to accept the decision of the majority of the provinces.

THE COMMISSION—ITS PERSONNEL AND WORK

I am sure that it is the wish of all who are gathered at this meeting that I should express our thanks to the able and distinguished men who are responsible for the report which we have before us. It is a matter of the deepest regret to us all that the Honourable N. W. Rowell, the commission's first chairman, should have been so stricken by illness that he was not able to take part in the completion of the great work which gained so much from his planning, direction, inspiration and example. I know that those who were associated with him would wish to say how much they and we owe to his wide knowledge of Canada, her history and her institutions, his broad human sympathy, his patience and his tact. It is only right and fitting that his name and that of his successor should be given to the report which crystallizes the results of the commission's labours.

The country was, indeed, fortunate that Dr. Joseph Sirois was able to assume the burden which Mr. Rowell was obliged to lay aside. Dr. Sirois brought to his task great knowledge, great experience and great ability. I regret that owing to a recent indisposition Dr. Sirois is prevented from being with us to-day. It is the hope of us all, I am sure, that his early recovery of complete health will restore him to the important branch of the public service with which he has recently been entrusted.

The commissioners began and continued their labours in a spirit of scientific inquiry. They travelled to all parts of Canada. By interview, by evidence, by personal investigation and by study, they gathered together material for what can be fairly described as one of the most exhaustive and comprehensive surveys that has ever been made at one time of the historical and economic background of the social life of any country. In this work they were assisted by many able and experienced specialists in the field of economics, finance, social science and constitutional law.

The work of the commission is to be found not only in the three major volumes of its report, but in the comprehensive and authoritative studies which

D 53330

accompany its publication and form the basis for its findings. These volumes are notable examples of Canadian scholarship and research. While the final reputation of the report will no doubt depend upon the manner in which it can be wisely used in the national interest, it will always remain as a splendid contribution made by able and public-spirited Canadians to the history and progress of their native land.

CONFERENCE IN WAR TIME

I should like, now, to state the reasons which prompted the federal government to invite the provincial governments to meet with us at this time to consider the recommendations of the commission. It has been said that, by calling a dominion-provincial conference in war time to consider the fundamental problem of the relations between the dominion and the provinces, the federal government is running the risk of impairing Canada's war effort, by diverting energies which should be concentrated on the prosecution of the war. It has been asserted that in time of war, neither the federal government nor the provincial governments have the necessary leisure to give the calm and dispassionate consideration to their intergovernmental relations which is required if these are to be adjusted on a fair and permanent basis. The fear has also been expressed that the conference will result in differences between the dominion and the provinces, or between one province and another, which may threaten the national unity.

The federal government, I need scarcely say, would be the last to take any step which it felt would impair the national war effort, or the national unity on which our war effort is based. I might add that we would be the last to wish to add, to the tremendous burden of organizing the war effort, other burdens and responsibilities. If we had believed that a dominion-provincial conference would have such consequences, the invitations to the conference would never have been issued. Moreover, the assumption that a dominion-provincial conference would endanger the national unity of Canada, so essential to our war effort, would be a grave reflection upon the patriotism of all governments represented here.

There are, of course, bound to be differences of opinion whenever a conference is held. Government itself, in a democratic state, is largely concerned with overcoming and reconciling differences. In fact, if no differences existed, no conference would be necessary. It was because differences existed that the commission was appointed to study the problems to which they gave rise, and it was in an effort to suggest a solution of the problems that the report was prepared.

It will be recalled that among the reasons which led to the appointment of the commission in 1937 were representations to the effect that the discharge by the dominion and provincial governments of the respective responsibilities involved expenditures of such a magnitude as to demand not only the most efficient administrative organization on the part of all governments, but also the wisest possible division of powers and functions between governments. It was felt, at that time, that unless appropriate action were taken, the allocation of governmental powers and responsibilities made at the time of confederation would not be adequate to meet the economic and social changes, and the shifts in economic power, which were in progress, without subjecting Canada's governmental structure to undue strains and stresses.

It is unnecessary for me to point out that, apart from the war, governmental expenditures have been steadily increasing, and, as a result of the war, have become phenomenal. The stresses and strains to which, in consequence, relations between the provinces and the dominion were subjected, prior to the appointment of the commission, have been greatly intensified under the pressure of war. They will continue to increase as the war continues, and in the post-war

D 53331

period. If the conditions of 1937 were such as to justify the appointment of the commission, the conditions which face all Canadian governments to-day are certainly such as to necessitate the most careful consideration of its recommendations.

While we necessarily incur a great responsibility in bringing the provinces and the dominion into conference at this particular time, had we failed, in existing circumstances, to call the conference, we should have incurred a still greater responsibility. We know that the problems of dominion-provincial relations are being intensified by the war, and that the difficulties of their solution will increase the longer the attempt to meet them is delayed. We all know that the war effort itself will be prejudiced if the growing stresses and strains in intergovernmental relations are not relieved.

The federal government is charged with special responsibilities in the direction and conduct of Canada's war effort. We realize that the measures, and this applies particularly to the financial measures, which it has been and will continue to be imperative for the federal government to take for the successful prosecution of the war, necessarily have profound effects upon the provinces, and particularly upon their finances. It seemed, therefore, desirable to take the earliest opportunity of meeting with the representatives of the provinces to discuss the relations between their governments and the federal government, with a view to reducing to a minimum the possibilities of misunderstanding and friction which might otherwise result from the operations of the war measures of the federal government.

While the direct responsibility for the conduct of the war is necessarily that of the federal government, the provincial governments, as we all know, have also a vital part to play in the development of a maximum war effort by the Canadian people. The importance in war time of the home front can scarcely be exaggerated. If we are to do our utmost, we all know how essential it is that we maintain in our own country at this time of war the fundamentals of the democracy we are defending. The preservation of the fabric of democracy in Canada, the safeguarding of minimum standards of living, and the maintenance of as great a measure of equality of sacrifice as possible, depend upon the policies of provincial and federal governments alike. We believe that the people of Canada will wish all their governments to cooperate to further these ends.

CONFERENCE NECESSARY APART FROM WAR

This leads me to say and, indeed, to emphasize the fact, that the dominion government is not concerned merely with its own immediate problems. Had we escaped war altogether, an early conference to deal with the commission's report would have been advisable, and necessary to meet the particular problems with which the provinces were faced.

Many of the provinces have met, and will continue in accentuated measure to meet, difficulties in maintaining, with the resources at their disposal, proper minimum standards in education and social services. Obviously, in view of its new and vast war burdens, it will be harder for the domiinon to find, in cooperation with the provinces, a solution for these provincial difficulties. In spite of that consideration, the federal government is prepared to make every effort in this direction. We believe, however, that our efforts can be made effective only as part of a general scheme of financial revision.

Neither the dominion nor the provinces can be said to have created the problems which to-day so urgently demand solution. These problems owe their existence in large part to world conditions. I doubt if the dominion has suffered from the situation that has developed as much as some of the provinces. The federal government, however, recognized the seriousness of

D 53332

the problems affecting the dominion and the provinces alike. We sought to facilitate their solution by the appointment of a royal commission, and by giving to its members exceptional opportunities for the most complete inquiry and research.

The commission have outlined the situation clearly. They have shown how, in a rapidly changing world, the position of Canada is changing; how a greater interdependence and instability of international trade had profoundly affected Canada because our economy is so closely geared to international markets; and how the changing industrial structure and changing standards of social obligation had created difficult internal problems which did not exist two generations ago.

The commission have worked out a carefully balanced solution. They have recommended what they consider the minimum of change necessary to effect a substantial improvement in the ability of the various governments of Canada to perform their needed services. The recommendations of the commission, we believe, are, at least, as much in the interests of the provinces as of the dominion.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE CONFERENCE AND THE REPORT

I should like now to say a word as to the attitude of the federal government to the work of the conference, and of the spirit in which we are approaching the consideration of the report and its recommendations. As I indicated in my letter of November the 2nd, the report commends itself strongly to our judgment. It is our considered view that the adoption of the commission's recommendations is necessary to put our country in a position to pursue a policy which will achieve the maximum war effort, and at the same time to lay a sound foundation for post-war reconstruction. That is our conviction, after a careful study of the report and its recommendations.

In thus stating our position, I do not wish it to be understood that we regard the report as the last word. Nor do we mean to suggest that the recommendations of the report must be accepted or rejected as a whole. The report itself makes it clear that the financial scheme proposed by the commission constitutes a single recommendation, all parts of which are inter-related and interdependent. The financial adjustments recommended constitute a balanced plan which involves the assumption of heavy burdens and responsibilities by the dominion with compensation to the dominion through the concession of exclusive instead of concurrent powers in certain fields of taxation.

While recognizing that the financial plan must be considered as a whole, we have never doubted that modifications in details of financial recommendations may prove desirable, in particular in the arrangement of the national adjustment grants on the basis of more recent and complete data.

Let me repeat: While the recommendations of the report have commended themselves to our judgment, we do not approach the conference with our minds closed. We do not say "all or nothing" or "everything at once." We readily recognize that the recommendations on all subjects may not be immediately acceptable. They must be considered on their merits in relation to the obligations of the provinces as well as to those of the dominion.

If we do not approach the conference with our minds closed, much less has the federal government any thought of trying to impose the recommendations of the report upon the provinces. It is one thing, however, to try to force a solution, and quite another to do our utmost to find one. What we seek is the largest possible measure of common agreement to enable the federal and provincial governments so to cooperate as to make our Canadian system work with less friction and greater efficiency for the benefit of the people of Canada in all the provinces.

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While the report was submitted to the federal government, it was made for the whole Canadian people. The commissioners were bound in their deliberations to consider every part of the nation, as well as the whole. The report itself points out that the commissioners have been concerned not merely with the interests of the federal government, but with a scrupulous respect for our federal system. It states that they were actuated by the aim of ensuring "to each province the ability to decide issues of peculiar importance to itself." In other words, the report is as much concerned with the safeguarding of provincial interests as with the protection of federal interests.

The government believes the commissioners have performed a fine service in their report and that the proposals provide a fair and helpful basis for a solution. If a better solution can be found, it will be welcome. We feel, however, that no solution can be adequate which does not recognize the real difficulties with which Canada is faced, and which does not take into account the suggestions made by the commission for their solution. We feel, too, that in offering criticisms of the recommendations, it should be realized that criticisms will be tested by the value of the alternative proposals put forward to meet the problems with which Canada is faced.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

The crux of the problem which faced the commission and which faces this conference is, of course, the financial relationship between the federal and provincial governments. When the commission was appointed those relationships had been seriously strained, and the autonomy of many of the provinces endangered by the terrific financial burden of unemployment relief upon all governments. The burden has to-day been greatly reduced, but the heavy charges imposed by the governmental debts incurred in meeting it unhappily remain.

In its place has come the far heavier and steadily growing burden of financing Canada's share in the greatest war in history. The burdens of war are imposed upon governments and taxpayers alike. War has inevitably increased the competition between governments to secure revenues, and it has aggravated the overlapping, cumbersome and discriminatory character of much of our tax structure. The competitive effort to secure revenues is bound, as time passes, to create growing friction between the dominion and the provinces, and even to produce friction between one province and another. It hangs over the country as a threat to its unity. If it is allowed to continue, our national war effort will inevitably be hampered, and there will be no possibility of distributing the burden of war equitably.

It has been said that the constitutional provision which empowers the federal parliament to raise money "by any mode or system of taxation," being unlimited, would enable the government to finance the war without recourse to any arrangements or adjustments with the provinces. That is, of course, true, and that is in fact what was done in the last war. This procedure is advocated by those who would have the federal government in war time stretch its powers to the limit, without reference to the consequences of their application upon the finances of the provinces, or upon the future well-being of the country. This course would, however, involve grave inequalities and injustices. It is hard to say how it could fail to provoke serious discontent and a weakening of morale. These, in their turn, would weaken the effort which Canada could put forth in the winning of the war.

We are approaching this difficult problem from an entirely different point of view. We are approaching it in a spirit of conciliation and cooperation. We have deliberately chosen the method of conference. We have felt that in justice to the provinces they should be called into conference and that all should seek by agreement to avoid consequences which in the end would affect the whole

D 53334

nation and every province. We realized that so long as the present arrangements continue, Canada would not be able to put forth her maximum productive effort to win the war, nor to distribute its cost justly and fairly.

We feel too that while our energies at present must be concentrated upon the prosecution of the war, neither the federal nor the provincial governments can afford to neglect the future. The perpetuation of the existing inequality, inefficiency and duplication of our governmental financial structure will leave us in no position to make the social and economic adjustments which will be necessary after the war. The war will inevitably be followed by a period of reconstruction which will impose new obligations and burdens upon all Canadian governments. Our governments will need the highest attainable efficiency, as well as the most harmonious relations between them, if they are to be equal to the tasks which they will have to bear. All I am sure will agree that the sooner we are able to make the necessary adjustments, the better equipped we will be to finance the war, and to cope with post-war problems.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REPORT

It would be inappropriate for me, at the opening session, to enter into a detailed discussion of the recommendations of the report. I shall, however, doubtless be expected to state briefly what the principal recommendations are and to indicate why they commend themselves to our government. In accordance with its terms of reference the commission has inquired into all aspects of the division of governmental powers and responsibilities between the dominion and provinces, and its recommendations and suggestions have therefore covered a broad field. These concerned, for example, provision of a systematic procedure for regular dominion-provincial conferences, provision for the delegation of powers by the dominion to the provinces, and vice versa, and provisions regarding labour legislation and social welfare generally.

However, as already mentioned, the crux of the commission's proposals lies in the four provisions of its financial plan. Very briefly these are:

1. That the dominion take over the whole burden of provincial net debt.
2. That the dominion relieve the provinces, and therefore also the municipalities, of the whole burden of relief for the employable unemployed and their dependents.
3. That the dominion be conceded the exclusive rights to levy succession duties, and taxes on personal incomes and corporations.
4. That the existing provincial subsidies be abolished; and that, where necessary, the dominion make to the provinces national adjustment grants, calculated to enable the provinces to maintain an average Canadian standard of essential services with an average level of taxation.

The assumption of provincial debts by the dominion government, while imposing upon the federal authorities a heavy financial burden would carry with it three major advantages. It would remove the burden of debt from people who dwell in the areas incapable of bearing it, whether the incapacity arises from a loss of population, a loss of markets, the calamity of drought and pestilence, or over-expansion consequent upon the reasonable but unfulfilled expectation of growth.

It would strengthen Canadian credit by removing the danger of provincial default, credit that must be kept sound if we are to bring to the protection of Canadian social standards and to the defence of civilization all the weight and power of our resources. In strengthening the credit of Canada, it would strengthen the public and private credit of the industrial provinces of Canada. For the financial difficulties of one province are bound, in the long run, to be a burden upon, and a threat to, the financial position of every other province.

The assumption by the dominion of provincial debts would also ensure a very considerable saving to Canadian taxpayers whenever debts originally incurred on the credit of the provinces become subject to domestic or foreign refunding on the credit of the dominion.

D 53335

The transfer to the federal government of the whole cost of relief for the employable unemployed and their dependents is the logical outcome of the experience of the past. It would prevent a repetition of the confusion, the inefficiency, the waste, the delay and the inequalities that have admittedly prevailed in the administration of relief since 1930. It would abolish the illogical incidence of the present responsibility, where the heaviest burden necessarily falls on the jurisdiction that is least capable of bearing it, and where one species of property, namely, real estate, carried far more than its share of the cost. The new proposal recognizes the inability of local communities to deal with mass unemployment and agricultural distress resulting from causes beyond the control of the province, and the impossibility of dealing with unemployment relief or agricultural relief as a national economic problem on the present basis of local financial responsibility.

Obviously the dominion could not take over provincial debts, or the whole cost of relief without compensating adjustments. The proposed exercise by the Dominion government of the exclusive right to levy income tax, corporation tax and succession duties represents in the opinion of the government's financial advisers the one way by which we can finance our great and growing obligations efficiently and equitably, and at the same time assume the additional burdens it is proposed should be transferred from the provinces to the dominion. It is axiomatic that the largest taxing authority is the most efficient taxer of income. It can prevent evasion, and fit taxes most accurately to the ability to pay. The exclusive right of the dominion to the taxes referred to would remove discriminatory, double, and in some cases, treble, taxation, and would reduce the cost of collection to governments and to taxpayers. It would make possible a scientific reform of the whole Canadian tax system, and thereby remove obstacles in the way of an expending national income.

National adjustment grants to the provinces would do away with what is chaotic and illogical in the present system of subsidies. These subsidies are the product of historical accidents, and in some cases of political pressure. The proposal to substitute grants, determined upon a scientific formula, is a recognition of the broad human proposition that every citizen of Canada is interested in the social welfare of every part of Canada.

The system of national adjustment grants, although it may need some revision from time to time, would guarantee that every province, no matter what disasters it has known in the past, or what calamities it may face in the future, would be in a position to supply, on an average basis of taxation, at least the Canadian average standards of education and welfare services.

I should perhaps emphasize that the taxes which it is recommended the dominion should exclusively levy are taxes which the dominion now has the power to levy. It is not, however, an exclusive power. The dominion does, in fact, now levy income taxes on persons and corporations. Most of the provinces and even some municipalities also impose taxes in this field. They are calculated on widely varying bases, and with differing distributions of their burden. The result is a lack of uniformity and equity in the incidence as between the people of one province and another, which can be eliminated only by a removal of the duplication and overlapping which now exists.

Any one of the financial concessions to the dominion taken alone can of course be shown to work with disadvantage to one or more provinces. The financial recommendations should not be considered individually; they should be viewed as a whole. Concessions must be balanced against contributions.

Obviously, so far as the fiscal relationships are concerned, the main effect of the war now, and for years to come, will be to increase vastly in amount the revenues which the dominion will require for the conduct of the war, and increase the proportion of available public funds which will be required for this dominion obligation. In some way or another, the dominion will have to find these revenues if Canada is to take her full part in this decisive and fateful struggle.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

D 53336

The federal government is well aware that, should the recommendations of the report be adopted, it will, at the outset, be called upon to accept an initial increase in the financial burdens. It is apparent, however, that once the major fields of progressive taxation are reserved for dominion use, initial expenditures will be gradually absorbed. In the process, the taxpayers of Canada will be saved the money that is lost on duplication of collection, waste and successful evasions.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Before concluding my remarks, I should like to correct one or two misapprehensions which appear to have arisen regarding the recommendations we are about to discuss. An exaggerated notion has arisen that we are proposing to rewrite the constitution, or to rebuild the structure of confederation. The recommendations involve no such grandiose design. The structure of confederation houses a nation which is to-day stronger and more united than ever before. The weight of the structure is, however, not so evenly distributed as it was originally. It has been shifted in places by the vicissitudes of time, and, particularly, by the storms of recent years. It rests to-day more heavily on some parts of the foundation than on others. The problem facing us at present is to distribute the total burden more evenly, and to strengthen the parts of the foundation which must bear the increased and increasing burdens.

It has also been said that the report aims at the centralization of authority at Ottawa. As I interpret the recommendations, no such effect is intended. The commission was instructed to make recommendations which would enable all governments to function more effectively, and more independently, within the spheres of their respective jurisdictions. Far from seeking to weaken or destroy the autonomy of the provinces, the recommendations aim at rescuing autonomy from the perils of confused and overlapping jurisdictions, and making clear definitions between the functions of the federal and provincial governments. In the words of the report, the aim was "throughout to safeguard the autonomy of the provinces, and to ensure to each province the ability to decide issues of particular importance to itself."

It is recognized that the substance of provincial autonomy will become only a shadow if provinces are not in a position to discharge the financial obligations without which the other duties of government cannot be performed. The best way to preserve provincial autonomy is to maintain provincial credit. To quote the report itself again, "The financial recommendations aim to place every province in a position to finance its own social welfare programme in accordance with average Canadian standards."

Throughout the report, the federal character of our constitution is constantly stressed. There is no attempt to upset our typical Canadian form of federation. There is no suggestion that the federal government should be strengthened at the expense of the provincial governments, or the provincial governments at the expense of the federal government. The purpose of the report is to strengthen both in their own spheres, so that they may be able to discharge their functions efficiently and in accordance with the will of the people whom they serve.

The commission has not recommended that any constitutional right now belonging exclusively to the provinces should be allocated to the dominion. In all constitutional recommendations, the commissioners recommend that the province shall have jurisdiction in all matters in which there is not a paramount and clearly apparent national concern. The special traditional rights of French-speaking Canadians are both preserved and emphasized. The report recommends particularly that the performance of the functions of the dominion government in Quebec shall always be in the hands of officials who have knowledge both of the French language and of local conditions and customs in the province.

D 53337

The commissioners have recognized the basic principles of democratic government. Government, to be effective, must be responsible. Responsibility should be clear. It should not be lost in a multiplicity of jurisdictions or a maze of constitutional disputes. The people have a right to know to which government they must look to exercise the control of all essential services, social and economic, without which democracy loses its meaning. The constitution should be a clear statement of powers designed for prompt action and effective administration. It should never be allowed to be a legal excuse for the non-performance, or a legal hindrance to the performance of duties and things necessary for just government and social welfare.

PARTNERS IN A GREAT ENTERPRISE

In conclusion, may I say, we firmly believe that the prosperity of Canada depends upon the prosperity of every part of Canada. No province of Canada, however concentrated its wealth, however large its population, however strong its industrial foundations, can hope to remain prosperous if any other part of Canada becomes an area of distress. Some provinces of Canada may, at first sight, appear to suffer a temporary handicap if the recommendations are adopted. We believe, however, that if a long view is taken, the adoption of the recommendations and their progressive effect upon the economy of the whole country will be of substantial benefit to all the provinces.

It is a truism that in any federal system every geographical division is a part of the whole and of every other part. There is a mutuality of interest in war and in peace, in prosperity and in adversity, in trade, in business and finance, and not least in those wide human and cultural relations on which the happiness of the people finally depends. Truly, we are members one of another. The recognition of this truth will guide us in our efforts to reach agreement along the path of co-operation. In meeting the problems of the war, and in looking to the new social order, which we pray may follow in our own and in other lands, there is at least placed upon us the obligation not to allow any short view, or narrow division, or sectional dissension, to be an obstacle to an honest, persistent and thorough attempt to solve our national difficulties. Our willingness to be tolerant, moderate and helpful will be the measure of our capacity to succeed. Everything will depend upon the spirit which inspires the conference and guides our words and actions. We meet, not in opposition one to the other, but as partners in the great enterprise of furthering the common interest of our country, and preserving its national unity.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

Hon. MITCHELL F. HEPBURN (Premier of Ontario): Mr. Prime Minister and gentlemen, during this time of stress and strain and ruthless warfare I have never publicly criticized the Sirois report or its recommendations. I did make a statement about the timing of the publication of the report because I believed then, and still believe, and am joined in this belief by many persons, that I did a public service in calling attention to the act of throwing into the arena of discussion a highly contentious document at a time when people who love the Empire and all it stands for are concerned with one thing, and one thing alone—the successful prosecution of a victorious war in which our national security is at stake. For if our effort fails, Hitler, and not the delegates present at this dominion-provincial conference, will settle our domestic problems.

In this regard the policy of the government of Ontario has not changed in any particular. Those of us who represent the central province have been consistent in our attitude.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Right Hon. MACKENZIE KING: Then, shall we adjourn? We shall try not to be very long.

At 5.50 p.m. the conference took recess.

D 53338

The conference resumed at 6.00 p.m.

Right Hon. MACKENZIE KING: Gentlemen, before I indicate the views of my colleagues and myself as to the further proceedings of the conference, may I, in order to make clear my understanding of the present position, state it quite simply as I see it.

We are assembled here to consider the report of the commission on dominion-provincial relations, and the discussions that have taken place up to the moment have had reference to that report. From the speeches that were made by the several premiers I gathered that three at least are opposed to continuing any discussion so long as the report is to be the basis thereof. There are three of the premiers who are quite outspoken in their support of the report, in the same general way in which the federal government has expressed its approval and commendation of the report. Three of the premiers indicated in their addresses that they were not in a position to speak emphatically one way or the other but preferred to form their judgment after there had been an opportunity of listening to the discussion and participating in the proceedings which they believed would be held in committee.

I do not think it is surprising that at our first day's meeting different points of view should have been expressed in regard to the report. Let me say again clearly that if we had been seeking to impose our views upon the premiers the situation might have been quite different from what it is; we desire rather to compose views and to see whether, by discussion, we cannot reconcile differences that may exist.

As I stated at the beginning, it is one thing not to force a solution, but it is quite another thing not to try every possible means to find one. I think we have tried our utmost to find a solution on the basis of what the report proposes. That is the only real basis we have upon which to discuss the matters before us in the absence of any alternative proposal which would offer a better solution than that suggested in the report. I believe I made it clear that if anyone had a proposal to make which would afford a better solution than that put forward in the report we should be the first to wish to accept it.

Having said that, may I call attention to what the commissioners themselves have expressed in their report as to what they found as a result of conference among themselves. It throws much light on the present situation. In the second volume of the report, at page 269, the following passage appears:

> The conclusions which the commission has reached are, therefore, not sudden inspirations but the result of careful deliberation. The commissioners consider it both remarkable and significant that, on questions on which the most divergent views are widely and tenaciously held both by public men and by private citizens, they should have arrived at complete agreement. This agreement is not the result of compromise or of give and take but reflects a sincere unanimity of judgment on the great issues which confront the nation. Its significance is enhanced by the fact that the four commissioners are men from different regions of Canada, men who differ widely in background and in training, as well as in general outlook; and it is also significant that the conclusions which they have reached are far from being the views which any one of them held at the outset of the inquiry.

Frankly, I for one had hoped that, no matter how divergent our views might have been at the outset, we might have found it possible as a result of conference to reach at least a measure of that complete agreement at which the commissioners themselves arrived after a careful study of the question.

May I say this next. When my colleagues and I considered the calling of this conference there was between us a great diversity of view as to the wisdom of having such a gathering at this time. In saying that I do not think I am betraying any cabinet secret which I am sworn to respect. I for one took the view that it was very doubtful whether it would be wise to have a conference in war time. I must say that the Minister of Finance, in the situation which he presented to the cabinet, convinced me that it would be a much greater responsibility on the shoulders of the federal administration if, knowing what we knew and having before us the information which he has disclosed this afternoon, we did not invite the provinces into conference with us to see whether, with that knowledge before the provinces as it was before ourselves, we might not find some means of avoiding the stresses and strains which we fear the extra burdens of war are likely to place upon the relations between the provincial governments and the dominion.

Mention has been made of our surrounding the conference with a cloak of patriotism in order to stress the war necessity. I am not going to try to outdo anyone in the use of graphic language, but I would ask you instead to look again at what I said in my introductory remarks with respect to the reasons which compelled us to bring the provinces and the dominion into conference in this time of war.

We felt that if there were a solution of difficulties which have been creating friction between the provinces and the dominion, and causing strains and stresses in the structure of confederation itself, the sooner the means to remedy that situation were found the better it would be for all. If the step was a good one in itself, then certainly it was obviously desirable that in a time of war, when unavoidable emphasis is being placed on all that is difficult, we should seek as early as possible to relieve such a situation.

As I said in my introductory remarks, we took a great responsibility in bringing this conference together; but we should have taken an infinitely greater responsibility had we not done so. You gentlemen are all interested in public affairs, to a degree to which perhaps no others in our country are. You know very well what would have been said later on if, after the Minister of Finance had found it necessary to introduce measures which would necessarily cut into the revenues of the provinces and create embarrassments between us as a consequence, we had said nothing to you in advance about the situation which we were facing. We should have been told at once: "Why did you not call us into conference? You had the means of helping to meet the situation. You appointed a royal commission for the very purpose of trying to prevent difficulties of the kind arising. Your commission has made its report and that report has been placed before your parliament and copies have been before us. Yet you never called us together to give us a chance to so much as express an opinion upon that report."

That is what would have been said, and no one knows that better than do the members of this conference. While among ourselves we did feel at the outset that there were views pro and con the question of calling a conference at the moment, and on many features of the report itself, the more we studied the question, the more we discussed it and the more we reflected upon it and upon all that was involved, the more by degrees we became convinced that the right thing to do was to bring the conference together at the earliest moment it could be arranged with the several provinces. May I say that at the end we were unanimous in that view, although we were decidedly of a different point of view at the outset. I have mentioned the views of the commissioners as expressed on the point of their differences and of their gradually coming together. I mention now the position of my own colleagues and myself because out of it all I hope we shall realize, as I believe, that whether we proceed at this time with the conference or not,

D 53339

the time may come when every province not only will be ready to meet the dominion in conference in connection with this report, but will be eager to do so. I do believe that had it been possible to have had all the provinces in conference with ourselves for a few days we would have reached some real measure of agreement on the matters before us.

However, let me present the situation as it affects ourselves in view of the position taken by three of the provinces. If we seek to go on with this conference, and three of the provinces are absent, such action would be construed, not only in our own country, but abroad, as evidence of some lack of national unity, and of some cleavage which had opened up between the provinces and the dominion. I do not believe that any of us either believes that to be true, or wishes it to be thought to be true in any part of the world, the world situation being what it is to-day.

I want to say that I believe that each premier who has spoken has presented the point of view which he feels it is essential to present on behalf of his own province, having the responsibility which lies upon him to give expression to the views of his government. I say that quite frankly. But I do say that for us to attempt in the absence of three of the premiers to continue the conference would leave the way open to the false impression I have just mentioned.

May I say this further: It is perhaps natural that as a federal government we should have come to view the report of the commission with the degree of unanimity which we do and recognize its importance particularly as a basis for discussion because of our being the federal government, a government which of necessity in all its affairs is dealing with all the provinces. We have here a sort of special position to judge of any situation as it affects Canada as a whole, not because we are on Parliament Hill, but because under the constitution all matters with which we have to deal are matters which affect all provinces. You gentlemen who come from individual provinces are assigned certain obligations and powers with respect to matters which affect in the main your own provinces. But as I said the other day, I believe firmly that it will be found that whatever is harmful to one province will be found sooner or latter to be injurious to all. We are all members one of the other. Holding that view very strongly I believe it would have been helpful, in the interests particularly of the provinces themselves, for them to have been able to get in greater detail than it has been possible to give thus far, the whole position in connection with dominion finance as we have to face it to-day.

May I emphasize the point I have just made, because it helps, I think, to explain why in a first meeting of a conference to discuss the report it is natural that each premier should present what might be called a strictly provincial point of view. Frankly, I was hoping, my colleagues I know were hoping, and I believe the public of Canada generally hoped, that we might have taken the larger view, namely, the view of what is most in the interests of our entire dominion.

By accident, rather than by intention, we are meeting together at this time in the House of Commons. This chamber was selected for the sake of convenience, rather than for any other purpose. This House represents not one province, but all the provinces; it represents all of Canada. I believe it is a symbol of the purpose that should underlie all conferences between the dominion and the provinces. It is a symbol of the desire that whatever is discussed should be discussed from the point of view of gentlemen meeting as citizens of one country, having first and foremost at heart the interests of their country as a whole.

I do not wish these remarks to be miscontrued. I do not want them to be taken as meaning that I think because someone differs from me, or takes a provincial point of view, he has not the interests of his country at heart. We

D 53340

have a premier representing a province by the Pacific; we have a premier representing a province by the Atlantic; we have premiers representing prairie province and central industrial province; we have premiers representing western, central and eastern provinces; the mind of each is naturally focusing upon the needs of his particular area, and it becomes more difficult for him to get that larger perspective which of necessity, as a federal government, we all must have in considering our problems. Except where there are special relations to be considered, we here at Ottawa are dealing continuously with matters which touch not one but all the provinces.

I hope I do not need to say anything further about our not desiring to make the war a factor in this conference beyond emphasizing the effect of the additional strain which the war and its demands is certain to have upon the increasingly difficult situation with which all of us are certain to be confronted as time runs on.

I feel that from what we have discussed even thus far much has been gained. Up to the present the provinces and the country have only had before them the report of the commission and the knowledge of the attitude which the dominion of Canada has taken toward its recommendations. They now have something more, they now have in addition the points of view of the different provinces with respect both to the report and its recommendations. They now have the point of view of each province, they now know the objections of each province to the report, although not as fully as these might have been stated had the conference run on for some time. Whoever has to do with this report in the future will have not only the report itself, but the various addresses which have been made at this table as a further guide to the study of the recommendations.

As Mr. Lapointe said when he was speaking this afternoon, progress is made step by step. Each effort will help the next one. I feel that while we have not obtained perhaps all that we should have, certainly not all that we hoped for, nevertheless one step forward has been taken.

One of the arguments that has been put forward very strongly at this conference is that this is a peace-time and not a war-time document. One of the gains of the conference thus far has been the indication of the preparedness of all provinces to consider this report in peace-time. It has been declared to be a peace-time document and the discussion of it in peace-time seems to have been agreed upon according to the remarks which have been made by all thus far. There is objection to its consideration in a time of war, but there has been the recognition that when the time of reconstruction comes there should be some further consideration of the report. That is a step forward although I admit it is not one that helps to solve the present situation to the extent that one would see it solved.

There has been the further gain that some of the misconceptions with respect to the report have been completely removed.

With respect to the conference itself and the degree to which it has been successful or has fallen short of the expectations of ourselves and others, it is not for me to assess or attempt to assess either praise or blame. I hope my attitude throughout the conference and I believe that of my colleagues has been such that no one can say there has been an attempt either on their part or mine to judge any man for his utterances or for his views. We are all alike servants of the people. We are the trustees of the people, not only for our own day and generation, but for the days of others, and for generations to come. And, so far as any judgment which may be based upon our proceedings here is concerned, I believe we may well leave that to those whose servants we are in all parts of this dominion in the future, as well as the present.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

D 53341

I wish to speak particularly of what I think has been most important of all, and that is the demonstration of unity of purpose with respect to Canada's war effort which has come out of this meeting of representatives of the provinces and of the dominion. If there has been one thing with respect to which all have been at one, certainly it has been that of the determination of all—provinces and dominion alike—to do our utmost toward the winning of the war. While we may differ as to some of the means by which that end may best be attained, I believe we have made it clear to this and to every country that what we have said all along with respect to Canada never having been more united in a great purpose and a great aim is absolutely true with respect to the position of the dominion and its provinces, as they face the grave situation with which the world is confronted to-day. That is something which will go forth from this conference, and which I believe will enhearten the people of Canada generally, and will enhearten the old world, and other parts of the world which are striving for freedom and the preservation of democracy.

I should like once again to thank each individual premier who has attended the conference for his kindness in coming here to meet and confer with my colleagues and myself. But particularly would I thank the provincial premiers for what has been said by one and all of them of the willingness of each and of their respective governments to give the federal government all the assistance they possibly can in the prosecution of the war.

My colleagues and I have been deeply concerned about the possible misunderstandings which might be occasioned by some of the measures which it may be necessary for us to take in doing our duty with respect to Canada's war effort as a whole—doing what our advisers tell us and what we ourselves believe to be essential toward the furtherance of that end. But you gentlemen, by making clear to us that you are quite prepared to support us in measures that we believe to be essential, have given vast assistance to the government. That is something for which I wish to thank you very warmly on behalf of my colleagues and myself. It will help us very materially in the war effort. If the conference had done nothing more than to afford that assurance I think it was well worth while for all of us to have come together at this time.

May I say in conclusion that the question as to whether or not we should seek to continue the conference at this time has been, I believe, answered by the purposes for which the conference was called, by the attitude already taken by some of the provinces towards the subject matter of the conference, and by what it is essential to keep in mind in connection with an important national gathering of the kind.

I stated at the outset in communicating with the premiers of the different provinces as to the plans we proposed that we were following the example of imperial conferences as they have been held in London over many years, and that we were following, too, the example of dominion-provincial conferences as they have been held in Canada in previous years.

I have said—and my colleagues are at one with me in this—that we ought to have regard to the national significance to be attached to a great gathering of this kind, and not attempt to proceed further than the wisdom of the situation demands. It would be, I believe, very unfortunate if by agreeing that the conference would proceed to-morrow, we should find when we assembled here that the representatives of three of the provinces were absent, as they have said they would be. We do not propose to permit that sort of step to be taken. We hope, however, that instead of regarding the conference as closed, that it will be viewed as one the proceedings of which have been postponed for some time.

It may be that before the war is over the provinces concerned will wish to have this conference reconvened to take up the matters they are not prepared to go into to-day. I should like to say on behalf of my colleagues and myself that if at any time the provinces ask us to meet them to discuss this report further,

D 53342

we will be ready to do so. If they can come to a state of unanimity among themselves certainly we will be ready to meet them, even in a time of war. If that step is not taken while the war lasts it will be because of the fact that some of the provinces have made it clear at this conference that it is better not to attempt further discussion while the war is on, that it is better to wait for the period of reconstruction, at which time all governments—it may be some other government may be in office in the dominion and also in some if not all of the several provinces—will doubtless wish to have another conference convened.

My remarks have made clear, I hope, that we feel, considering all the circumstances, we should not attempt to proceed further with this conference at this time. Saying that, however, may I repeat what I said earlier this afternoon: My colleagues and I appreciate the fact that there are present in Ottawa to-day the premiers and many ministers from all the provinces, and that they have brought with them their advisers. Each and every member of the government will be pleased to receive and to discuss with any premier or any minister, or person he may wish to bring with him, any question which it is felt is a matter of mutual interest between himself and ourselves. That may be arranged by appointment with the minister concerned. Everything considered, we feel that is the best way to have matters taken up from now on.

Having said this much I now declare the conference closed. I would suggest however that we conclude our proceedings by singing the National Anthem.

The conference then closed with the singing of the national anthem.

D 53343

January 15th, 1941.

D 53344

WAR SAVINGS CAMPAIGN

Radio broadcast by the Prime Minister

Sunday: February 2, 1941,
6:00 p.m.

I wish to make an appeal to every Canadian. It is an appeal to rally all our strength, to save Christian civilization from disaster.

There are many indications that, within a very short while, the enemy will make a tremendous effort to destroy the British Commonwealth by a series of smashing blows of unprecedented severity. Total war will be waged in all its fury. Hitler has made his purpose clear. It will be a desperate race against the growing power and strength of the British Commonwealth, a strength augmented by steadily increasing supplies from the United States.

Total War and How to Meet It

We have heard a great deal about total war. Total war means an indiscriminate attack on every front, by every means, however fiendish. It is war on sea, on land, and in the air, against armed forces and forts, warships and merchant ships. Practised by the Nazis, as we have seen, it is war against homes, hospitals, schools and churches. It is war on men, women and children. It is war by shot, shell, fire and poison gas. Its aim and

D 53345

purpose are total destruction. This is the war with which Britain is face to face. We would soon know all its horrors if the enemy could reach us. Between this continent and that attack, Britain stands as the first line of defence.

There is only one way to meet total war, and that is by total effort - effort not for a day, or a week, or a month, but every day until victory is won.

Total effort means that every man, woman and child does and keeps on doing everything possible to help.

Total effort can be achieved in two ways. It can be compelled by dictatorial force - that is the enemy's way. It can be obtained by the free-will offering of a free people - that is our way, and the way we must strive to preserve. We are a free people, and every day since the war began, there has been proof of the growing willingness of our people to spare no effort or sacrifice, that the needs of the war demand.

A Time for Sacrifice

When I spoke to you on New Year's Eve, I told you that the year 1941 would require more effort, more sacrifice, and far more change in our daily lives than we had known or made in 1940. No task, I said, is too humble, no labour too insignificant, no individual too poor or too weak to make a contribution to the winning of the war.

D53346

Our contributions are being made in many ways. Tens of thousands of our young men are in the army, the navy, and the air force. Hundreds of thousands of men and women are working in factories, on farms, in mines and forests and by the sea. Many more thousands are deeply stirred with a passionate desire to help. Not everyone can fight in the front line, or make war supplies. But almost everyone can help to provide the money which is necessary to feed, equip and transport the fighting forces, and to make the weapons and munitions of war. Now that the skies are full of sure signs of a gathering storm, the government of your country appeals to you to lend what assistance you can, as quickly as you can.

Savings Required to Win the War

Some time ago, the government decided that, in the month of February, there should be an intensive campaign to bring our war savings up to the steadily growing needs of the war. The campaign opened yesterday. To-night, in making this appeal, I have told you why war savings are needed. I intend to say something further of how they are to be used by the government. To-morrow, the Minister of Finance will speak to you from Windsor. In his speech, Mr. Ilsley will explain how important to the financing of

D 53347

the war, is the individual effort each one of you is being asked to make now, and to keep on making, regularly, until the war is won.

The government asks you to save carefully and to lend freely; to set aside, regularly, some portion of your income or your wages.

Every dollar which is lent to Canada will be a bond between him who lends his money to his country and those who fight for him in the front line of battle.

Without the sinews of war neither defence nor victory will be possible suffering and sacrifice will be in vain.

By lending freely, you will be helping to save human lives; you will yourself become a defender of freedom.

The Programme for 1941.

During the past week, the government has been considering the reports of the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Munitions and Supply on their visits to Britain and their discussions with the United Kingdom authorities. As you already know, the purpose of Mr. Ralston's and Mr. Howe's visits was to emphasize, and to translate into the most effective action, the determination of the Canadian

D 53348

people to put forth their utmost strength in the cause of freedom. It was also to gain at first hand further information as to how Canada's resources might best be used to achieve our maximum effort.

On the programme for 1941 which has been worked out by the War Committee of the Cabinet, there is, I am pleased to say complete agreement between the British and Canadian governments. This programme involves a number of new measures. It represents a co-ordinated effort based upon Canada's utmost productive capacity.

The new measures are being so timed as to fit into the programme of the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Ministry, and the Supply departments of the United Kingdom.

The Royal Canadian Navy

The expansion of the Royal Canadian Navy will continue at a rapid rate. The Navy had a strength, at the beginning of the war, of 15 ships and 1,774 men on active service. To-day, the strength of the Navy is 175 ships and 15,319 men of all ranks. The present plan will bring the Navy up to an estimated strength by March 31, 1942, of 413 ships and 26,920 men.

D 53349

Canadian ships are at present serving in the Atlantic and the Pacific, both North and South, in the Caribbean, and in European waters. Canadian sailors, in the Canadian Navy, or attached to the Royal Navy, are on duty on all of the Seven Seas.

The Army

The plan for our active Army for 1941 includes the despatch overseas, successively, of the following formations:

(1) the balance of the Corps Troops for the Canadian Corps of two divisions now in England;

(2) an Army Tank Brigade for employment with the Canadian Corps. This will enable Canada to be represented in the United Kingdom by a Canadian armoured formation which will be attached to and operate with the Canadian Corps, thus providing increased striking power;

(3) the Third Canadian Division, with its complement of Corps Troops;

(4) a Canadian Armoured Division.

All these Army projects have been approved by our National Defence staff, by Lieutenant-General McNaughton, and by the staff of the British War Office. There is complete agreement on the timing and extent of the measures which it is proposed to take.

D 53350

The Air Force

Throughout 1941 we shall continue the vigorous and energetic development of the Air Training Plan. All the projects and schools connected with the Plan will be opened, and in operation, before September of this year. This represents a clear gain of eight months on the original schedule. The aerodrome construction this year will be equal in extent to that of last year. Through the recruiting of airmen and air crew, the present strength of 36,000 men will be doubled. The present number of 1,700 aeroplanes now in use in the Training Plan will be increased to well over 4,000 before the end of the year.

In Canada, our air defence will be strengthened by an increase in the number of operational squadrons attached to the Home War Establishment.

Overseas, the three Canadian squadrons, fully equipped, manned and maintained by Canada, will be kept up to strength. There will, in addition, be constituted out of the graduate pupils of the Joint Air Training Plan, and identified as Canadian, twenty-five new squadrons. Under the terms of the Air Training Plan Agreement, as you may recall, these squadrons are to be equipped and maintained by the United Kingdom. In addition to the men who will form

D 53351

these squadrons, many thousand more young Canadians, who are graduates of the Plan, will go forward to Britain to take their place in the battle line of the air, alongside their comrades from Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

War Production and Supplies

A vast increase in production in war equipment and supplies has been arranged. As the United States is prepared to manufacture for Britain only such munitions as are in common use for United States' war purposes, Canadian armament production during 1941 will be concentrated on types of war equipment and weapons which are not obtainable in the United States, such as: Mark-3 Tanks, small arms, Bren guns, aircraft machine-guns and anti-tank guns. Canada will also specialize on the production of ammunition for these weapons, and on the manufacture of explosives.

The production of a wide range of naval guns and 25-pounder field guns will be enlarged. Canada is the only source of supply outside Britain for these guns. Canada will also produce anti-tank guns for infantry use, and heavy anti-aircraft guns for defence purposes.

Canada is now the only source of supply outside Britain for motor transport vehicles. You will, I am sure,

be pleased to know that practically all of the motor vehicles in use in the African campaign have been and still are of Canadian manufacture. Canadian workmen may well take pride in their share in the victories of Libya.

Canada's shipbuilding industry has already constructed many small naval vessels. A number of these are operating in European waters. We are also building merchant ships in increasing numbers. We propose to undertake the building of destroyers in Canadian shipyards.

Our aircraft industry will concentrate on building in Canada enough aeroplanes for the Air Training Plan. At Britain's request, our surplus capacity will be used for the manufacture of long-range bombers which can be flown across the Atlantic.

Training of Additional Man Power

It will be apparent that the needs of the armed forces and of war industry will make large demands upon available Canadian manpower. It is estimated that, for the purposes mentioned, 200,000 additional men and women will be required during the present year. Of this number at least 75,000 must be skilled or semi-skilled workers. The federal government, in co-operation with the provincial governments, is establishing vocational and plant training schools capable of training 100,000 persons a year.

To do all these new things, and to continue the work already in hand, will tax Canada's productive capacity to the limit. It will necessitate more of a shift from peace-time to war-time production, and a cutting down of luxury production, and of luxury buying. It will mean more in the way of united determination, effort and sacrifice than has ever before been asked of the Canadian people. We have also to keep in mind the financial assistance which Canada is undertaking in financing purchases of the United Kingdom in this country.

War Effort Dependent on Individual Effort

Every saving you lend to Canada will help to make possible the attainment of the war effort I have outlined. Your savings, standing alone, may seem small and insignificant. But taken together, the savings of all the citizens of Canada, may well weight the scales on the side of victory.

In the midst of the dark days of the last war, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, in appealing to his countrymen, related to them an old Celtic legend. It seems to me in his appeal, and in the simple tale which it relates, there lies a lesson for us all.

D53354

"There is a story", said he, "of a man who was given a series of what appeared to be impossible tasks to perform, ere he could reach the desires of his heart. Amongst other things he had to do, was to recover every grain of seed, that had been sown in a large field, and bring it all in, without one missing, by sunset. He came to an ant-hill, and won all hearts, and enlisted the sympathies of the industrious little people. They spread over the field, and, before sundown, the seed was all in except one grain; and, as the sun was setting over the western skies, a lame ant hobbled along with that grain also.
seed. Some of us have youth, and vigour, and suppleness of limb; some of us are crippled with years or infirmities, and we are, at best, but lame ants. But we can all limp along with some share of our country's burden, and thus help her in this terrible hour, to win the desire of her heart."

Freedom's Crowning Hour

As, in Canada, we each seek to serve as best we can, let us not be misled into believing that because we have not been assigned some special role, our contribution in effort or in saving may be too slight to be of value to so great a cause. It is for each one to seek out for himself,

D53355

in the circumstances in which he finds himself, how he can best play his part. Example sufficiently inspiring will surely be found in the lives of the men and women of Britain. Neither let us be dismayed at the magnitude of the task, nor discouraged by the length of the road. Across the centuries, there come to us, as there came to the defenders of the faith in ancient days, words which have sustained the human heart in all its struggles: "Let us not be wary in well-doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not".

Ye, that have faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And know that out of death and night, shall rise,
The dawn of ampler life,
Rejoice, whatever anguish rend your heart,
That God has given you the priceless dower,
To live in these great times and bear your part
In Freedom's crowning hour;
That ye may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens - their heritage to take
I saw the powers of darkness put to flight,
I saw the morning break."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date Feb. 28/41.

Subject

D 53356

Prime Minister King Visualizes Elgin Street of the Future

Says Greber Plan Calls for Big Changes —Lays Cornerstone of New Hotel

After laying the cornerstone of the new Lord Elgin Hotel Thursday, Prime Minister King visualized a more beautiful approach to Canada's National War Memorial and the Parliament Buildings.

Addressing the guests and many other citizens at the ceremony, Mr. King forecast that when the Greber plan for beautification of the city was completed all the buildings between Elgin street and the Rideau Canal, in the vicinity of the hotel, would be removed.

Street of Future.

He likened the Elgin street of the future to the beautiful thoroughfares leading to the Parliament buildings in Washington, London and Paris. In every capital there was one street that stood above the others, and Elgin was the street in Ottawa.

The outstanding street in each of the other capitals he mentioned led to the Parliament Buildings and it was remarkable that that should be the case also in Ottawa. The countries of which London, Paris and Washington were the capitals "are the great countries that have stood for the rights of democracies", he said, and had "fought dictatorships".

While the weather was cold for making speeches out of doors, Mr. King said there were a few things which came to his mind and which he wanted to express.

Commends Name of Hotel.

He did not think a better name could have been found for the hotel than "Lord Elgin". No name was more associated with freedom of government, he said, as he recalled the work of Lord Elgin a century ago. The "great handsome structure" would help keep the significance of Lord Elgin in the minds of the people.

Since the hotel was at the corner of Elgin and Laurier, it also brought to mind the name of Sir Wilfrid Laurier who "initiated the scheme to make Ottawa the Washington of the North".

Mr. King said he hoped and believed the hotel would be so managed as to be worthy of the great traditions of Lord Elgin and Sir Wilfrid.

At the outset, Mr. King expressed his appreciation to those who have conferred on him the honor of laying the cornerstone. He congratulated those who were connected with the construction, designing and erection of the hotel. The co-operation between the civic industrial and publicity committee, the private hotel interests and the Government was an example to all and it was a joy to him to be even remotely connected with the hotel.

Congratulates Architect.

Mr. King extended his congratulations to the architect "who designed this beautiful hotel, an inspiration to us all", and to the

45

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53357

contractor, "our fellow citizen, John Wilson".

The Montreal firm of Ross and Macdonald, architects, were designers of the Lord Elgin Hotel, with W. C. Beattie of Ottawa as assistant architect.

The accident recently on the hotel construction which resulted in the death of Charles Corbett brought to Mr. King's mind the risk that labor has to take. He offered his sympathy to the workman's widow and mentioned that Mr. Corbett had two sons serving in Canada's military forces.

As the stone was lowered into place Mr. King said: "I declare this stone to be well and truly laid".

The Prime Minister was received by Mayor Lewis and Alderman Hamilton, chairman of the Civic Industrial and Publicity Committee, and then introduced to J. C. Udd, of Rochester, N.Y., president and managing director of Ford Hotels, Inc., builders of the hotel.

Presented With Trowel.

Escorted to the dais, Mr. King was presented with a silver trowel, to perform the ceremony, by Mr. Udd. It was inscribed: "Presented to Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of Lord Elgin Hotel, February 27, 1941".

Mr. King then laid the cornerstone, of Queenstown limestone, at the northeast corner of the building, near Slater. Although most of the stonework is up for the first two storeys of the building, an opening was left for the cornerstone, which was inscribed: "Lord Elgin Hotel, 1941".

Among those on the platform was George M. Lyon, foreman stonemason, who also took part in the laying of the cornerstone of the new Supreme Court Building when Queen Elizabeth officiated.

"Always Be An England."

In a hermetically-sealed container, placed in the cornerstone, were a scroll signed by those taking part, copies of today's issues of the three Ottawa newspapers, and coins of the realm. The scroll was inscribed: "We who are living today have faith. There will always be an England. Democracy will always prevail."

In addition to Mr. Udd, all directors of Ford Hotels, Inc., were present for the ceremony, including William Macklaier, K.C., of Montreal.

On the Platform.

Others on the platform included Public Works Minister Cardin, George J. McIlraith, M.P.; J. Albert Pinard, M.P.; Ontario Mines Minister Robert Laurier, George H. Dunbar, M.L.A.; Controllers Pickering, Geldert, Bourque and Forward, all members of city council, civic officials, John Wilson, president of the Wilson Contracting Company, Limited; W. A. Fraser, M.P. of Trenton; Deputy Minister J. B. Hunter, Assistant Deputy Minister W. P. Harrell, and Chief Architect Charles D. Sutherland, all of the Department of Public Works.

Following the ceremony many of the invited guests took advantage of the opportunity to view the work already done on the ground floor and inspected a model room of the hotel, which was set up in a building adjoining the hotel, on the corner of Slater and Elgin. This building will be torn down when the hotel is completed.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

D 53358

Date Mar. 25/41

Subject National War Services Appeal

Mackenzie King Lauds Willkie As Champion Of Free Institutions

Text of Prime Minister's Introduction of U.S. Republican Leader at Toronto. Expresses Gratitude to Mr. Willkie for Bringing Home to Fellow-countrymen the Importance of a British Victory.

TORONTO, March 24.—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's address at Toronto tonight:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Premier, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is my privilege to welcome to Canada tonight a great citizen of the United States, Mr. Wendell Willkie. I extend this welcome on behalf of the government, and of the whole Canadian people. In Mr. Willkie, we all recognize a foremost champion of free institutions of government, of human rights and human freedom and of international good-will.

Mr. Willkie needs no praise from my lips. He has set his own splendid example of conduct, of courage, and of resolution. He has not allowed political strife to dim his eyes, or to blind his judgment on the momentous issues with which the world is faced today. Nor has he allowed the memories of political strife to lessen his enthusiasm for a noble cause, or to prevent his heart from speaking the faith that is in it.

Strengthen Unity.

From the day he was chosen to lead one of the great political parties in the United States, Mr. Willkie has shown that, honorably conducted, freedom in debate on great issues may strengthen rather than weaken the unity of a nation. From the moment the national verdict was pronounced, Mr. Willkie has also shown that acceptance of the national will may raise a political opponent to heights of public esteem, and opportunities of public service, approaching those of the leader of a victorious administration.

But Mr. Willkie has not been content with seeking to unite political parties in a great cause. He has been equally zealous in his endeavors to unite countries. His historic visit to Britain, and his appearance before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, have touched the imagination of the British, the American, and the Canadian peoples. Amongst the people of Britain, he walked as a man of the people. He cheered them, and they cheered him. The men and women with whom he talked became conscious, almost instantly, of an unmistakable kinship of feeling and of thought.

Served Larger Purpose.

But Mr. Willkie's visit to Britain served a much larger purpose. His experiences helped him to bring home, to the people of the United States, the truth that the destruction of liberty in Britain would constitute a real and immediate threat to their own liberty. While he was able to assure his fellow countrymen that British resolution was as firm as a rock and that the British spirit was indomitable, he was also able to help to convince the United States of the urgency of the need for full and immediate aid to Britain.

Elsewhere, I have said that the Lease-lend Act will stand throughout time as a milestone of freedom: that it points the way to ultimate victory. While that is true, it is not less true that Britain continues to stand today, as she has through centuries of the past, the cornerstone of freedom in the world.

16

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

D53359

Date.....

Subject.....

The people of Canada are grateful for the support which Mr. Willkie gave to the principle of the Lease-lend Bill. We are not less grateful to him for helping his own people to realize, that, in order to preserve the structure of civilization, the cornerstone of the world's freedom must be kept unbroken and in place.

Honored by Free Men.

When Mr. Willkie left Britain, the respect, the friendship, and the gratitude of the British people followed him to America. I venture to say that his name, today, is honored by free men the world over.

Mr. Willkie is paying his present visit to Canada on the joint invitation of the officers of the Canadian War Services Fund and myself on behalf of the government. To our great pleasure, he has come to speak to us. The appeal to which Mr. Willkie lends his presence and his voice is an appeal by six voluntary organizations which have won and deserve our trust. Today, with the approval and under the direction of the government, they have joined in one nation-wide co-operative campaign to help the war effort of our country. They appeal on behalf of the soldiers, the sailors, the airmen and the nurses of Canada. Their appeal is for aid in providing those auxiliary services so necessary to preserve the morale, and to sustain the physical and spiritual well-being of the fighting forces. Their appeal merits your most generous support.

Outline of Services.

The Canadian Legion represents men who fought in the last war, and who, in the years between, have worked to build the nation whose foundations were strengthened by their sacrifices. Its members are old soldiers, guiding the footsteps of young soldiers, and helping to comfort them in war, and to train them for peace.

The Knights of Columbus represent young Canadians joined in the brotherhood of an ancient faith. In that comradeship, they have ever kept before their eyes the lessons of civic duty, and of human fellowship.

The Salvation Army has carried its message of hope into the darkest places. It has restored many a broken wayfarer to the dignity of manhood and womanhood.

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have ennobled our common citizenship by their encouragement of congenial comradeship, physical training and mental culture, and their welcome to those whose work has taken them away from the shelter of their homes.

The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire has strengthened the fabric of our national life by the enthusiasm of its membership for the free institutions of our British heritage, by its generous scholarships, and by its many charities.

At Country's Service.

Today, all of these organizations place their experience and their wisdom at the service of our country's wartime needs. Their union of effort means that every contribution will be collected more efficiently, and spent more economically. Practically every dollar which they receive will be dedicated to the shelter, the comfort, the education and the help in other ways of the men and women of our country on guard at freedom's gates in Britain, in Canada, on the islands of the Atlantic and wheresoever the call to service takes them.

Where duty leads our soldiers, sailors and airmen, these, their friends and helpers will follow. They will keep alive for those who are far away, the memory of loved ones and the sacred associations of home. In many a hut, and meeting place, and hall of entertainment, the men of our armed forces, under the strain of war, will be afforded moments of rest and relaxation doubly necessary. Amid pleasant and wholesome surroundings, they will be able to sing the songs that cheer them, to write their letters, and to meet those who will be helpful to them. They will, too, be taught many useful things, and will be kept close to the faith and influence of the homes that have moulded and sanctified their lives.

In making your contribution to the war services fund you may be certain that every dollar which you give for this work will assist and comfort those who fight for us, and will also gladden the hearts of their mothers, their fathers, their wives, their children and their friends. Your response to the appeal cannot be too generous.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53360

Order Born, Not Made.

Much is being said today about a new world order to take the place of the old world order when the war is at an end. If that new order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. A new world order cannot be worked out, at some given moment, and reduced to writing at a conference table. It is not a matter of parchments and of seal. That was a part of the mistaken belief at the end of the last war. It is born, not made. It is something that lives and breathes: something much closer to the soul of man; something that needs to be worked out and prepared in the minds and the hearts of men. It expresses itself in brotherhood, in good-will and in mutual aid. It is the application, in all human relations, of the principle of service, and of helpfulness, that ennobles the work you are being asked tonight to support.

What has come out of the old world order, we behold every day in scenes of indescribable horror. Trial and tribulation are fast becoming the lot of all. So much that is precious and good is lost in violent death, and in the welter of destruction. These evil things must not prevail.

While the old order is destroying itself, a new relationship of men and of nations is already beginning its slow but sure evolution. It is based not on fear, on greed, and on hate, but on mutual trust and the noblest qualities of the human heart and mind. It seeks neither to divide nor to destroy. Its aim is brotherhood, its method co-operation.

The new order found expression when Britain determined to put an end to aggression in Europe. It expressed itself at the outbreak of war, when this young nation and other nations of the British Commonwealth took their place at the side of Britain, and made a free-will offering of their treasure, and their blood, in the defence of freedom. You will find its latest manifestation in the resolution of the United States of America to lend its powerful aid to the nations which are fighting for freedom.

One Great Brotherhood.

All these things are combining to create one great brotherhood of the English-speaking peoples. Nations large and small are finding in its aim a new unity in the common defence of freedom and of human rights. On such a foundation of unity of purpose and of effort, free peoples may well hope to build an enduring new world order.

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea . . . and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall their be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

A new heaven and a new earth —Are not these, in very truth, what we seek today? A heaven to which men and women and little children no longer will look in fear, but where they may gaze again in silent worship, and in thankfulness for the benediction of the sun and the rain; an earth no longer scarred by warfare and torn by greed, but where the lowly and the humble of all races may work in ways of pleasantness, and walk in paths of peace.

New Vision Inspires.

And the sea no longer will be the scene of conflict nor harbor any menace; it too will gladden the hearts of men as it unites in friendly intercourse the nations of the world.

This new heaven, this new earth is the vision which, at this time of war, unites, inspires, and guides, Britain, Canada and other nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory. No lesser service to humanity, will hold the faith, and win the gratitude of mankind.

It is this new world order which our honored guest, Mr. Wendell Willkie, is joining with others to help to create.

D53361

St. George's Day Luncheon

April 23rd, 1941.

In expressing the thanks of this gathering to its guest of honour for the eloquent address to which we have just listened, may I say that Canada is indeed pleased to have again as a visitor to its Capital, our good friend Mayor LaGuardia, of the City of New York. May I say, however, that today we recognize in Mayor LaGuardia, one who represents and speaks for more than himself, sufficient as that would be to merit for him, from all, the highest recognition. He represents and speaks for more than the great city of which, over so long a period, he has been the splendid administrative head. He comes to us on this St. George's Day - England's Day - as the representative of our strong and friendly neighbour, the United States of America, and as the exponent of those democratic principles, ideals and institutions which to the peoples of this Continent are a common heritage, derived from a common background. They demand today for their preservation the most in the way of common effort, service and sacrifice of which free peoples are capable.

Let me then, in just a word, thank Mayor LaGuardia, first of all for what he is in himself and what he stands for. We recognize in him a true lover of liberty, a bold champion of the rights of a free people, an eloquent exponent of great causes, an exceptionally able executive, and, above all, today, as he has been over many years, a consistent, courageous and warm-hearted friend of Canada, of Britain, and of all peoples and countries that prize freedom, and seek to maintain it.

Next, I thank Mayor LaGuardia for the example he has set his fellow-men by his constant interest in municipal affairs, and the part he has played in their management and development on efficient, honest and progressive lines. Municipal democracy is the foundation of national democracy. "Every man," said Aristotle, "is born to be a citizen". When that was said in the days of ancient Greece, the city was the State. What more eloquent expression of the fruits of this teaching could be found than that which the men of Greece have given and are giving to the world today.

But, most of all, I wish to thank Mayor LaGuardia for the part he has taken, and the part his country is taking in the defence of freedom at this time of its greatest peril.

D 53363

I need not remind you of the service Mayor LaGuardia has rendered his country and ours as one of the chairmen on the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, established in August of last year. The Board has completed the foundational portion of its work. Those who have been associated with Mayor LaGuardia in that work, those of us in government circles who know something of it from the inside, would not hesitate to say that the confidence shown, by the President of the United States, in Mayor LaGuardia's abilities to perform a vital international service, has come to be shared by us all. On behalf of Canada, I should like to take advantage of this moment to thank Mayor LaGuardia for his great contribution to the common defences of our two countries.

But the Permanent Joint Board on Defence is, as we all know, but one of the agencies by means of which, and through which, the United States has sought to make great contributions to continental Defence, to the cause of the Allies and to Democracy in the present war. The Lease-Lend Act is another great instrument having a like aim and like practical effect. As recently as Sunday last, yet another outstanding expression was given, through what is already known as "the Hyde Park declaration" to the desire of the United States to expand its aid to Canada, to Britain and

to other democracies, and to defeat Hitler and all that Hitlerism and Naziism stands for.

For these and many other expressions on the part of the United States of the good neighbour policy, for all they signify of common effort in a common cause against a common enemy - an enemy not less of mankind than of each of the countries whose freedom it has destroyed, or seeks still to destroy - I should like to express, in the presence of Mayor LaGuardia, the thanks of the government and people of Canada. May I ask our guest to carry back this expression of our thanks to the President and the people of the United States.

In conclusion, I again thank Mayor LaGuardia for adding to our obligation by his presence in the Capital of Canada on this St. George's Day as an Ambassador of American good-will. We see in him a true Knight of St. George, one who has slain many dragons that have sought to poison and to possess the paths of freedom. We shall ever wish him, more in the way of power and of opportunity, in his great crusade.

RG 2 CONTENT-CANADA

"CANADIANS ALL" BROADCAST

I have been asked to say a concluding word in the series of broadcasts, aptly entitled "Canadians All". In these broadcasts, men and women of many races have told of their loyalty and love for Canada. They have also given to their fellow Canadians, in song and in speech, many cherished memories of their European motherlands.

But the stories they have told, and the songsthey have sung, have not been the expression of regretful longing for scenes and days that have passed away. They have been offerings of devotion to Canada.

The participants in the several programmes, or their ancestors, came to our country from Europe, but they are now all citizens of Canada. Some have come to us from countries that today lie prostrate under the heel of a ruthless invader; others from countries occupied by his armies; still others, from countries threatened with the loss of their existence. Some, also have come from those countries whose present rulers, in order to satisfy an evil

passion for domination, have, like Cain of old, risen to slay their brothers in other lands.

Some came to Canada to escape the continuing menace of international strife; others to gain opportunities for their children and their children's children, denied to them under an order of society which perpetuated inequality and injustice. All have come that they might be free men, in a free land.

In the programmes to which you have listened, these citizens of different origins have spoken with pride of the free institutions of our country, of their gratitude for the equal citizenship into which they have been received, and of their determination at all cost to defend their new freedom.

Their tributes have disavowed, and denounced, the evil doctrines of racial hate, and racial superiority. Instead of the adject utterances of servitude, their words have been of the very breath of brotherhood.

It is natural that "Canadians all" should be united in the determination to preserve the freedom that we share; and, with God's help, to see freedom restored and extended to other lands.

D 53367

But we must never forget that the security of a free Canada depends upon the maintenance of freedom in the world. And that is what is at stake today. The preservation of a free and equal brotherhood, however wide or small, demands today complete co-operation, and the utmost effort of every citizen.

Today, Canada is appealing to her free citizens, freely to join her army, her navy, and her air force. May I say to those who have spoken with such appreciation of their new-found freedom, that never in the lives of men has such an opportunity been given to translate into action, gratitude to the land of their adoption. Never has there come to men of any race, an opportunity to render like service to the ill-fated brothers of their native lands. No defence of Canadian freedom could be nobler than that which it lies within the power of Canada's adopted sons to render. No higher hope could be given to the ensalved peoples of Europe, than the knowledge that Canada's call to service is being answered by free men of their own race.

Unless I greatly mistake the spirit which inspired these broadcasts, we shall witness its fuller mani-

festation in a still higher form of patriotism. This patriotism will find its expression in the increasing enrolment of our young men of many origins in the armed forces of Canada. We shall see them, in ever-growing numbers, prepared to play their full part in preserving, restoring, and enlarging the brotherhood of freedom in the world.

May 21, 1941

"CANADIANS ALL" BROADCAST D 53368

I have been asked to say a concluding word in the series of broadcasts, aptly entitled "Canadians All". In these broadcasts, ~~during the past twelve weeks,~~ men and women of many races have told of their loyalty and love for Canada. They have also given to their fellow Canadians, in song and in speech, many cherished memories of their European motherlands.

But the stories they have told, and the songs they have sung, have not been the expression of regretful longing for scenes and days that have passed away. They have been offerings of devotion to Canada.

The participants in the several programmes, or their ancestors, came to ~~Canada~~ our country from Europe, but they are now all citizens of Canada. Some have come to us from countries that today lie prostrate straight under the heel of a ruthless invader; others from countries occupied by his armies; still others, from countries ~~whose very~~ where liberty is almost extinct existence. ~~is in peril~~. Some, also, have come from those countries whose present rulers, in order to satisfy an evil passion for domination, have, like Cain of old, risen to slay their brothers in other lands.

D 53369

Some came to Canada to escape the continuing menace of international strife; others to gain opportunities for their children and their children's children, denied to them under an order of society which perpetuated inequality and injustice. All have come that they might be free men, in a free land.

In the programmes to which you have listened, these citizens of different origins have spoken of their pride in the free institutions of our country; of their gratitude for the equal citizenship into which they have been received; and of their determination at all costs to defend their new freedom.

Their tributes have disavowed, and denounced, the evil doctrines of racial hate, and racial superiority. Instead of the abject utterances of servitude, their words have been of the very breath of brotherhood.

It is natural that "Canadians all" should be united in the determination to preserve the freedom that we share; and, with God's help, to see freedom restored and extended to other lands.

We must never forget that the security of a free Canada depends upon the maintenance of freedom in the world. And that is what is at stake today.

The preservation of a free and equal brotherhood, however small ~~or wide~~ nigh or, demands today complete co-operation, and the utmost effort of every citizen.

Today, Canada is appealing to her free citizens, freely to join her army, her navy, and her air force. May I say to those who have spoken with such appreciation of their new-found freedom, that never in the lives of men has such an opportunity been given to translate into action, gratitude to the land of their adoption. Never has there come to men of any race an opportunity to render ~~greater~~ the service to the ill-fated brothers of their native lands. No defence of Canadian freedom could be nobler than that which it lies within the power of Canada's adopted sons to render. No higher hope could be given to the enslaved peoples of Europe, than the knowledge that Canada's call to service is being answered by free men of their own race.

Unless I mistake the spirit which inspired these broadcasts, we shall witness its fuller manifestation in a still higher form of patriotism. This patriotism will find its expression in the increasing enrolment of our young men

our young men of many origins, in the armed forces of Canada. We shall see them, in ever-growing numbers, prepared to play their full part in preserving, restoring, and enlarging the brotherhood of freedom in the world.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen D 538?9

Date May 27/41.

Subject

Canada Not Safe From Attack Says Premier W. L. King

Prime Minister Tells Lake Superior Regiment Dictators Seek To Crush Freedom Everywhere.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, standing hatless in a steady rainfall before the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, told members of the Lake Superior Regiment yesterday the power of the dictators seeks to crush all opposition everywhere and, for that reason, no country is safe from actual attack by the Axis.

"While there are free men in the world they will fight for their liberty and the dictators know it," he said.

Mr. King addressed the drill-clad soldiers after reviewing the unit from a saluting base on the steps of the center block of the Parliament Buildings. The regiment, commanded by Lt.-Col. Herbert Cook of Port Arthur, Ont., formed up for the speech on the parliamentary lawns.

Gratitude of all Canada, said the Prime Minister, went with the unit which is leaving Ottawa within a few days for another point in Eastern Canada.

For the past week detachments from the regiment have been guarding the Parliament Buildings as part of a military display designed to stimulate recruiting and this duty, Mr. King said, was symbolical of the role played by the armies of the democracies. In guarding Parliament the troops were guarding the primary free institution of the nation.

Canada Not Safe

Some persons, he added, were inclined to the view that Canada's territory was safe from enemy attack, but he did not subscribe to this belief. Opposition could not be tolerated by the dictators and they must seek to stifle liberty and the freedom of the individual wherever they exist.

Because of this, Mr. King said, the regiment was defending not only the freedom of Canada or of the British Empire but of all mankind. He congratulated the unit on its appearance and wished it the protection and aid of Divine Providence in the execution of its duties.

With Mr. King on the reviewing stand were several members of the cabinet, including Justice Minister Lapointe, Defence Minister Ralston, Munitions Minister Howe and Navy Minister Macdonald. High ranking military officers present included Maj.-Gen. H. D. G. Crerar, chief of the general staff; Brig. F. L. Armstrong, officer commanding Military District No. 3 (Kingston, Ont.); Brig. A. E. Nash, deputy adjutant-general, and Col. L. P. Sherwood, Ottawa area commandant.

Many members of parliament stood near the Prime Minister or mingled with the crowds watching the ceremony. Following the ceremony the regiment gave three cheers for the Prime Minister.

A Royal Canadian Air Force detachment on a duty tour at guarding the buildings turned out and presented arms during the march past.

Crowds Roped Off.

The men were drawn up on the lawn in front of the main building, in close column of companies, for the Prime Minister's message. Several thousand Ottawans lined the area roped off for their position and more cheered the troops as they made their way through streets of the Capital to the Hill.

They were preceded by the regimental band, and the unit's mechanical transport followed in the rear. The regiment is to leave Ottawa on Wednesday for an Eastern Canadian camp, and will march to their new quarters. Billeting will be done day by day and an average of 20 miles a day is expected. It will be one of the first such moves in the Dominion during this war. Lt.-Col. Herbert Cook commands the Lake Superiors and led by the Prime Minister, his men accorded him three cheers at the conclusion of the ceremony. The courtesy was returned to the Prime Minister by the colonel. Mr. King remained at his base on the Hill until the last company left the area, despite the drizzling afternoon rain.

19

D 53373

June 1st, 1941.

BROADCAST TO BRITAIN

To-morrow, the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the largest public loan ever sought in this Dominion. In launching this loan, it is my privilege, on behalf of the people of Canada, to speak to the people of the British Isles.

Canada's new loan is described as the 1941 Victory Loan. This does not mean that we expect victory in 1941; it does mean that we are ready this year, and in each succeeding year, as long as the war may last, to do all that lies within our power to help to ensure victory.

The symbol of our united national appeal is a Torch of Victory. The torch is being flown from city to city, across four thousand miles of our Dominion, from Victoria by the Pacific Ocean, to Halifax on the Atlantic coast. Thence it will be borne across the sea to London. There we hope it will be received by your Prime Minister as a symbol of the spirit of the Canadian people, and of their

D 53373

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10

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 53374

determination to share his burdens,and your burdens, till the hour of victory.

The heart of Canada has been deeply touched by what you in Britain have been called upon to bear. We have felt deeply for you in the loss of your loved ones and your homes. Your losses and your sufferings have drawn us closer to your side, in sympathy for your grief, and in admiration of your endurance.

We understand the agony of human sacrifice. We know, too, how through separation, anxiety is increased and grief intensified. Our minds have been stricken with horror at the brutal bombing of innocent babes and little children, of men and women at their daily tasks, of the sick, the aged and the infirm.

We also know something of the spiritual values which attach, through association, to material things. For us, the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, the national monuments, the historic churches and homes of Britain are a part of our heritage in the British Commonwealth. Their wanton destfuction has deepened our resolve to defend the spiritual

inheritance of which your ancient buildings are an outward sign.

Above all, we have been inspired by your bravery, your undaunted courage, your determination to fight to the end, that the flag of a free people may never cease to fly over the citadel of the world's freedom.

The Unknown Soldier was the hero of the last war. In this barbaric assault upon civilization, the unknown men, women and children of Britain find themselves, along with the brave men at sea, in the air, and on far-off battlefields, in the front ranks of heroes. I wish I could tell every one of you how proud we are of you. I wish I could have you realize how determined we are, once the forces of evil have been subdued, to see that a new heaven and a new earth become the common lot of all.

Let me tell you, too, what the example of King George and Queen Elizabeth has meant to us. In their visit to Canada, Their Majesties became very much a part of ourselves. The rejoicings of that Royal Visit still hold their place in our memories. To the love inspired by their presence, we now add our

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JANUARY

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- ROVER -

ONE OF BRITAIN'S FINER CARS

FEBRUARY 1949

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highest admiration for the nobility of soul which we see revealed as Their Majesties, with smiling courage, share, amid scenes of cruel devastation, the dangers and the sorrows of their people. With us, as with you, "God Save the King" has become the peoples' prayer.

Regardless of fortune or circumstance, you seem, one and all, to be endowed with the same fortitude and the same spirit. Do you wonder that you have made those of us of British stock increasingly proud of the race to which we belong?

And this leads me to tell you why it is that we in Canada are so completely at one with you in Britain, and so determined to do our utmost for victory.

We are not all kith and kin -- but as Canadians we are one in our love of liberty. There are no divided loyalties in Canada. Loyalty to Canada, loyalty to the cause of Britain, loyalty to the cause of humanity, these to us have become one and the same.

A century and a half ago, French Canada had

already learned the significance of British freedom. Her sons have never forgotten it, and they never will. More than once Canada has been saved to the British Crown by the descendants of the men who came to the new world from France.

Many of the newcomers to our land still speak the languages of foreign motherlands. But even better than other Canadians, they understand the meaning of the evil doctrines of racial hatred and racial superiority. They came to Canada to be free from the continuing menace of international strife, and the debasing fears of an order of society which perpetuates inequality and injustice. Like the early settlers from France and Britain, they have come to this new land, seeking freedom and happiness.

But for freedom to result in happiness, it must be directed aright.

I should like to repeat something I said at the outset of the war. "If I were called upon to sacrifice, out of my life, all save one of the influences of the past, or of my present possessions,

D 53378

the one thing I would wish to retain is the influence of the Christian training of my childhood days. That has been a sheet anchor through life." It is this sheet anchor of which the Nazis would rob mankind. They seek to-day, not a heaven, but a hell on earth. There is not one of the ten commandments, not one of the beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount, against which they have not blasphemed. They have taught youth to hate and despise the very things we cherish most. Hitler speaks of a new order. What kind of world can come out of any order controlled by such men?

We have never mistaken the real issue. When war came, we, like you, had come to see that to preserve Christian civilization, men must be prepared to lay down their lives. Our armed forces, like yours, are the defenders of freedom; like yours, they are equally defenders of the faith. And that is why we began by sending you men , as well as weapons and munitions. That is why in changing our national economy from one of peace to one of war, our armed

forces on land, at sea, and in the air, have grown so largely in numbers, as we have increased the output of war supplies. Our whole war effort, in men and materials alike, has steadily gained in momentum, in volume, and in power.

For twelve months, you have borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. Your towns, your ports, your work-shops, and your homes, are still his main target. Every month, from now on, as in the past, will see more Canadians with you to share in your defence.

Ever since your shofes were threatened, Canadian soldiers have stood on guard with yours to drive back the invader. Impatient at times, that they have not come to grips with the foe, we and they are nonetheless proud that they have been given the high duty and the grave responsibility of the defence of Britain itself. As the Canadian Corps Commander, General McNaughton, has said, theirs it is to garrison the one vital citadel, the retention of which decides the war. You know that they are ready to go and that we are equally ready to have them go, wherever their service may count for most. During the present year, we shall despatch to Britain a third infantry division, a tank

D 53380

brigade, an armoured division and many reinforcements, all equipped and maintained at our own expense.

Ships of Canada's navy have, as you know, been engaged with your ships in the coastal waters of Britain. Other Canadian ships are taking their part in the duties of convoy on the great passage-way of the Atlantic, so vital, not only to the present of Britain, but also to the future of Canada and the United States of America.

Canadian air squadrons, too, have been taking their part in the Battle of Britain. In the Royal Canadian Air Force we have today 50,000 men. Every day that valiant brotherhood receives many new comrades in the proud partnership with Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom in the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which this year will double the number of its enlistments.

In this land of great horizons, clear skies and wide spaces, over 50 training schools, 20 manning depots and 20 recruiting centres are already in full operation. From this source is flowing to Britain an ever-growing stream of pilots, observers and gunners. They are already crossing in thousands and will continue

to come to you in ever increasing numbers.

"England, so long the mistress of the sea,
Where winds and waves confess her sovereignty,
Her ancient triumphs yet on high shall bear,
And reign, the sovereign of the conquered air."

In this war of machines, we are making machines of war for you, as well as for ourselves. We will also continue to send you all the food which ships can be found to carry. But we will not stop there. We recognize the tremendous financial burden you are bearing. That burden as well we are ready to continue to share in increasing measure. The loan being lannched tonight is to aid our great endeavor.

In conclusion, may I send to you, Mr. Churchill, warmest greetings and remembrances of what to me has been a valued friendship of many years. It is a proud privilege, indeed, to share with you some of the responsibilities and burdens of a people's trust. I only wish I could tell you what Canada thinks of you. To us you are the personification of Britain in this her greatest hour. Your noble words, your high courage, your inflexible resolve, have been an inspiration and a tower of strength. Our citizens, English-speaking and French-speaking alike, and all who have come to

us from other lands, hail you as the captain of the great host of free men. Your gallant leadership is marshalling the forces of freedom throughout the world. May God continue to give to you, the strength, the vision and the wisdom so greatly needed in so great a task.

D 53383

Commemoration Service

Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald

June 6th, 1891

▽

KINGSTON, JUNE 7th, 1941

D 53384

Commemoration Service

Fiftieth Anniversary of the death
of Sir John A. Macdonald

June 6th, 1891

▽

KINGSTON, JUNE 7th, 1941

D 53385

ARRANGEMENTS

The preliminary details of the ceremony were discussed at a meeting held in Ottawa on the 20th May, 1941, at which were present the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., LL.D., Prime Minister of Canada; the Honourable Angus L. Macdonald, K.C., LL.D., Minister of National Defence for Naval Services; the Honourable R. B. Hanson, K.C., LL.D., Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons; W. R. Aylesworth, Esq., Member of Parliament for Frontenac-Addington; Colonel T. Ashmore Kidd, Brigadier-General A. E. Ross, C.B., C.M.G., M.D., LL.D., and W. F. Nickle, Esq., K.C., of Kingston; E. H. Coleman, K.C., Under Secretary of State, and J F.. Delaute, Esq., of the Department of the Secretary of State.

Subsequently, Messrs. Kidd, Ross and Nickle, as residents of the City of Kingston, were kind enough to undertake the task of making the arrangements for the ceremony in that city and all rendered indefatigable service in this respect.

D 53386

ADDRESS

by His Worship the Mayor of Kingston

At the request of the National Committee to act as your Chairman and as the Mayor of the City of Kingston I am pleased to welcome all of you on this historic occasion to pay tribute to the memory of a great Statesman, Kingston's most distinguished citizen and the first Prime Minister of Canada.

In order to conserve time the speakers will not be formally introduced. I shall announce each in turn and present them to you according to the programme as arranged.

I therefore present to you the first speaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King.

The second speaker in sequence is a former Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen.

The Minister of Justice for the Dominion of Canada has kindly consented to speak at this time. I now present to you the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

I now present to you the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, the Hon. R. B. Hanson.

53387 D

Order of Service

God Save the King

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King:
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us;
God save the King.

Thy choicest gifts in store
On him he pleased to pour;
Long may he reign;
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice,
God save the King.

Our loved Dominion bless
With peace and happiness
From shore to shore;
And let our Empire be
United, loyal, free,
True to herself and Thee
Forevermore. —Amen.

Invocation

The Reverend J. Forbes Wedderburn, M.A., B.D.,
Minister St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston.

O God Our Help in Ages Past

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home.

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God,
To endless years the same.

Beneath the shadow of Thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure;
Sufficient is Thine arm alone,
And our defence is sure.

A thousand ages in Thy sight
Are like an evening gone,
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be Thou our guard while troubles last,
And our eternal home.

Amen.

D 53388

Addresses:

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., LL.D.,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P.C., K.C., LL.D.,
Former Prime Minister of Canada.

Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, P.C., K.C., LL.D.,
Minister of Justice.

Honourable R. B. Hanson, K.C., LL.D.,
Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

Selection by Choir — Land of Our Birth

Land of our Birth, we pledge to thee
Our love and toil in the years to be;
When we are grown and take our place,
As men and women with our race.

Father in heaven, who lovest all,
O help Thy children when they call;
That they may build from age to age,
An undefiled heritage.

Teach us to bear the yoke in youth,
With steadfastness and careful truth
That, in our time, Thy grace may give
The truth whereby the nations live.

Teach us the strength that cannot seek,
By deed or thought, to hurt the weak;
That, under Thee, we may possess
Man's strength to succour man's distress.

Land of our Birth, our faith, our pride,
For whose dear sake our fathers died;
O Motherland, we pledge to thee,
Head, heart and hand through the years to be.

—Amen

Selection by Band — Pomp and Circumstance

O Canada

O CANADA! Our home, our native land,
True patriot love in all thy sons command;
With glowing hearts we see thee rise,
The True North, strong and free,
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.

O Canada! Glorious and free!
We stand on guard, we stand on guard for thee!
O Canada! We stand on guard for thee.

RULER SUPREME, Who hearest humblest prayer,
Hold our Dominion in Thy loving care;
Help us to find, O God in Thee,
A lasting, rich reward,
As waiting for the better day,
We ever stand on guard.

O Canada! Glorious and free!
We stand on guard, we stand on guard for thee!
O Canada! We stand on guard for thee.

J. Arthur Craig,
Director of Music

D 53389

INVOCATION

by The Reverend J. Forbes Wedderburn

O Saviour of the World, who by Thy Cross and precious Blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us, visit us with the inward Vision of Thy glory that we may bow our hearts before Thee and obtain that grace which Thou hast promised to the lowly.

God of our fathers, who hast made us the heirs of faithful men of all generations who have given themselves to great endeavours and made life nobler because they have walked its ways, we thank Thee for every memory which enriches life with high ideals and worthy purposes. We give Thee praise for all who have loved this land which we love, who have been eager to establish freedom and justice within our borders, and have dedicated themselves to the fulfilment of their longings.

Especially do we thank Thee, in this Service of Commemoration, for one whose life was devoted to the lofty principles of National Unity and Empire Loyalty, and for those, who with him, didst labour under Thy guidance to bring together under one government the scattered communities of our Empire on this continent, and to unite them into one Dominion from sea to sea. And, we humbly beseach Thee, that the heritage received from our fathers may be preserved in our time, and handed down unimpaired to our children; and grant that from generation to generation we may remain a people united and loyal to the Throne and Empire.

We pray that Thou wouldst make this Day of Memory a day wherein we may pledge our lives and all that we possess for the fulfilment of the ideal of human freedom. Make strong our hearts and patient our spirits. May Thy power be our courage and may the light of Thy countenance give us strength within, that we may not falter in the days which test us to the uttermost. May Thy will be accomplished in the earth, may righteousness be victorious. May the truth of Christ, by the Blood of whose Cross the middle wall of partition has been broken down between nations, spread quickly among all people, to the end that misunderstandings, divisions and war may pass away and human brotherhood reign. Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory forever and ever.

Amen.

D 53390

ADDRESS

by The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., LL.D.

Prime Minister of Canada

The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald has seemed to my colleagues and myself an occasion on which a national tribute should be paid the memory of one whose name and achievements have become an imperishable part of the heritage of Canada.

A formidable opponent and, later, an honoured colleague of Sir John Macdonald, Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, reminded his day and generation that "a wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual references to the sacrifices and glories of the past."

It is in the spirit so eloquently expressed in these words that we, of another generation, old and young, from near and far, of different racial origins and of different religious and political faiths, welcome this opportunity to commemorate the life and work of the first Prime Minister of Canada. We are proud to be assembled today in the city with which his great career was so intimately associated, and to surround, on this anniversary, the monument which the citizens of Kingston have erected to his memory. When this brief service is concluded, the wreaths we place on the tomb of the illustrious dead will be an expression, as he would have wished, of our common patriotism.

D 53391

It is true, I believe, of great men that qualities possessed in common far out-distance individual dissimilarities. The differences of view which serve to gain the favour, or to arouse the opposition of contemporaries, are lost to sight as their figures recede into the past. Against true greatness, the waves of time and change beat in vain. Truly great men are those who, by their merits, have caused others to cherish their memory. For the truly great the years reveal those granite-like qualities of character which become the pedestal of their fame.

I shall leave it to others to speak of Sir John Macdonald's career and attainments. In the time at my disposal, I shall refer but briefly to certain characteristics in his life which gave to Sir John pre-eminence in his day, and have left their imprint on the life of Canada.

In a country like Canada, every man is more or less the architect of his own fortune. In our public life, young men may also become the architects of their country's future. As was the case with Macdonald, and other of the Makers of Canada, this distinction may be gained without regard to birth, or race, or class. Intelligence, industry, and integrity are the basic qualities by which it is achieved.

Sir John Macdonald was born and bred in the British Isles. He migrated to Canada in its colonial days. Here he emerged into the full light of distinction and influence. He had the virtues of the good stock from which he sprang, but was not endowed at birth by either wealth or position. He made his own way.

D 53392

The source of Sir John's influence upon those who came under its spell lay in that indefinable something which we speak of as personality.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the tribute he paid Sir John Macdonald at the time of his death, said of Sir John that he was endowed with those inner, subtle graces of the soul which win and keep the hearts of men. Sir Wilfred had, I think, in mind Sir John's loyalty to country, to cause, and to friends; his tact, his kindness, his resourcefulness; his humour, his long youthfulness of heart—most of all, perhaps, the genuine love which he had for his fellowmen. Those qualities begot in him an outlook on life which was at once tolerant and generous. Combined with vision which came with youth, and wisdom, which ripened with the years, they gave to him his ability to lead and to inspire men.

Patriotism was the central purpose of Sir John Macdonald's life. Throughout, his dearest wish was to see this country a strong and united nation under the British Crown. A country of two races merged into one nationality, governed in the well-tried ways of the British Constitution, a pride and glory to the new world, this was the daydream of his youth. Its unity was the hope and the prayer of his riper years. Sir John, not only lived to see his dream realized and his prayer answered, but both, in memorable part, affected by his own exertions.

I sometimes think that the Canada of today has even surpassed the Canada of Sir John Macdonald's dream. I doubt not that he saw our country ever as a loyal daughter at her mother's side. The tie

D 53393

with Britain was the last which he would ever have wished to see severed. He knew what the British connection meant in terms of freedom. I wonder, however, if he could possibly have foreseen how rapid, with the passing of the years, would be the country's growth in extent, in strength, and in service to the world. I wonder if the part which Canada played in the last great war as one of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and the part which she is taking in the vastly more terrible war of today could ever have been present to his mind!

The union of two historic races into one young and vigorous nation, assisting in arms the other nations of the British Commonwealth in the preservation of freedom, is a high achievement, and a very noble example to many other parts of the world. This valourous role is, today, Canada's greatest gift to mankind. That of it too Sir John A. Macdonald should be a part, is the supreme tribute we pay to his memory today.

D 53394

ADDRESS

By the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P.C., K.C., LL.D.

Former Prime Minister of Canada

The footsteps of time move fast, and how short is the term of life—very brief it is to those who are eager to toil and to achieve.

The thought now, though, deepest in every mind must be—how short, how narrowly bounded is human vision. Here in this place, hallowed by every Canadian, we meet fifty years after his death to do honour to the man who more than any other founded our country, and we meet under the shadow of the blackest clouds that ever overcast this world; we meet amid the fires, the thunders of war, distant perhaps in space but not in truth, threatening all we possess and all we are. Sir Wilfrid Laurier ascribed to Macdonald as his highest atrribute a far-reaching vision beyond the events of his time; but not to Macdonald nor to any statesman of his era, or even of that which followed, did there come into contemplation any such tide of tragedy as rages in our day. We ourselves, let us confess, cannot pierce the future even as far as our fathers did—for events become swifter and bigger as man's mastery over nature becomes more and more supreme.

We turn aside for a mere moment to pay tribute where tribute is due and to gain inspiration if we can, courage if we can, wisdom if we can, at the fountain of history.

If it had been given to the penetrating mind of Sir John A. Macdonald to see beyond the veil and to foreshadow those strains and perils which now surround his country, I am not sure that his course at any stage of his career could have been different from

D 53395

D 53396

what it was. He was a Canadian, struggling with the diversities and jealousies of far scattered people. With him it is true Canada was first. Sir John Thompson said that his daily thought was expressed in Webster's words: "Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country." His true and deep Canadianism was to him "a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night." But with him Canada was first not in any narrow sense of singleness or priority but only in the sense of his own immediate duty. Never at any time did he lose sight of or subordinate to a selfish Canadian purpose the oneness of our interest, the oneness of our security, and the oneness of our destiny with the British Empire. From the first message to his people, delivered in this City of Kingston in 1844, to his last great appeal in the year of his death, he never ceased to affirm his conviction that our prosperity rested on the permanence of our place in that Empire and that our freedom as a nation depended on its unity and its strength. In this he was powerfully supported by his colleagues from French Canada, who loved him and shared his faith. They knew well what we all know in our country and what the crashing events of this hour are driving home to every quarter of this continent—that the corner stone of liberty must not be broken if liberty is to survive; and that corner stone is Britain. We do honour to him here as the father of our Canadian Confederation, but right in the heart of England, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, honour was done him as one whose services to the Empire deserved to be ranked with those of Wellington and Nelson.

Legend and biography are full of tales which illumine the personal life and reveal the personal charm of Macdonald. Those qualities we describe as human were his in almost incomparable degree. Of these we have heard today. We have read of them for half a century. Never have they found expression

in terms so graceful, so memorable and so generous as in that immortal tribute paid him in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Not even the rich and stately eulogy delivered by Sir John Thompson at Hamilton in 1893 can last as long as Laurier's great speech. We are not likely ever to forget that salute to "Canada's most illustrious son," the story of the devotion, ardent devotion, and affection with which he was followed, of the "inner, subtle, and indefinable graces of soul which win and keep the hearts of men," of the angel of death touching him with his wing, of his struggle against enfeebled health and declining strength, until the hand of fate pinned him to his bed to die. We read in many places of his tact and his urbanity, of the amiability and gentleness of his nature, of the kindness, humour and forbearance which seemed the only weapons he would turn to attacks from those who should have been his friends. From every source we learn of his patience, his unbounded and unending patience. These are virtues possessed by a few—a very favoured few—but possessed in equal degree by Sir John's great rival and successor. They are virtues in public life of almost unbelievable importance, virtues valued most by those to whom they are denied.

The gifts I have just described helped him tremendously—they helped him to office, they helped him stay in office, they helped him in the supreme art of governing men. But do not make the mistake too often made of thinking that these talents stood alone, or that they were the basic and enduring talents which accounted for his usefulness to Canada. The truth is he was the most practical of men, a toiler, a builder devoted indefatigably to getting things done. No one can read his history, his letters, and especially his speeches in Parliament, without realizing the comprehensive grasp of facts, the order with which those facts fell into position, and consequently the firmness of conviction with which he could drive home his

conclusions. Contrary to the general belief, he could reason just as well as he could appeal. His mind was quick, clear and intense, his nature earnest and tenacious; without these solid qualities he never would have reached the place he occupies in history as a Parliamentary leader.

A reading of Hansard, or of discussions outside Parliament, shows a marked difference between the methods of Macdonald's day and of our own. Into the causes I will not enter except to say that universal suffrage may be one. Whatever the reason, you will search in vain among the speeches of Macdonald or of his contemporaries for anything in the nature of a class appeal. He assumed and they assumed that the good of the State was the only talisman, that, next to the safety of the nation, the main objective of legislation must be to help those who need help most, to give opportunity to the unadvantaged, to encourage and assist those who are down to rise. They knew, and they assumed everybody else knew, that as soon as it could be shown that any article of policy would contribute to this end, that moment a case for such policy was made. From this point of view they argued on the merits of whatever legislative step was in issue. They did not consider it the part of necessity or the part of honour to attribute other designs to their foes. Never will you find in the speeches of Macdonald or of his Opposition those attacks on the successful few and that flattery of the many, accompanied by portraits of heaven, which abound now in the orations of more countries than our own.

When the time came to Macdonald for an appeal, he made it; and it was a manly appeal and a very effective appeal. Sir John Thompson quotes one of these efforts, made at a time of great difficulty and danger. It is not a finished literary production but it would be hard indeed to conceive of anything more

admirably designed to rouse the loyalty of his friends and recover wanderers from his fold:—

> "I have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of Union, the battle of the Dominion of Canada. I throw myself upon the House. I throw myself upon this country, I throw myself upon posterity, and I believe that, notwithstanding the many failings of my life, I shall have the voice of this country and this House rallying round me. And, sir, if I am mistaken in that, I can confidently appeal to a higher court—to the court of my own conscience and to the court of posterity. I leave it with this House with every confidence. I am equal to either fortune. I can see past the decision of this House, whether for or against me, but whether it be for or against me, I know, and it is no vain boast for me to say so, for even my enemies will admit that I am no boaster, that there does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, such as they may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

Sir John Macdonald does not stand alone in the galaxy of our eminent men; but his greatest rival, to his eternal credit, has awarded him the primacy among the founders and builders of our nation. For the heavier tasks of today there is more to be learned from him than from any other. If we govern ourselves, each one of us, by the principles which governed him; if we work as he worked; dare as he dared; and follow the star that lighted his life, we will serve our country as we ought to serve it and, with God's help, we will save it.

D 53399

ADDRESS

By THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ERNEST LAPOINTE, P.C., K.C., LL.D.

Minister of Justice

Sir John A. Macdonald was the first Minister of Justice of Canada, holding the office from the 1st of July, 1867, until the 6th of November, 1873. I am not here however merely to honour the memory of my most illustrious predecessor. I have come to represent Lower Canada, and to associate the old Province with this tribute of national gratitude.

The Government of Canada could not be absent from this moving demonstration, majestic in its simplicity.

Sir John A. Macdonald does not belong to a party. He belongs to his country and this is the homage of the whole nation to the chief architect of Confederation, to the leader of those we call the "Fathers." Indeed, he defined what a great British country in North America should be and he created it. He dreamed of a great future for that country and pointed out the road to it. The man whose life and work we evoke today was above all and essentially a national builder.

Fifty years have passed and the great figure of Macdonald remains untarnished and brilliant. That in itself is a supreme test. Fifty years are a sure token; they are a pledge for the future; it is indeed the dawning of immortality.

Macdonald has been dead fifty years but his ideas, and his ideals march on in the political and social life of Canada. The stamp of his soul and of his genius is forever marked everywhere in this country. He understood better than any of his contemporaries the

D 53400

problems that had to be solved and succeeded to unite traditionally opposed sections, laying down the principles upon which this nation is based. His great merit was to raise above the narrow divisions of provincialism the powerful figure of a united country.

Speaking before his grave, I cannot help remembering this thought of Goethe: "The supreme gift a man could receive from nature is personality."

His was an engaging, enticing and radiating personality. His knowledge of human nature was approaching to genius and his power of command over men was unlimited. His greatest study was the study of men. He lived among men all his life teaching them brotherhood and tolerance.

He frequently found himself in minority in his own Province and I am pleased to note that he then relied for support on Lower Canada, which came to him in a great measure through his unbroken alliance with Cartier. The old chief was always loyal to the alliance and to the pledges he had given. On one memorable occasion he said in Parliament: "There is no paramount race in this country, there is no conquered race in this country; we are all British subjects."

The attitude of Canada, of the whole of Canada, in the conflict actually raging is the vindication of Macdonald's foresight and statemanship. Today as we think of Sir John A. Macdonald and revere his memory a dark cloud hangs over our civilization. Our country is facing new and momentous trials. Let the spirit of national brotherhood which guided Macdonald lead us today, preserve us from the great dangers which we may find along our road. Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder without regard to the ancestors or the creed of our fellow citizens, but only to the sincerity of our Canadianism, working all

D 53401

together, hearts, souls and minds, for the honour, the strength and the greatness of our common land. Let us honour Macdonald's memory by keeping alive the ideal of Justice and Liberty to which he devoted the best of his life. Let us all pledge to love and to serve what he has loved and served, our beloved Canada.

Speaking on behalf of my fellow countrymen, I will say to Macdonald in the language which he has helped to preserve in this country: "Merci, Sir John! Je salue en vous un des premiers champions de l'esprit national. Les Canadiens de langue française sont heureux de s'unir à leurs concitoyens pour vous rendre hommage, ils vous sont reconnaissants de les avoir compris et appréciés, d'avoir su mériter leur confiance et leur loyale coopération dans l'édification de notre patrie commune."

D 53402

ADDRESS

By THE HONOURABLE R. B. HANSON, K.C., LL.D.

Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons

We are meeting here today at a shrine of our nation. We are meeting to bear witness to the unity of Canadians, to our devotion to those truths and principles in our national life which are so much the handiwork of John A. Macdonald. This is a place alike of reverence and reassurance.

One might speak here today of this man as the chief architect of Confederation, of his supreme genius in the art of government, of the great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its benign sympathy, of that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. One might dwell at length upon what his great life taught, upon what his memory should continue to teach: the need for national unity; the recognition of the glory of democracy when understood properly; the challenge of a reverence for the past joined to a high hope for the future.

John A. Macdonald taught us these things. He taught us by his life that it is the living consciousness by the individual of his unity with the State and of his loyalty to his fellows that makes all the sons of this land in strict reality brothers. He taught us that in diversity there can be true unity. He taught us Duty, Unity, Loyalty. AND HE TAUGHT US EMPIRE.

But we are not here to utter a eulogy upon this man; he stands in need of none. We are here rather to pay reverence to the meaning of his life to our nation; here as well to give testimony to the truth that in common things we are bound together by ties of memory and affection. Here we stand before an altar

upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of our Canadian democracy and our British brotherhood; before a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of our people may from age to age be rekindled.

Those hopes cannot be kept alive merely by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of a true democracy is to translate these into the life and action of society, into the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and enlightened service. THE COMMANDS OF DEMOCRACY ARE AS IMPERATIVE AS ITS PRIVILEGES. Democracy will be great and light a great torch for this nation only if we are great and carry that torch high for the guidance of our own feet. Unless we ourselves heed the lessons of his life; unless we be in deed and in truth real Canadians and servants of mankind—ready to give our lives for the freedom of the great nation which nurtures us, and for the flag which shelters and protects us—we are not worthy to stand here, not worthy of this shrine of John A. Macdonald.

John A. Macdonald envisaged here a strong and powerful nation and laboured arduously to give life to it. Let us, who inherit the early fruits of his work, strive to make of this nation the best that is possible for all our people.

As we depart from this place, shall we not say of him, reverently and gratefully: "Now he belongs to the ages."

LIST OF PERSONS SEATED ON THE SPEAKERS' PLATFORM

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., LL.D.,
Prime Minister of Canada.

The Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, P.C., K.C., LL.D.,
Minister of Justice.

The Honourable A. L. Macdonald, K.C., LL.D., S.J.D.,
Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, and Mrs. Macdonald.

The Honourable J. Pierrepont Moffat,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald,
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

Mr. D. de Waal Meyer,
Accredited Representative in Canada for the Union of South Africa.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P.C., K.C., LL.D.,
Former Prime Minister of Canada and Member of the Senate.

The Right Honourable Sir William Mulock, P.C., K.C.M.G., LL.D.,
Member of the Privy Council and Retired Chief Justice of Ontario.
Member of the House of Commons for the Constituency of North York from 1882-1905.

The Honourable R. B. Hanson, K.C., LL.D.,
Member of the Privy Council and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

Mr. Emerson Coatsworth, K.C.,
Retired Judge of the County Court of the County of York.
Member of the House of Commons for the Constituency of East Toronto from 1891-1896.

D 53405

His Worship the Mayor of Kingston, and Mrs. Stewart.

The Reverend J. Forbes Wedderburn, M.A., B.D.,
Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston.

Mr. W. C. Crozier,
President, Kingston Conservative Association, and Mrs. Crozier.

Mr. James Halliday,
President, Kingston Liberal Association.

Mr. Hugh Gainsford,
Great-grandson of Sir John A. Macdonald.

There are three other persons who sat in the House of Commons with Sir John A. Macdonald but who were unable to attend the Commemoration Service. These are:

The Honourable Rufus H. Pope

Mr. R. S. White

The Honourable P. A. Choquette

D 53406

WREATHS PLACED AT THE FOOT OF THE MONUMENT AND ON THE GRAVE OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice—by Brigadier Logie Armstrong, O.B.E.

His Majesty's Government in Canada—by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., LL.D.

The Government of the United States of America—by the Honourable J. Pierrepont Moffat

The Honourable R. B. Hanson—by Mr. Hanson

The Union of South Africa—by Mr. D. de Waal Meyer

The High Commissioner for the United Kingdom—by the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald

Kingston Conservative Association

Kingston Liberal Association

Women's Liberal Conservative Association of Kingston

Orillia Conservative Association

The Trustees of Queen's University

Ancient St. John's Lodge, A.F. & A.M. No. 3

St. Andrew's Society of Kingston

Loyal Orange District No. 1

Emily Marshall, the daughter of Eliza Grimason

Kingston and Frontenac Conservative Club

Sir Wm. Wallace Camp, Sons of Scotland

Hugh de Payens Premier Preceptory, Knights Templar

The Nickle Family

Kingston, Ont., June 7, 1941

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE PRIME MINISTER
ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF
SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

D 53407

Mr. Mayor,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald has seemed to my colleagues and myself an occasion on which a national tribute should be paid the memory of one whose name and achievements have become an imperishable part of the heritage of Canada.

A formidable opponent and, later, an honoured colleague of Sir John Macdonald, Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, reminded his day and generation that "a wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual references to the sacrifices and glories of the past."

It is in the spirit so eloquently expressed in these words that we, of another generation, old and young, from near and far, of different racial origins and of different religious and political faiths, welcome this opportunity to commemorate the life and work of the first Prime Minister of Canada. We are proud to be assembled

today in the city

today in the city with which his great career was so intimately associated, and to surround, on this anniversary, the monument which the citizens of Kingston have erected to his memory. When this brief service is concluded, the wreaths we place on the tomb of the illustrious dead will be an expression, as he would have wished, of our common patriotism.

It is true, I believe, of great men that qualities possessed in common far out-distance individual dissimilarities. The differences of view which serve to gain the favour, or to arouse the opposition of contemporaries, are lost to sight as their figures recede into the past. Against true greatness, the waves of time and change beat in vain. Truly great men are those who, by their merits, have caused others to cherish their memory. For the truly great, the years reveal those granite-like qualities of character which become the pedestal of their fame.

I shall leave it to others to speak of Sir John Macdonald's career and attainments. In the time at my disposal, I shall refer but briefly to certain characteristics in his life which gave to Sir John pre-eminence ~~x~~ in his day, and have left their imprint on the life of Canada.

In a country like Canada, every man is more or less the architect of his own fortune. In our public life, young men may also become the architects of their country's future. As was the case with Macdonald, and other of the Makers of Canada, this distinction may be gained without regard to birth, or race, or class. Intelligence, industry and integrity are the basic qualities by which it is achieved.

Sir John Macdonald was born and bred in the British Isles. He migrated to Canada in its colonial days. Here he emerged into the full light of distinction and influence. He had the virtues of the good stock from which he sprang, but was not endowed at birth by either wealth or position. He made his own way.

The source of Sir John's influence upon those who came under its spell lay in that indefinable something which we speak of as personality.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the tribute he paid Sir John Macdonald at the time of his death, said of Sir John that he was endowed with those inner, subtle graces of the soul which win and keep the hearts of men. Sir Wilfrid had, I think, in mind Sir John's loyalty to country, to cause, and to friends; his tact,

his kindness, his resourcefulness &

his kindness, his resourcefulness; his humour, his long youthfulness of heart - most of all, perhaps, the genuine love which he had for his fellowmen. These qualities begot in him an outlook on life which was at once tolerant and generous. Combined with vision, which came with youth, and wisdom, which ripened with the years, they gave to him his ability to lead and to inspire men.

Patriotism was the central purpose of Sir John Macdonald's life. Throughout, his dearest wish was to see this country a strong and united nation under the British Crown. A country of two races merged into one nationality, governed in the well tried ways of the British Constitution, a pride and glory to the new world, this was the day-dream of his youth. Its unity was the hope and the prayer of his riper years. Sir John, not only lived to see his dream realized and his prayer answered, but both, in memorable part, effected by his own exertions.

I sometimes think that the Canada of today has even surpassed the Canada of Sir John Macdonald's dream. I doubt not that he saw our country ever as a loyal daughter at her mother's side. The tie with Britain was the last which he would ever have wished

to see severed.

to see severed. He knew what the British connection meant in terms of freedom. I wonder, however, if he could possibly have foreseen how rapid, with the passing of the years, would be the country's growth in extent, in strength, and in service to the world. I wonder if the part which Canada played in the last great war as one of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and the part which she is taking in the vastly more terrible war of today could ever have been present to his mind!

The union of two historic races into one young and vigorous nation, united in arms with ~~ak~~ the other nations of the British Commonwealth in the preservation of freedom, is a high achievement, and a very noble example to many other parts of the world. This valorous role is, today, Canada's greatest gift to mankind. That of it too Sir John A. Macdonald should be a part, is the supreme tribute we pay to his memory today.

June 11, 1941

Victory Loan Torch
ceremony

D 53412

1. Monument -- 1914-18

to celebrate victory,

temple of freedom.

2. After 21 years - a new generation

but the same war

domination

also different odds.

(1) re countries,

(2) methods and weapons -

machines vs. men.

(3) kind of foe.

Totalitarian - Nazi deception -

fanatical.

3. If defeated Germany can achieve
conquests,

What will a victorious Germany do?

4. Only two ways to prevent -

men and money.

D 53413

Appeal young men
in name of government and
parliament.

1. in name of freedom
their own generation.

2. sacrifices others have
made for theirs

3. humanity -
not country only
but world need.

do so voluntarily.

4. All others: to supply the weapons
and supplies needed for victory,
money.

5. Act at once - no time to lose

Danger war our own coasts -

Bismarck.

6. Another word re Monument,

figures - peace and freedom
(reward)

arise - liberty and victory.

George VI words.

D 53414

What have I done?

Give wreath a place.

" torch a place.

What have I <u>left undone</u>?

7. Send torch to England.

Determination to fight to the end.

Flaming passion for victory.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date June 12/41.

Subject

D 53415

Mr. King Calls For Young Men To Join Forces

Other Way to Help Is To Invest in Victory Bonds To Equip Our Armies, Says Prime Minister.

Issuing a strong appeal to Canada's young men to join the armed forces voluntarily, and urging men and women to invest in Victory bonds to see that proper equipment was provided, Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his "Torch Day" address yesterday afternoon emphasized that Canadians can never permit a victorious Germany.

"If a conquered Germany after 21 years can rise to power in such a short time, what would be expected of a victorious Germany? We can never permit a condition of that kind," he asserted.

Two Ways to Help.

The Prime Minister pointed out there were two ways to help win the war. One was by men to enlist in the armed forces, and the other to lend money to supply the needs of the men.

In his appeal for men to enlist, Prime Minister King said he asked them in "the interest of their own generation. They are the men who will have to live in this country in the years following the war. I appeal to them to recognize the sacrifices made by others on their behalf in the last war, and the sacrifices already made in this war. I appeal to them on behalf of the well-being of mankind throughout the world, and on behalf of humanity.

"These men who enlist," he said, "are defenders of freedom, faith, our way of living, and they are helping to make us victorious.

Veterans Applaud.

As the Prime Minister appealed for enlistments, veterans of the last war, who were drawn up in a body on the west lawn of Parliament Hill near the speaker's stand shouted their approval, and cheered lustily on several occasions during his speech.

"We are fighting the same war as the last," said the Prime Minister. "It is a war on the part of Germany for domination. The difference this time is the method. During the last battle, the men in the trenches were in the front line, but today the men, women and children in the cities and towns are on the battle front line."

He pointed out the difference two years of battle had made in this war compared with 1914-18 when the Germans had not penetrated very far into Allied territory. The Prime Minister noted that today Nazis had overrun, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium, and has France under their heel.

The Prime Minister paid grateful tribute to the men of the Dominion who were now in uniform, and stated that they had won the deep affection of the people of Canada and its government in addition to the affection of other allied nations.

In asking for support of the present Victory Loan, 1941, the Prime Minister urged men and women of Canada to lend of their savings in a large measure.

Refers to Monument.

Standing on a flag-draped platform, the Prime Minister could see to his left the National War Memorial erected in honor of Canada's dead in the first Great War. He referred to the monument in his address, saying that the figures, depicting liberty and freedom, placed on it should challenge Canadians to see they did their part in the present-day struggle against Germany.

Pointing towards the monument, Mr. King asked: "When the new memorial is erected can each one of us say, 'I have done my part'?"

22

Excerpt from Address by the Prime Minister
Victory Torch Ceremony - Wed. June 11/41

53416

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Now I wish this afternoon to make one more strong appeal. That is to the young men of our country to enlist in its armed forces in this great cause of victory. I make this appeal to the young men of Canada, first in the interest of their own generation. They are the young men who will continue to live on in this country after this war is ended, one way or the other. But whether we are to be a Canada free or a Canada enslaved will depend upon the part which they among others play in this great conflict. I appeal to them to enter the armed forces of Canada as a recognition of sacrifices that have been made by others on their behalf. Sacrifices made by many who fought in the last war, many who gave their lives in the last war that we might continue to enjoy the freedom which we have today ... and the sacrifices already made in this war by free men fighting for liberty and freedom in different parts of the world. I make that appeal passionately to them, not only in the interest of Canada, not only in the interest of the British Commonwealth of Nations, not only in the interest of different countries already in this conflict, but I make it on behalf of mankind throughout the world, I make it in the name of humanity

because it is humanity that is the sufferer in this great strife of today. So I can repeat, and I repeat it on behalf of the Government of Canada, I repeat it here from Parliament Hill on behalf of the Parliament of Canada assembled here .... we are asking our young men in this country to recognize the greatness of the cause, to recognize that they are Defenders of Freedom, that they are Defenders of the Faith, that they are Defenders of the way of life which we wish to continue to be able to live in this country, and to join in the armed forces is helping to make victory sure when this conflict is at an end. And I ask them to do that voluntarily. May I say to the young men of Canada, one of the glories of Canada's contribution in this war has been that every phase of it has been voluntary. All that we have done we have done freely and of our own will. What has been given by this country to the war thus far has been as a result of the freedom which we appreciate. Now let us all realize that that freedom is at stake and voluntarily do our part to ensure ultimate victory.

D 53418

Speech by the Prime Minister of Canada,
The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
at Princeton University, June 17, 1941.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you for admitting me to the fellowship of this renowned university.

I gratefully accept the distinction with which you have endowed me. My fellow countrymen will be quick to recognize it, as I do, as an honour meant for Canada. They will see in it, as I also do, an expression of your abiding pleasure that our two countries, destined by divine Providence to be neighbours, have for so many years lived together in peace and understanding as friends.

That pleasure is abundantly shared by the citizens of the Dominion. Between you and us there is a community of thought, ideal, and purpose, by which it is ordained that we shall forever walk together as the best of good neighbours. Although

"Heaven has shown us separate fires
And our dooms have dealt us differing years."

Inspired by the same visions, we have sought the same ends.

As with other countries and other peoples, the inner qualities of your nationhood and of our nationhood have not been without their testing in the crucible of pain. With us in bygone years, there were the fires of

racial and constitutional strife; with you, the fires of revolution and civil war. We both have participated in other wars. From victory, we each learned magnanimity; from suffering, compassion.

With some falterings, some shortcomings and some failures, we have each in our own way sought to establish the worth of the common man, the dignity of human labour, the equality of human opportunity, the sacredness of human life and the exaltation of our Christian faith.

Today, evil men have placed those precious things in peril. They would change faith, truth and religion, hope and freedom, for unfaith, falsehood, darkness, despair and slavery.

Ever since a cloud as large as Hitler's hand appeared on the horizon of Europe, thoughtful men in our land, and in this land, feared, if they did not foresee, the coming of the storm and the onset of barbarism. From the first moment of tragic conflict, Canada, of her own free choice, took the hard road of sacrifice. With Britain in the vanguard of liberty, and you at our side, we shall continue to the end whatever be the cost.

This ceremony today seems to me to commemorate our common disdain of the fleeting things that will pass, and our common love of the eternal things that will remain, I see in it also a realization of the kinship between

D 53420

this great university, indeed, between all the universities of this great country, and the universities of Canada.

You of Princeton have given to the United States and to the world many famous men. Their labours for human emancipation will grow in the sight of their fellow men as posterity reaps the harvest of their noble example.

We of the British Commonwealth of Nations are also proud to remember that, among our contributions to Church and State, we gave to Princeton, as one of its Presidents, in the person of Dr. Francis Patton, an illustrious champion of free institutions, and firm defender of the Christian faith. Dr. Patton, as you will recall, was born in Bermuda. He retained his British citizenship throughout. In the years which immediately followed the civil war, when the institutions of learning in the south had not re-opened their doors, he was among a number of earnest young scholars who came to the University of Toronto to pursue their studies. Perhaps I may be pardoned an expression of personal pride if I mention, on this occasion, that no friend of my father was dearer to him than Dr. Patton. During their university days they were close companions. For a time they shared rooms in the same college residence. The name of Dr. Patton and his inspiring friendship came, with the

D 53421

passing of the years, to be honoured and revered by my father's children, no less than by himself.

Time forbids me to speak of other great men associated with this university. But there is one whom with you, Canada is proud to acclaim today. I should like to mention him particularly.

Since racial persecution came to curse the land of Beethoven and Goethe, Princeton has honoured itself, and the high cause which this university upholds, by receiving into her midst one who belongs to the sainthood of science -- Professor Einstein. Were her distinguished sons not so numerous Princeton might well be content, in these dark and troubled days, to be remembered for the broad humanity of Woodrow Wilson, his predecessors and his successors; for the sound scholarship and Christian charity of Patton, and for the patient search for truth and its triumphant discovery which have distinguished the life of Einstein.

And just because Wilson's humanity, and Patton's charity, and Einstein's truth have been banished from many lands the universities of this North American continent stand more than ever as the watch towers of human freedom.

A university can only fulfill its true functions in a society where life is viewed from many sides, and where social purposes are not single but manifold. Its influence must languish and die wherever human activity is subordinated to the dictates of the state, and the enhancement of material power. For, in such a society, a university becomes a mere training school where young men chiefly learn how to adapt art for the deification of a tyrant, and how to apply science to the upholding of state tyranny.

"Now, God be thanked Who has matched us with
His hour"

It is surely the simple truth that, more than ever before, the universities of North America are the trustees of the liberties of man. It is their high privilege to see that no matter what happens elsewhere, truth can here be sought and proclaimed; beauty revered; and the renaissance, not only of learning but of man himself, flower in significance and splendour.

As I stand here today and gaze into the faces of those who are about to leave Princeton for the university of the world, and as I recall the other free institutions of learning and enlightenment on this continent, I know in my heart there will be no betrayal of that high trust.

As I thank you again for the gift which I have received at your hands, may I be permitted to thank you also for the gift which you have bestowed upon one who, an exile from her own country, has honoured Canada by her royal presence. She bears with great courage and dignity the sorrows of her own homeland. She has been welcomed by the citizens of Canada to this continent, which owes so much to the character, the skill and the faith of the people of the country to which she has dedicated her life. The name of the Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands will have an abiding place in the chapter of Canadian history which will record the moving events of this war. Canadians will be happy and proud to learn that today Princeton has made her royal name a part also of American history.

Mr. President, with my thanks, I bring to you and your fellow citizens of the United States greetings of brotherhood and goodwill from your northern neighbour. We are grateful for your friendship. We reciprocate it most warmly. We will ever seek to maintain and worthily deserve your confidence and your regard.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Min

24

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date June 18/41

D 53424

Subject

Text of Premier Mackenzie King's Speech at New York

I THANK you, Mr. Chairman, for your words of introduction, and you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the warmth of the welcome you have so generously accorded me.

I speak to you tonight as the head of the government of a country which, for almost two years, has been actively and unitedly at war. In accepting your invitation, I have not been unmindful that, though it was extended by Canadian friends, I, nevertheless, would be speaking in a country other than my own, and to citizens or residents of a nation which is at peace — or at least, officially at peace. My words will be heard by many of your fellow-citizens of the United States. I believe they will be not less anxious than you are to be told, at first hand, facts concerning Canada's war effort.

Entered War Freely

You have asked me to tell you something of the causes and ideals which led us to take up arms; something of what Canada is doing, and has been doing, as a nation at war; something, too, of our hopes for the world which rise when peace comes again to bless mankind.

The Canadian people entered this war of their own free will. As one people, we made the momentous decision by the free vote of a free parliament. Our declaration of war was signed by the King upon the recommendation of His Majesty's Canadian Ministers. The King's proclamation was in the name of Canada. We, in Canada, were as free to make war or to abstain from making war, as the people of the United States are free to make war or to abstain from making war.

The decision of the Canadian Parliament was given as soon after the outbreak of war as Parliament could be called together. It was a prompt and united decision. There was no hesitation. There was no compulsion. We knew humanity's crisis was upon us all. We took our stand as a free and independent people who wished to do whatever lay within our power to thwart aggression, to maintain freedom, to crush the cursed creed of Nazism, to preclude world domination by any power, and to end forever, if that were posible, the substitution of force for reason as an instrument of national policy.

The Issue at Stake

Canada is a nation of 11½ million people. Something less than half are of English, Scotch, Irish or Welsh descent; some 3½ million are French speaking; the remainder are derived from most of the races of Europe.

Our people went to war for the sake of Canada, but not for Canada alone. We went to war as well for the sake of Britain, for North American civilization which we are proud to defend, and for the sake of that humanity which is above all nations. We saw clearly that Canadian freedom, that North American freedom, was one with British freedom.

We went to war at Britain's side because we believed hers to be the right side. We committed ourselves to her cause because it was our cause—the righteous cause of the liberty of nations, great and small, and of all men, great and humble, rich and poor. If Britain had not been on what we believed to be the side of righteousness, the cause for which she had taken up arms would not have been our cause. I do not hesitate to say that Britain, or no Britain, Canada would never have entered the war if, at the outset, our country had not seen the issue clearly for itself, and believed it to be what all free peoples know it to be today.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 53425

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Canada True to Herself

In our unhesitating decision, and our action which followed, we were true to ourselves. For if any nation was ever inspired by high ideals, unselfish motives and a passion for human freedom and social and national justice, that land was and is Canada. We have a national history without stain of aggression, exploitation, or territorial greed. We have worked always in patience for peace.

In our dealings with other nations, we have been amongst the foremost exponents of conciliation, mediation and arbitration; and the most consistent advocates of international goodwill and understanding.

We entered this war, we have remained in it, and shall remain in it till freedom triumphs, because our people know exactly what the aggression of Naziism and Fascism means for the future of themselves and their children. Thousands came as immigrants to our country, as they did to other parts of this continent, seeking escape from those evil things, and in the pursuit of peaceful happiness, religious and political freedom, and the right to live out their lives simply and unafraid.

We are nationally minded because, as Canadians, we are free and independent. But we see no escape, no safety, no refuge in national isolation. We are internationally minded because our people know that a threat to freedom anywhere is a threat to freedom everywhere. We know that there are no longer any geographical defences strong enough in themselves to prevent the onset of aggression. We know that tyrannical ambition, once it overleaps itself, will overleap every boundary whether it be mountain or sea.

National Unity

Knowing these things, and realizing the strength of the enemy, we entered the conflict —English-speaking Canadians, French-speaking Canadians — as a united nation. The ancient partnership between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians sealed by the brotherhood of equality and freedom, is honoured to-day as the unbroken bond of common patriotic sacrifice. Don't let any one dare to tell you that French-speaking Canada is not on the side of freedom in this war. The union of the children of New France and their English-speaking brothers which fashioned the Canadian nation remains unbroken and unsullied.

The generosity of our citizenship into which men of many races have been freely welcomed, has been repaid by unquestioned loyalty to our institutions and our cause.

As soon as the cloud on the horizon, no larger than Hitler's hand, resolved itself into the storm of conflict, we determined that we would not wait until the enemy was at our gates. We went to meet him at sea, in the air and on land. Against total war, we have brought and shall bring total effort. Parliament has placed at the disposal of the government all resources, material and man-power. Toil, treasure and life itself, have been placed by the sons and daughters of Canada upon the altar of the world's freedom.

Two Major Tasks

For nearly two years, we have been at war. In the war, we have had from the beginning, two major tasks. We continue to play two major parts. Like Britain, we are a nation at war with all the power of our resources, and all the strength of our will. For nearly two years, we have gathered our strength as we have taken our allotted place in the conflict. Our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen are with Britain and her other allies in the front line of battle. Our forces on land, at sea and in the air have been and are being equipped and maintained at our own expense. In addition, like the United States, we are helping Britain by sending to her, to the limit of our capacity, the products of our factories, our farms, our forests and our mines.

The task of arming and fighting as a nation is our own free contribution to the cause of freedom. The task of aiding Britain with munitions and money is an additional effort which Canada is also making for the common cause.

With the United States, and like the United States, we are helping to provide the tools. With Britain and like Britain, we are doing our utmost to help finish the job.

Canada's Armed Forces

May I now give you some concrete facts and figures. I make no apology for giving them in almost the same terms I used in our Parliament just before it adjourned last week.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

53426

Date.....

Subject.....

In the nearly two years Canada has been at war, our own effort in men and materials, has steadily gained in momentum, in volume and in power. Every month sees more Canadian troops, more Canadian sailors and more Canadian airmen added to the number of the defenders of Britain, the defenders of freedom.

For a considerable time, we have had an army corps of two divisions in the British Isles. They are in key positions, helping to guard and to garrison the vital citadel, the retention of which may well decide the war. We have made known to all the world that our forces overseas are ready to go, and that we are equally ready to have them go, wherever their services may count the most. We shall, within the present year, dispatch to Britain two additional divisions; one, a third infantry division; the other, an armored division. We are also sending a tank brigade and many reinforcements. Some of these forces are already in Britain, others are on their way. This is apart altogether from the active forces we are retaining in Canada.

Ships of Canada's navy have been engaged with British ships in the coastal waters of Britain. They are now taking an increasingly important part in the defence of the Atlantic coast, and in the duties of convoying supplies and men on the great passageway of the Atlantic so vital not only to the present of Britain, but also to the future of Canada and of the United States. You already know that some of our destroyers—like a much larger number in the British fleet—were, only a few months ago, flying the Stars and Stripes.

Air Strength Gains

Canadian airmen and Canadian squadrons have, from the beginning, been taking their part in the battle of Britain. Every day, their number is being increased by graduates from the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. This plan is in the nature of a partnership under which Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and British pilots and airmen, and, I am happy to say, hundreds of young Americans as well, are being trained as air fighters in the flying schools of the wide spaces of Canada. At the present time, about a hundred training establishments are in full operation. From this source is flowing to Britain an ever-growing stream of pilots, observers, and gunners. They have crossed to Britain in thousands, and will continue to cross in ever increasing numbers.

We have recently sent from Canada to Britain one thousand radio technicians whose help has been invaluable, and will be invaluable, in the cleansing of the midnight air. More will follow.

Only the other day, bombers and flying boats of the Royal Canadian Air Force took part in the search for the Bismarck which ,with courage worthy of a nobler cause, began her first and last battle closer to the shores of North America than to the shores of Europe.

Contribution of Man-Power

Let me give you a few figures to show what our nation of 11½ million people has contributed in manpower. In order that their significance may be fully appreciated, let me resolve those figures in terms of 130 millions who inhabit the United States.

We have in our active armed forces 300,000 men. In comparable figures, the 300,000 men in the army, navy and air forces are equivalent to well over three millions in the armed forces of the United States. We have in the Royal Canadian Air Force, 55,000 men. That number is equivalent to far more than half a million men in the air services of this country.

Service outside Canada in the Canadian army, navy and air force is voluntary. Eighty thousand volunteers are already in Britain. For home defence we have compulsory military service. Today every able-bodied young man of 21 is called up for training for service in Canada for the duration of the war, unless he chooses to enlist for service overseas. Some 170,000 men are enrolled in the reserve army and are subject to call for local defence.

In the defence of our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the army, navy and air force act in close and constant co-operation. Canada's armed forces are sharing, too, in the defence of the island outposts of North America: the West Indies and Newfoundland. For a year, Canadian troops were also stationed in Iceland.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53427

We have, therefore, prepared ourselves for a twofold duty. One duty, as we see it, is to meet the aggressor in the front line of aggression. That is our duty to freedom and humanity. Another duty, which is a part of that already mentioned, is to be prepared to resist the aggressor if he reaches the shores of America. That is a duty we share with the people of the United States. I believe I am not overstating the position when I say that each day helps to make it increasingly clear that what we have done, and are doing for ourselves and for Britain, is likewise a contribution to the defence of the whole Western Hemisphere.

War Production

It is commonly said that this is a war of machines. In new factories, in old factories, in converted factories, we are making machines for Britain's armed forces as well as for our own. Canadian motor transport vehicles, machine guns, aircraft, corvettes, minesweepers as well as shells, explosives and chemicals are being sent in growing volume across the Atlantic. We are sending and will continue to send to Britain all the food which ships can be found to carry. We have launched a large merchant shipbuilding program. Canada, like the United States, is determined that North America will not only be the arsenal of democracy, but also the shipyard of the freedom of the seas.

Linked as Partners

War production in Canada is a partnership between Canada and Britain. Since last April, there has also been a partnership in war production between Canada and the United States. That partnership, I am happy to recall, was established during my last visit to this country, as a result of the agreement reached by President Roosevelt and myself at Hyde Park. I am even happier to reflect that the Hyde Park Agreement is a logical sequel to the far reaching agreement arrived at between the President and myself at Ogdensburg in August last. Under the Ogdensburg Agreement as you are aware, matters pertaining to the defence of the northern half of the Western Hemisphere became a subject of special study by the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

Under the agreement made at Hyde Park, the United States will supply to Britain under the Lend - Lease Act, materials needed in Canadian production for Britain. Canada will still buy and pay for the war supplies we require for the Canadian forces. But the United States will buy from Canada increased quantities of war materials and supplies which we can produce quickly. This will enable us, for part of what we need, to pay in goods, instead of cash. A major result of the Hyde Park Declaration is that both countries are now in a position to produce more of the weapons and munitions of war, and to produce them more rapidly. This is all-important when time is of the essence of the conflict.

Financing the War

The arming of our country, and the establishment of a great war industry in less than two years, have placed upon the people of Canada a tremendous financial burden. It is a burden which is being willingly borne.

Our own war effort alone has already cost us more than a billion dollars. Unless that figure is stated in terms of the population and income of the United States, it may sound small in American ears. In those terms, it is roughly equivalent to an expenditure of fifteen billion dollars. In this current year, we expect the cost of our direct war effort to be on a scale equivalent, in United States terms, to between twenty-one and twenty-two billion dollars a year. Every dollar of that is paid by Canada, and is raised in Canada, mainly by taxation.

Canada, in addition, is raising huge sums of money to help Britain. The money is needed to pay for the great quantities of food, raw materials, and war equipment we are sending to Britain on her account. The value of Canadian shipments this year, it is estimated, will reach a billion and a half dollars, or the equivalent of nearly 23 billion dollars' worth of goods measured in terms of American population and income.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that there should be, in other countries, some persons who do not fully understand what is happening in Canada, and some who do not wish to understand. For example, it has been asserted

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53428

that Canada is demanding "cash on the barrel-head — for its aid to Britain," that "Canada still sells to Britain for cash at a profit," while the United States is leasing and lending to Britain. Such a statement ignores entirely Canada's direct participation in the war at her own expense. It takes no account whatever of what we are contributing in human lives, as well as in those material things which it is possible to lease or lend. If our war effort is to be construed as a contribution to Britain, rather than what in reality it is—our contribution to the common cause of freedom, the "cash on the barrel-head" statement overlooks the fact that the whole of Canada's direct war effort is a contribution which is neither leased nor lent, but is an out and out freewill offering — a gift to the hard-pressed people of Britain, gladly and proudly made, to assist them in maintaining the world's citadel of freedom, and in fighting freedom's battles in other parts of the world.

The "cash on the barrel-head" allegation, the alleged "selling to Britain for cash at a profit," equally misrepresents the nature of Canada's indirect participation through financial aid to Britain—the very part, in fact, which parallels, in kind, though not in amount, the lease and lend contribution of the United States.

Tariffs Reduced

Canadian producers must, of course, be paid for the goods sent to Britain, just as American producers must be paid. Part of what we send to Britain, Britain pays for in British goods shipped back to Canada. We have reduced our tariffs to make that easier. What good hard cash the British did pay us —in gold—we have had to pay, along with a great deal of our own gold, to the United States for our war purchases in this country.

But by far the largest part of the Canadian dollars needed to pay Canadian producers of goods for Britain have been raised and must continue to be raised from the Canadian people in taxes or loans. We have told Britain not to worry about her shortage of Canadian money—that with the enemy at her gates and approaching our shores, there will be time enough to reckon costs and credits once we all know whether this world is to be slave or free. Meanwhile we will do our best to find for Britain's Canadian purchases Canadian dollars out of Canadian pockets.

Apart from British goods sent to Canada, Britain has already needed a billion Canadian dollars to cover her purchases in Canada. About a quarter of this sum Britain paid Canada in gold. It has cost us in the United States, more gold than this to enable us to fill our British orders.

The rest of the Canadian dollars Britain needed in Canada, Canada herself has supplied. Some of these dollars were exchanged for Canadian securities held in Britain. The remainder amounts, in effect, to a loan by Canada to Britain.

It is only when we add together the cost to Canada of our own war activities, and our financial support for Britain, that we reach the total financial burden of war which the Canadian people are shouldering. Translated into comparable American figures, on the basis of our relative population and incomes, this total burden would amount, within this fiscal year, to something like 35 billion dollars. To carry this load has required very heavy increases in taxes, even on those who are not well off. I am proud to say the Canadian people have willingly accepted this taxation as a part of their contribution to the cause of liberty.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have tried to explain to you, in these few minutes, some of the material things which we Canadians have done, are doing and will do.

I have tried to tell you why. We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship in our own way the God in whom we believe.

We know that if we lose this fight, all fruits will wither and fall from the tree of liberty. But we shall not lose it. We shall not lose it because the people of Britain stand and will stand in undaunted fortitude and magnificent resistance. We shall not lose it because, although some nations may lie crushed today, their souls can never be destroyed. We shall not lose it because we, on this continent of

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53429

North America, who have been the pioneers of the frontiers of freedom, have already begun to stamp out the prairie fire of tyranny, anarchy and barbarism which every day draws closer to our homes.

For to-day, whether we will it or not, we are all roof watchers and fire fighters. As Canadians, we are proud to fight the flames with the people of Britain who have maintained for free men their faith in freedom, and kept inviolate the majesty of the human spirit.

Grateful To U. S.

As Canadians, we are proud of our great and good neighbor, and grateful to know, as all the world knows, that she is with us heart and soul; that her genius, her skill and her strength work against time for those who fight for freedom.

Some day, peace will crown the sacrifices of all. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the peoples of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever in one great endeavour to undo the wrongs that have been done mankind. For it is, I believe, the unshaken and unshakable purpose of both that there shall be established upon this earth, now so rapidly becoming hideous with the blackened ruins of civilization itself, a freedom wider, and more deeply founded, than ever before in human history.

Surely, we have all come to see that the present conflict is something more than a war between Germany and other powers; that it is "a struggle between permanent and irreconcilable claimants for the soul of man." On the one side stands spiritual freedom with its high regard for human values, the dignity of manhood, the worth of honest toil, and the sacredness of human personality. On the other side is the spirit of Naziism and Fascism with their "coarse material standards," their "cult of power as an end in itself," their "subordination of personality to mechanism," and their "worship of an elaborate and soul - destroying organization." This false and evil spirit has, in our own day, in our own and other lands, permeated all too deeply many phases of social and industrial life. It must be the purpose of our high endeavour to destroy it for all time.

While that work is being done, it will be ours, as well, to do all that lies within us to make supreme upon the earth that friendship among men and nations which has ever lain in the heart of mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53430

Highlights of Speech

THE CANADIAN people entered this war of their own free will. We went to war not for Canada alone, but for Britain and for North American civilization which we are proud to defend.

* * *

We shall remain in this war till freedom triumphs because our people know exactly what the aggression of Naziism and Fascism means for the future of themselves and their children.

* * *

The ancient partnership between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, sealed by the brotherhood of equality and freedom, is honored today as the unbroken bond of common patriotic sacrifice.

* * *

Don't let any one dare to tell you that French-speaking Canada is not on the side of freedom in this war.

* * *

With the United States and like the United States, we are helping to provide the tools for Britain. With Britain and like Britain, we are doing our utmost to help finish the job.

* * *

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* * *

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* * *

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* * *

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* * *

As Canadians, we are proud of our great and good neighbor and grateful to know, as all the world knows, that she is with us heart and soul.

* * *

Some day peace will crown the sacrifices of all. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the peoples of the United States will be found at each other's side united more closely than ever.

June 25th, 1941.

D 53431

Broadcast Message of Thanks by
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

To the People of Canada

Ladies and Gentlemen:

To-night I have a most pleasant task to perform. I wish to express the thanks of the Government of Canada, to the people of Canada, for yet another splendid contribution to our national war effort.

The success of the 1941 Victory Loan, its over-subscription, and, particularly, the number of individual Canadian citizens who subscribed, are all significant. They are significant to ourselves, to the people of Britain, to the allied forces, and to the enemy. For they make clear that the men and women of Canada know what this war means to themselves and to their families. They make clear also that of their own free will nearly a million individual Canadians are devoting a part of their earnings and of their savings to the cause of freedom.

As you were assured during the campaign, the money which you have subscribed will be used for the fighting forces of Canada. It will be used to supply

June 25th, 1941.

D 53431

25

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 53432

In thanking all who have subscribed to this year's Victory Loan, I should also like to express, on your behalf, as well as on behalf of the government, our appreciation of the exceptionally fine services given by Mr. G. W. Spinney, the Chairman of the War Loan organization, his associates, the committees, and the thousands of voluntary workers throughout the country whose efforts so completely commended and merited the success achieved. Their efforts so freely offered to our country have been supported by wide co-operative work on the part of the newspapers, the radio stations, the moving picture interests, and a host of other contributors possessed of organizing and artistic genius. Without the most careful organization, provident planning, and persistent honest work on the part of all, the magnificent proportions reached by the Loan could not have been attained.

The enemy has decreed total war; we have willed total effort. We shall continue our total effort until total war is turned against the aggressor. We shall continue our effort till peace, freedom, and international justice reward the sacrifices of those who fight for the right, and the labours of those who work for its triumph. Meanwhile, let us remember that, if we are not to lose our all, we must be prepared to dedicate our all.

the machines, and the equipment, without which victory cannot be won. You, by your foresight, your loyalty, and your patriotic response to your country's request, have determined that Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen will be supplied with the best equipment that skill can create.

The news of the last few days confirms what has been said since the beginning of the conflict, namely, that this is a total war, in which what is at stake is nothing less than the world we know. You who have lent your money to your country must rejoice in the knowledge that it has been loaned at a moment when the need is supreme.

The circle of Nazi aggression has steadily widened. It has swept over almost the entire continent of Europe. It has swept to the continent of Africa, and to the continent of Asia. It is already sweeping the waters of the Atlantic. The combined navies of Britain and the United States alone keep it from the shores of the western hemisphere to-day.

Everyone who lends, everyone who works, everyone who fights for freedom is helping to save humanity itself.

D 53433

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA - "CALL TO ARMS PARADE"
CALGARY, June 27, 1941.

I should like my opening words to be an expression of the pleasure it gives me to be again in Western Canada. Since the outbreak of the war, I have constantly sought an opportunity to make visits to different parts of the country, to see with my own eyes the magnificent effort being put forth by the Canadian people. Unhappily the relentless pressure of the duties of my office have kept me in Ottawa almost without respite. I managed to snatch a few brief days at the end of last year to visit the defences on our eastern coast. I made a firm resolve that, as soon as Parliament adjourned for a sufficient length of time, I would, if circumstances permitted it at all, begin the longer journey to our Canadian West.

My first duty tonight, and it is a most agreeable one, is to express on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues in the government, our deep appreciation to the citizens of Calgary and through them to the people of the whole province of Alberta, of the splendid response they have given to every appeal, and to every demand, that has been made in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. Canada's effort is a democratic effort in the best sense of the term. It is the achievement of the people, by the people, for the people. In this war which threatens the existence of all free peoples, I am sure the people of Canada will do their full part.

D 53434

Visit to Britain

I know there are some who today are saying that I should not be visiting Western Canada, that, instead I should be in Britain. Had I left for Britain, instead of visiting different parts of Canada, now that a brief opportunity so to do has at last presented itself, the same persons would be telling you, tonight, that I had no business to choose this particular time to visit Britain, but should be paying attention to the situation in my own country. They would have been telling you that the people of Canada had just shown by their over-subscription of the recent Victory Loan their eagerness to help provide Mr. Churchill with the tools; that it was my business when the recruiting campaign was on, to help provide him with men.

I have, of course, fully hoped that the moment might come when it would be of advantage to Canada, to Britain and to the common cause, for me, as Prime Minister of Canada, to join in conference, in London, with other Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. When the right moment comes, I shall not hesitate to cross the Atlantic for purposes of conference, But, as Prime Minister, I must myself be the judge of what, in the light of my responsibility to the Canadian people as a whole, is a time which will permit of my absence from Canada, while Canada is at war. This is a responsibility that cannot be shared or placed upon other shoulders.

D 53435

As Prime Minister, my supreme aim will always be, what my supreme duty is, to strive ever for the unity of our country. While forces are gathering which would not hesitate to use the absence of the Prime Minister to foment divisions and create dissential, what would it profit Canada, what would it profit Britain, what would it profit the cause of freedom for me to leave Canada only to return to find a country divided against itself. For a visit to Britain of the Prime Minister of Canada to serve a useful purpose, it is essential that he be able to speak with confidence for a united people.

Before I go to Britain, to tell the Government and the people there what Canada is doing, I wish to see with my own eyes, as far as that may be possible, what is being accomplished in Canada from coast to coast. When I go, I want, if that is possible, to do full justice to Canada, and to Canada's effort. I want to speak with the full authority which can only come from personal knowledge. If I had still needed convincing that in this my judgment is sound, what I have seen in Calgary today would have more than convinced me.

Total effort.

We all know that Canada is faced with the greatest task in her history. In the last war, we had a proud record, but our task relatively was very different from what it is today. Speaking broadly what we then did was to raise an army; almost all we asked for was men. We depended upon

Britain's navy; we had no air force of our own; Britain made the greater part of our military equipment and supplies, and Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

This time we have a far bigger job. True, our army is not quite as large as it was at this time in the last war, but it already numbers 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. Over 70,000 men, an army corps of two divisions with reinforcements, are already in Britain. These will be supplemented during the present year by a tank brigade and two more divisions, one an armoured division. Our rapidly growing navy already of 200 ships and 20,000 men has been helping the British navy on both sides of the Atlantic. We have 55,000 men in Canada's Air Force. The greater part of the air training for the whole British Commonwealth is being done on Canadian soil. Instead of Britain making war supplies for Canada, Canada is making war supplies for Britain, and helping Britain to pay for them, too. Already the war effort has been developed on such a scale that it is costing about 45 cents out of every dollar of the income of the Canadian people.

Last February, I told the people of Canada that there was only one way to meet the total war we face and that is by total effort - not for a day, or a week, or a month,

but every day until victory is won. Total effort means that every man, woman and child does and keeps on doing everything possible to help. I want to repeat that Canada's war effort, insofar as government policy can make it such is a 100% war effort.

National Unity

Let me, however, make this perfectly clear. Total effort is impossible except on a foundation of national unity. You and I know only too well that issues have been raised and are being raised that threaten our unity and, if permitted to develop, might destroy our unity. I am not going to elaborate that point; we all know in our hearts what those issues are. But this I do say, and I say it with all the emphasis at my command: We cannot have a total effort and indulge in domestic disputes and quarrels. We cannot have a total effort if no effort is to be put forth till each man/has things done, only in the way that he, himself, thinks they should be done. Our effort will become total as every man and woman does all they find it possible to do, and all they can persuade, not coerce, others into doing. The job of the Canadian people today is to fight Hitlerism. They cannot fight Hitlerism and fight one another.

The government is determined that our effort shall be a maximum effort. That means we must put first

things first and national unity comes first of all. On it everything else depends. May I add this word in all modesty. The Prime Minister and the government at Ottawa are in touch with all parts of the country; we must seek at all times to view the whole situation from a national standpoint. Our policies are nation-wide. Different policies might suit particular localities viewed in isolation. But it is our responsibility and our duty to see that the wisest and most effective policies are adopted so that a maximum result will be attained in the whole of Canada.

Let me say this further word. We are partners with Britain in this war. Throughout there has been the most complete harmony and understanding between us. What we are doing and the reasons for doing what we have undertaken are based on this understanding. Those who say we should do more of this and less of that cannot have the same complete information as is available to the government.

The people of Canada entrusted my colleagues and myself with the duty of directing Canada's war effort. We have a mandate to organize the utmost effort of which Canada is capable. As Prime Minister, I have a special responsibility to do all in my power to maintain our unity as a

people, to maintain the unity of our war effort and a proper balance between its many aspects. In that task, I need, and the government needs all the confidence, all the good-will and all the support our people can extend to us.

Conscription

I have in my hand a circular - an anonymous circular - which I am told has been broadcast throughout this city today. It contains a question which I am going to answer right now. The question is: How can we fight a total war without conscription? This is my answer: If every man does his own duty first, before he concerns himself about the duty of his neighbour; if having done his own duty, every man tries to help his neighbour to reach a personal conviction of his duty, instead of wishing to compel him, Canada will have no need of conscription for overseas service and Canada will not be divided on any conscription issue.

No small part of our strength, as the one nation in this hemisphere fighting today in this war, is the fact that our country's participation is a voluntary participation; that our effort is a free effort, and that every man enlisted in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. I do not think we begin to realize what a moral strength that gives us in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the enemy.

D 53440

What is true of Canada is true alike of Australia and South Africa. These young free British nations freely took up the cause of freedom, and they too are freely giving their utmost to save everything all of us value in this world.

Suppose instead we had conscription for service outside Canada. Who would be the first to say that the Canadians had to be dragged away unwillingly from their homes to fight across the seas? That is what the radios in Berlin would blare forth to the world. Instead the enemy is faced with a people whose greatest strength flows from the unity which comes from a free effort willingly made.

The people of Canada have just responded generously and quickly to an appeal for the greatest war loan in our history. We are also making a special appeal to our young men to enlist in the legions of freedom. There has never been a nobler cause. This "call to arms" going forth today is a call to Canada's sons to play their full part in the greatest struggle the world has ever seen.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity

D 53441

of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquility of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the Gold in whom we believe.

Here is a "call to arms" worthy of the best of which every young man is capable. I appeal to every young man within sound of my voice and to every one who may later read these words to heed that call in his own interests, in the interests of his future, in the intrests of his country's future and in the interests of all mankind.

D 53442

Address by the Prime Minister

Vancouver Board of Trade, June 30, 1941.

My first duty today, and it is a most agreeable one, is to thank the Board of Trade for this opportunity to express deep appreciation to the people of the whole province of British Columbia for the splendid response they have given to the many appeals that have been made in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. This I do on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues in the Government of Canada.

I wish, indeed, it were possible to express this word of thanks in person in different parts of the province. Unfortunately the relentless pressure of the duties of my office since the outbreak of the war has been such, in these anxious times, that visits to different parts of Canada, to say nothing of different parts of any province have been well nigh impossible. At most, I have been able to see but one or two of the training establishments in central Canada and, at the end of last year, to snatch a few brief days to inspect the defences of our Eastern coast. I am glad, at last to have an opportunity to visit, however briefly, the other provinces of Canada and particularly to have a chance to inspect the defences of our Western coast. I wish I could tell you the delight it is to me to be once again within sight of the waters of the Pacific.

My present tour has, as its main objective, seeing at first hand, in the necessarily limited time at my disposal, as much as I can of our war activities and of those engaged upon them. Canada's war effort, as you know, is daily expressing its momentum in the increased number and extent of our various military, naval and air establishments, in the vast increase in the production of war supplies, the enlargement and development of facilities for the transport of those supplies and in many other ways. I particulary welcome the opportunity, brief as it is, of viewing at first hand, some of the war time developments which are taking place in and about the great cities of the Pacific coast.

It affords me particular satisfaction to recall that at Ogdensburg, in August of last year, I was able to join with the President of the United States in concluding an agreement to establish the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The work of this Board, I should like to remind you, is related not less to the defence of the coasts of the Pacific, than to those of the Atlantic. In the same connection, I am also pleased to recall that at Hyde Park, in April of this year, I was able again to join with Mr. Roosevelt in concluding another agreement. Under the Hyde Park Agreement, the effort of the two countries

D 53444

in war production is rendered vastly more extensive and expeditious.

While I have been denied the opportunity of going about the country, the attention which, day by day, over the past three years, I have been obliged to give to the events leading up to the outbreak of war, and the amazing developments which have marked its progress, has given me a conception of the frightfulness and magnitude of the war itself, and an insight into some of its world encircling trends which would not have been otherwise possible. This world picture I feel I should share with my fellow-countrymen, on occasions such as the present, where, by the spoken word, it is possible to come again more immediately into touch with the country itself.

At the time of the Munich Conference, less than three years ago, Czechoslovakia seemed so remote from Canada that there were doubts in the minds of many as to whether this country could be persuaded to participate in another war on the continent of Europe, should Nazi designs on Czechoslovakia lead to war. The year which followed Munich helped to make clear the motive, and nature, and the terror of the Nazi menace. When the attack on Poland came, there was no longer doubt in the minds of thoughtful observers tha an ambition much larger than German expansion in central Europe existed in the mind of Hitler, and that his aim was, at least, the domination of Europe. Today we know, beyond all shadow of

D 53445

doubt, that aggression, in Hitler's mind, has no limits; that world domination alone will suffice to satisfy the ambition of Nazi Germany.

It is I believe, fitting that I should take the opportunity afforded by my visit to Vancouver to emphasize the world wide character of the danger which in this war now threatens us all. Having seen the area of conflict spread, month by month, with a rapidity which defied imagination, no thoughtful man can continue to doubt that the encircling danger is closing in on the Western hemisphere.

The world has been slow to learn the reality and the extent of the menace. For too long, men deluded themselves with the belief that this was some far-off danger from which a safeguard could be found in neutrality. But the whole world is discovering today that this is one of those rare turning points in history when the security of each has become the need of all, and when neutrality on the part of any nation or of any individual is no longer possible.

As Miss Dorothy Thompson has so forcefully and yet so accurately said: "Before this epoch is over, every living human being will have chosen, every living human being will have lined up with Hitler or against him, every living human being will either have opposed this onslaught or supported it. For if he tries to make no choice, that, in itself, will be a choice. If he takes no side, he is on Hitler's side; if he does not act, that is an act -- for Hitler."

D 53446

We have witnessed the fate of those who sought to avoid the choice. We have seen disaster come to those who tried to isolate themselves from the Nazi menace. Their efforts have failed. One by one, the smaller countries of Europe which stood aloof have been divided, outflanked, and swallowed up. The grim and tragic march of Nazi conquest has proceeded relentlessly from Austria through Czechoslovakia to Poland; from Denmark through Norway; from Holland and Belgium through France; from Hungary through Roumania and Bulgaria to Yugoslavia and Greece.

Today, Hitler seeks to outflank Soviet Russia through Finland and Roumania, while delivering a frontal blow across prostrate Poland. In the Middle East, he threatens Suez from Greece, from Crete and from Libya; at the other end of the Mediterranean, he threatens Gibraltar and its straits through infiltration and outflanking in Spain and French North Africa. From the North Cape of Norway to Cape Finistère in northwestern France, the Nazi forces for a full year have formed a great half circle around Britain. Through Russia, Hitler threatens the whole continent of Asia.

As the months have passed, the Nazi menace has crept closer to this hemisphere. Nazi penetration into Morocco and West Africa brings the danger ever nearer to South America, where for years, Nazi and Fascist agents have plied their

treacherous trade. The Bismarck sank the Hood just off the coast of Greenland. German submarines have followed in her wake to infest the very waters that hitherto we have looked upon as the surest protection of our Eastern coasts.

The magnitude of the war is matched by the magnitude of its battles. The local character and limited extent of earlier wars is clearly disclosed by the names of their battles. Mere physical features of localities were adequate for identification as, for example: the Plains of Abraham, Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Crysler's Farm. Where local features were inadequate, the name of the locality itself sufficed to meet the need: Hastings, Yorktown, Waterloo stand out in our memories. Ypres, Verdun, Mons are names of but yesterday.

But this war began with the Battle of Poland. Then came the Battles of Norway, of the Low Countries and of France. After that the first repulse of the enemy in the Battle of Britain. Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic.

Unless the Nazi tide can be turned, we shall face tomorrow a battle of hemispheres. If that comes about, the whole Western hemisphere will soon be an armed camp. For years to come, all our energies will be absorbed in continued war, or in preparation for the renewal of war. As more and more of

our resources are poured into a feverish race of armaments to which no end can be seen, the standard of life and of civilization will steadily fall.

This is the world danger which Canada saw on the horizon in 1939. Seeing it, we went out as a united people to meet and combat it. Today this whole continent has awakened to that danger.

Canada's total effort.

The Canadian people may well be proud that, of all the peoples in the new world, they were the pioneers in resisting Hitler's attempt at world domination. When war came, we did not hesitate to take up the struggle for freedom in the old world, and in all the world. For the second time, in a generation, our country is in the vanguard of freedom.

In the last war, Canada played a large part. This time we have a far greater task, and a very different task. Let me recall some of the differences. Then, our main task was the raising of an army: almost all that Canada asked for was men for the army. On the sea, we depended almost entirely on Britain's navy. Neither had Canada an air force of her own. Canada's industrial effort was comparatively small. Britain produced most of our equipment and supplies. Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

Today, Canada's army already numbers 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. Over 70,000

men, an army corps of two divisions with reinforcements, are already in Britain. These are being supplemented during the present year by a tank brigade and two more divisions, one of them an armoured division. Our soldiers are also serving in Newfoundland and the West Indies; and, for nearly a year, there was a Canadian garrison in Iceland. Detachments of Canadian Engineers have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar.

The army of today is, moreover, a very different kind of army than that of a quarter of a century ago. A modern mechanized force is far more difficult to bring into being, far more costly to equip and to maintain. Experience has taught us that men without machines have no place in warfare today. Canada must make the machines as well as train the men, if her army is to play its full part in total war.

Today, Canada has a navy of which we may all be proud. Our navy has done increasing and effective work since the first day of the war. Its expansion has been rapid. We already have 20,000 men and 200 ships in the navy. More men are being added as fast as ships can be built. Canada is also building the ships. We in Canada are doing our share to make this continent not only the arsenal of democracy, but also the shipyard of the freedom of the seas.

Today in Canada's Air Force, we have 55,000 men. The greater part of the air training for the whole British Commonwealth is being done on Canadian soil. For nearly a

year we have maintained three air squadrons in Britain entirely at Canada's expense. Several additional Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons have recently been formed from graduates of the Air Training Plan. As rapidly as they are available, ground crews are being sent from Canada to service these new squadrons.

Instead of Britain making most of the supplies for Canada, Canada, in this war, is making war supplies for Britain, and what is more we are helping Britain to pay for them. Already the war effort has been developed on such a scale that it is costing about 45 cents out of every dollar of the income of the Canadian people.

Conscription

Knowing the magnitude of the danger as I have outlined it to you; knowing how steadily and to what extent our war effort has expanded, and how splendidly national unity has been maintained throughout, it is with the gravest concern that I view the raising of any issue which may threaten the unity on which our war effort and our security alike depend. I want to say just a word to you of this.

The war time policies of Canada cannot be designed to suit particular localities, special interests or individual inclinations. Viewed in isolation, some localities and some interests might be better suited by different policies. But the policies of the government are necessarily nation-wide.

They should strike a right balance between all localities and all interests. The government alone has the facilities for keeping in touch with all parts of the country. My colleagues and I must seek to view all problems from a national standpoint. We must chart the course which we believe will achieve a maximum war effort in the whole of Canada. We ourselves must avoid and we must do all in our power to have others avoid the kind of action which might threaten Canadian unity, and divide the Canadian people.

The people of Canada entrusted the present government with the duty of directing Canada's war effort. This they did in the course of the war itself, in a nation-wide campaign, when war policies were freely discussed from every point of view. We were given a mandate to organize the utmose effort of which Canada is capable, and to do this in accordance with policies clearly stated and admitting of no misunderstanding. We are determined that in so far as government policy can make it such, our effort shall be a maximum effort.

I am sorry to say that in our country, there is a minority which, though small is exceedingly vocal, which has let no chance pass to belittle Canada's war effort and to discredit the splendid achievements of their fellow-countrymen. I am told that there are even those who are taking advantage

of the present recruiting campaign to seek to bring about a change of policy which will substitute force for freedom in the matter of enlistment for service overseas. Today some are going even farther than this, and are demanding that, without any prior consultation of the people, the policies themselves should be changed. For example, notwithstanding the fact that our armed forces have reached the splendid proportions they have today on land, at sea, and in the air, without a suggestion of compulsion, it is now being said by some that the young men of Canada will not voluntarily respond to an appeal for recruits, and that we must force them into the army by the immediate adoption of conscription for overseas service. In other words, there are evidences that, in certain quarters, the recruiting campaign is being made, not so much a campaign to see what more can be accomplished by voluntary effort, as a deliberate effort to force the hand of the government and to effect a change in its policies.

In Calgary, on Friday, I was given a circular - an anonymous circular. It is not surprising that so many of those who sow the seeds of dissention prefer to conceal their identity. That circular was broadcast throughout the city. It asked one question. That question I answered the same day. The question is: How can we fight a total war without conscription? Let me repeat the answer I gave in Calgary.

Here it is: If every man does his own duty first, before he concerns himself about the duty of his neighbour; if having done his own duty, every man tries to help his neighbour to reach a personal conviction of his duty, instead of urging compulsion, Canada will have no need of conscription for overseas service, and Canada will not be divided on any conscription issue.

The policy of the government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject to direct attack. In the same way, Parliament has put at the disposal of the nation, all the material resources of the country.

My colleagues and I, expressing, as we believe, the will of the Canadian people as expressed by themselves in a war-time election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land and in the air - service undertaken in the cause of freedom - shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the government gave a solemn pledge that in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came the pledge was solemnly re-affirmed. At the

general elections during the war itself, that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party can be said to have advocated conscription for overseas service. The leader of the Official Opposition could scarcely have been more emphatic than he was in declaring that conscription was not an issue; that, having regard to the memories of the past, and experience in the last war, anyone who might raise that issue was not true to the highest interest of his country.

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 very forces against which Canada is fighting today. That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada.

How best the voice of the people may again be heard, should a situation develop where the people's representatives in Parliament believe there should be a reversal of policy, there will be time enough to consider when Parliament itself has declared its views. I hope, however, that no one will expect me to go behind the back of Parliament itself, by adopting any course of political action which, at one stroke, would sabotage our free political institutions,

at a time when we are fighting to preserve their very existence.

Apart altogether from this, I doubt if those who today are advocating a policy of conscription have begun to realize how much Canada's strength is increased by the fact that, as the one nation in this hemisphere fighting in this war, our country's participation is a voluntary participation; by the further fact that our effort is a free effort, and that every man enlisted in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience.

The people of Canada, a million of them, responded quickly and generously to the Victory Loan. It was oversubscribed freely by a free people. Does anyone think Canada would have been stronger today in her own eyes, in the eyes of Britain, yes and in the eyes of the enemy if the government had taken that money from our people instead of giving them the opportunity to offer it. You all know how much stronger our cause is today because of that great voluntary demonstration of patriotism.

Canada is now appealing to her young men freely to join the legions of freedom. There has never been a nobler cause than the "call to arms" going forth today. No weaker excuse for failure to answer that call has ever been given than the excuse some give that they are prepared to serve if

others are compelled to serve. That is the spirit of those who already have half-surrendered to dictatorship. It is a denial of freedom. It is the very negation of freedom. No -- I shall never believe that the young men of Canada will not respond in any numbers to any service which may be demanded of them by their country, once the nature of the service they are being asked to perform is placed before them in its true light. Once let them realize that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their country's future, that is in peril today, and you will see how quickly they will be prepared to answer the country's call to arms.

But the appeal must be a single, not a divided one. Moreover, it is an appeal that must not be left to the military forces alone. They have set the example, which it is for others to follow, and all others must join them, wholeheartedly, in the appeal. Responsibility for any shortcoming or failure will lie, through the years, not so much with those who have not understood the issue, as with those who have stood in the way of others who are seeking to make it clear or who themselves have failed to do their utmost to see that it is clearly and fully understood.

Let me, then, repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. The "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man,

D 53457

woman and child in Canada for it affects the lives of every one of us.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke.

Never forget that every man in uniform today is a champion of that great cause. Never forget that he has offered his services of his own free will. Never forget that the glory of Canada's fight for freedom in this world struggle is the imperishable fact that all she has done, has been done of her own free will. Keep these things in mind, and we shall

need no conscripts in Canada's overseas army. Instead, we shall produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts is the fire of their souls dedicated to the service of their fellow-men. Here is a wall of defence which no enemy can tear down or destroy, and which, if maintained, will be the strength of this young nation in this hour of the world's peril, and its glory through ages to come.

ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER EDMONTON, July 4, 1941.

D 53459

I should like to thank the organizations which have combined to arrange this luncheon for the opportunity this occasion affords me to express, for the second time, to the people of Alberta the deep appreciation felt by my colleagues in the government and myself, of their splendid contribution to Canada's war effort. I should like as well to thank the citizens of Edmonton for the welcome accorded me upon my arrival at the station last night. Its representative and cordial character were an assurance, if any such assurance were needed, of the desire of all to lend to the administration such support as it is within their power, in the utmost furtherance of the war effort of our country.

You will, I know be interested to learn that, on Wednesday, at New Westminster, I had the honour of inspecting the Edmonton Fusiliers. I found officers and men in the best of health and spirits, and enjoying the opportunity of continuing their training within sight of the waters of the Pacific. I do not need to tell the citizens of Edmonton that they have every reason to be proud that the name of this city is associated with so splendid a regiment.

Brief though my visits to Alberta and British Columbia necessarily are, they have given me a new vision of the greatness of Canada as expressed in the magnificent national

effort our people are making in this struggle for the very existence of everything we cherish.

The inspiration of our national effort

I wish it might have been possible for all present to have shared with me the impressions I gained at Victoria on Dominion Day. The day was devoted to an inspection of the work of the armed forces. It began with an inspection of a guard of honour of the Royal Canadian Air Force. That was followed by a visit to the naval dockyard at Esquimalt and later to the naval officers training school at Royal Roads. In the afternoon, I visited the officers' training camp for Western Canada at Gordon Head. The cumulative evidence, concentrated there at Canada's western outpost, of what we are achieving on land, at sea and in the air, was, at once, gratifying and inspiring. It was an inspiration and an incentive to continue with renewed zeal and vigour the great national task of Canada as a nation at war.

More than ever do I feel that it is for each one of us, and more particularly for those who are the natural leaders in their local communities, to see that the magnitude of the present conflict and the service it demands of every citizen is placed in its true light at this time. Especially is it imperative that our young men should see that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their coun-

D 53461

try's future that is in peril today.

The World encircling danger

That is why, although the main purpose of my tour is to see for myself at first hand what I can of Western Canada's wartime achievements, I wish to try to picture for you the danger to our country, to its freedom and its future, as I see it today. The truth of what I say today as to the immediate future will, I believe, be more fully appreciated if I venture to repeat what I said to the people of Canada at the outbreak of hostilities, as to the probable course of the war and its world-wide significance. It will be found, I think, that much of what at that time seemed incredible, has already come to pass. I hope that fact will help to emphasize how very critical for us all the situation as it has developed, has become.

While I have been denied the opportunity of going about the country, the attention which, day by day, over the past three years, I have been obliged to give to the events leading up to the outbreak of war, and the amazing developments which have marked its progress, has given me, I believe a conception of the frightfulness and magnitude of the war itself, and an insight into some of its world encircling trends which would not have been otherwise possible.

At the time of the Munich Conference, less than three years ago, Czechoslovakia seemed so remote from Canada that there were doubts in the minds of many as to whether this country could be persuaded to participate in another war on the continent of Europe, should Nazi designs on Czechoslovakia lead to war. The year which followed Munich helped to make clear the motive, the nature, and the terror of the Nazi menace. When the attack on Poland came, there was no longer doubt in the minds of thoughtful observers that an ambition much larger than German expansion in Central Europe existed in the mind of Hitler, and that his aim was, at least, the domination of Europe. Today we know, beyond all shadow of doubt, that aggression, in Hitler's mind, has no limits; that world domination alone will suffice to satisfy the ambition of Nazi Germany.

From the very outset of the war, I have sought to keep the magnitude of the Nazi menace ever in the public mind. Speaking on behalf of the government at the special war session of Parliament nearly two years ago, I sought to picture the danger to Canada itself. To many, my words on that occasion may have seemed unduly alarming. The unfolding of events has, however, shown us that they were no exaggeration. Let me repeat today what I then said.

D 53463

The evening before I spoke in the House of Commons on September 8, 1939, the occasion on which I announced the government's policy with respect to Canada's entry into the war at the side of Britain, I had read a statement of Hitler's to the effect that if England wished to fight she must realize that the prize for victory would be the British Empire. I reminded Parliament that the British Empire included Canada, and that there was no portion of the globe which any nation would be likely to covet more than this Dominion of Canada.

"There is," I said, "no other portion of the earth's surface that contains such wealth as lies buried here. Nowhere are there such stretches of territory capable of feeding for generations to come - not hundreds of thousands, but millions of people. No, the ambition of this dictator is not Poland. At one time he said it was only the areas in which there were German speaking people. But we have seen that ambition grow. That may have been the thought in his mind some years ago, but we all know how ambition feeds upon itself; we all know how the lust for power blinds men's senses to all else.

"We know where and how he started, first with the militarization of the Rhineland. He then said - I quote Hitler's own words - he had no thought of annexing Austria. After giving his word that there would be no further attempt

at conquest, he took Czechoslovakia. Then he took Moravia and Bohemia, then Memel, now Danzig and Poland.

"Where is he creeping to?" - I am continuing to quote from the House of Commons debates what I said at the time - "Where is he creeping to?", I asked, and I answered that question in the following words. I ask you to note their significance in the light of what was then deemed impossible, but what since has actually taken place. "Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which today say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain goes down, if France goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom on this continent; there will in time be no liberty. Life will not be worth living. It is for all of us on this continent to do our part to save its privileged position by helping others."

I ask you, was I exaggerating when I made that forecast? Was I seeking to become unduly alarmist? What has followed since?

We have seen Hitler creep into the communities of the north, into Denmark and Norway, with his secret agents, and the saboteurs of his treacherous fifth column. We have watched him spring in the night upon the peace-loving peoples of Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium raining indiscriminate destruction from the skies upon innocent men, women and children. We have seen France fall. All this came within 10 months of the time at which I spoke. Before and ever since, we have watched Britain fighting month after month, against terrible odds, for her very life. Less than three months ago, we witnessed in the course of two short weeks, the crash of the Nazi hordes through the brave resistance of Yugoslavia and Greece to the waters of the Mediterranean and the attempted invasion of the Holy Land. Having seen the fate of those who sought by neutrality to avoid the choice between the destroyers of freedom and the defenders of freedom; having watched disaster come to those who sought to stand aloof; having witnessed the breath-taking ferocity and rapidity of the march of Nazi conquest, it is hard to believe that any thoughtful man can longer doubt the world encircling scope of Hitler's ambition and the appalling reality of the Nazi menace.

Today, Hitler seeks to outflank Soviet Russia through Finland and Roumania, while delivering a frontal blow across prostrate Poland. In the Middle East, he threatens Suez from

D 53466

Greece, from Crete and from Libya; at the other end of the Mediterranean, he threatens Gibraltar and its straits through infiltration and outflanking in Spain and French North Africa. Through Russia, Hitler threatens the whole continent of Asia.

The magnitude of the war is matched by the magnitude of its battles. This war began with the Battle of Poland. Then came the Battles of Norway, of the Low Countries and of France. After that came the first repulse of the enemy in the battle of Britain. Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic.

The Nazi menace is drawing ever closer to this hemisphere. That is the truth I should like to bring home to all today. It is a truth that the President and other members of the Administration at Washington are seeking to bring home to the people of the United States and also to the people of Latin America. There are two bridges by which Hitler would seek to have his forces penetrate the western hemisphere, once he has consolidated his gains in Europe. They would begin the attempt to cross tomorrow but for the continued might of British power on land, at sea and in the air.

The southern bridge extends by way of Morocco and Dakar through the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands across the Atlantic to Brazil. The Nazis have already penetrated, as we know, into Morocco and West Africa. In Latin America, they have long plied their treacherous trade.

The northern bridge extends from Norway via the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland, to our north Atlantic coasts. It was the possession of that bridge Germany was seeking to obtain when the Bismarck sunk the Hood off the coast of Greenland.

The other day when I was speaking in New York, the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace, who was present and who extended words of thanks at the close of my remarks, referred to Canadians as the Keepers of this Northern Bridge. That is a vivid description of Canada's task in relation to the rest of this hemisphere. We Canadians are indeed the Keepers of the Northern Bridge which leads not only from Norway to North America, but also from Canada to Britain. The existence of this North Atlantic bridge, like the one in the South Atlantic, should be a reminder to all on this continent that, unless the tide of Nazi aggression can be turned back, we shall face inevitably tomorrow a battle of hemispheres.

Nor can we afford to forget, as we look across the Pacific, that we also face a continent which for five years past, has been in arms; and that the most powerful of the warring nations in the East is an axis partner of Naxi Germany. In whatever direction we look out from the western hemisphere, we see a world ravaged by the fires, torn by the destruction, and convulsed by the horrors of warfare. Month by month, the world encircling danger is closing in upon this continent.

That circle must be broken; that menace must be destroyed; or the whole western hemisphere will inevitably be drawn to the extent of its entire resources, into the world conflict. We can see how Nazi Germany is drawing upon the resources of the conquered and enslaved territories to increase the industrial might which is the real foundation of her military power. Unless the new world can speedily match and surpass the industrial strength of Germany, all our energies, for years to come, will be absorbed in a terrible struggle between hemispheres. We shall face a feverish race of armaments to which we shall see no end. As more and more of our resources are poured into armaments, less and less will be left to maintain the standards of life and civilization. The new world, to save itself from conquest will be dragged down to the slave standards which Hitler is imposing on the conquered lands of the old world.

D 53469

Eighty years ago, Lincoln perceived the great truth that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free; Hitler is forcing us all to learn the lesson that the modern world equally cannot survive half slave and half free. No one today can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. If he fails to choose freedom, that means he has already chosen slavery.

This is the choice which Canada faced in 1939. Seeing the world encircling danger already on the horizon, we went out as a united people to meet and combat it. For the second time in a generation, Canada is in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom.

Having made their choice, the Canadian people have shown their determination to back up that choice by the utmost effort Canada is capable of making. The utmost effort, if it is to be our best, must be a balanced effort. The industrial as well as the military effort must be properly balanced, and the proper emphasis must be given to each of the three branches of the armed forces; the most effective use must be made of our limited manpower. In this connection, it is not generally realized that, although Canada's population has grown since 1914, a far higher proportion of our people are older today. There were in fact almost the same number of young men of military age in Canada in 1914 as there

are today. Furthermore, as I have repeatedly stated since the war started, this war is a war of machines. It would be worse than folly to send men into battle without machines.

The machines of modern war require men to make them, and, I do not need to tell you that the same men cannot make guns and fire them, or make tanks and drive them, or make ships and sail them, or make planes and fly them.

The making of modern war requires the most careful planning. It requires, at every stage of a conflict which may last for years, the most efficient and economical use of our resources both human and material. The government must lay its plans and chart its course so as to achieve a maximum war effort in the whole of Canada and, until the war is won, to maintain that effort at a maximum, when a maximum has been reached.

A review of the war effort

Let me give you a brief review of what Canada has already accomplished both in raising men and making machines for the prosecution of the war.

There are already some 300,000 men in Canada's armed forces at sea, on land and in the air. That figure does not include some 170,000 men enrolled in the Reserve Army. I notice that, by some, the figure of 300,000 has been questioned. I want therefore to set out clearly and briefly exactly what it represents.

In the navy, there are 20,000 men; in the air force 60,000; in the active army enlisted for service in any part of the world, 200,000 men; making a total of approximately 280,000. In addition, there are the young men called up for training and service in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act, bringing the total up beyond the figure I have cited.

Until recently we have had 70,000 soldiers in Britain; the landing of the contingent announced on Wednesday brings that number up to over 82,000. The troops in Britain include the Canadian Corps of two divisions and corps troops, with very considerable numbers of re-inforcements; various specialized units; and, now there have been added an army tank brigade and a part of the third infantry division. The rest of the third division and the armoured division are also scheduled to go overseas this year.

There are now 13 Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons in Britain. Three of these have been there for almost a year; 10 have already been formed from graduates of the Air Training Plan; more are in process of formation. As rapidly as they can be made available, Canadian ground crews are being sent to Britain to service the Canadian squadrons on active service. In addition considerable numbers of Canadian graduates of the Air Training Plan are serving with the

Royal Air Force.

Time does not permit me to disclose the extent to which Canadian naval personnel have been serving in British waters performing convoy duties on the Atlantic, and aiding in the protection of our own coasts. I hope, however, I have said enough to make it clear that the figures I have used regarding the strength of our armed forces do add up properly.

The strength of all three branches of the armed forces is being recruited steadily. We are taking men into the navy as fast as we can get them ships to man. The air force is being recruited up to the limit of the air training facilities which, in turn, are far more extensive than the schedule provided in the original air training plan.

We are now in the midst of a recruiting campaign for the active army. I am pleased to be able to tell you that already over two-thirds of the objective set for the campaign has been reached, and that some of the districts have gone over the 100% of their allotted quota.

A new world order

Today Canada is making the greatest effort in our national history. We are making that effort to maintain freedom in the world, and to secure our country from an external menace. To attain security for Canada, we realize

that freedom itself must be secure in the world. But we are not fighting merely against something; we are also fighting for something.

Our forefathers came to this new world to build for themselves and for their descendants, a new political and social order. The foundations of that order have been well laid in freedom and self-government. These foundations, however, are only a beginning of the structure of the new world order which we all hope to see established.

In the prosecution of the war, we are learning to mobilize and marshal our resources to meet an external threat. In the world which emerges from the conflict, we must be prepared to mobilize and marshal the human and material resources of Canada for the promotion of human betterment. The preparations cannot be left until the struggle has ended. They have, I am happy to say, already begun.

My colleague, the Minister of Pensions and National Health, is charged with the task of caring for those who are sacrificing their health, and the dependents of those who are giving their lives for their country. He is also charged, by the government, with the supervision of the work of those who are already actively engaged in making plans for the

demobilization and re-establishment of the men who are serving in Canada's armed forces today. Mr. Mackenzie's present visit to Britain has had as one of its objectives, the opportunity of exchanging with the British authorities ideas and plans for smoothing the road back from a wartime to a peacetime organization of society.

I should perhaps not say "the road back" because we are resolved to go forward not backward. The "Torch of Victory" which Mr. Mackenzie presented in Canada's name to Mr. Churchill is a symbol of Canada's determination to do her full part in overcoming the enemy. We are not less determined to make the torches of victory, lights to guide us on the way to a happier future in which there will be genuine security for ordinary men and women.

Let me mention one very important step already taken by the government in the direction of a fuller measure of social justice. Only last week regulations were adopted, and are already in force, which seek to ensure that every man who is discharged from active service in Canada's armed forces may expect, in so far as government policy can make that possible, to return to the job he left, or to one equally favourable. These regulations represent a very important step toward a planned programme of post-war rehabilitation. They are applicable to every man who has enlisted since the war commenced.

D 53475

I am happy also to remind you that July 1st saw inaugurated a national system of Unemployment Insurance, a measure of social security which as the years go by should prove of inestimable value to the workers of our country.

Everyone will, I am sure, agree that our first duty in any effort to establish a better order for the future, is our duty to those who are prepared to give their lives for the preservation of freedom and the security of our country. The first step in this direction was to make provision for their dependents while men themselves were absent on active service. That was done at the beginning of the war. The next was to provide care for those who suffered impairment of health during their period of service. To assist in meeting that need, military hospitals, a legacy from the last war, were already available. We have extended their facilities. While at Vancouver, I had the privilege of opening the splendid new Shaughnessy Hospital, and of seeing for myself what is being done there for some of those who are suffering in the service of their country. The next duty was the provision of adequate pensions for those who are disabled, and for the dependents of those who give their lives in freedom's cause. During the present session of Parliament, a hard working committee has been engaged in

D 53476

overhauling the pension laws of Canada. It is, I believe, altogether true that no country in the world makes more generous provisions than Canada for those who actively participate in war. By the latest step I have mentioned, we are seeking to ensure to the men who enlist in the army, the navy and the air force, security with respect to employment when their service is ended.

The rehabilitation and re-establishment of the men in the armed forces is of course only a first step, though a very important one, in the restoration of a peace-time order of society. The government, in the name of the State, is already making plans to organize and secure a greater measure of social justice when victory comes, while working with full vigour to organize and mobilize the State to do its full part in achieving victory.

May I repeat what I have said on other occasions. When we speak of a new world order to take the place of the old world order, we should not forget that, unless the new world order is already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain.

The new world order must find expression both in the relations between men in each nation, and in the relations between nations. While the old world order is destroying itself in a welter of destruction, a new relation-

ship of men and of nations is, I believe, already beginning its slow but sure evolution. It is based not on fear, on greed, and on hate, but on mutual trust and the noblest qualities of the human heart and mind. It seeks neither to divide nor to destroy. Its aim is brotherhood, its method co-operation.

The new order found expression when Britain determined to put an end to aggression in Europe. It expressed itself at the outbreak of war, when this young nation and other nations of the British Commonwealth took their place at the side of Britain, and made a free-will offering of their treasure, and their blood in the defence of freedom. It is finding manifestation in the resolution of the United States of America to lend its powerful aid to the nations which are fighting for freedom. In a few moments, we shall hear the welcome voice of the President of the United States. In order that we may not miss the opportunity of enjoying this privilege together, let me only say in conclusion that the things I have mentioned are combining to create one great brotherhood of the English-speaking peoples. Nations large and small are finding, in the aim of this noble brotherhood, a new unity in the common defence of freedom and human rights. On such a foundation of unity of purpose and of effort, free peoples may well hope to build an enduring new world order.

D 53478

ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT PRINCE ALBERT

July 7, 1941.

I should like my opening words tonight to be an expression of the pleasure it gives me to be again in Prince Albert, among those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament. It has been to me a source of great regret that I have not had an earlier opportunity personally to thank you all for re-electing me to the House of Commons. It is now more than fifteen years since I first became the Member for Prince Albert Constituency. No honour could be more prized than to enjoy over so long a period of time, so uniform an expression of confidence. For all that it has meant to me in my public life, and above all in these years when responsibilities of office are what they are today, I thank you from my heart.

May I, at the same time, express my pride in the splendid place that the City of Prince Albert and the Constituency of Prince Albert, have made for themselves in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. To the call for money and the call for men there has been a splendid response. It was with feelings of the greatest pride I learned while at Ottawa of Prince Albert's over-subscription to the Victory Loan at a comparatively early stage of the campaign. I have experienced an equal pride, since my arrival in Western Canada, at the figures of Prince Albert's enlistment in Canada's armed forces.

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29

REPEAT
REPETITION

At Dundurn Camp on Saturday last, I had the honour of seeing the Prince Albert Volunteers under canvas and in the open. Tonight I have had the pleasure and inspiration of witnessing the demonstration given by the Mechanized Convoy which is here, in Prince Albert, to aid in the recruiting campaign. During the afternoon I had the honour of inspecting the Elementary Flying Training School and the Air Observers School, and of meeting at these schools young airmen from Britain, New Zealand and the United States, as well as from many parts of Canada. I have been immensely impressed by all I have seen and I should like to take this opportunity of extending warmest congratulations to officers and men alike on what is a truly remarkable achievement.

The people of Canada are engaged in a great democratic effort to make secure our own freedom and to uphold the cause of freedom in the world.

I do not need to tell you that, in the prosecution of this war, Canada has undertaken the greatest task in her history. Having taken up the task, the Canadian people have given unmistakable evidence of their determination

to put forth the utmost effort of which our country is capable. It is the duty of the government to plan and direct Canada's wartime activities, so as to achieve the most effective results from every ounce of effort which is made by our people.

A review of the war effort

The making of modern war requires the most careful planning. That is something which some people seem wholly to forget, if indeed the thought ever enters their mind. Some seem to think that, because twenty-five years ago things were done in a certain way, the old ways are the only ways. What is more the same people often feel that they alone know what should be done, and that unless the government proceeds only in accord with their views, it is not proceeding at all, or is proceeding in the wrong way.

In a conflict which may last for years, there is demanded at every stage, the most efficient and economical use of resources, both human and material. If there is one truth above another which has impressed itself upon me in what I have seen in the course of my present tour, it is that a maximum war effort must be a balanced war effort. It cannot be an effort which is going to seek to satisfy only

the clamour of today. It must meet the needs of tomorrow, and have in view the possible demands of a future which may, in some respects, be wholly different from the present. It cannot be an effort made to serve individual inclinations or local interests. It must seek to meet what in the long run will best serve the national interest.

In our war effort we must be careful to maintain a proper balance between the raising and training of men, and the production of machines and munitions of war. The right emphasis as well should be given to each of the three branches of the armed forces. Most effective use must be made of our limited manpower. The present is a war of machines as well as of men. It would be worse than folly to send men into battle without machines. The demonstration we have all witnessed tonight gives us some indication of what is meant by modern mechanized warfare. The machines of modern war require men to make them. I do not need to tell you that the same man cannot make guns and fire them, or make tanks and drive them, or make ships and sail them, or make planes and fly them.

Canada has every reason for pride in her war production. Canadian farmers, miners and forest workers; Canadian manufacturers and Canadian factory workers have responded splendidly to the demands made upon them. We are building, indeed, we have already all but built, an aircraft industry from the ground up. I wish you could have seen with

D 53482

me the huge new Boeing plant at Sea Island, Vancouver. It is but one of several plants but it would have sufficed to give you a new conception of what Canadian labour and Canadian industry can do. We are developing a large shipbuilding industry. We have already built a large number of corvettes and minesweepers for Canada's navy and for Britain's. Canadian corvettes have given Canada a new fame on the sea. Most of these small vessels are commissioned on the Atlantic. At both Vancouver and Esquimalt on the Pacific, I saw corvettes ready to put to sea. Canada is also building cargo ships so desperately needed for the present phase of the struggle. The shipyards at North Vancouver are humming with the activity of the men who are making ships to deliver goods to Britain.

For months, Canada has turned out motor transport vehicles, by hundreds daily, both for her own forces and for Britain's. Practically all the motor transport used by the British forces in the North African campaign were made in Canada. Canadian factories are making machine-guns, trench mortars, bombs for aircraft, great quantities of shells and ammunition, electrical apparatus and radio equipment. The latest development is the making of field guns; the first of these were turned out at the huge new plant at Sorel, Quebec, on Dominion Day. Before the year ends, Canada will be making naval guns, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and infantry rifles.

D 53483

Universal carriers have been in production for months; both Mark-III tanks and cruiser tanks are now being delivered from Canadian workshops. In old factories, in new factories and in converted factories, Canada is making machines and munitions for Britain's armed forces as well as our own.

The output of steel and of the base metals and other raw materials of war production has been greatly expanded to meet the growing proportion of Canada's war industry.

We are sending all the food to Britain that ships can be found to carry.

The tremendous expansion of productive activity has absorbed great numbers of men; many thousands more will be needed.

From our limited manpower in Canada, we must recruit the men required to make the tools, as well as the men needed to use them.

Let me now give you very briefly the record of expansion of Canada's armed forces. At the outbreak of war there were less than 10,000 men in the three branches of the permanent armed forces; today there are some 300,000 men in Canada's armed forces at sea, on land and in the air. This figure does not include the numbers, about 170,000, enrolled in the Reserve Army.

D 53484

In the navy, at the outbreak of war there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men; today there are 200 ships and 20,000 men.

In the permanent active militia there were, at the outbreak of war, 4000 men; today the active army contains over 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. In addition, the young men called up for training under the National Resources Mobilization Act will be retained under arms for duty in Canada. This will relieve enlisted men for service elsewhere.

When war began, there were 4,000 men in the air force; today there are 60,000. Apart from coastal patrol and convoy duties, ships and men of Canada's navy have been sharing in the defence of the coasts of Britain. Thirteen Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons are already serving in Britain; many additional Canadian graduates of the Air Training Plan are serving with the Royal Air Force. Thousands more Canadian pilots and airmen will follow them to Britain before the year is out. The defenders of Britain now include 82,000 of the soldiers in Canada's active army. The Canadian Corps of two divisions with corps troops and many thousands of re-inforcements, together with specialized units, such as forestry troops, and the tunnelling companies which have been improving the defences of

D 53485

Gibraltar, have been overseas for many months. They have now been joined by an army tank brigade and detachments of the third infantry division. The rest of the third division and an armoured division are scheduled to go to Britain this year.

In addition to the armed forces Canada is sending to Britain, there are Canadian garrisons in Newfoundland and the West Indies. You may possibly have learned that, in a special message President Roosevelt informed Congress today that the United States could not permit "the occupation by Germany of stragetic outposts in the Atlantic to be used as air and naval bases for eventual attack against the Western hemisphere". At the same time, the President announced that United States forces have occupied Iceland. You will be interested in knowing that for a year, we had a Canadian garrison in Iceland. Only recently, it left for Great Britain. In its year in Iceland, it was engaged upon work of construction as well as other duties of defence. Canada, too, has been sharing for some time in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland. We must not forget that we have as well to provide for the defences of our Pacific coast.

I do not need to tell anyone in Western Canada how immense is the programme of Air Training we have undertaken in this country. The evidence is all around us on

D 53486

these western plains. It was, as I have already mentioned, a source of especial satisfaction to me to see today what splendid work is being done right here in Prince Albert. Air training in Canada today has expanded far beyond the wide limits set in the original Air Training Plan. The greater part of the Air Training for the whole British Commonwealth is concentrated on Canadian soil.

Recruitment of the armed forces

The strength of all three branches of the armed forces is being steadily increased. Men are being enlisted in the navy as fast as we can get the ships to man. The air force is being constantly recruited up to the limit of the steadily growing facilities for training. We are at present in the midst of a campaign to recruit the active army up to the full strength of the present establishment. Here may I pause to extend my congratulations to the Province of Saskatchewan which already has passed the three-quarter mark on the way to achieving its quota of recruits.

Canada is appealing to her young men freely to join the legions of freedom. The men who have enlisted in Canada's armed forces for overseas service have offered their services of their own free will. They have taken up arms as champions of freedom prepared to uphold the cause of freedom in whatever part of the world their services are needed. They have accepted

the

call because they know that the security of freedom in Canada depends upon the maintenance of freedom in the world.

It is well, I think, that we should keep always in mind that Canada's strength in this war, and the force of our example, is increased by the fact that, as the one nation in the new world at war with Nazi Germany, our country's participation is a voluntary participation. Canada's effort is stronger because it is a free effort, and because every man who has enlisted in the armed forces of Canada for service in any part of the world is there of his own free will, and at the dictates of his own conscience.

There are those I know who are saying that we cannot get our young men, in the numbers required, to volunteer for service outside Canada. I shall never believe that the young men of Canada will not respond in the numbers needed for any service demanded of them by their country, once the nature of the service they are asked to perform is placed before them in its true light. Once let them realize that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their country's future, that is in peril today, and we shall all see how quickly they will be prepared to answer their country's call to arms.

But we must not be content to leave the appeal to the military authorities alone. It is the duty of every citizen, and the especial duty of those who are the natural

leaders of each local community, to join with the military authorities, wholeheartedly, in making known the necessity, the appeal, and the issue. Responsibility for any shortcoming, or failure will lie, through the years, not so much with those who have not understood the issue, as with those who have stood in the way of others who are seeking to make it clear, or who themselves have failed to do their utmost to see that it is clearly and fully understood.

Thousands of people in Saskatchewan, or their fathers, have come to Canada from countries that today lie prostrate under the heel of a ruthless invader; others from countries occupied by Hitler's armies; still others, from countries threatened with the loss of their existence. There are some too, from countries whose present rulers in order to satisfy an evil passion for domination, have, like Cain of old, risen to slay their brothers in other lands. All came to Canada that they might be free men in a free land.

These new Canadians should not need anyone to tell them that the security of freedom in Canada depends upon the preservation of the world's freedom. They must know that there can be no islands of freedom in an enslaved world. They surely know what is at stake in this war.

May I say to those who cherish their new-found freedom in this new land, that never in the lives of men

has such an opportunity been given to translate into action, the gratitude and devotion they owe to the land which they have made their homeland. Never has there come to men of any race, an opportunity to render a like service to the ill-fated brothers of the homelands of their race. No defence of Canada's freedom can be nobler than that which Canada's adopted sons are asked to undertake. No higher hope can be given to the enslaved peoples of Europe than the knowledge that Canada's call to arms is being answered by free men of their own race.

Let none of us mistake the issue. Whatever we may think of the past errors or present systems of other countries, Canada's freedom and freedom everywhere have but one deadly enemy today. That enemy is Nazi Germany. Let us welcome all the help we can get in this struggle from whatever source. It will take all the strength that can be mustered to match and surpass the might of Hitler's legions of evil.

We know that Hitler boasts of his plan to create an empire that will last for a thousand years. Let us then, first of all, ask ourselves the question: Suppose Hitler were to go no farther, what would be the consequence for Europe of a complete Nazi triumph in Europe alone?

The economic design of this so-called "new order" of Hitler's has already begun to appear. Its foundation

D 53490

is the development, in France and other of the subdued countries, and, particularly in the Russian Ukraine, if the Nazis succeed in occupying those rich and fertile plains, of agricultural production on a scale great enough to meet the need for food in the whole continent of Europe. On the foundation of adequate food production in the outlying slave countries of Europe, and with access to the raw materials of Africa and of Asia, Germany would itself become the arsenal and workshop of the continent. Within Germany's borders, or, at least, under her direct political and military control in nearby countries, the highly technical industries of strategic and military significance would be concentrated. The outlying occupied countries would be left only with the simple industries, and the production of food and raw materials. Foreign trade would become, throughout the world, what it was in Europe before the outbreak of war, an instrument of pressure in the military and economic interests of Nazi Germany. With her control of all heavy industries, Germany could keep her great military machine at the peak of its power. The defeated nations would be stripped permanently of the means of resistance to their Nazi overlords.

Let us then next ask ourselves what would the achievement of this grand design mean for this hemisphere? Without any attempt at the invasion of this continent, Nazi

Germany would already have dealt a terrible blow at our standards of life. Look for a moment at its effect upon agriculture. The Nazi preparations for war, the war itself, and the extension of the blockade have already created enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities, like wheat, which we normally export. In a sense, the loss of markets in continental Europe, made our Canadian farmers the first of the casualties of the present war.

While we are doing everything in our power to reduce the burden of that loss of markets, we all know that, over a period of time, there can be only one real solution of the problems of the Canadian farmers and particularly of the wheat growers. That solution is the defeat of the aggressors, the destruction of the totalitarian order, and the restoration of freedom to Europe and to other parts of the world. It is, I believe, true that no section of our community has so direct an economic interest in the defeat of Nazi Germany as our primary producers of foodstuffs. The destruction of Hitlerism will alone make possible the opening of the channels of trade, and the restoration of markets for our exportable surpluses. Without world markets, there can be no permanent prosperity for our great primary industries.

Not only can there be no permanent prosperity, but there might well be no future at all for western agriculture

D 53492

in a world in which the whole eastern hemisphere was dominated by Germany and her axis partners. Without markets in the old world, these western plains would face an economic drought beside which the natural droughts experienced in the past would pale into insignificance. Whether the rains fell or whether they failed to come, Nazi domination, in the Old World, would make of western Canada an economic desert.

Agriculture would be the first victim of a Nazi victory, but it would not be the only victim. As Nazi Germany drew more and more upon the resources of the enslaved territories to increase the industrial might which is the real foundation of her military strength, all our energies on this continent, for years to come, would be absorbed in a terrible struggle between hemispheres. We would face a feverish race of armaments. We would be forced into totalitarian methods to meet the totalitarian threat. More and more of our resources would be poured into armaments; less and less would be left to maintain the standards of life and civilization.

If Hitler is not defeated in the old world, the new world, to save itself from conquest, will be dragged down to the slave standards which Hitler is imposing on its conquered lands. Eighty years ago, on this continent,

D 53493

our American neighbours fought a great civil war because they found that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free; Hitler has forced this generation to recognize that the modern world cannot survive half slave and half free. No one today can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. If he fails to choose freedom, that means he has already chosen slavery.

The call to arms

That choice between freedom and slavery is not confined to governments; it is a choice that must also be made by individuals and by every individual. It is a choice which it is of supreme importance that our young men should make. No weaker excuse for failure to make the choice, no feebler reason for neglecting to answer the call to arms has ever been given than the excuse some give, that they are prepared to serve, only when others are compelled to serve. Such an excuse reveals a spirit already half way on the road to complete surrender to dictatorship. It is a denial of freedom; it is, indeed, the very negation of freedom.

Let me then repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. Let me repeat it in Saskatchewan as I gave it in the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta, and as I intend to repeat it in Manitoba and in the other

D 53494

provinces of Canada. It is the "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man, woman and child in Canada, for it affects the lives of every one of us.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens, the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on the bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke. Some there are who, for the best of reasons, may not be able to serve, as they would like to serve. The circumstances of the lives of men are generally well known in their own community. People are understanding.

D 53495

They will be quick to appreciate circumstances of which the fullest account should be taken. Those, however, who could serve, and who do not answer the call, will bear through life the stamp of that failure. Their neighbours will know; and what is far worse, they themselves will know, in their hearts, that they have failed to seize the greatest opportunity which is likely ever to come to men to serve their country and their fellow-men.

Let us keep these truths ever before our young men; explain the need, and the greatness of service, and no compulsion will be required to fill the ranks of Canada's overseas army. Let each young man understand the issue. Let him answer the call in the light of his own conscience, and Canada will produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes will be the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts will be the fire of their souls dedicated to the service of their fellow-men. Let us build up an armed force animated by that spirit and we shall build a wall of defence for our freedom that no enemy can tear down or destroy. Maintain that spirit, and it will be the strength of our young nation in this hour of the world's peril; and its imperishable glory through ages to come.

D 53496

ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER Winnipeg - July 10, 1941.

I desire to thank the organizations which have arranged this luncheon, for the opportunity to meet, in the short time at my disposal, so representative a gathering of the citizens of Winnipeg; to renew many friendships of long standing, and to form new acquaintances. I desire as well to thank all present for the honour of the occasion, that, with your permission, I should like to avail myself of immediately; to express not only to the citizens of Winnipeg, but to the people of the entire province of Manitoba, the deep appreciation felt by my colleagues in the government and myself of the splendid contribution Manitoba is making to Canada's war effort.

On my way through Winnipeg, en route to the Pacific Coast, I had the pleasure of extending congratulations on the success in Manitoba of the Victory Loan campaign, then only just concluded. It was a splendid response to the call for money. Today, on my return journey to Ottawa, it is not less a source of pride than delight, to be able to extend congratulations on the fine response of your young men to the present call for volunteers for the active army. Together with the Maritime Provinces, Manitoba enjoys the dictinction of having already reached the quota set for individual provinces in the present recruiting campaign. That achievement will, I am sure,

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D 53497

serve as an added incentive to other provinces to give like expression to the vigour of their patriotism.

My visit yesterday to the air training and military establishments at Brandon, and to the great military training centre at Shilo, served to bring to me in a concrete and practical fashion, an appreciation of the amazing concentration of wartime activity in this province. I am looking forward to the opportunity, before the day is over, of seeing here at Winnipeg something more of what is being accomplished.

My tour of the western provinces is now virtually at a close. I wish I could begin to tell you what an inspiration it has been to me to see with my own eyes, in the parts of the country through which I have travelled, something of what is being so splendidly achieved throughout western Canada in the furtherance of Canada's war effort.

For some time past, I have sought an opportunity to vist our military, naval and air establishments, and our war industries, to see the practical results of the policies adopted, and the decisions taken by the government. I have sought as well for opportunities to come into more immediate personal contact with the people themselves. I did manage, in the course of the political campaign, early last year, to pay a visit of one day's duration to the constituency of Prince Albert which has honoured me, for more than fifteen

D 53498

years, with its representation in our Parliament. On my way to Prince Albert, I found time to address a meeting in this great city. Apart, however, from meetings at Toronto and Montreal in the course of that campaign, the relentless pressure of the duties of my office had kept me continuously from the outbreak of war, up to that time, at the seat of government at Ottawa. Since the election of 1940, apart from a visit to the military training camp at Valcartier in Quebec and a few brief days snatched for an inspection of the defences on our eastern coasts, and the visits I have had to the United States which, I believe, have not been without their advantages to Canada and to our war effort, there has been no chance at all to get away.

It affords me particular satisfaction to recall that at Ogdensburg, in August of last year, I was able to join with the President of the United States in concluding an agreement to establish the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The work of this Board, I should like to remind you, is related not less to the defence of the coasts of the Pacific than to those of the Atlantic. In the same connection, I am also pleased to recall that at Hyde Park, in April of this year, I was able again to join with Mr. Roosevelt in concluding another agreement. Under the Hyde Park Agreement, the effort of the two countries in war

production is rendered vastly more extensive and expeditious.

At the beginning of the present year, I made a firm resolve, deepened by the growing urgency of the need as I saw it, to see what I could, just as soon as Parliament adjourned, of the practical side of our war effort, and to help meet, in so far as it might be possible for me to do so, situations which were affecting that effort.

The most imperative of these situations had arisen in the United States. As you are aware, certain isolationist groups in the United States were seeking, not without some success, to create a false impression of Canada's part in the war, particularly as it concerned Canada's financial relations with Britain. I felt it my duty to do what lay within my power to place the facts before the American people in their true light, and to refute once and for all the "cash on the barrelhead" allegation.

Although I had set out the facts in Parliament as early as March 25th, a personal statement of them in the United States itself seemed to be necessary to remove the false impressions that were being assiduously fostered. As soon as Parliament adjourned, I immediately accepted an invitation extended by the various Canadian organizations in New York City to speak to them, and, through them, to the people of the United States. By arrangements made for a

D 53500

nation-wide broadcast of the address, the widest publicity was given a true and authoritative statement of Canada's position.

Immediately after my return from New York, allowing but a few days for consideration of urgent matters to which it had not been possible to give the necessary attention while Parliament was in session, I commenced the present tour of Western Canada. This tour, members of Parliament, the press, my own colleagues in the government and others had all been urging upon me while Parliament was in session. No sooner, however, had I begun to carry out the plans tentatively made before adjournment, than I was told by the Leader of the Opposition, and by some others, who I regret to say appear to have been less anxious to assist, than to embarrass me, that, as Prime Minister of Canada, I should not be concerning myself in this direct manner with Canada's war effort, but should be visiting England. Had I planned to go to England instead, the same critics would have been equally quick to say that my first duty was to the people of Canada who had given their support to the government and its policies, and that, at the time a recruiting campaign for overseas forces was in progress, my place was in Canada. You see how easy it is for the head of a government to please everyone.

I, myself, felt very strongly that while this all important recruiting campaign was on, it was desirable for the

Prime Minister of the country to set an example to his fellow-citizens, by taking an active part in the campaign.

All that I have seen throughout the present tour; all that has happened since I left Ottawa has convinced me that, in making the decision I did, I took the right course. I believe my efforts have encouraged and assisted others who have been engaged in the recruiting campaign. I believe, or at least, I hope that in connection with the present recruiting campaign, they have served to remove any excuse for raising in Canada the issue of conscription for service overseas. What has already been attempted in the way of reviving that issue at this time makes only too clear the advantage that might have been taken of a lengthy absence, on my part, from Canada, to force the issue into the arena of party strife. How dire the consequence to our national unity this might have proved, none can say. My duty as I see it, is to seek above all else to preserve national unity; for on the maintenance of national unity, all else depends. How best any action of mine may serve to maintain that unity is something of which I, alone, can be the judge. That is a responsibility which attaches to the head of an administration at any time, but doubly so at a time when the nation is at war.

The present tour has afforded me the opportunity to come into contact with many of those in the western provinces who are directing the war effort in its practical aspects.

D 53502

I have been able to speak to the officers and men in the armed forces, to see something of managers and workmen engaged in war industry, and to obtain a vivid appreciation of the activity which one finds everywhere. The larger conception of Canada's achievement thus obtained will enable me to give to my fellow-citizens, and to others, a more complete and vital picture of Canada at war. When the appropriate time comes for me to visit Britain, I shall be able to speak with an authority, greater than would otherwise have been possible, of the magnificent effort of the Canadian people.

But I have had another purpose in view in the present tour, and in the light of conditions as they have developed in Europe, it is an imperative purpose. That purpose has been to bring home to the citizens of Canada a deeper sense of the danger which threatens our country, its freedom and its future as I see it today.

Of this danger I should like now to speak.

The world encircling danger

It will be recalled that, at the time of the Munich Conference, less than a year before Canada entered the war, Czechoslovakia seemed so remote from Canada that many doubted whether, if war came in Europe, this country would see the danger to its freedom, and the necessity of taking up arms to keep that danger from our shores. The Nazi menace to freedom

was regarded by many as something which might increasingly disturb the peace of Europe. It was not seen as something that might come to convulse the world. The events of the year following Munich helped to make clear the nature and extent of the Nazi threat, and the might and terror which lay behind it. When Poland was attacked, thoughtful observers had realized that an ambition much larger than the domination of Central Europe lurked in the mind of Hitler. It was clear that his aim was, at least, the domination of Europe. Today, we know beyond all shadow of doubt,that aggression in Hitler's mind, has no limits; that world domination alone will satisfy the ambition of Nazi Germany.

From the very outset of the war, I have sought to keep the magnitude of the Nazi menace ever in the public mind. I make no apology for repeating to you today what I said, at the outbreak of hostilities, as to the probable character and scope of the struggle then beginning. You will be surprised, I think, even at this late date, to see how much of what I then feared and foretold, has since come to pass.

Speaking at the special session of Parliament called nearly two years ago, to decide upon Canada's entry into the war, I sought to picture the danger, to Canada itself, of the conflict which had then commenced in Europe. To many my words may have seemed unduly alarming. The unfolding of events has shown that remote as the possibilities appeared, I was not

exaggerating. I hope that those who are now listening to me will feel, in the light of what I said then, and what has happened since, that what I shall say today is equally no exaggeration.

Let me first repeat what I said in Parliament, in September 1939.

The evening before I announced in the House of Commons the government's policy with respect to Canada's entry into the war at the side of Britain, I had read a statement of Hitler's to the effect that, if England wished to fight, she must realize that the prize of victory would be the British Empire. I reminded Parliament that the British Empire included Canada, and that there was no portion of the globe which any nation would be likely to covet than this Dominion.

"There is," I said, "no other portion of the earth's surface that contains such wealth as lies buried here. Nowhere are there such stretches of territory capable of feeding for generations to come - not hundreds of thousands, but millions of people. No, the ambition of this dictator is not Poland. At once time, he said it was only the areas in which there were German speaking people. But we have seen that ambition grow. That may have been the thought in his mind some years ago, but we all know how ambition feeds upon itself; we all know how the lust for power blinds men's senses to all else.

"We know where and how he started, first with the militarization of the Rhineland. He then said - I quote Hitler's own words - he had no thought of annexing Austria. After giving his word that there would be no further attempt at conquest, he took Czechoslovakia. Then he took Moravia and Bohemia, then Memel, now Danzig and Poland.

"Where is he creeping to?" - I am continuing to quote from the House of Commons debates what I said at the time - "Where is he creeping to?", I asked, and I answered that question in the following words. I ask you to note their significance in the light of what was then deemed impossible, but what since has actually taken place. "Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which today say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the same name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain does down, if France goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom on this continent; there will in time be no liberty. Life will

not be worth living. It is for all of us on this continent to do our part to save its privileged position by helping others." I ask you, was I exaggerating when I made that forecast? Was I seeking to become unduly alarmist? What has followed since?

We have seen Hitler creep into the communities of the North, into Denmark and Norway, with his secret agents, and the saboteurs of his treacherous fifth column. We have watched him spring in the night upon the peace-loving peoples of Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium raining indiscriminate destruction from the skies upon innocent men, women and children. We have seen France fall. All this came within 10 months of the time at which I spoke. Before and ever since, we have watched Britain fighting month after month, against terrible odds, for her very life. Less than three months ago, we witnessed in the course of two short weeks, the crash of the Nazi hordes through the brave resistance of Yugoslavia and Greece to the waters of the Mediterranean and the attempted invasion of the Holy Land. Having seen the fate of those who sought by neutrality to avoid the choice between the destroyers of freedom and the defenders of freedom; having watched disaster come to those who sought to stand aloof; having witnessed the breath-taking ferocity and

D 53507

rapidity of the march of Nazi conquest, it is hard to believe that any thoughtful man can longer doubt the world encircling scope of Hitler's ambition and the appalling reality of the Nazi meance.

Today, Hitler seeks the conquest of Russia. On the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, he threatens Suez from Greece, from Crete and from Libya; at the other end of the Mediterranean, he threatens Gibraltar and its straits through Spain and French North Africa. Through Russia, Hitler threatens the whole continent of Asia.

The magnitude of the war is matched by the magnitude of its battles. This war began with the Battle of Poland. Then came the Battles of Norway, of the Low Countries and of France. After that came the first repulse of the enemy in the Battle of Britain. Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic.

The Nazi menace is drawing ever closer to this hemisphere. That is the truth I should like to bring home to all today. It is a truth that the President and other members of the Administration at Washington are seeking to bring home to the people of the United States, and also to the people of Latin America. There are two bridges by which Hitler would seek to have his forces penetrate the western hemisphere, once he has consolidated his gains in Europe.

The southern bridge extends by way of Morocco and Dakar through the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands across the Atlantic to Brazil. The Nazis have already penetrated, as we know, into Morocco and West Africa. In Latin America, they have long plied their treacherous trade.

The northern bridge extends from Norway via the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland to our north Atlantic coasts. As I have already said, more than once, it was the possession of that bridge Germany was seeking to obtain when the Bismarck sank the Hood off the coast of Greenland.

The day I spoke in New York, the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace, who was present, referred to Canadians as the Keepers of this northern bridge. That is a vivid description of Canada's task as it has been performed in relation to this hemisphere now for almost two years. We Canadians have indeed been the Keepers of the northern bridge which leads not only from Norway to North America, but also from Canada and the United States to Britain. The existence of this North Atlantic bridge, like the one in the South Atlantic, should be a reminder to all on this continent that, unless the tide of Nazi aggression can be turned back, we shall face inevitably, tomorrow, a battle of hemispheres.

D 53509

It has been the recognition of all this that has led the President, within the present week, to land armed forces of the United States in Iceland. It was the recognition of this which led the President, some months ago, to have the United States assume protection of Greenland. For the same reason, United States forces are co-operating today in Newfoundland with our own defence forces in the protection on land, at sea and in the air of that strategic island. It should be, as I am sure it is, a source of pride to every Canadian that, at the very outbreak of war, Canada assumed a special responsibility for the protection of Newfoundland, and that, for a year, Canadian troops garrisoned Iceland, and while on duty there, vastly strengthened its defences. Not only have we guarded the North Atlantic bridge, we have been strengthening its structure, month in and month out ever since the commencement of war.

Nor can we afford to forget, as we look across the Pacific, that beyond its waters we also face a continent which, for five years past, has been in arms; and that the most powerful of the warring nations in the East is an axis partner of Nazi Germany. In whatever direction we look out from this western hemisphere, we see a world ravaged by the fires, torn by the destruction, and convulsed by the horrors of warfare.

D 53510

Month by month, the world encircling danger is closing in upon this continent. That circle must be broken; that menace must be destroyed; or the whole western hemisphere will inevitably be drawn into the world conflict, to the extent of its entire resources.

The menace of a Nazi triumph in Europe

There are those who say that Hitler would not dare to try to invade this hemisphere. Let us suppose they are right. Suppose Hitler were to go no further; what would be the consequences for Europe of a complete Nazi triumph in Europe alone?

We can see how Nazi Germany is drawing upon the resources of the conquered and enslaved territories to increase industrial might which is the real foundation of her military power. The agricultural resources of France, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Central Europe are already being used to develop food production designed to meet the needs of the whole of that continent. To the same end, Hitler seeks to add to his domain the rich and fertile plains of the Russian Ukraine.

On this foundation of adequate food production in Europe, and with access to the raw materials of Africa and Asia, Germany would itself become the arsenal and workshop of the continent. With control of all heavy industries, Germany would keep her great military machine at the peak of

its power. The defeated nations would be stripped permanently of the means of resistance to their Nazi overlords.

Let us next ask ourselves what the achievement of this great design would mean for this hemisphere? Without any attempt at the invasion of this continent, Nazi Germany would already have dealt a terrible blow at our standards of life.

Look for a moment at its effect upon agriculture. The Nazi preparations for war, the war itself, and the extension of the blockade have already created enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities, like wheat, which we normally export. Without world markets, there can be no permanent prosperity for our great primary industries. The destruction of Hitlerism will alone make possible the opening of the channels of trade, and the restoration of markets for our exportable surpluses.

Not only can there be no permanent prosperity, but there might well be no future at all for western agriculture in a world in which the whole eastern hemisphere was dominated by Germany and her axis partners. Without markets in the old world, these western plains would face an economic drought beside which the natural droughts experienced in the past would pale into insignificance. Whether the rains fell or whether they failed to come, Nazi domination, in the Old

D 53512

World, would make of western Canada an economic desert. Agriculture would be the first victim of a Nazi victory, but it would not be the only victim.

Unless the new world can speedily match and surpass the industrial strength of Germany, even apart from its actual invasion, all our energies on this continent, for years to come, will be absorbed in a terrible struggle between hemispheres. We shall face a feverish race of armaments to which we shall see no end. We will be forced into totalitarian methods to meet the totalitarian threat. More and more of our resources would be poured into armaments; less and less would be left to maintain the standards of life and civilization.

But the possibility of invasion is something that can no longer be ignored. Unless Britain survives, and the forces that seek to preserve the freedom of the seas triumph in the battle of the Atlantic, an attempt at invasion of this continent of North America would follow as inevitably as night follows day.

If Hitler is not defeated in the old world, the new world, to maintain its economic existence, and to save itself from actual conquest, will be dragged down to the slave standards which Hitler is imposing on its conquered lands. Hitler has forced this generation to recognize that the modern world cannot survive half slave and half free. No one today

can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. If he fails to choose freedom, that means he has already chosen slavery.

The war effort

This is the choice which Canada made in 1939. Seeing the world encircling danger already on the horizon, as a united people, we went out to meet and combat it. Today this whole continent has awakened to that danger.

The Canadian people may well be proud that, of all the peoples in the new world, they were the pioneers in resisting Hitler's attempt at world domination. When war came, we did not hesitate to take up the struggle for freedom in the old world, and in all the world. For the second time, in a generation, our country is in the vanguard of freedom.

In the last war, Canada played a large part. This time we have a far greater task, and a very different task. Let me recall some of the differences. Then, our main task was the raising of an army: almost all that Canada asked for was men for the army. On the sea, we depended almost entirely on Britain's navy. Neither had Canada an air force of her own. Canada's industrial effort was comparatively small. Britain produced most of our equipment and supplies. Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

Let me now give you very briefly the record of expansion of Canada's armed forces in this war. At the out-

D 53514

break of war, there were less than 10,000 men in the three branches of the permanent armed forces; today there are some 300,000 men in Canada's armed forces at sea, on land and in the air. This figure does not include the numbers, about 170,000, enrolled in the Reserve Army.

In the nay, at the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men; today there are 200 ships and 20,000 men.

In the permanent active militia there were, at the outbreak of war 4,000 men; today the active army contains over 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. In addition, the young men called up for training under the National Resources Mobilization Act will be retained under arms for duty in Canada. This will relieve enlisted men for service elsewhere.

When war began, there were 4,000 men in the air force; today there are 60,000.

Apart from coastal patrol and convoy duties, ships and men of Canada's navy have been sharing in the defence of the coasts of Britain. Thirteen Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons are already serving in Britain; many additional Canadian graduates of the Air Training Plan are serving with the Royal Air Force. Thousands more Canadian pilots and airmen will follow them to Britain before the year is out. The

defenders of Britain now include 82,000 of the soldiers in Canada's active army. The Canadian Corps of two divisions with corps troops and many thousands of re-inforcements, together with specialized units, such as forestry troops, and the tunnelling companies which have been improving the defences of Gibraltar, have been overseas for many months. They have now been joined by an army tank brigade, and detachments of the third infantry division. The rest of the third division and an armoured division are scheduled to go to Britain this year.

In addition to the armed forces Canada is sending to Britain, there are Canadian garrisons in the West Indies, and, as I have mentioned, in Newfoundland. Canadian coast defences have been expanded in recent months and a number of new batteries brought into action. The strength of these defences has been substantially increased since the outbreak of war with the provision of new armament and equipment. Important harbours have been made proof against submarine and torpedo so that men of war and merchant vessels may lie at anchor in security during their brief periods of rest, refit and loading of cargo. Minesweepers are constantly at work in the ship channels to ensure their freedom from mines. Anti-submarine vessels are continuously on patrol in search of enemy U-boats. Air patrols cover hundreds of miles of our

D 53516

coastal waters in endless reconnaissance flights ready to report and where possible to attack air, surface, or submerged enemy units. Plans to cover all likely contingencies have been made by the three fighting services who work at all times in the closest co-operation and harmony. In Newfoundland, Canada has made important commitments for the defence of the island and its ports. The protection of Newfoundland waters has been included in the general scheme of defence of our eastern coast. The number of Canadian sailors, soldiers and airmen providing these defences has steadily been augmented and close co-operation with the United States forces defending the leased areas is maintained in accordance with the plans of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

I do not need to tell anyone in Western Canada how immense is the programme of Air Training we have undertaken in this country. The evidence is all around us on these western plains. Air training in Canada today has expanded far beyond the wide limits set in the original Air Training Plan. The greater part of the Air Training for the whole British Commonwealth, is concentrated on Canadian soil.

Let us never forget that the present war is a war of machines as well as of men. Canada has every reason for pride in her war production. We are building, indeed, we have already all but built, an aircraft industry from the ground up.

We are developing a large shipbuilding industry. We have already built a large number of corvettes and mine-sweepers for Canada's navy and for Britain's. Canadian corvettes have given Canada a new fame on the sea. Canada is also building cargo ships so desperately needed for the present phase of the struggle. Our shipyards in all parts of Canada are humming with the activity of the men who are making ships to deliver goods to Britain.

For months, Canada has turned out motor transport vehicles, by hundreds daily, both for her own forces and for Britain's. Practically all the motor transport used by the British forces in the North African campaign was made in Canada. Canadian factories are making machine-guns, trench mortars, bombs for aircraft, great quantities of shells and ammunition, electrical apparatus and radio equipment. The latest development is the making of field guns; the first of these were turned out at the huge new plant at Sorel, Quebec, on Dominion Day. Before the year ends, Canada will be making naval guns, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and infantry rifles.

Universal carriers have been in production for months; both Mark III tanks, and cruiser tanks, are now being delivered from Canadian workshops. In old factories, in new factories and in converted factories, Canada is making machines and munitions for Britain's armed forces as well as our own.

D 53518

The output of steel and of the base metals and other raw materials of war production has been greatly expanded to meet the growing proportion of Canada's war industry.

We are sending all the food to Britain that ships can be found to carry.

The tremendous expansion of productive activity has absorbed great numbers of men; many thousands more will be needed.

From our limited manpower in Canada, we must recruit the men required to make the tools, as well as the men needed to use them.

The call to arms

I have already said that no one today can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. The choice is not one which is confined to nations and to governments; it is a choice which must also be made by individuals, and by every individual.

Let me then repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. Let me repeat it in Manitoba as I gave it in the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan, and as I intend to repeat it in the other provinces of Canada. It is the "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it, not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man, woman and child in Canada, for it affects the lives of every one of us.

D 53519

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens, the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on the bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke.

"It is a calumny on men to say that they are roused to heroic action by ease, hope of pleasure, recompense -- sugar plums of any kind, in this world or the next!" That you will recognize as one of the passionate utterances of Thomas Carlyle. "In the meanest mortal", he adds, "There lies something nobler .... It is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things, and vindicate himself under God's heaven, as a God-made man, that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs. Show him the way of doing that, the dullest daydrudge kindles into a hero." They wrong man greatly who

say he is to be seduced by ease.... Kindle the inner genial life of him, you have a flame that burns up all lower considerations."

How often those words have come into my mind as I have looked into the faces of the young men - many of them raw recruits - who have done me the honour of permitting me to take their salute, as I have visited the different training centres on my journey across this continent.

Never forget that every man in uniform today is an upholder of freedom. Never forget that the glory of Canada's fight for Freedom in this world struggle is the imperishable fact that all she has done, has been done of her own free will. Keep clear the real issue as it is, and we shall need no compulsion to find all the men we require for the armed forces of Canada. We shall produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts is the fire of their souls, dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

Here is a wall of defence which no enemy can tear down or destroy, and which, if maintained, will be the strength of this young nation, in this hour of the world's peril, and its imperishable glory through ages to come.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 84, pages D 53521 - D 54217

D 53521

FILE:

GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

1 9 4 0

1) Dissolution

2) Election Issue

3) Canada's War Effort

4) National Unity

5) National Government

6) Air Training Plan

7) Vancouver Property

8) Soldiers' Vote

1) Dissolution

folder
Tabs West

January 22, 1940

VERY SECRET

D53523

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PICKERSGILL:

Re: DISSOLUTION OF EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT

Circumstances governing time of election. Secure exact words, and reference in the Constitution re every five years. Can only be altered by altering the Constitution. This is based on the supreme authority of the people, and their right to decide who is to govern, particularly in all important times.

Later on, make the point that no situation ever meant so much to Canada or the future of the world as the present. That the existence of Canada itself along with that of the Empire may be at stake ere this war is over. The people have a right to say in whose hands they are to trust affairs.

Make equally the point later that it is quite as important to the government, in dealing with situation such as the present, to have reason to know that the people have confidence in it. Impossible to proceed otherwise.

Get date at which last Parliament dissolved. Date at which present Parliament elected, and date to which the present Parliament could run - five year period. Note the number of sessions already held - this being the sixth.

In regard to the length of present session, there may be need for another session later this year to deal with critical war condition, or if war were to terminate, with matters related to the peace.

General practice as to dissolution. Not to wait till the last moment as proceedings of Parliament become more concerned with elections than with the country's business. At the present time, it would be more "win the elections" than "win the war".

Postponing the election would mean the Constitution would have to be amended. Is it to be for another

year, or duration of the war? If the latter, who can say whether that would be for 2, 3 or more years hence? Extension of time no guarantee that an election will not have to be held during war-time anyway. Such was the case in 1917 after Parliament was extended a year from 1916.

Main consideration, however, this Parliament was not appointed to extend its own term. It has no legal or constitutional rights so to do. I have always held that position with regard to the 1916 extension. That extension should be a warning to everyone. A warning with regard to the kind of things that might follow in a year e.g. war-time elections act disfranchising many citizens in our own country; women giving votes only to women who had relatives overseas.

The Mackenzie-Manndeal - giving ten million dollars' value to stock worth nothing.

Imposition of conscription.

Get exactly a statement of these.

Formation of a Union Government which perpetuated itself, etc. We neither wish to participate in anything of the kind nor to run the risk of it. Uncertainty of length of war.

Everything points not only to war being longer in time than was anticipated but the area of conflict being much wider. Already war in the Orient as well as Europe may spread very far and wide.

Most important people should have a chance to pronounce on government to control affairs before the situation becomes worse. Also essential that there should be no uncertainty as to government in power fulfilling will of people.

Note length of time of present administration, and what has been accomplished during that period.

If criticism has already developed that war effort not adequate, etc., what is it likely to become

unless people, in the meantime, say whether they have confidence in the manner in which things are now proceeding, or prefer to have something of a different nature. Some people do not like steady, constructive, unspectacular work but feel that unless war is carried on after the manner of a street row, nothing effective is being accomplished. (To be used elsewhere).

Knowing how tremendous are the issues involved in the present war, I will not take the responsibility of depriving the people of Canada of their right to say into whose hands they wish to entrust not only their present affairs in a time of war, but their future destiny.

Note what I said last session about having an election this year, showing these thoughts were in my mind at that time. Particularly some of the things that have happened since have made me feel more certain than ever that I was right in making it clear at that time that I felt the people should not be deprived of their constitutional rights of being consulted at definite intervals as to their government.

Next, develop the idea that earlier rather than later in the year preferable to settle the question of an election. As time goes on, situation will become worse and more involved. For a government seeking to deal with it, to be harassed perpetually by the thought of an impending election with its opponents meanwhile undermining its endeavours is just unthinkable to anyone who has a sense of responsibility.

In an election, provision has to be made for the taking of the vote of the members of the active service forces overseas as well as in Canada. Obviously, opportunity should be given above all, as soon as possible, to the man who have enlisted, and whose lives are at stake to say into whose hands they wish the care of their own lives to pass. To my mind, every effort should be made to have their wishes known before the voices of many of them are silenced forever. That can be done not by postponing the elections indefinitely but by fixing a definite time for the elections.

Reasons why general elections not held last summer.

First of all, personally believing as I did that war in Europe sooner or later was inevitable, I would like to have had the elections over, and a government fresh from the people in office to deal with the situation that might arise.

While I had every reason to believe the present administration would be returned, had political considerations been uppermost might well have taken advantage of the confusion of political opponents as evidenced by divisions of opinion with respect alike to leadership and policy exhibited only too clearly at the Conservative Convention.

I felt that no circumstance would justify an appeal earlier than the beginning of winter so long as the possibility of war in Europe was as great as it then appeared to be. I felt and I told my colleagues at the time that regardless of all circumstances and however unpleasant a winter election might be, I felt there should be no appeal to the country until it was definitely known whether war might come or, at best, certain to be postponed until some period in the New Year. I did not think that, if war had not commenced meanwhile, any leader of armies would wish to begin his campaign at the approach of winter, and that that was the time when the people should be given a chance to name their new administration.

I had given my word that Parliament would decide concerning Canada's participation in the war if it came. I felt it was my duty to see that Parliament was kept in being for that purpose, and that everything should be in readiness for an immediate and quick decision, and that nothing should be said or done meanwhile which would impair united effort and action when that moment came. My judgment in these particulars has, I think, been fully confirmed, and approved by the nation.

(All this had better be worked out by stages, each one given a heading - stage 1, stage 2, etc.)

Knowing that a general election would have to be held before the next year was out and that

difficulties in all directions were likely to increase rather than diminish meanwhile, I personally would have been pleased if the election might have been brought on immediately, and a government installed with a direct mandate to carry on the war. It was obvious, however, that the first duty any government owed people was to see that not a moment was lost in giving effect to the decision of Parliament for Canada to enter the conflict at the side of Britain and France, and to see that the country's war effort was immediately organized and that, as thoroughly and effectively as could possibly be done. Any thought, therefore, of a contest was completely put out of thought and I gave an assurance to the leader of the opposition that I would undertake to see that no general election was brought on before Parliament had again been called.

(Bring in statement).

I thought the situation in this respect was admirably summed up in an editorial which appeared in one of our Ottawa papers dealing with this question of elections.

(Quote from editorial in "Ottawa Journal" setting forth need for organizing all departments of the government, and leaving matters where the permanent service could see that effect was being given to policies reached and war measures already concluded.)

Next stage - what have the developments been since that time. Here set forth accomplishments of the government since the special session, taking up first: enactments of the special session; military achievements; concluding with expeditionary force and air training plan. Then, the economic front - constructive measures re marketing, etc.; measures to prevent the enhancement of prices. The relations with the British Government re war contracts, etc.; war loan.

Next stage - this effort in the main was unchallenged save from one direction. The Premier of

one of our provinces declared that Canada's war effort was invading the autonomy of the province, and the federal war effort was made the outstanding feature of the campaign. This constituted a challenge which the government charged with the administration of affairs could not overlook.

It was believed that the assertions of the leader in Quebec did not represent the opinion of the people of that province and federal ministers found it necessary to take direct issue with what had been said, and entered the campaign. We know what the results were.

(Give the figures regarding Duplessis' standing before and after the election.)

We know the mischief that the statements of the Premier of Quebec - not because he was Mr. Duplessis but because he held a position of high trust, and was supposed to speak for the people of his province - had in Europe. The use that was made of it in Germany to show that there were differences of view in Canada; that that part of the country was lukewarm, etc. We equally know the effect which the decisive verdict of the people of Quebec have had upon the fortunes of war since. The encouragement their voice has given to the people alike of France and Britain, and the corresponding effect in depressing the spirit of the German nation which the results produced.

The decisive verdict in Quebec had a salutary effect not only on Canada's war effort but on all else that lies behind it, namely, the unity of Canada itself in times of war. The people felt a great relief at uncertainty being relieved, and I think a justifiable confidence in the judgment and policies of the administration itself.

Canada's war effort got a fresh impetus, one which helped materially to plan for and secure the several essential measures. I think I may say that but for one or two outbursts on the part of the leader of the opposition given evidently as a lead to his followers because of an approaching pre-election session (question finding any motives), everyone was content to

wait until Parliament re-assembled to secure the information, and to deal with the questions which the people's representatives might raise.
(What were these questions?)

Here set forth the various issues in consecutive order. First, the question of patronage. Describe what has been done to avoid patronage and profiteering.

Set forth a list of the key-men who have been appointed to positions. Set forth the position taken with respect to appointments in the army, paying special reference and compliment to General McNaughton.

Next, the question of unpreparedness taking in a chapter on this subject, distinguishing between Canada's preparedness for war re defence of Canada, and preparedness re expeditionary forces, etc. (See memo. from Mr. Pickersgill.)

Next stage, in this connection, give real reason for such deficiencies as there have been - see my speech "Defence of Canada - 1937"- particularly re depletion of air force.

Give statement of what has been done by our government since assuming office re munitions, ships, planes, etc. (In reviewing work of government, before concluding that part, make mention of the different broadcasts that have been made by ministers.)

Next, the dependents' allowances. Explain that situation and means taken to meet it. Then delay in awarding contracts. Explain why British have not placed contracts sooner; why Canadian Government has not placed more contracts.

D 53530

Next, examine complaints re censorship, lack of information. Explain situation in regard to that. What has been done. How it has been done. Desire to have departments give fullest information possible. Means taken to that end. Particular difficulties regarding censorship because of proximity of United States. British policy re tempting propaganda.

(Make mention in dealing with supply of contracts, of effect of U.S. embargo.)

Regarding broadcasts. When nothing given, complaint that government is not advertising itself enough. When impartial account given, statement made that we are advertising too much; political trend; in defence of our own policies, bunk, etc. Get statements of Manion, Meighen, Drew, Hepburn, etc.

Re: Manion's criticism re late in summoning Parliament. Compare with situation in 1914. Date of war, date of opening and closing of special session. Date of opening regular session. Place in parallel columns with our own dates, and show wherein our time has been so much shorter. Get statement as to my promise to have Parliament re-assemble in January. Point our wherein an earlier re-assembling would have been inadvisable. Obviously desirable, before Parliament re-assembled, to have organization of war effort as complete as possible.

Matters re expeditionary force and air training scheme settled so far as ministers' decisions are concerned;

necessity for organization of war loan at beginning of new year.

Touch on that as sample and evidence of the thoroughness with which all essential war measures have been dealt with by the government.

This was the position until the Legislature of Ontario met and adopted resolution of a week ago today. Note the parallel methods of Duplessis' tactics in challenging Canada's war effort from the point of view that he thought would suit Quebec, and Hepburn's adoption of a similar policy in Ontario.

Here set forth relations between Mr. Hepburn and myself. First, laudatory statements of Mr. Hepburn regarding myself during his campaign and in the year or two immediately following. He said something to the effect that I was his leader, his chief, etc. That Canada was fortunate to have me. These impressions were the ones he had in the period immediately following the years he had been in our House of Commons.

I knew he had experienced some disappointment re not naming ministers to federal cabinet, but I thought this had been understood and duly explained. Use the sentence: "The present Cabinet was not formed in the week following the general elections of 1935. It was in process of formation over the period of an entire parliament, while the Liberal Party was in opposition."

No consultation with Premiers of other provinces. Believe that all should be treated alike, and important that each should keep to their own fields.

Make perfectly clear, at no time any personal difference of any kind or anything in the nature of a quarrel with Mr. Hepburn, or anything in the nature of hatred from myself to him.

When first aware of a difference, Mr. Lapointe and I and other colleagues present at Coronation and Imperial Conference in London, dealing with Canada's affairs there, and most desirous of having it known, as I believe was the case, that we were presenting the united views of our country. Following declaration made - take in paragraph from "Times".

I was completely at a loss to account for change of attitude until I recollected the pressure that had been put upon me, especially prior to leaving England, and even while I was in England, to grant to the Montreal Power Consolidated, by Order-in-Council, the right to export additional power to the United States without authority of Parliament in the first instance. Get statement of my position as made to Parliament in that connection. It was simply that I refused to take action without authority of Parliament. Members will recall I left Parliament a free hand.

JWP
22.1.40

D 53532

Applications for the Export of Power, 1937

April 17: The Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company applied to the Honourable W. D. Euler for a license to export power to the Aluminum Company of America at Massena, New York.

August 10: The Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated renewed the application on behalf of their subsidiary, Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company, for this license in a letter addressed to the Prime Minister.

November 2: The President of Aluminium Limited interviewed the Prime Minister with regard to the application of the Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company for a license to export power. It will be noted that the Company which desired to export was always the Cedars Rapids, which is a subsidiary of Montreal Power. Aluminium Limited was interested because the power was destined for its parent company, the Aluminum Company of America.

Then, after return to Canada, look up where Hepburn's election came in around about that time. What his declaration was as to his relations with power companies. References to Shawinigan people, etc. as power barons against interests of the people; unwillingness to allow additional export of power at Niagara.

This the attitude on which Ontario election condemned contracts made by Howard Ferguson and Conservative party with Shawinigan Power Co., and then, after election, complete change, settlement with power companies, etc. Have this worked out carefully. Then come to Ottawa.

I have met with only two threats worthy of the name during the period of the present Parliament, one came the Manager of the Shawinigan Power Co. (see Dandurand's letters) that if I did not grant the export of power by Order-in-Council, I would be destroyed politically. The other, a similar threat from Mr. Hepburn, at the time that he came to Ottawa to demand that an immediate license be given the Hydro Electric to export power to the U.S. I may be mistaken but I have always thought the two threats were not devoid of some immediate association. However, be that as it may, let me come to the interview Mr. Hepburn had with my colleagues and myself on the question of power export.

Get statement of his demand to have the right to put the matter into Speech from the Throne the next day. Reference of question to Cabinet. When Cabinet's intimation given, Mr. Hepburn threatened that this constituted an act of hostility; that I had the power to do it by Order-in-Council; that Parliament was all nonsense.

My reply that as a Liberal, I felt, as he knew I had all my life asserted, the supremacy of Parliament, and only one authority superior, namely the supremacy of the people themselves whose rights it was we were seeking to protect.

The public are pretty well aware, from that time on, of what there has been in the nature of so-called feud between Mr. Hepburn and myself. I wish to again state that in the interval of time, except during the visit of Their Majesties to this country when

I had pleasant personal conversations with the Premier of Ontario, and one obvious occasion when I interviewed Mr. Hepburn personally with regard to the position of Government House in Toronto, I had not sought from him, nor had he from me, any occasions for interviews, and there has been no word of personal difference between us.

If I have refrained from speaking of this matter, it has been because of my desire, as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, and a believer in Liberal principles which, after all, is that for which the party stands, not to permit any word of mine to effect a cleavage in the party or destroy that valuable instrument for the maintenance of democratic government in our country.

I need not remind my following in this house or indeed the country, of the Hepburn-Duplessis axis, and how, so long as that combination was formed, evidently on the basis of no co-operation with the Dominion Government on the part of these two provinces, it was used as a means of destroying the federal administration, and, in particular, myself as its leader when the opportune moment might come.

The war with the attitude Mr. Duplessis had assumed, necessitated a separation from that association, and a combination with a new partner, not as in the case of Quebec, with some other Liberal leader but with the leader of the opposing political party. The Hepburn-Drew axis has been formed to serve, if possible, the same ends.

I come now to the resolution passed by the Ontario Legislature. Note the circumstances surrounding the same; method of its introduction; on what it is based; irregularity of procedure; predicament in which members of the party placed; analysis of figures showing Mr. Hepburn retained in office by a Conservative minority.

Note statement given by one of the members (in today's paper) as to why other Liberals left the Chamber. They did not wish dissolution of the Ontario

Legislature - did not wish an Ontario campaign to be fought, as was the one in Quebec, on a federal issue and one which called in question the policies of the federal administration.

Statement as to what actually took place at the interview at Ottawa. Date of. Subjects discussed. Attitude taken. Presence of Lieutenant-Governor. Thanks for interview. Listened to both Mr. Hepburn and Colonel Drew. Thanked Mr. Hepburn for offer of St. Thomas Hospital. Discussion re police guards. Federal government police at power plants. Action taken to meet Mr. Hepburn's wishes. His action immediately following in dismissing these guards.

St. Lawrence Waterways request made by Mr. Hepburn. Reasons given. Action since taken. Power for war industries from Ontario sources. Importance of relations between Canada and the United States. My own attitude regarding St. Lawrence Waterways. See statement made would not deal with it so long as it gave rise to differences between provinces and the Dominion; these differences being removed by change of Mr. Hepburn's attitude, it has seemed advisable to consider proposal. Obviously desirable to meet Mr. Hepburn's request, and do so as he, himself, had said with the utmost rapidity possible.

So much for the interview. If it were not satisfactory, why was nothing said by Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Drew at its conclusion. I was prepared to accept it as genuine, not to regard it as a political plot framed by Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Drew to deal with the Federal Government as Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Duplessis had proposed to deal with it.
(Consider wisdom of saying this at this time.)

He would now seem to believe that he had been friendly enough at the start, and subsequent events would account for such feeling as he may now have. As a matter of fact, I happen to know on the best of authority what Mr. Hepburn's words were concerning the interview. The impression that Mr. Hepburn sought to convey to some members of the press privately concerning the interview at that time. If he felt as he did, he should so have expressed himself at once.

If the purpose had been patriotic and not political, he would have done so. The fact that he waited until the Legislature met, and the eagerness with which he and Mr. Drew proceeded to criticize the Federal Government, and the attitude taken with his own followers to whip them into line with himself, all show only too clearly it was not co-operation with the Federal Government in a great war effort, but an effort to take advantage of the war to form some new political combination that could get control of affairs at Ottawa for the period of the war, which was back of his mind all the time.

(Note above where I touched on relations with Hepburn. Refer to what I said at Toronto about it not doing to cherish resentment in public life.)

Effect of the Ontario Government resolution. The actions of individuals, as individuals, is a matter of secondary concern. No man in public life has a right to permit his personal resentment or his personal feelings to usurp his duty as a public servant.

I think the temperaments of Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Drew are well enough known in this province to be pretty generally understood. What is not as well understood except by those who are themselves in public life are the embarrassment occasioned their immediate following because of their temperaments and methods, and how false, as a consequence, impressions may be, which may be derived from action taken as a result of their embarrassments.

What has to be considered by this government and this Parliament, at this present time, are not the individuals who supported Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Drew, nor the reasons or excuses for their action. It is the significance of that action as taken and as recorded in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and as it may be viewed by not only the citizens of Canada but the people of Great Britain and France, and their armies; our own army overseas, and I regret to have to add, the use that may be made of it by Herr Hitler, Herr Goebbels, Herr von Ribbenthrop, General Goering and other Nazi leaders who are doing

all that lies in their power to destroy the British Empire and Canada as the first and foremost of its Dominions.

What are the words used in the resolution? "So little effort". What, by interpretation can be placed upon these words in Germany than that the government which represents all Canada is putting forth little effort in the present war, is half-hearted because the people of Canada themselves are half-hearted. Could anything be more false? Could anything be more wholly misleading, or more diabolically untrue?

Let me repeat were that merely the statement of some politician on the political hustings, I should pay no attention to it whatever. I cannot, however, overlook the fact that, as matters now stand, the government of Canada itself has been condemned by a resolution that, in spite of all that has, thus far, been accomplished, destroyed all the efforts that have been made to preserve Canadian unity in this great crisis. The government of Canada stands condemned on the records by a resolution proposed by the leader of the government of the largest province of this Dominion, supported by all of his ministers in the House at the time and some of its members, and by the leader and his followers of the Opposition.

I do not think that that resolution expresses the honest conviction either of those who proposed or of those who supported it. I certainly do not believe that it expressed the view of the people of Ontario towards the present administration, and I am most positive that it does not express the view of the people of Canada as a whole. However, it stands there and until the people themselves have expressed their opinion upon it, I cannot see how the real feeling of the people of Canada can be known or expressed in the eyes of the world except by an appeal to the people themselves, and this I propose to ask His Excellency to allow this government to make at the earliest possible moment.

Let me repeat that, at a time of crisis such as the present, faced with the momentous issues with which the government of this country and every government in the world is faced today, no ministry which does not have the wholehearted support of the people themselves

and enjoy their confidence to the full, can hope to carry and to discharge, in the manner in which they should be discharged, the responsibilities placed upon them at a time of war.

(All this should be worked out carefully so as to get the exact issue.)

Either the Canadian people have confidence in the present administration and in the manner in which it has organized and prosecuted Canada's war effort up to the present, in the manner in which it will continue to prosecute that effort, and in the manner in which, should it be in office at the time, it would deal with conditions governing a peace, or they have not. If they have, it is to their interests, to the interests of the allied powers, and to the interests of ultimate victory in the war, that this should be known beyond peradventure at the earliest possible date.

If it is not so, then the reason is all the stronger why the people of Canada should at once be given an opportunity of placing, in office, an administration in which they have greater confidence.

(This must be worked out with great care, and this page should be reduced to writing and considered in the Cabinet. Note the issue is clear. It is confidence in the government's war effort and in the present administration to carry on the war, and to represent Canada in peace negotiations.)

The Ontario challenge must be made to be representative of all the opinion in Canada that may hold the view there expressed. Clearly, it is desirable to ascertain what the real wish of the people is.

<u>Responsibility in making this decision.</u>

I need not tell the House that this decision has not been reached without the most careful consideration of every phase of the situation, while, as regards the action of the Ontario Legislature, the only factor to be taken into consideration, something might be said for regarding it as less important than it appears to be, and as, in fact, I believe it to be.

There are, however, other factors which, I think, make an immediate appeal most desirable. If an election is to be held this year - and I see no escape from that now - the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was not intended for purposes of co-operation, it was intended to make co-operation impossible; without co-operation of all the provinces of Canada in Canada's war effort, our difficulties are going to be many fold enhanced. To return, if an election is to be held this year, the sooner it is held, the better. What the people of this country will desire most in any session of Parliament is that it shall be a "win the war", not a "win the election" session.

I think we all know what the temptation is likely to be, to view much that may be said and done in the present session from the point of view of an impending election rather than from the point of view of what is best for Canada's war effort. It is desirable, I think, that political contention should be reduced to as narrow bounds as may be possible. We do not wish a political battle waging here with another to be waged still later in the year in the country, and that at the time when dangers at the front may be greatest.

Nothing, I confess, has caused me more concern in reaching a decision regarding an appeal to the country than that this might have to be taken just at a time when some great offensive had commenced on the Western Front, or the war was at one of its most critical stages. The most embarrassing of all features is the length of time which, under our Elections Act, must be occupied in a general election.

(Here give particulars regarding this and the re-assembling of Parliament.)

I have always been anxious to bring, within as narrow limits as possible, the time within which Canada could not be without a Parliament. To this end, at the last session, I had prepared a bill which would enable all lists to be prepared before a dissolution and the period of the elections shortened accordingly.

I have reason to believe, however, that any material change, in our Elections Act, is liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted and of itself to provoke unnecessary debate in this House. Having the elections brought on immediately would, of course, avoid the necessity which was feared for any change in the Act. It is scarcely probable that Parliament, if dissolved tonight, would have to be recalled within the next three weeks.

Before having the election itself take place in the weeks immediately following, my thoughts had been to have the lists ready, and if a situation developed, when they were ready, which made it inadvisable to have the elections held, to hold the elections over until a later period in the year. That difficulty is now avoided. An objection that was strongly urged was that it was inadvisable to have an election in the winter time. (Answer that objection).

Also next deal with advantage in having lists prepared and election over before May, at which time there would have to be further revision of lists, people moving, etc.; and also having elections over before winder begins to break up, and then finally the only thing that would have to be done is to make provision for the taking of the vote of those on active service, and point out we would be in a more fortunate position to have this taken before men, if in Europe, either have to leave Europe or become engaged in action.

Then make mention of what I have discussed with the Chief Electoral Officer as to the time and then point out advisability of having elections over by the end of March, and of the House taking up immediately the one measure, namely that for the voting.

With regard to all other questions, those can be settled by the people themselves.

W. L. M. K.

All important to keep the impression of a united Parliament. I have done this by dissolving quickly. My task as leader is to look ahead - today and tomorrow - to ever have one eye on tomorrow etc.

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A. Berriedale Keith re Dissolution
(to be inserted - before statement: "Such a belief will be the verdict of history.)

I do not think I should let the present occasion pass without citing for you the opinion of the best known authority on the constitution and administration of laws of the Empire, as well as on the responsible governments in the dominions, with respect to the dissolution of the Canadian Parliament. That authority is Mr. Berriedale Keith of Edinburgh University. In a letter published in "The Scotsman" of Edinburgh, as soon after the dissolution of the Canadian Parliament as January 27th, Mr. Berriedale Keith said: "It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces. The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

D 53543

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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION

Thursday, January 25, 1940

OTTAWA
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CONTENTS

Thursday, January 25, 1940

Opening of the Sixth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament by His Excellency the Governor General 3

Vacancies: Drummond-Arthabaska; Bonaventure; Kindersley; Kent, Ont.; Jacques-Cartier; Saskatoon City; St. James; Prince 3

New Members Introduced: Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, Esq., (Calgary West); Arthur Lisle Thompson, Esq., (Kent, Ont.); Eugene Durocher, Esq., (St. James); Elphege Marier, Esq., (Jacques-Cartier); Hon. James Layton Ralston, Esq., (Prince); Walter George Brown, Esq., (Saskatoon City) 3

Oaths of Office. Bill No. 1, Mr. Mackenzie King, first reading 4

Speech from the Throne, read by Mr. Speaker to the House 4

War Measures Act, tabling of orders in council respecting war emergency matters, Mr. Mackenzie King 4

Report of the General Librarian of Parliament, Mr. Speaker 4

Acting Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, appointment of John Laundy, Mr. Speaker 4

Dissolution of Parliament—

Statement of the Prime Minister as to proposed general election:

Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Manion, Mr. Woodsworth 4

Dissolution of the Eighteenth Parliament by Proclamation of His Excellency the Governor General 22

List of Ministry and Members.—(See Appendix).

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable Pierre-François Casgrain

SIXTH SESSION—EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT—OPENING

Thursday, January 25, 1940.

The parliament which had been prorogued from time to time to the twenty-fifth day of January, 1940, met this day at Ottawa, for the dispatch of business.

The house met at three o'clock, the Speaker in the chair.

Mr. Speaker read a communication from the Governor General's secretary, announcing that His Excellency the Governor General would proceed to the Senate chamber at three p.m. on this day, for the purpose of formally opening the session of the dominion parliament.

A message was delivered by Major A. R. Thompson, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this honourable house in the chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly the house went up to the Senate chamber.

And the house being returned to the Commons chamber:

VACANCIES

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that during the recess I received communications from several members, notifying me that the following vacancies had occurred in the representation, viz:

Of Wilfrid Girouard, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Drummond-Arthabaska, by resignation;

Of Pierre Emile Cote, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Bonaventure, by resignation;

Of Otto Buchanan Elliott, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kindersley, by resignation;

Of James Warren Rutherford, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario, by decease;

Of Joseph Leon Vital Mallette, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Jacques-Cartier, by decease;

Of Alexander MacGillivray Young, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Saskatoon City, by decease;

Of Hon. Fernand Rinfret, member for the electoral district of St. James, by decease;

Of Alfred Edgar MacLean, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Prince, by decease.

I accordingly issued my several warrants to the chief electoral officer to make out new writs of election for the said electoral districts, respectively.

NEW MEMBERS

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that during the recess the clerk of the house has received from the chief electoral officer certificates of the election and return of the following members, viz:

Of Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, Esquire, for the electoral district of Calgary West;

Of Arthur Lisle Thompson, Esquire, for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario;

Of Eugene Durocher, Esquire, for the electoral district of St. James;

Of Elphège Marier, Esquire, for the electoral district of Jacques-Cartier;

Of Hon. James Layton Ralston, for the electoral district of Prince;

Of Walter George Brown, Esquire, for the electoral district of Saskatoon City.

NEW MEMBERS INTRODUCED

Hon. James Layton Ralston, member for the electoral district of Prince, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Arthur Lisle Thompson, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. N. A. McLarty.

Eugene Durocher, Esquire, member for the electoral district of St. James, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Elphège Marier, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Jacques Cartier, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Calgary West, introduced by Hon. Robert J. Manion and Mr. E. E. Perley.

Walter George Brown, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Saskatoon City, introduced by Miss Agnes C. Macphail and Mr. Joseph Needham.

OATHS OF OFFICE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 1, respecting the administration of oaths of office.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that when the house did attend His Excellency the Governor General this day in the Senate chamber, His Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both houses of parliament. To prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy, which is as follows. Shall I dispense?

Mr. MANION: No; I should like to have it read.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will have it read by the clerk assistant.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

During the months which have elapsed since the close of the special session, my ministers have given unremitting attention to the organization and prosecution of Canada's war effort. The government has been in constant consultation with the government of the United Kingdom, and the measures adopted have been those which it is believed will best serve the common cause.

Vigorous action has been taken through all branches of the armed forces to provide for the security and defence of Canada, and for co-operation with the allied forces on land, on sea and in the air.

For the effective prosecution of the war, Canada's industrial, financial and other resources are being steadily mobilized and all war activities coordinated. The production and marketing of agricultural and other primary products have been given constructive direction; and safeguards have been provided against undue enhancement, under war conditions, of the prices of food, fuel and other necessaries of life.

Since last you met the developments of the war have made increasingly clear the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. The very existence of nations that cherish independence and democratic ideals is menaced by enemy forces of ruthless aggression which aim to dominate mankind by terror and violence. The Canadian people have shown their determination to share with Britain and France to the utmost of their strength in the defence of freedom.

My ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

In all that pertains to the discharge of your responsible duties, may Divine Providence be your strength and guide.

WAR MEASURES ACT

ORDERS IN COUNCIL RESPECTING WAR EMERGENCY MATTERS TABLED

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I wish to table certain orders in council respecting war emergency matters. These are the various orders that have been passed under the War Measures Act. There are typewritten copies of all measures that have been passed since the close of the special session and up to and including January 17, 1940. All orders in council passed under the authority of the War Measures Act having the character of legislation are being printed and I have every reason to believe that they will be ready, both in French and in English, by the middle of next week.

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to lay before the house the report of the general librarian of parliament.

ACTING DEPUTY SERGEANT AT ARMS

Mr. SPEAKER: I beg to inform the house that I have appointed John Laundy to be acting deputy sergeant at arms during the present session.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AS TO PROPOSED GENERAL ELECTION

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I rise to move that the house do now adjourn, but if the house would permit me so to do I should like to make a statement to hon. members with respect to the paragraph in the speech from the throne which refers to an immediate dissolution. Hon. members will be interested in knowing the circumstances which

have actuated the ministry in advising his excellency that no time should be lost in having an appeal to the country.

The paragraph to which I have particular reference is the following:

My ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

The house will recall that at the special session my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) asked me if I was prepared to give an undertaking that an election would not be called by the present government before parliament had again been summoned. I gave him that assurance and I should like to read to the house the words used in that connection. They will be found at page 175 of unrevised *Hansard* of September 12 last, and at page 157 of the revised *Hansard*. They are as follows:

As to the question of a general election before another session, my hon. friend has been kind enough to say that I told him some time ago that I would not think of anything of the kind or countenance it. Nor have I had a suggestion from any member of parliament that a general election should be thought of between now and another session.

I wish to direct particular attention to these words: "before another session" and "a general election should be thought of between now"—that is the time at which I was speaking last September—"and another session."

I then gave to the house my own views with respect to the undesirability of parliament extending its own term. Perhaps I had better give that paragraph, as it follows in natural sequence. I said:

The term of parliament is five years; and as time runs on there may be in the minds of some a temptation to follow the course which was adopted during the last war and have parliament perpetuate its term, provided the war is not over at that time. Personally, I never liked the extension which was made during the time of the last conflict. In my opinion, the people of the country have the right to say whom they wish to have administering the affairs of Canada, and they should exercise that right periodically at the time provided for in the constitution. I do not think any parliament should take it upon itself to deprive the people of that right. That is my feeling, very strongly, at the moment. There may be conditions between now and the end of this parliament which may necessitate a reconsideration of this question, but I should hope that everyone would expect that the people of Canada should have a chance to express their minds freely with regard to the administration, the opposition, third parties and generally with their representation in parliament within the period of time which the constitution provides.

I returned to the question of calling the next session of parliament, and said:

It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring hon. members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile. I hope I have made perfectly clear the position of my colleagues and myself.

Then my hon. friend the leader of the opposition was kind enough to say:

May I be allowed, Mr. Speaker, to break the rules and speak again merely to express my thanks to the Prime Minister for his straightforward answer to my question.

I think it is quite clear from what I have read what was in my mind at the time as to the different circumstances that might arise in a period of war; and that my intention was that before there should be a dissolution of this parliament, parliament itself should be summoned and given that information; in other words, that there would be no election between the last special session and the calling of the present session.

May I say, Mr. Speaker, that at that time I had hoped that circumstances might be such as would permit of another session of this parliament being held before a general election. But as I have said, no one can foresee what is likely to take place in a time of war, and none can foretell the degree to which a government may continue to enjoy the confidence of the people in carrying on the affairs of the nation at so critical a time. I was careful therefore to say that it would be desirable when parliament next assembled to have had a careful review in the interval of all circumstances which would bear on the question of whether it would be advisable to proceed in a period of war with a pre-election session, or to have on the hustings such discussion as must necessarily take place—in other words, to avoid two political battles, one in parliament and one on the hustings as well.

I had felt, I must say, up until a very short time ago that it was going to be possible, at a session called in the month of January, to present to this parliament the measures which the government felt it would be necessary, before an appeal to the people, to carry through for the effective prosecution of the war. I had always been very much concerned, as I think the house is well aware, about the long period of time required by our elections act for a general election. Under the act and its administration I think something like eight weeks

is required to elapse between the date of dissolution and the day of election. I had felt that possibly we might get over the difficulty of having such a long interval while war was on and parliament was not in session, by shortening the time in which there would be no parliament through an amendment to our elections act to reduce the period in which the country would be without a parliament to something like four weeks. I spoke to my hon. friend the leader of the opposition about that prior to the special session of last year. I should have liked to introduce such a measure at that time, but I gathered from what he said to me and from what others have said, that the introduction of any measure to amend the elections act would be certain to create some suspicion in the minds of some hon. members and to provoke a kind of discussion that would not be advisable.

Mr. MANION: If the right hon. gentleman will permit me to interject, I should like him to take his own responsibility for his acts and not try to put it on other people.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am going to take full responsibility, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. MANION: Then take it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I thought I had done my hon. friend a courtesy in mentioning that I had talked the matter over with him before the last session and that he had given me his view that it would be unwise to attempt a measure of that kind.

Mr. MANION: The right hon. gentleman told me that he was going to bring it in at this session of parliament. I pointed out that such a period would not give a leader time to cross this country, and my right hon. friend's reply was, "Why should a leader cross this country?" So far as bringing in such a measure last session is concerned, there was no discussion.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Possibly there may be some misunderstanding in the mind of my hon. friend as to just what our conversation was. At any rate he is quite right when he says that he had mentioned to me, as one of the reasons why it would not be advisable to try to shorten the period for the election, that the leader would wish to take seven weeks, at least, in discussing issues before the electorate in the country. However, my hon. friend has made quite clear his own point of view, which is that he should have a period of something like eight weeks, because that is about the time required under the act, to address the electorate in a period of a general election.

If that is the case, it demands consideration at once of just when a dissolution should take place which will involve a campaign of something like eight weeks, and controversy on electoral matters throughout that period of time, at a time when the country is in a state of war and Europe is in the condition which we all know it to be in to-day.

But I am getting away from what I had wished to make clear to the house, which was that I had hoped there would be a feeling of sufficient confidence in the present administration, and an evidence of sufficient unity between all parts of this country to have enabled us, at a session at this time, to introduce a number of measures and then to go to the country a little later on. Until a week or two ago—indeed, until a week ago—it was my intention that this should be the procedure. But, as hon. members know, just a week ago to-day, or yesterday, the premier of the largest province in this country—

Miss MACPHAIL: A Liberal.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —introduced in the Ontario legislature a resolution which was directed in no uncertain terms at the government of Canada now administering its affairs. That resolution was seconded by the leader of the Conservative opposition in the Ontario legislature; and when it came to a vote, the resolution was supported by all of the ministers of the Ontario government who were present in the house at the time, by some of the members of the Liberal party in Ontario, and by all of the Conservative members in the legislature. The resolution had been preceded by some discussion in the legislature—a discussion which had taken place, I think, for a couple of days—attacking the manner in which this government has sought to administer the affairs of the country during this period of war. I think I would have paid little or no attention to that discussion had it been confined to the leader of the government of Ontario and to the leader of the opposition of Ontario; I would have allowed it to pass, and not made further mention of the matter other than to discuss the merits of any points which might have been raised in the discussion. However, when the Ontario legislature adopted the resolution and it was given a permanent place on the records of the legislature, quite a different situation presented itself to this government. May I read the resolution?

That this house has heard with interest the reports made by the prime minister and the leader of the opposition of the result of their visit to Ottawa, to discuss war measures with the national government and this house hereby endorses the statements made by the two members in question and joins with them in regretting that the federal government at Ottawa has made so little effort to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire to see.

I ask hon. members to notice the extent of the charge which is made there. It is a charge against the federal government. It is not against myself alone personally but against the entire administration. There have been, as no doubt hon. members are aware, many other attacks upon me personally as leader of the government; but this is against the government at Ottawa, and the charge is that we have made so little effort to prosecute the war. It is further suggested that this criticism, or censure, or whatever it is, is being made in the name of the people of Canada, because it reads: "to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire to see."

I do not think I need say to hon. members that, since war was declared, and this parliament decided that Canada would participate in the war—decided in the unanimous manner in which it did—my colleagues and myself have given every ounce of our strength and every hour of our time in the most devoted manner possible endeavouring to further Canada's war effort, and the interests of the nation. We have not tried to do so in a dramatic or spectacular manner. We are too conscious of the gravity of the responsibility which is ours. But we have steadily, day in, day out, given the most careful and thoughtful consideration to every step that should be taken to see that that step would be taken in a manner which would meet with the approval of the people of Canada, and which, so far as the war is concerned, would best serve to further Canada's war effort in the most effective manner possible. I had thought, and I believe, that the Canadian people approve both the manner in which the government has undertaken its duties, and the way in which it has discharged them. The very fact that we have to-day throughout the country a chorus, one might almost say, of the press expressing the hope that this administration will continue to carry on, is the best evidence that at least the press of the country, which have to do with the moulding of public opinion, and know something about current opinion, believe that this government has solidly behind it the support of the people.

However, that is not the only thing. Even that resolution might have been put to one side were it not for the evident purpose which lies back of it. That resolution was passed to start a political campaign while this parliament was in session, to have advantage taken of the fact that my colleagues and myself would be obliged to give our attention and our whole attention while parliament was sitting to the work of parliament as well as to the problems of the war and the carrying on of Canada's war effort, while other gentlemen were to be free to criticize our effort, to misrepresent everything that was done, and everything that to them might seem to be left undone. In other words, we were to continue to carry the grave responsibility of doing our duty in the matter of Canada's war effort, and at the same time assume a very great responsibility—not as great as the other, but a very great responsibility—of meeting parliament day in and day out and to try so to conduct debates here as to have due regard for what is taking place in Europe and the care to be exercized with respect to whatever is said and whatever is done, and to have at the same time an electoral campaign carried on against us by those who are political opponents of the administration.

What is the cry already? Already, after this resolution is passed, the leader of the Conservative party of Ontario, at a political meeting, tells the meeting, and through the meeting the province, and through the province the country, that the election must start at once; and he gives them the slogan, "King must go." That is to be the slogan. I am quite prepared to accept that slogan if he will add the words, "to the country." But I ask hon. members: How can I be expected to do what is expected of me by this country in a time of war as leader of the government of Canada if all of my time and thought is to be surrounded by the animosities of political opponents who are seeking to undermine every effort that is being put forward in the leadership of the administration?

I should have thought that, at least until this house had met and expressed its views, those who have any sense of public duty would have been content to allow their political animosity not to be given too much expression. However, it is now evident that a political campaign has begun. That being so, I ask hon. members whether it is wise to try to carry on a political campaign in the country and a political campaign in this parliament—two campaigns at one and the same time—while war is going on at the front.

People the world over will understand, I believe, what may be said on the hustings, and they will be prepared to make some allowance for extreme statements made in the course of a political campaign. They can understand political opponents speaking there in a different way than where they have the responsibility which rests upon members in this house. It is a very different thing to have such discussions introduced into the debates in this house as is inevitable once a campaign has started in the country.

Apart from that, however, may I say there are very strong reasons—and they are set forth in the speech from the throne—why it is in the public interest, in the interest of the country, and in the interest of the allied powers, if we are to have an election, as it is now perfectly evident that we must have, we should have it just as soon as possible, and have it over at the earliest moment.

In the first place, as indicated by the speech from the throne, this is the sixth session of the present parliament, one session having been a special one. This parliament was returned in 1935 and this is 1940. That in itself, in my opinion, is the strongest reason why there should be an election at this time. Some may say that this was not the case with Sir Robert Borden; that this was not the view that he took. Sir Robert Borden's government was returned to power in 1911 and war came on in 1914. Sir Robert had been in office for only three years, and there were the most cogent of reasons why he should carry on. He had still another two years before his term would be completed. Our situation, however, is quite different. As everyone knows, this is the last session of this parliament. When the time came for dissolution as fixed by the constitution, Sir Robert Borden found difficulties in the way, because of the stage to which the war had advanced, of giving to the people the right to which they are periodically entitled of declaring to whom they wish to entrust the management of their affairs, and this at a very critical time. There is, therefore, the strongest constitutional reason why we should meet the country just as soon as we possibly can.

But I would mention another circumstance. Had I thought that it would have been in the interests of the country so to do, I would have gone to the people immediately after the last special session in order that those charged with the great responsibility of government in war time might have a direct and unquestionable mandate from the electorate. I realized at that time, however, that it was necessary that Canada's war effort should be gotten under way as expeditiously as possible, that the country should be changed as speedily as possible from a peace-time to a war-time organization, that all necessary military and economic measures should be taken without delay. Once those measures were under way it was clear the situation would be entirely different. Fortunately, in the months that have elapsed since the special session, the government has been able to organize Canada's war effort and to do so very effectively. We have brought into the public service, irrespective of the parties to which they belong, key men who, I believe, enjoy the confidence of the people generally. We have formed the necessary boards to deal with the different war activities. All the work of organization with respect to the army, the navy and the air force has been admirably initiated and developed. The first Canadian division is now in Great Britain and the British commonwealth air training scheme is under way. We have just carried through, in the course of a day or two, our Canadian war loan, so that provision is made from that source for the financial needs of the country for the next considerable period of time. In connection with economic, financial and military affairs the basic work has been successfully planned and accomplished and the officials of the permanent service are at this moment in the best position—a better position than they are ever likely to be in at any other time—to carry out further development while a political campaign is in progress.

May I again ask hon. members this question: If an election is to take place, is it not wise to have it just as soon as we possibly can?

Miss MACPHAIL: In the winter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer my hon. friend's question in that regard. What about the men who are fighting overseas? What about the military forces everywhere? They have to face the winter.

Miss MACPHAIL: I should like to see them drive over the roads.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have considered that question carefully and I think my answer will appeal to my hon. friend as well as to others. I am told by the chief electoral officer that an election will take nearly eight weeks. Provided we have a dissolution in the very near future, we might have the election over before the end of March. Before the end of March the roads will not have been broken up.

Miss MACPHAIL: They will be piled up, fence-high.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not care what time of year an election is held, there will always be some objections to consider. If you have not an election before the roads begin to break up in the month of March, and if you are considering in the matter the physical condition of the country, April will not be a month for an election, nor will May—May, more particularly, for the reason that if you start the election before May you will have to have the lists prepared before that month; and as everyone knows, the first of May is the time when a large percentage of the people in the cities move from one location to another, so that if proper lists were to be in existence, there would have to be a further revision of lists at that time. If you go past that time, it takes you into the month of June. For many reasons, I do not think it is advisable that we should wait until June for a general election.

May I give what I regard as the strongest reason for having an immediate election. The one thing that has caused me more anxiety than anything else, with regard to the question of having a general election, is what may happen at the front while an election is taking place. I have had to face, and my colleagues have had to face, the probability of a great offensive on the western front taking place in the spring. I say that if it is possible for this country to have its general elections over before a great offensive takes place, or before the worst of the fighting in Europe takes place, then it is entirely in the public interest that this should be done. There will be very heavy problems to consider at that time, once the war "begins in earnest", as people are saying; there will be tremendous problems to consider, and the government that has to deal with those problems must have to no uncertain degree the confidence and the backing of the people of this country.

Now I hope hon. members will realize that what I am proposing at the moment is not to extend my time of office, or that of my colleagues, but solely to allow the people of this country to say, as they are entitled to say, who they wish to carry on their government during this very critical time. If I were seeking to extend the time of the present administration or to extend my own time as leader of the government of this dominion, then I might be open to criticism from hon. gentlemen opposite and from opponents in different parts of the country. But when I am prepared to entrust my political future and the political future of this administration—not merely prepared but anxious that it should be entrusted—to the voice of the people of this country, no criticism can be raised against an intent of that kind.

One other point. The taking of the military vote is an important matter in connection with an election in war time. I think this country still has vivid recollections of how that vote was taken in the last war. We do not want any more occurrences of the kind. We want a perfectly straightforward and honest expression of opinion from the military forces; they are, if anything, more entitled to it than any other class in this country. May I draw attention to this: That vote can, I believe, be taken while the first division is still in England, before its members may go to Europe, if an election is brought on before May. Though of this I cannot, of course, say. If delayed, the soldiers' vote will certainly have to be taken while they are fighting on the continent of Europe, which would present a very different situation. This government intends, as all hon. members know, if it is returned, to see that this first division is reinforced in strength from month to month and week to week, but it also intends to see that a second division is sent overseas as soon as may be possible. Now that second division, the men who are likely to go in it and form part of it, are in this country at the present time; they can still be in the country during a political campaign if the latter is held immediately. I ask if it is not fairer to them, if it is not better for everyone, that while they are still in a position to exercise the franchise in their own land, they should have their right to record their vote with respect to the government that is to carry on when their lives are at stake?

Mr. CAHAN: Does my right hon. friend intend to introduce legislation to that effect?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend will himself see just how advisable that would be. I may say to him at once that the government intends to make provision for the military vote being taken overseas, and will do that under the War Measures Act as a most necessary war measure.

Mr. MANION: That is the way Hitler would do it.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): Hitler does not take any vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: One word further in regard to the holding of an election at this time. My colleagues and I have realized, as perhaps no others could possibly begin to realize, how important it is that we should begin immediately to prepare for post-war problems. Parliament should be in a position to deal not merely with the immediate problems of war, but also with those problems which will arise as soon as the war is over and even before. Measures such as the unemployment insurance legislation should be passed as speedily as possible. I ask hon. members: Do they believe it is going to be possible to put through these measures except by a parliament that comes fresh from the people with a mandate to carry on the government and enact such necessary measures?

May I conclude what I have to say as to the significance of an election in time of war by quoting a passage, the value of which I think will be appreciated by all those who are

lovers of liberty and freedom. I have before me a statement made by President Abraham Lincoln concerning the question of having an election in war time. President Lincoln in the time of his administration was faced with a problem much more critical than any problem with which we in Canada are faced at this moment; it was that of having an election during a period of civil war, an election at a time when his whole country was divided by civil war. Lincoln had to ask himself the question whether he should take advantage of some means whereby he could extend his term and the term of his government, or whether the people should be given the right which is always theirs of saying periodically who should carry on their government. I should like to read what President Lincoln had to say with respect to the election which took place under his administration during the period of the civil war. I read from a volume entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works," comprising his speeches, letters, state papers, and miscellaneous writings; edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay. The volume I have in my hand is one which was given to me by Lady Laurier. It was taken from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's library after Sir Wilfrid's death. These are the words Lincoln used in responding to a serenade which took place on November 10, 1864. They will be found at page 595 of volume 2:

> If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes.

Mr. Speaker, when at previous sessions we were considering the possibility of this country having to decide the part it would take should a great war come in Europe, as the leader of the Liberal party and the leader of the present administration I took the position very strongly, time and time again, that parliament would decide that question. I was told from many sides that it was ridiculous to think of allowing parliament to decide the question of peace or war, that the war would speedily assume proportions which would make impossible anything in the way of parliamentary discussion. I gave my word to the people of this country that parliament would decide, and that the extent to which Canada would participate in the war would depend upon the decision of our own parliament and the provision that parliament might make. I kept my word in that regard. Parliament did decide—it gave its decision in no uncertain terms, and gave this government the means wherewith to carry on Canada's war effort. Now we are confronted with a situation in which our strength is being impaired by those who seek to create in the public mind distrust concerning both our ability and our patriotic efforts. There is only one national authority higher than parliament; that is the people themselves whose servants as members of parliament we all are. Just as I was prepared to trust parliament to make the decision as to Canada's participation in war, so I am prepared to trust the people with respect to the all-important decision as to what government is to administer their affairs during the years in which this war may be waged and probably be concerned with the terms of peace.

It is not an easy or light responsibility, Mr. Speaker, which my colleagues and I have at this time and have had during the past four or five months—yes, and I might well say during the last few years. We are in the midst of the worst situation this world has ever known, and I am afraid that the situation is going to get worse and worse. No one can say how long this war will last. Those who seem to be best informed tell us it is not going to be one year or two years; it may be three years; it may be longer than that. As respects the countries that may be drawn into the conflict, there appears to be a danger of the war spreading over vaster areas than were ever thought of before it commenced.

So may I say that if we have to carry the grave responsibility of office in war and at a time of war such as the present, then we must be fortified by the voice of this country, expressed in no uncertain terms. If there is any group of men more capable of carrying on Canada's war effort and likely to do so more effectively, then the people should have the right to entrust them with that great

obligation. We propose to leave it to the people of Canada to say whom they wish to carry on the government of Canada in this period of world war.

I move, Mr. Speaker, that the house do now adjourn.

Hon. R. J. MANION (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The motion is not before the house.

Mr. MANION: Do I understand that no one is to be allowed to say anything in reply to the Prime Minister's prepared speech? Is it the intention to gag this house, in addition to everything else? Is the Prime Minister to come before this house and make a prepared speech, of which no hint was given to anyone, and then attempt to close the mouths of the rest of us? I ask him if he dares do that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The parliamentary procedure of this house is for the Speaker to put a motion first. Then, if hon. gentlemen wish to speak, they may do so.

Some hon. MEMBERS: The motion is not debatable.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The motion is not debatable, but the Speaker can put the motion just the same. If my hon. friend wishes to speak, I should be quite pleased to have him do so.

Mr. MANION: I certainly wish to speak.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, I should like it distinctly pointed out that there is no particular courtesy in permitting me to speak, any more than there was courtesy in permitting the Prime Minister to speak on a motion which is not debatable. I should like that distinctly understood. I should like to point out also that the custom in the parliament of Canada has always been for the government to give a copy of the speech from the throne to the leader of the opposition an hour or so in advance, and up to the present session that has always been done by this government. No such courtesy was extended to-day, not even up to the time when you, Mr. Speaker, had the copy of the speech in your hands. So far as I know, no copy has been in the hands of anyone in this house except the Prime Minister and the Speaker. I merely point this out, sir, because it is a discourtesy which not only offends all the parliamentary traditions of this and the British house, but also shows an unfair decision on the part of the Prime Minister to try to catch everyone in this house without preparation, by the unprecedented step he has taken to-day. Until I went into the senate chamber I had absolutely no hint that there was any thought of anything like this. The Prime Minister called the parliament of Canada together to-day in the usual way. He brought members here from the four corners of Canada apparently, so far as one can judge—we do not yet know the intention—to dissolve the house to-night. That is what I understand; that is the only conclusion I can draw, although in one part of his speech the right hon. gentleman said we understood what was in his mind. Well, I doubt if when he spoke last session he thoroughly understood what was in his mind, because usually when the right hon. gentleman speaks as he did at that time he leaves himself an opportunity to back out one of the rear doors or slip out a window. That was what he did then.

The only reason why I mention this particularly, sir, is that it is so unprecedented to treat an opposition in this manner. Not only does the right hon. gentleman suggest, in the speech from the throne at a supposedly regular session of parliament, that he is going to have an immediate election, but he prepares a political speech to be delivered here this afternoon and gives no one else any opportunity of preparing any remarks in advance. As the Prime Minister was speaking I had to sit here and try to outline a few points I desired to make as a result of this unprecedented act. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I ask you and hon. members of the house to bear with me if my remarks are rather disjointed.

It would have been so easy, once the right hon. gentleman and his government decided on a step like this, to follow the usual courteous practice of a prime minister and a government. However, I must say this is not the first time that the right hon. gentleman has shown this type of discourtesy towards me since I became leader of the opposition. I regret that very much, because many times in the past I have said that whatever faults the right hon. gentleman might have—and I suppose I have pointed out his faults as often as anyone—that was one fault he did not have; he was usually courteous in social life and elsewhere. But he has not shown any of that courtesy in this instance. What he has done from a political point of view is to carry on what I consider unscrupulous politics at this time, by calling for an immediate election without any hint to the people, in order to gag discussion in this house and throughout the country—at all events any prepared discussion—and to attempt to get a snap decision of the people of Canada on this great question.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will my hon. friend allow me to say one word in regard to

what he suggested was discourtesy on my part in not giving him a copy of the speech from the throne? He will realize that a speech from the throne containing a declaration of an immediate appeal to the country was a document which had to be kept very secret. Otherwise, as my hon. friend knows, the information would have been on the streets of this country before it was announced in parliament. That is the sole reason why copies of the speech were not given out before his excellency read the speech.

Mr. MANION: The right hon. gentleman merely adds insult to injury. He suggests that if he had given me a copy of the speech I would have blathered it all over the streets. As a matter of fact I have no doubt at all that the press had copies of the speech before it was read in the senate.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will say that no one had a copy of the speech except His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. MANION: I have no doubt at all that the press have copies of it now, while I have not.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then instructions have not been carried out, which were that copies of the speech were not to be handed out until after it had been read by his excellency.

Mr. MANION: Yes, read by His Excellency the Governor General about three-quarters of an hour ago. I had not seen a copy, and that is why I had to ask Mr. Speaker to read the speech. However, that is a small matter, but it is just in line with all the other acts of the Prime Minister in this unprecedented action of his. He says, in his remarks, that the Canadian people have approved—according to his idea—the acts of this government. If the Canadian people have approved the acts of this government, why then this hurry for an election at this time? Why call a snap election on this group of two hundred and forty-five members, or thereabouts, who have come here from all parts of Canada, at great expense in many instances? Why snap an election in that manner? This is simply an attempt to take unawares not only this opposition but other opposition groups in the house.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will tell my hon. friend the reason why I did not do so prior to the calling of the house was that I had given a promise it would not be done until the house had been called. I would have asked for a dissolution the night the Ontario resolution was put through had it not been for that.

Mr. MANION: Is the right hon. gentleman telling me that he meant to put over a trick of this kind, and that he intended to do that at this time? Does he mean he would not call an election until the next session of the house or until another session of the house when he could put over a trick such as this? That makes it that much worse. The understanding was that the House of Commons would be called in regular session and that we would discuss the activities of the government, the effort of the government in the conduct of the war, and so on. If we had come here, as we have, and gone on for a few weeks, the Prime Minister might have decided that an election should be called; but to put over a political trick of this kind I say is disgraceful and is sneering at the political traditions of Canada and the British empire.

If the Prime Minister had wished to do what he has done this afternoon, why did he not discuss the matter in confidence with me and with the leaders of the other parties in this house? That would have been the better course. I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman and the right hon. gentleman the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe), who sits beside him, both of whom have over and over again held themselves out as the great supporters of democracy, the great believers in democracy—I would like to ask these right hon. gentlemen this question: Where is the democracy in the present act?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer the question; my hon. friend has asked it.

Mr. MANION: My right hon. friend has had long enough.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Let me answer it. Democracy does not mean only responsibility to the leader of the Conservative party or to the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation or to the leader of the Social Credit group, but it does mean that I am answerable to the people of this country.

Mr. MANION: Through the House of Commons. The right hon. gentleman is answerable to the people of this country through the House of Commons.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, by direct approach to the people themselves, face to face with the problem.

Mr. MANION: Yes, in something like a fair manner, not by a piece of hoodwinking such as has been done to-day by calling the members of the House of Commons together, calling them from right across this country, having them here for a few hours, and then having them go back to meet their electors.

And this has happened after four months in which there has been the greatest degree

of propaganda that has been put out by any government in the history of any British country. Since the government led by the right hon. gentleman has been the war-time government it has failed. For example, he and his government have appointed I don't know how many press liaison groups, but I do know this, that one of those press liaison officers is Major Thomas Wayling—and I am not saying anything against Tom or against his appointment. However, one of them is Major Thomas Wayling—and he is only one, because there have been half a dozen of them since this government started the war.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MANION: Well, since this government started to carry on Canada's war effort, in the manner in which it has been carried on. The government has appointed about half a dozen liaison groups, one of which is working with the Department of National Defence. Major Wayling's press release body has released one hundred and sixty-five press releases since the war began, or more than one each day the war has been carried on. In addition to that, there have been half a dozen other press release groups. Then, you cannot turn on a radio without hearing the words of some minister of the government who is putting out what is supposedly a description of Canada's war effort, but about two-thirds of those speeches are political propaganda.

Having called this House of Commons together, as the Prime Minister did, why does he not make a report to it, as he should? Why does he not make a statement respecting the actions of the government? Why does he not make that statement right here, before the House of Commons? May I point out that at the short session of parliament held in September the party which I have the honour to lead, and for which I spoke, offered full cooperation and assistance to the government. And I say without fear of successful contradiction that on that occasion we gave cooperation, advice and assistance. Not only did we offer to do that, but in the last four months, since the adjournment of the short sessions, we have carried out our pledge. There has never been a day in which I have gone forth in Canada to make any political speech—not one. I did put out three or four brief statements in regard to certain matters such as mothers' allowances and allowances for dependents, but in that time I have never made a political speech. The party which I have the honour to lead has stood by that promise of cooperation, not only through the short session but since the close of it. I have never on any occasion been called in or shown anything by the Prime Minister with regard to the war. In fact, except two or three times socially I have not seen the Prime Minister since the last session. I say there has been no failure by one of the great parties of this country to cooperate with the government. I say we showed a desire to play ball, but the present procedure on the part of the Prime Minister shows an inexcusable desire to play politics instead. In other words, instead of preparing for the war they were preparing for an election. So far as I can see, that is what they were trying to do.

Let me deal briefly with the right hon. gentleman's remarks about the Ontario situation. Apparently he blames the calling of the general election on a resolution passed in the legislature of Ontario. I should like to ask him what right the provincial legislature of Ontario has to dictate to the people of this country when there shall be an election. What right has it to dictate to the federal government of Canada? Should not this House of Commons be the body which would make that decision?

The Prime Minister has stated that the resolution was moved by Mr. Hepburn and seconded by Colonel Drew. According to the press it was moved by Mr. Hepburn and seconded by one of his ministers, the Hon. Mr. McQuesten. Colonel George Drew did not second it. Anyway, no matter who moved or seconded it, this is the forum before which the right hon. gentleman has to answer—not the provincial forum in Ontario. If he really wanted to call an election because of that resolution, why did he not call it? Why call the House of Commons here to deal with that question?

Another matter I should like to mention briefly is the soldiers' vote. The right hon. gentleman has said that the government is going to bring in by way of regulation under the War Measures Act something which would permit the soldiers to vote overseas. The right hon. gentleman has been travelling around this country for years talking about the supremacy of parliament. The parliament of Canada is now in session; and yet he tells us to-day, when parliament is in session, that under the War Measures Act he and his government are going to prepare something by way of a frame-up—and I think that is a proper word—to provide for the soldiers' vote overseas. That is what he says. I can only say that his talk in the past about the supremacy of parliament was never better proven to be humbug than it has been to-day.

Then, he has said that a new parliament would take up post-war problems. Well, this

government has never solved any of the pre-war problems; I do not know how it is going to solve post-war problems.

Mr. ROGERS: Oh, Oh.

Mr. MANION: Let me say to the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers) who is laughing now that for years he was Minister of Labour. He was the man who was supposed to handle unemployment in this country. I say that no Minister of Labour in the history of Canada has ever made such a complete failure of the handling of such a problem as has the hon. gentleman. His reward for handling the Department of Labour in such a weak manner was to be made Minister of National Defence, at the present time, the most important department in the government. How can the people of Canada expect that a Minister of Labour who made a failure of running the labour department should make a success of the administration of the Department of National Defence? This is one of the reasons why the Department of National Defence has been such a farce under the present Minister of National Defence, as was the Department of Labour under the same minister.

The minister who preceded the present Minister of National Defence has many faults, as I expect many of us have. That hon. gentleman was shown up in this parliament as having acted, to say the least, not advisedly in regard to the Bren gun. But he was defended by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). He was defended by the Minister of Transport (Mr. Howe). He was defended by the then Minister of Labour, the present Minister of National Defence. He was defended also by one or two others, but I have forgotten which ones. These hon. gentlemen stood by him. Why then has he been demoted? If he was right, why has he been demoted? If he was wrong, why has he been kept in the government? What I meant really to say was that with all his faults I think the former Minister of National Defence (Mr. Mackenzie) was a more capable Minister of National Defence than is the present minister.

I have a few words to say in regard to the government's present war effort which has been referred to in the speech from the throne, as well as by the Prime Minister in his remarks on the floor of the house this afternoon. In view of the fact that long before the war this government was nicknamed the "do-nothing government," the people of Canada should not have expected that this government would be able to handle the war effort at all well. The people have not been disappointed in that. Not only did this government not prepare for war, but to my mind they have handled the war effort of Canada in a most disgraceful manner. After more than a year's warning we have called up one division to go overseas. There were not enough clothes for these men; there were not enough boots, not enough blankets and not enough machine guns. These men went overseas unequipped to a large extent. What equipment they had was obtained by gathering in what clothes and equipment could be found scattered here, there and everywhere throughout all sections of Canada. I know of one battalion from British Columbia which was dressed in cotton underwear and cotton clothing. These men crossed this north country in the middle of December and continued across the north Atlantic in the same kind of weather. I say, again without fear of contradiction—this information comes to me from doctors in charge of these militia regiments—that many of these men are sick and large numbers have been sent to the hospital because of lack of preparation and because of lack of vision on the part of this government.

If it were true that no one had foreseen the danger of war then perhaps I could not criticize. But I find that the Prime Minister, in his remarks on the address in reply to the speech from the throne during last session—I refer particularly to pages 29, 30, 31 and 32 of *Hansard*—said repeatedly that for as long as five years he had thought of nothing except the necessity of preparing for war. Yet no preparation of any kind was made. If it were not for the fact that this is a tragedy, some of the stories which we hear about the lack of preparation would be quite funny. For example, when the war began a general wrote me—I wonder if I can remember the phrase he used?—stating that the anti-aircraft units had no anti-aircraft guns, and that the searchlight units had no searchlights. That is what has happened all across this country. There has been a complete lack of preparation, and as a result the war effort so far is deplorable.

I intended to deal with this quite fully when I was speaking on the address in reply to the speech from the throne. Whatever has been achieved in the way of preparation has been obtained only by kicking this government into action. The matter of mother's allowances was settled only the other day. There are thousands of widows and other dependants of men who have enlisted to whom this government has failed to give the proper allowance. One man told me that he had been in the army for four months and had had to sell an old car which he had so that

he could carry on. His wife had not received her separation allowance. Along toward Christmas we heard that these separation allowances were being paid, but the mothers are still without their allowances.

Many of the boys who enlisted were on relief, and they owed no gratitude to this government for anything which had been done to relieve their distress or to give them work and wages. These boys had the guts to join the army to fight for Canada; they had the decency to come forward and offer their lives for democracy; yet in many instances the mothers of these boys who were on relief, partly on account of the inactivity of the former Minister of Labour and the government generally in not solving this problem, are being faced with hunger. I have in my office scores, perhaps hundreds, of pitiful and pathetic letters from mothers of boys who are now in the army. Many of these mothers have pleaded with me not to let it be known publicly that they are not being treated decently by this government. They did not want their boys overseas to know of the suffering they are going through because their sons offered their lives. This matter was cleared up only a few days ago. Rather, it is not all cleared up, but a statement was put out by the Department of National Defence containing the promise to straighten out this disgraceful condition. This government never does anything without being kicked into doing it.

The wheat sale to Russia was another example. Wheat was sold to Russia, and it was only after protests were made across Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific that this government acted. As usual, it had to be kicked into doing it.

There was no defence for this country. What is even worse, there were no plans for defence or for equipment. Yet as far back as 1936, if not earlier, the defence association of Canada was pleading with this government to get ready for the inevitable war. They asked the government not only to prepare defence plans but to prepare defences. Yet practically nothing was done in regard to that. That is why the record of this government has been so deplorable, indeed so disgraceful.

I have one other matter to touch upon and then I shall have concluded for the present. The right hon. gentleman through the mouth of his excellency has made reference to the British commonwealth air-training plan. On December 17 the right hon. gentleman boasted over the radio that this plan was the result of an original proposal by the British to establish air-training schools in Canada for British pilots. The fact is that by July 1, 1938 —personally I think it goes back to 1937—the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the empire to establish air-training schools in Canada to train British pilots. It was pointed out that Great Britain was in distress. It was pointed out that the fog in that country cut down the number of possible flying hours and caused innumerable accidents. It was pointed out that in case of war with Germany that country would be able to send across the hordes of aeroplanes with which she was so well equipped to bomb the aeroplane manufacturing plants and the aerodromes of the British.

All this was pointed out to the Prime Minister in 1937. The then Minister of National Defence referred to the fact that the Vancouver *Sun*, a Liberal organ, in the issue of July 7, 1937, I think it was, made the statement that this government had fumbled the issue—that is the word they used—of helping the British to establish air-training schools in this country.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I just wish to say, in reply to my hon. friend that what I said in this house of July 1 and which is on *Hansard* is literally and absolutely the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; and what I said in my broadcast is based on my statement, and I stand by it as absolutely correct.

Mr. MANION: I am not going to question that; but if the right hon. gentleman had wanted to be fair he should have been fair this afternoon and permitted me to bring down to this chamber my papers, and I would have shown the facts out of his own mouth. He admitted himself—he admitted it over the radio on December 17—that the British had made exploratory proposals to the government—verbal, of course, nothing written, because there was great play on the word "request." Senator Dandurand in the other chamber in 1938, in a speech occupying half a page of *Hansard*, used the word "request" nine or ten times to emphasize the point that the British had not made any request. But the fact remains, and the Prime Minister admits it in his own words, that the British, in informal exploratory conversations, proposed establishing schools for the training of British air pilots in Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We said that we would provide the facilities ourselves and give them the opportunities here, but that the administration must be under the government of Canada, not under the government of the United Kingdom.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MANION: My hon. friends had better not applaud too soon. He said that we would, in our establishments here, give them the right to train. Where were our establishments? Where were our personnel? Where were our machines? We did not have any establishments or machines. Look up the speech of the ex-Minister of National Defence (Mr. Mackenzie) in the House of Commons last year and see how many fighting planes we had. We did not have any. We did not have any facilities at all to train the British.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then we would have been no further ahead.

Mr. MANION: Well, I will deal with that too. The ex-Minister of National Defence, in a speech in this house which I would quote if I had had time to look up *Hansard*, said that the government were so anxious to cooperate with the British—reinforcing what the Prime Minister said—that we were going to train 126—I think that was the number—of pilots here a year, and all we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year. Those were his words as reported in *Hansard*—fifty a year. Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October—I believe it was on October 9, because I had been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it—that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we were going to train fifty. That is what the ex-minister of National Defence stated. At that rate it would have taken us five hundred years to provide them with one year's supply of pilots. That is the proposal; those figures are taken from the actual record. Fifty years, is it? Well, it does not matter, but I think if you divide fifty into 25,000 you have, not fifty but five hundred. Some of my hon. friends laughed a little too soon. Sometimes the loud laugh speaks the vacant mind.

When the British were facing an unscrupulous man like Hitler; when it was known that Hitler had at least twice as many planes as the British and the French combined; when the British appealed to the right hon. gentleman, in the face of that emergency, with war in the offing, to permit the establishment of air-training schools in Canada to train pilots for Britain and the empire, and the right hon. gentleman refused, he did something which made him unfit to remain Prime Minister of this country.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I just wish to make perfectly clear that I refused nothing except the matter of who was to administer the schools and by whom they were to be provided.

Mr. MANION: I will go on with that. The right hon. gentleman says he refused nothing. But on December 17 he said that the proposal which he now brings forward, and which he calls the British commonwealth air-training plan, is in effect merely a continuation of the original proposal. But this is not a British commonwealth air-training plan at all. It is largely a Canadian air-training plan. The British proposed to come over here and establish schools for their flying pilots, to be maintained at their own expense. Let us see what would have happened if the right hon. gentleman had said "yes" to them at that time, as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air-training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine. If the right hon. gentleman cares to look up his speech of December 17, he will see that he himself said that we were going to train many thousands a year. So apparently many thousands a year are needed: Sir Kingsley Wood said 25,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): My hon. friend evidently has not learned what the suggestion related to. It did not relate to the training of pilots generally; it related to an advanced stage of development. That advanced stage we promised that we would provide in accordance with the wishes of the British government.

Mr. MANION: Yes; and we have provided a lot of it! We have not even got started providing it yet. The British would have come over here in their thousands to train. Then, when we wanted our young men—

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): May I inform my hon. friend that last year, when the $6,000,000 vote was passed by this house, the British themselves only asked us to train fifty pilots.

Mr. MANION: I remember the minister saying that, but I remember also that Sir Kingsley Wood had said that 25,000 must be trained annually, and I pointed out last March that fifty was merely a "fleabite". It was not a very elegant term, but I used it. I say that the British would have sent over thousands to train here, and then, when we wanted our men trained, we could have sent them to the same schools to have them properly trained at little cost to us. On top of that, it would have meant the building up

in Canada of a great industry for the production of planes, which industry is now being built up in the United States and in Great Britain itself. Here we are, a country with hundreds of thousands of unemployed looking for opportunities of work. The Prime Minister has this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in a time of distress. He refused; and the British then started to do what they did not wish to do; they built up manufacturing plants for their planes in their own country—manufacturing plants which they came over here with the intention of establishing in Canada. I learned when I was in England not long ago that on one occasion they came over here with a hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any of those contracts at that time.

That is another reason why this government, I contend, has shown itself, in its preparation for and its carrying on of Canada's war effort, unfit to govern.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): That is a strong case for a general election.

Mr. MANION: Yes—at the proper time. I am not objecting particularly to a general election. I am objecting to the tricky manner in which it is being called. I am objecting to the House of Commons being called together and then laughed at by the Prime Minister and—if you like—by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe), in the face of all their talk across this country of the supremacy of this parliament. They are laughing at the House of Commons and at the supremacy of parliament. They tell parliament in session that they are going to pass under the War Measures Act regulations for the overseas soldiers' vote. What sense of fairness can we expect in a government which has done what it has done to-day with regard to this overseas vote?

However, I wish to close. I merely wanted to point out a few of the things which came into my head when the Prime Minister was speaking. All of them are mentioned in the speech from the throne. I say that the Prime Minister, in refusing the British the opportunity to train their pilots here, did what was unfair to the people of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I absolutely deny that there was any refusal to train pilots here. My hon. friend, by endless repetition of a statement of that kind, cannot give it any veracity.

Mr. MANION: Well, I can give it veracity by the right hon. gentleman's own words, and before this election is over I will quote them over and over again. His words distinctly state that these proposals came from the British informally. He said that they came here; they were not requests, they were "proposals", or some such word as that, which anyway meant that; that they had carried on informal conversations with this government in Canada; and he said that he refused, on the ground of constitutional practice.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that these informal conversations were within two or three weeks of the time I spoke here on the first of July.

Mr. MANION: He says that, Mr. Speaker, but where did the Vancouver *Sun* get its information a year before that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Probably from my hon. friend.

Mr. MANION: No, I was not even in politics then. I was not in the house and I knew nothing about it. They may have got it from the former Minister of National Defence, who sits near him, and who was out there about that time, and I have rather wondered if he did not give them the information in disgust at the refusal of this government to give the British government a decent break.

I do not intend to take up any more of the time of the house. I repeat what I said at the beginning, that this is a most unfair procedure, unfair not only to the parliament of Canada but to the people of Canada, and I suggest to the Prime Minister that even now—he has not definitely said that he is going to dissolve the house to-night but I take it that he is—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think after my hon. friend's speech it would be advisable to.

Mr. MANION: I do not mind but if the right hon. gentleman will give a chance for the discussion to go on I will make a speech that will make him think it is even more advisable. If he wants something to hang his hat on I will give him something.

I say that it is the duty of the Prime Minister and his government to come before parliament and give an account of their stewardship.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, it is to go before the people of Canada.

Mr. MANION: The Prime Minister could have gone before the people without making a joke of the members of this house, without calling them together from Vancouver in the west and from Halifax in the east.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: And he would have done that if he had not promised my hon. friend that he would not have an election before another session.

Mr. MANION: He promised that he would not have an election until another session of the house. Did he mean by that to hoodwink the members of this parliament? Was that his trickery? I say that if the Prime Minister meant to do what he is doing to-day he meant to hoodwink us and he was guilty of a despicable political trick.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My words were very clear and were made clear because of my responsibility in the matter. I pointed out that parliament would be called. What was advisable to do when parliament was called would depend upon what had happened in the interval. It is because of what has happened in the interval—

Mr. MANION: What has happened in the interval? The right hon. gentleman has been violently attacked by Mitch Hepburn. Is there anything new about that? So far as I am concerned I think Mitch is right. I think he has been right all along, and never was I so sure that he is right as I am now made sure by this piece of political trickery of the Prime Minister to-day. It is running away from parliament; it is not facing the people.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. leader of the opposition has repeatedly used the word "trickery". I do not think that is parliamentary.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): It would be all right in the legislature of Ontario.

Mr. MANION: I will withdraw the word, but I do not quite know what other word to substitute that will express my opinion. Perhaps your honour will help me out. I do not wish to be unparliamentary and will withdraw the word. I will say this, that never in the history of our country was there a more unparliamentary act than what the Prime Minister is doing here this afternoon.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Never was there a more responsible act.

Mr. MANION: Than what the right hon. gentleman is doing?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Mr. MANION: If the right hon. gentleman will change the first syllable and make the word "irresponsible", I will agree.

I shall not take up any more of the time of the house. I am willing to let the people decide. But I still think that in decency—I do not say that offensively—and as a matter of fair dealing with the House of Commons and the parliamentary system in Great Britain and Canada the Prime Minister and his government should come back here, carry on the session and bring in legislation for taking the soldiers' votes overseas. Of course I shall be told: What did the other party do about the soldiers' votes? Because it is already implied that something unfair was done. I was not a member of any government prior to 1921, and had nothing to do with what was done at that time, but even if I had been a member of that government, is it any justification for doing something wrong now to say that something was done wrongly then? The whole defence of this government in nearly everything has been: But you people from 1914 to 1918 did worse—the old *tu quoque* argument. Have we not gone ahead at all; have we made no progress in democracy and decency in this country in the last twenty-five years? If there were mistakes or crookedness in those days—I am not denying that there may have been because I do not know much about it—surely that is all the more reason that such things should not be repeated now. That is my argument. This is a time to fight for democracy here at home. What is it going to profit us if we fight for democracy in Europe and lose it here in Canada? And that is what we are doing by such an act as the Prime Minister is pulling off to-day. He is endangering the whole democratic principle for which we are fighting along with Britain and France. The whole difference between Hitlerian dictatorship and our system is the difference between free speech and no free speech. The place for free speech is in the parliament of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is in the country.

Mr. MANION: It is in parliament since parliament has been called. We shall have it on the hustings too. But the place to have questions answered is here in parliament. With the parliament of Canada dissolved how can I get information, without any returns, without any questions being answered? I do not expect that any of the ministers will give me much help. The place to give that information is here in the House of Commons. The place to discuss these matters is here in the House of Commons. I submit that this government has been extravagant; it has been careless; not only has it been unprepared but it has been deplorably weak in carrying on the war activities of this country. I say that;

and this is the place for me to get the information I want to prove my case, not out on the hustings where the ministers will simply deny that the facts are there.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then my hon. friend is making his assertions without any proof?

Mr. MANION: I have plenty of proof. If the right hon. gentleman will allow the session to go over until next week; if he will go back to his early affirmations of fair dealing and democratic principles which he used to talk so much about all across this country, and will live up to them this session, I will give him evidence in support of all the statements I have made.

I have nothing more to say. If it is the decision of the Prime Minister to dissolve the house to-night, we shall leave it in the mouths of the people to say which party they want to govern them and to carry on Canada's war effort. I venture to make this prophecy. In view of the unpreparedness of the government, in view of its weak war effort, and in view of the attempt of this government to put over this piece of trickery on a snap decision—I beg pardon, Mr. Speaker, for using the word "trickery," but I cannot think of any other word to express my opinion—in view of the government's act to-day in trying to bring about a snap decision without the members of this house being given a fair opportunity to get the information they seek and to discuss that information here in this house, I am convinced that not only the Prime Minister but his government will be swept out of power and some other group will be put in power to carry on the affairs of this country and Canada's war effort.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Mr. Speaker,—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would draw the attention of the hon. member and of the house to the fact that the motion before the house is not debatable, and the hon. member can proceed only with the unanimous consent of the house. Has the hon. member the unanimous consent of the house?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Mr. J. S. WOODSWORTH (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, on the point of order I submit that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) was out of order in making his statement, as was also the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion), but I urge that it does not require the unanimous consent of the house to give a member of parliament the right to speak in a situation of this kind.

Almost for the first time in my political life I find myself very nearly in complete agreement with the leader of the opposition, not because he is a Conservative, but because I believe that in this regard he is standing for the fundamental rights of parliament and the fundamental principles of democracy. No word is more frequently in the mouth of the Prime Minister than that phrase of his, "parliament will decide", the words, "the rights of the people", and "democracy"; and yet to-day, in my humble judgment at any rate, he is violating the fundamental principles of both. It is not a question whether we are to have an election or not; under our constitution it is for him to decide; but it is a question as to the manner in which it shall be done, and the time.

The Prime Minister suddenly springs upon us the proposal of an election within a few weeks. We do not know whether this means that the voice of this parliament will be absolutely stifled. At the moment we do not know. We do know, however, that the Prime Minister has made a first-class political speech. He has thrown out the general idea of unemployment insurance. Some of us in this corner have been talking about unemployment insurance for years and have been unable to get the government to move. They have raised all sorts of constitutional objections. But now the suggestion is made that it may possibly come to pass—fine political propaganda but no legislation whatever.

We are told that we may have after-war problems to discuss and the government must have time to consider that question. The time to consider after-war problems is now, in this parliament, instead of giving a blank cheque to a government that has not shown itself particularly in favour of the common people of the country. I wonder whether the government has been so long in office and has got so far away from the people that it does not understand the hardships that are being endured by many Canadians to-day. When you come into the city of Ottawa, as I did yesterday morning, you meet soldiers and officials of every kind at every turn, and where you do not find officials you find people hunting for jobs. Does the government quite realize the position of the ordinary people of the country?

I do not say that under the circumstances under which an election is to be carried on this government is bound to be defeated, but

I do know there is a great deal of dissatisfaction already, even before the war has begun in earnest. I suggest that the least this government can do is to give a full account of its stewardship during the last six months. During the special session which we had in September we had no opportunity of discussing the general affairs of the country. It is all very well to say that the war is all-important, but in Canada there are other important matters than the war; and the war will be successful only as there are people in the country who will support it. But the people are not contented to-day. I repeat, the least the government can do, if it is an honest government, is to give a direct account of its stewardship.

We are told that we cannot do what Great Britain does, that we cannot come together every few weeks, almost in continuous session, to discuss the affairs of the state. The government over there is subject to a barrage of criticism from the opposition and that has been generally considered to be a very good thing; but this government seems to avoid criticism. There is no reason why the acts of the last three months since war was declared should not be fully considered.

We are coming to the point where we are governed by order in council. The officials have been kind enough to send me advance copies of orders in council. They come to my desk almost daily. I cannot begin to keep track of them, they are so numerous. Some of these orders in council are taking away the fundamental rights of British people —the right to free speech, the right to free assembly, the right to the exercise of unionism under war conditions, and so on. This condition is coming to pass, and now we are to be denied the rights of parliament. We were taught in our school days that the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights and similar instruments had settled all these matters forever for the British people, but it would seem as if each generation must make secure its own rights and fight these battles over again in new forms.

The people of the country are anxious to know how some of these war contracts have been let, and they have a right to know. A great many people in Canada want to know, and they have a right to know, how all these dollar-a-year men have been selected, what their qualifications are, and what are the advantages which an inside knowledge may give them. The people of the country want to know why it was that the government got away from the five per cent profit legislation. It may be all very well to say, "Oh, well, under the War Measures Act we can do that"; but this five per cent profit limit was the considered position of this parliament a year ago. Under the War Measures Act apparently anything can be done and so the five per cent profit limit has been swept aside. What will come next? Is there any guarantee whatever?

We are told now that under the regulations in connection with the War Measures Act we are going to have an arrangement with regard to the vote of soldiers overseas. Why should there be any recourse to that procedure when parliament is now sitting? This is the place in which to do that sort of thing, but we are not to have the right to discuss these orders in council.

Some people have been quite enthusiastic over the recent bond issue. Three and a quarter per cent sounds very fine, but the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe) the other day made a most revealing statement. I have a high regard for him, but it was one of the most cynical remarks I have ever heard broadcast throughout the country when he advocated "profitable patriotism". In the last war the various revelations that were made showed the profitable patriotism that had been manifested on the part of the bacon people, the boots people, and a whole lot of others; and now the Minister of Justice actually appeals to the cupidity of the Canadian people and says that we ought to have "profitable patriotism" in this country. It is a low motive to which to appeal.

There is something further I wish to say. If this parliament continues I shall say it at greater length on some future occasion. I desire to say something about the methods that have been used in Canada to compel young men to enlist. It is quite true that because of the opposition of the province of Quebec we have no conscription legislation on our books. But it is also true that in very many parts of the country men who have been on relief for years have been urged to enlist, and told that unless they enlist their relief will be cut off. That is the most despicable form of conscription I know of. I want to say a word for the youth of this country. The Prime Minister will probably rise in his place and say that we have no conscription in this country. No conscription? When thousands of our youth have been forced to enlist by the desperate alternative of enlisting or starving to death, it is time someone said something about the matter. These young fellows who are going to the war have a right to know what provision will be made for them when they come back. One of the bitterest things said to me was said by a returned man in my own

city a few weeks ago. He said, "Yes, these young fellows that are going in now are very nattily dressed, they get good meals, they are provided for, they are heroes; but a whole lot of the fellows that went to the last war are eating in soup-kitchens." Yes, that is true. This government has been in office for years, and before it should be entrusted with another term of office it ought at least to give an account of its stewardship during the time the war has been in progress, and, indeed, for the last six months.

Free speech; the Prime Minister is urging that. Free parliament. I do not know what this order means to-day. I have been in the house for nearly twenty years, and for the life of me I do not know what is going to happen to-night, whether we are going to have a chance to debate an address in reply to the speech from the throne or not. We are all out of order. I do not know what is going to happen. There is an attempt to strangle free speech in this parliament, by shortening the session if not cutting it off absolutely. Having been called together we should remain here for a few weeks at least. What is the desperate need for hurrying this thing along? Is it in order that our people in the rural districts shall have to go out on the wintry roads in order to vote, an impossibility for many of them? Is it because there is a quarrel between the Prime Minister and the premier of Ontario? The latter gentleman sat in this house for some years. We all know he was quarrelling with the Prime Minister, but it is news to us that an election should be called and the whole country upset merely because Mr. Mitchell Hepburn says that the Prime Minister is not doing his duty. Surely the people of this country are not going to be hoodwinked by anything of that kind. If we have an election what freedom shall we have?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why does my hon. friend confine it to Mr. Hepburn?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Well, the leader of the Ontario opposition also.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What about the legislature of a province?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: The Prime Minister is a good constitutionalist; let me ask him whether a provincial legislature has any right to interfere in matters like that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think it has, and that is one of the reasons why this government should make its authority clear.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: The people are not so concerned with niceties of that kind that they will be hoodwinked by such an excuse. As the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) pointed out, this defence of not calling an election before parliament was called together, and then claiming since it is called we can immediately have an election, makes me tired; and I think it will make the country tired. I do not mind facing an election, but do not let us resort to that kind of thing. Why does the government not come to this parliament, give an account of its stewardship, and then go to the country? It is here that the government ought to announce its policies for the coming election. The government ought to come out fairly in this parliament and say, We propose to do this, that and the other. Surely the government does not want a blank cheque. There ought to be a debate in this parliament on the government's proposals; when that is all over we can go to the country, having all spoken our minds, having all declared our several positions, and then the people will know what they are voting for. They do not now know.

The Prime Minister talks about free speech. Under the War Measures Act regulations to-day we are in a precarious position. How can I go to the country and say what I think about war; how can I discuss freely the shortcomings of the government without coming under those regulations? It cannot be done.

An hon. MEMBER: And they know it.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: It cannot be done; I am likely to be picked up by any local police officer, and if I were unfortunate enough to live in Ontario I would be prosecuted by the attorney general of that province. That might be an easy way of getting rid of people who do not agree with the government. Already the people of this country have been frightened. One of my own sons came back the other day from Scotland; he said to me: "You know it is astonishing, as soon as I landed on the shores of Canada I felt that in some way the people of Canada had been frightened, were afraid to speak out what they thought." He had come from Great Britain, where they are not afraid to speak what they think. As we all know, there is literature published in Great Britain and coming to this country that is banned in this dominion. It is a ridiculous situation. Does anyone think the mother of parliaments over there would stand for this kind of thing? We are told that Canada is fighting on the side of Great Britain to save democracy; fighting for liberty, free speech, free institutions. We

are told that we have no fight with the German people, but that the trouble with the German people is that they are too submissive, too subservient, that they will take whatever is handed to them by the fuehrer. Are we to become so subservient that we have a virtual dictatorship set up in this country? As I look across at the Prime Minister he does not look like a dictator—

Miss MACPHAIL: But he is one.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: —he does not speak like one, but he is acting like a dictator today. This government is strong; it can carry on for another six months without any extension of power of any kind; but the fact that this government is strong here in Ottawa and the Liberal party is strong in a number of the provinces is no reason why it should use its strength to put over something that is essentially in contradiction to British practice and parliamentary institutions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) that I have the assurance of the under-secretary of state that a copy of the speech from the throne was delivered at his office the moment his excellency began to read the speech.

Mr. MANION: I was in the senate chamber listening to his excellency.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But it was sent to my hon. friend's office and received by his secretary.

Mr. MANION: It should have been sent at least an hour in advance.

An hon. MEMBER: Do we sit to-night?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that I intend to have my colleagues meet with me immediately and decide what is best to do with respect to further proceedings in this parliament in the light of the kind of discussion we have listened to this afternoon.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

The eighteenth parliament was dissolved on Thursday, January 25, 1940, by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor General.

APPENDIX

The Ministry, and List of Members with Constituencies and Post Office Addresses

THE MINISTRY

January 25—1940

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King...	Prime Minister. President of the Privy Council. Secretary of State for External Affairs.
Hon. Raoul Dandurand (Senator)....	Minister without portfolio.
Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar.....	Minister of Mines and Resources.
Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.....	Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada; Acting Secretary of State of Canada.
Hon. Pierre Joseph Arthur Cardin...	Minister of Public Works.
Hon. William Daum Euler.....	Minister of Trade and Commerce.
Hon. James Layton Ralston.....	Minister of Finance.
Hon. Ian Alistair Mackenzie.....	Minister of Pensions and National Health.
Hon. Charles Gavan Power.....	Postmaster General.
Hon. James Lorimer Ilsley.....	Minister of National Revenue.
Hon. Joseph Enoil Michaud.....	Minister of Fisheries.
Hon. Norman McLeod Rogers.....	Minister of National Defence.
Hon. Clarence Decatur Howe.....	Minister of Transport.
Hon. James Garfield Gardiner.....	Minister of Agriculture.
Hon. Norman Alexander McLarty...	Minister of Labour.
Hon. James Angus MacKinnon.....	Minister without portfolio.

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Sixth Session, Eighteenth Parliament

(Honourable Pierre François Casgrain, Speaker)

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Ahearn, Thomas Franklin	Ottawa West	Ottawa, Ont.
Anderson, Alexander James	High Park	Toronto, Ont.
Baker, Richard Langton	Eglinton	Toronto, Ont.
Barber, Harry James	Fraser Valley	Chilliwack, B.C.
Barry, John Patrick	Northumberland (N.B.)	Chatham, N.B.
Beaubien, Arthur Lucien	Provencher	St. Jean Baptiste, Man.
Bercovitch, Peter	Cartier	Montreal, Que.
Bertrand, Elie Oscar	Prescott	L'Orignal, Ont.
Bertrand, Ernest	Laurier	Montreal, Que.
Black, Donald Elmer	Châteauguay-Huntingdon	Aubrey, Que.
Black, Martha Louise	Yukon	Ottawa, Ont.
Blackmore, John Horne	Lethbridge	Raymond, Alta.
Blair, John Knox	Wellington North	Arthur, Ont.
Blais, Frank	Chapleau	Amos, Que.
Blanchette, Joseph Adéodat	Compton	Chartierville, Que.
Bonnier, Joseph A.	St. Henry	Montreal, Que.
Bothwell, Charles Edward	Swift Current	Swift Current, Sask.
Bouchard, Georges	Kamouraska	Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, Que.
Boulanger, Oscar L.	Bellechasse	Quebec, Que.
Bradette, Joseph Arthur	Cochrane	Cochrane, Ont.
Brasset, Maurice	Gaspé	Percé, Que.
Brooks, Alfred Johnson	Royal	Sussex, N.B.
Brown, Albert A.	Hamilton East	Hamilton, Ont.
Brown, Walter George	Saskatoon City	Saskatoon, Sask.
Brunelle, Hervé Edgar	Champlain	Cap de la Madeleine Centre, Que.
Cahan, Hon. Charles Hazlitt	St. Lawrence-St. George	Montreal, Que.
Cameron, Charles Alexander	Hastings South	Belleville, Ont.
Cardin, Hon. P. J. Arthur	Richelieu-Verchères	Ottawa, Ont.
Casgrain, Hon. Pierre François	Charlevoix-Saguenay	Montreal, Que.
Casselman, Arza Clair	Grenville-Dundas	Prescott, Ont.
Chevrier, Lionel	Stormont	Cornwall, Ont.
Church, Thomas Langton	Broadview	Toronto, Ont.
Clark, Stuart Murray	Essex South	Harrow, Ont.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Clark, William George	York-Sunbury	Fredericton, N.B.
Clarke, Harry Gladstone	Rosedale	Toronto, Ont.
Cleaver, Hughes	Halton	Burlington, Ont.
Cochrane, Kenneth Judson	Cumberland	Port Greville, N.S.
Coldwell, Major James William	Rosetown-Biggar	Regina, Sask.
Crerar, Hon. Thomas Alexander	Churchill	Ottawa, Ont.
Crète, J. Alphida	St. Maurice-Laflèche	Grand'Mère, Que.
Cunnington, Douglas George Leopold	Calgary West	Calgary, Alta.
Damude, Arthur B.	Welland	Fonthill, Ont.
Davidson, Robert Greig	Stanstead	North Hatley, Que.
Deachman, Robert John	Huron North	Wingham, Ont.
Denis, Azellus	St. Denis	Montreal, Que.
Deslauriers, Hermas	St. Mary	Montreal, Que.
Donnelly, Thomas F.	Wood Mountain	Meyronne, Sask.
Douglas, James Lester	Queens	Charlottetown, P. E. I.
Douglas, Thomas Clement	Weyburn	Weyburn, Sask.
Dubois, Lucien	Nicolet-Yamaska	Gentilly, Que.
Dubuc, Julien Edouard Alfred	Chicoutimi	Chicoutimi, Que.
Duffus, Joseph James	Peterborough West	Peterborough, Ont.
Dunning, Hon. Charles Avery	Queens	Ottawa, Ont.
Dupuis, Vincent	Chambly-Rouville	Laprairie, Que.
Durocher, Eugene	St. James	Montreal, Que.
Dussault, Joseph Etienne	Lévis	Lévis, Que.
Elliott, Hon. John Campbell	Middlesex West	London, Ont.
Emmerson, Henry Read	Westmorland	Dorchester, N.B.
Esling, William Kemble	Kootenay West	Rossland, B.C.
Euler, Hon. William Daum	Waterloo North	Ottawa, Ont.
Evans, Charles Robert	Maple Creek	Piapot, Sask.
Factor, Samuel	Spadina	Toronto, Ont.
Fafard, J. Fernand	Montmagny-L'Islet	L'Islet, Co. L'Islet, Que.
Fair, Robert	Battle River	Paradise Valley, Alta.
Farquhar, Thomas	Algoma East	Mindemoya, Ont.
Ferguson, Rork Scott	Hastings-Peterborough	Norwood, Ont., R.R. 3.
Ferland, Charles Edouard	Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm	Joliette, Que.
Ferron, J. Emile	Berthier-Maskinongé	Louiseville, Que.
Finn, Robert Emmett	Halifax	Halifax, N.S.
Fleming, Harry Raymond	Humboldt	Humboldt, Sask.
Fontaine, Th. Adélard	St. Hyacinthe-Bagot	St. Hyacinthe, Que.
Fournier, Alphonse	Hull	Hull, Que.
Fournier, Sarto	Maisonneuve-Rosemount	Montreal, Que.
Francœur, Joseph Napoleon	Lotbinière	Quebec, Que.
Fraser, William Alexander	Northumberland (Ont.)	Trenton, Ont.
Furniss, Stephen Joseph	Muskoka-Ontario	Brechin, Ont.
Gardiner, Hon. James Garfield	Assiniboia	Ottawa, Ont.
Gariépy, Wilfrid	Three Rivers	Three Rivers, Que.
Gauthier, Pierre	Portneuf	Deschambault, Que.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Gladstone, Robert William	Wellington South	Guelph, Ont.
Glen, James Allison	Marquette	Russell, Man.
Golding, William Henry	Huron-Perth	Seaforth, Ont.
Gosselin, Louis	Brome-Missisquoi	Notre-Dame de Stanbridge, Que.
Goulet, Alfred	Russell	Bourget, Ont.
Grant, Thomas Vincent	Kings	Montague, P.E.I.
Gray, Ross Wilfred	Lambton West	Sarnia, Ont.
Graydon, Gordon	Peel	Brampton, Ont.
Green, Howard Charles	Vancouver South	Vancouver, B.C.
Hamilton, Henry Sidney	Algoma West	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Hansell, Ernest George	Macleod	Vulcan, Alta.
Hanson, Olof	Skeena	Prince Rupert, B.C.
Harris, Joseph Henry	Danforth	Toronto, Ont.
Hartigan, David James	Cape Breton South	New Waterford, N.S.
Hayhurst, William	Vegreville	Vegreville, Alta.
Heaps, Abraham Albert	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg, Man.
Héon, Georges Henri	Argenteuil	Lachute, Que.
Hill, Burton Maxwell	Charlotte	St. Stephen, N.B.
Homuth, Karl K.	Waterloo South	Preston, Ont.
Howard, Charles Benjamin	Sherbrooke	Sherbrooke, Que.
Howden, John Power	St. Boniface	Norwood Grove, Man.
Howe, Hon. Clarence Decatur	Port Arthur	Ottawa, Ont.
Hurtubise, Joseph Raoul	Nipissing	Sudbury, Ont.
Hushion, William James	St. Ann	Montreal, Que.
Hyndman, Alonzo Bowen	Carleton	Carp, Ont.
Ilsley, Hon. James Lorimer	Digby-Annapolis-Kings	Ottawa, Ont.
Isnor, Gordon B.	Halifax	Halifax, N.S.
Jaques, Norman	Wetaskiwin	Mirror, Alta.
Jean, Joseph	Mercier	Montreal, Que.
Johnston, Charles Edward	Bow River	Three Hills, Alta.
Johnston, John Frederick	Lake Centre	Bladworth, Sask.
Kennedy, Orvis A.	Edmonton East	Edmonton, Alta.
King, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie	Prince Albert	Ottawa, Ont.
Kinley, John James	Queens-Lunenburg	Lunenburg, N.S.
Kirk, James Ralph	Antigonish-Guysborough	Antigonish, N.S.
Kuhl, Walter Frederick	Jasper-Edson	Spruce Grove, Alta.
Lacombe, Liguori	Laval-Two Mountains	St. Scholastique, Que.
Lacroix, Edouard	Beauce	Lacroix, Que.
Lacroix, Wilfrid	Quebec-Montmorency	Quebec, Que.
Lalonde, Maurice	Labelle	Mont Laurier, Que.
Landeryou, John Charles	Calgary East	Calgary, Alta.
Lapointe, Arthur Joseph	Matapedia-Matane	Price, Que.
Lapointe, Right Hon. Ernest	Quebec East	Ottawa, Ont.
Lawson, Hon. James Earl	York South	Toronto, Ont.
Leader, Harry	Portage la Prairie	Portage la Prairie, Man.
Leclerc, Joseph Hermas	Shefford	Granby, Que.
Leduc, Rodolphe	Wright	Maniwaki, Que.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Lennard, Frank Exton	Wentworth.	Dundas, Ont.
Little, Walter	Timiskaming	Kirkland Lake, Ont.
Lockhart, Norman J. M.	Lincoln	St. Catharines, Ont.
Macdonald, William Ross	Brantford City	Brantford, Ont.
MacInnis, Angus	Vancouver East	Vancouver, B.C.
MacKenzie, Frederick Donald	Neepawa	Neepawa, Man.
Mackenzie, Hon. Ian Alistair	Vancouver Centre	Ottawa, Ont.
MacKinnon, Hon. James A.	Edmonton West	Edmonton, Alta.
MacLean, Matthew	Cape Breton North-Victoria	Sydney Mines, N.S.
MacLennan, Donald	Inverness-Richmond.	Inverness, N.S.
MacMillan, John Angus	Mackenzie	Wadena, Sask.
MacNeil, Charles Grant	Vancouver North	Vancouver, B.C.
MacNicol, John Ritchie	Davenport.	Toronto, Ont.
Macphail, Agnes Campbell	Grey-Bruce.	Ceylon, Ont.
MacRae, John Donald	Glengarry	Apple Hill, Ont.
McAvity, Allan Getchell	St. John-Albert	Little River, N.B.
McCallum, Angus Neil	Frontenac-Addington.	Sunbury, Ont.
McCann, James J	Renfrew South	Renfrew, Ont.
McCuaig, Duncan Fletcher	Simcoe North	Barrie, Ont.
McCulloch, Henry B	Pictou	New Glasgow, N.S.
McDonald, George William	Souris	Boissevain, Man.
McDonald, Wallace Reginald	Pontiac	Chapeau, Que.
McGeer, Gerald Grattan	Vancouver-Burrard.	Vancouver, B.C.
McGregor, Robert Henry	York East	Toronto, Ont.
McIntosh, Cameron Ross	North Battleford	North Battleford, Sask.
McIvor, Daniel	Fort William	Fort William, Ont.
McKenzie, Hugh Alexander	Lambton-Kent	Watford, Ont.
McKinnon, Hugh Bathgate	Kenora-Rainy River	Kenora, Ont.
McLarty, Hon. Norman Alexander	Essex West	Ottawa, Ont.
McLean, George Alexander	Simcoe East	Orillia, Ont.
McLean, Malcolm	Melfort	Eldersley, Sask.
McNevin, Bruce	Victoria (Ont.)	Omemee, Ont.
McNiven, Donald Alexander	Regina City	Regina, Sask.
McPhee, George W.	Yorkton	Yorkton, Sask.
Manion, Hon. Robert James	London	Ottawa, Ont.
Marier, Elphège	Jacques Cartier	Pointe Claire, Que.
Marsh, John Allmond	Hamilton West	Hamilton, Ont.
Marshall, James Alexander	Camrose	Bashaw, Alta.
Martin, Paul	Essex East	Walkerville, Ont.
Massey, Denton	Greenwood	Toronto, Ont.
Matthews, James Ewen	Brandon	Brandon, Man.
Maybank, Ralph	Winnipeg South-Centre	Fort Garry, Man.
Mayhew, Robert Wellington	Victoria (B.C.)	Victoria, B.C.
Michaud, Hon. Joseph Enoil	Restigouche-Madawaska	Ottawa, Ont.
Mills, Wilson Henry	Elgin	Sparta, Ont.
Mitchell, Archibald Hugh	Medicine Hat	Medicine Hat, Alta.
Moore, William Henry	Ontario	Dunbarton, Ont.
Motherwell, Hon. William R.	Melville.	Abernethy, Sask.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Mullins, James Patrick	Richmond-Wolfe	Bromptonville, Que.
Mulock, William Pate	York North	Toronto, Ont.
Mutch, Leslie Alexander	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg, Man.
Needham, Joseph	The Battlefords	Unity, Sask.
Neill, Alan Webster	Comox-Alberni	Alberni, B.C.
O'Neill, Thomas James	Kamloops	Kamloops, B.C.
Parent, Charles	Quebec West and South	Quebec, Que.
Parent, Louis Etienne	Terrebonne	Ste. Agathe des Monts, Que.
Patterson, J. E. Jack	Victoria-Carleton	Florenceville, N.B.
Pelletier, René Antoine	Peace River	Falher, Alta.
Perley, Ernest Edward	Qu'Appelle	Wolseley, Sask.
Pinard, Joseph Albert	Ottawa East	Ottawa, Ont.
Plaxton, Hugh John	Trinity.	Toronto, Ont.
Poole, Eric Joseph	Red Deer	Calgary, Alta.
Pottier, Vincent Joseph	Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare.	Yarmouth, N.S.
Pouliot, Jean-François	Témiscouata	Rivière du Loup, Que.
Power, Hon. Charles Gavan	Quebec South	Ottawa, Ont.
Purdy, Gordon Timlin	Colchester-Hants.	Truro, N.S.
Quelch, Victor	Acadia.	Morrin, Alta.
Ralston, Hon. James Layton	Prince	Ottawa, Ont.
Raymond, Maxime	Beauharnois-Laprairie	Montreal, Que.
Reid, Thomas	New Westminster	Newton, B.C.
Rennie, Almon Secord	Oxford.	Tillsonburg, Ont.
Rhéaume, Martial	St. Johns-Iberville-Napierville	St. Johns, Que.
Rickard, Wilbert Franklin	Durham.	Newcastle, Ont.
Roberge, Eusèbe	Mégantic-Frontenac	Laurierville, Que.
Robichaud, Louis P. A.	Kent (N.B.)	Richibucto, N.B.
Rogers, Hon. Norman McLeod	Kingston City	Ottawa, Ont.
Ross, Douglas Gooderham	St. Paul's	Toronto, Ont.
Ross, Duncan Graham	Middlesex East	Lucan, Ont.
Ross, John Gordon	Moose Jaw	Moose Jaw, Sask.
Rowe, Percy John	Athabaska	Peterboro, Ont.
Rowe, Hon. William Earl	Dufferin-Simcoe	Newton Robinson, Ont.
St-Père, Edouard Charles	Hochelaga.	Montreal, Que.
Sanderson, Frederick George	Perth	St. Marys, Ont.
Senn, Mark Cecil	Haldimand	Caledonia, Ont.
Slaght, Arthur Graeme	Parry Sound	Toronto, Ont.
Spence, David	Parkdale	Toronto, Ont.
Stevens, Hon. Henry Herbert	Kootenay East	Ottawa, Ont.
Stewart, Hon. Hugh Alexander	Leeds	Brockville, Ont
Stirling, Hon. Grote	Yale	Kelowna, B.C.
Streight, John Everett Lyle	York West	Toronto, Ont.
Sylvestre, Armand	Lake St. John-Roberval	Roberval, Que.
Taylor, James Samuel	Nanaimo	Vancouver, B.C.
Taylor, William Horace	Norfolk	Scotland, Ont., R.R. 3.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Telford, William Pattison	Grey North	Owen Sound, Ont.
Thauvette, Joseph	Vaudreuil-Soulanges	Vaudreuil, Que.
Thompson, Arthur Lisle	Kent (Ont.)	Chatham, Ont.
Thompson, Thomas Alfred	Lanark	Almonte, Ont.
Thorson, Joseph Thorarinn	Selkirk	Winnipeg, Man.
Tomlinson, William Rae	Bruce	Port Elgin, Ont.
Tremblay, Léonard David	Dorchester	St. Malachie, Que.
Tucker, Walter Adam	Rosthern	Rosthern, Sask.
Turgeon, James Gray	Cariboo	Vancouver, B.C.
Turner, John Mouat	Springfield	Winnipeg, Man.
Tustin, George James	Prince Edward-Lennox	Napanee, Ont.
Veniot, Clarence Joseph	Gloucester	Bathurst, N.B.
Vien, Thomas	Outremont	Montreal, Que.
Walsh, William Allen	Mount Royal	Outremont, Que.
Ward, William John	Dauphin	Dauphin, Man.
Warren, Ralph Melville	Renfrew North	Eganville, Ont.
Weir, William Gilbert	Macdonald	Carman, Man.
Wermenlinger, Edgard Jules	Verdun	Verdun, Que.
White, Robert Smeaton	St. Antoine-Westmount	Westmount, Que.
Winkler, Howard Waldemar	Lisgar	Morden, Man.
Wood, George Ernest	Brant	Cainsville, Ont. R.R. 1.
Woodsworth, James Shaver	Winnipeg North Centre	Winnipeg, Man.

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The Unrevised 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.

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

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Associate Editor, Room 325.

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HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 512.

D 53544

CANADA

The Debates of the Senate

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION

Vol. LXXVII Thursday, January 25, 1940 No. 1

CONTENTS

Eighteenth Parliament—Opening of Sixth Session—Speech from the Throne.

THE SENATE

Speaker: Hon. WALTER EDWARD FOSTER

Thursday, January 25, 1940.

The Parliament of Canada having been summoned by Proclamation of the Governor General to meet this day for the dispatch of business:

The Senate met at 2.30 p.m., the Speaker in the Chair.

Prayers.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Hon. the SPEAKER informed the Senate that he had received a communication from the Governor General's Secretary informing him that His Excellency the Governor General would proceed to the Senate Chamber to open the session of the Dominion Parliament this day at three o'clock.

The Senate adjourned during pleasure.

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

At three o'clock His Excellency the Governor General proceeded to the Senate Chamber and took his seat upon the Throne. His Excellency was pleased to command the attendance of the House of Commons, and that House being come, with their Speaker, His Excellency was pleased to open the Sixth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Canada with the following speech:

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

During the months which have elapsed since the close of the special session, my Ministers have given unremitting attention to the organization and prosecution of Canada's war effort. The Government has been in constant consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom, and the measures adopted have been those which it is believed will best serve the common cause.

Vigorous action has been taken through all branches of the armed forces to provide for the security and defence of Canada, and for co-operation with the Allied forces on land, on sea and in the air.

For the effective prosecution of the war, Canada's industrial, financial and other resources are being steadily mobilized and all war activities co-ordinated. The production and marketing of agricultural and other primary products have been given constructive direction; and safeguards have been provided against undue enhancement, under war conditions, of the prices of food, fuel and other necessaries of life.

Since last you met the developments of the war have made increasingly clear the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. The very existence of nations that cherish independence and democratic ideals is menaced by enemy forces of ruthless aggression which aim to dominate mankind by terror and violence. The Canadian people have shown their determination to share with Britain and France to the utmost of their strength in the defence of freedom.

My Ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present Parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

In all that pertains to the discharge of your responsible duties, may Divine Providence be your strength and guide.

The sitting of the Senate was resumed.

Hon. RAOUL DANDURAND: Honourable senators, I desire to lay on the Table typewritten copies of Orders in Council passed under the authority of the War Measures Act since the close of the special session, up to and including January 17, 1940.

All Orders in Council passed under the authority of the War Measures Act and having the character of legislation are being printed both in French and in English, and, I have every reason to believe, will be ready for distribution to honourable members by the middle of next week.

Right Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN: May I ask the honourable leader whether any

D 53545

legislation will be presented to Parliament this session, or we are to have just Orders in Council?

Hon. Mr. DANDURAND: I understand that a Bill has been prepared for the taking of soldiers' votes at the next election.

Right Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN: Could that not have been done under the War Measures Act?

Hon. Mr. DANDURAND: I shall convey my right honourable friend's suggestion to the Government.

Right Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN: It is an insult to Parliament to bring us here and present no programme at all.

Hon. Mr. DANDURAND: I think I answered my right honourable friend's question just as he put it; and I have taken note of his suggestion.

RAILWAY BILL

FIRST READING

Bill A, an Act relating to Railways.—Hon. Mr. Dandurand.

CONSIDERATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH

On motion of Hon. Mr. Dandurand, it was ordered that the speech of His Excellency the Governor General be taken into consideration on Tuesday next.

ADJOURNMENT

Hon. Mr. DANDURAND moved that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until Tuesday evening next at eight o'clock.

Right Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN: I have no objection at all to the hour suggested, but I see no purpose in a debate of any kind. To call Parliament without any programme whatever for its consideration is an affront unheard of in the history of British institutions.

Hon. Mr. DANDURAND: My right honourable friend has often created precedents. I doubt the correctness of his statement, but anyone who delves into parliamentary history will see whether it is right.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned until Tuesday, January 30, at eight p.m.

OTTAWA: Printed by J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1940.

D 53546

EXTRA

THE CANADA GAZETTE

LA GAZETTE DU CANADA

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1940

OTTAWA, JEUDI, 25 JANVIER 1940

PROCLAMATION

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE THE SIXTH, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

To Our Beloved and Faithful the SENATORS of the Dominion of Canada, and the MEMBERS elected to serve in the House of Commons of Our said Dominion, and to all whom it may concern,—

GREETING:

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS We have thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of Our Privy Council for Canada, to DISSOLVE the present Parliament of Canada.

NOW KNOW YE, that we do for that end publish this Our Royal Proclamation, and do hereby DISSOLVE the said Parliament of Canada accordingly; and the Senators and the Members of the House of Commons are discharged from their meeting and attendance forthwith.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John, Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, a Member of Our Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order, Member of Our Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Our Dominion of Canada.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, in Our City of Ottawa, in Our said Dominion, this twenty-fifth day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty and in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By Command,

E. H. COLEMAN,
Under-Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATION

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE SIX, par la Grâce de Dieu, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au-delà des mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur des Indes.

A Nos Très-Aimés et Fidèles les Sénateurs du Dominion du Canada et aux Membres élus pour servir dans la Chambre des communes de Notredit Dominion, et à tous les intéressés,—

SALUT:

PROCLAMATION

ATTENDU que Nous avons jugé à propos, par et avec l'avis et le consentement de Notre conseil privé pour le Canada, de dissoudre la présente législature du Canada.

SACHEZ DONC QUE, à cette fin, Nous publions Notre présente proclamation royale et dissolvons par les présentes ladite législature du Canada en conséquence, et les sénateurs et les membres de la Chambre des communes sont excusés de se réunir immédiatement.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada.

TÉMOIN: Notre très fidèle et bien-aimé John, Baron Tweedsmuir d'Elsfield, membre de Notre très honorable Conseil privé, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre royal de Victoria, membre de Notre Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Gouverneur général et Commandant en chef de Notre Dominion du Canada.

EN NOTRE HÔTEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, en Notre Cité d'Ottawa, en Notredit Dominion, ce vingt-cinquième jour de janvier en l'année de Notre Seigneur mil neuf cent quarante et de Notre règne la quatrième.

Par ordre,

E. H. COLEMAN,
Sous-secrétaire d'Etat.

OTTAWA: Printed by J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1940.

L. H.

EXTRA D 53547

THE CANADA GAZETTE
LA GAZETTE DU CANADA

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1940

OTTAWA, JEUDI, 25 JANVIER 1940

CHAMBER OF THE SENATE

OTTAWA, Thursday, January 25, 1940.

This day at three o'clock p.m., His EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL proceeded to the Chamber of the Senate, in the Parliament Buildings, and took his seat upon the Throne. The Members of the Senate being assembled, His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to command the attendance of the House of Commons, and that House being present, His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to declare the causes for the summoning of the Sixth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Canada with the following Speech:—

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

During the months which have elapsed since the close of the special session, my Ministers have given unremitting attention to the organization and prosecution of Canada's war effort. The government has been in constant consultation with the government of the United Kingdom, and the measures adopted have been those which it is believed will best serve the common cause.

Vigorous action has been taken through all branches of the armed forces to provide for the security and defence of Canada, and for co-operation with the allied forces on land, on sea and in the air.

For the effective prosecution of the war, Canada's industrial, financial and other resources are being steadily mobilized and all war activities co-ordinated. The production and marketing of agricultural and other primary products have been given constructive direction; and safeguards have been provided against undue enhancement, under war conditions, of the prices of food, fuel and other necessaries of life.

Since last you met the developments of the war have made increasingly clear the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. The very exist-

CHAMBRE DU SENAT

OTTAWA, jeudi, 25 janvier 1940.

Ce jourd'hui, à trois heures de relevée, SON EXCELLENCE LE GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL est venu à la Chambre du Sénat, dans l'Hôtel du Parlement, et a pris place au Trône. Les membres du Sénat étant assemblés, il a plu à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général d'ordonner à la Chambre des communes d'être présente, et, cette Chambre étant présente, il a plu à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général d'exposer, dans le discours suivant, les motifs de la convocation de la sixième session du dix-huitième parlement du Canada:

Honorables membres du Sénat,

Membres de la Chambre des communes,

Depuis la session spéciale, mes ministres ont travaillé sans relâche à l'organisation et à la direction de l'effort de guerre du Canada. Le Gouvernement s'est tenu en contact étroit avec le gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et a pris les mesures jugées les plus propres à servir la cause commune.

Les diverses divisions de nos forces militaires ont agi avec vigueur en vue d'assurer la sécurité et la défense du Canada, de même que la collaboration avec les armées alliées de terre, de mer et de l'air.

En vue de la conduite effective de la guerre, nous poursuivons activement la mobilisation des ressources industrielles, financières et autres du pays, ainsi que la coordination de toutes les initiatives de guerre. On a donné une direction efficace à la production et la vente des denrées agricoles ou des autres produits primaires, et des mesures sont intervenues pour prévenir toute hausse illicite, à la faveur de la guerre, dans le prix des aliments, du combustible et des autres denrées nécessaires à l'existence.

Depuis votre dernière réunion, la nature du conflit dans lequel le Canada est engagé s'est précisée de plus en plus à mesure que se déroulaient les hosti-

D 53547-1

ence of nations that cherish independence and democratic ideals is menaced by enemy forces of ruthless aggression which aim to dominate mankind by terror and violence. The Canadian people have shown their determination to share with Britain and France to the utmost of their strength in the defence of freedom.

My Ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present Parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

In all that pertains to the discharge of your responsible duties, may Divine Providence be your strength and guide.

OTTAWA—Printed by J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

lités. Les nations chérissant l'indépendance et l'idéal démocratiques voient leur existence même menacée par les éléments d'une impitoyable agression qui cherchent à dominer le genre humain par la terreur et la violence. Le peuple canadien a manifesté sa détermination de participer avec la Grande-Bretagne et la France, dans toute la mesure de ses forces, à la défense de la liberté.

De l'avis de mes ministres, la conduite efficace de la guerre exige que ceux sur qui retombe la grave responsabilité d'administrer le pays reçoivent de la nation, en des heures si critiques, l'appui d'un mandat exprès et incontesté. Mes conseillers ont, par conséquent, en tenant compte des circonstances actuelles et cette période de la présente législature, décidé d'en appeler immédiatement au peuple.

Honorables membres du Sénat,

Membres de la Chambre des communes,

Je prie la divine Providence de vous donner la force et de vous guider dans l'exercice de vos importantes fonctions.

OTTAWA—J.-O. PATENAUDE, O.S.I., Imprimeur de Sa Très Excellente Majesté le Roi.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date January 26, 1940

Subject "General Election - 1940"

D 53548

DISSOLUTION AND ELECTION.

Parliament has been dissolved and the Government has taken the unusual course of using the Speech from the Throne as a medium for the announcement of its intention to hold an immediate general election. In the circumstances this exceptional procedure is not without justification. The Government has put its cards on the table and the air has been cleared. The case now goes to the people.

There has been a widespread sentiment against the holding of an election under war conditions. There is nothing to be gained by arguing the question now that it has been decided, but there is a great deal to be gained if the electors and their leaders will school themselves into a state of mind which will permit the holding of an election in a spirit of as near unity as may be possible under partizan divisions. A short campaign and a definite mandate will best serve the interests of the country now that the Government has committed itself to an appeal to the people. It goes without saying that the Prime Minister, apart from whatever constitutional obligation may rest upon him, regards the existing conditions as favorable and counts upon a return to office. His estimate is probably correct and would not be far wrong if there were no war in progress. The fact that the Dominion is at war is more likely to operate to his advantage than to that of his opponents. As stated upon more than one occasion in these columns, there has been and is a strong under-current of dissatisfaction with the Government's alleged lack of energy in prosecuting the war, but whether that dissatisfaction be well founded or not the Canadian elector will hesitate very long before swapping horses while crossing so turbulent a stream. Furthermore, whatever doubts there may be or may have been as to the war capacity of some ministers, the ability of others has been demonstrated and their achievements constitute an impressive record. The country, we believe, will prefer to retain the services of these men, familiar as they are with every phase of the nation's war effort, rather than to replace them with others of no better calibre, and a Union Government appears to be unattainable.

It is a fact that the Prime Minister's decision to go to the country has been influenced to some extent by what has happened recently in Ontario. Indeed, many people will commend Mr. King for coming to grips with Mr. Hepburn and submitting to the people what has been a one-sided quarrel. Prior to the adoption of the resolution of censure in the Ontario Legislature it had been the intention to proceed with a regular session of Parliament, secure the passage of certain essential legislation and go to the country later on. Lack of unity, as the Prime Minister puts it, has necessitated a change of plans, and the interesting thing about this is that the change itself suggests that Mr. King has a considerable measure of confidence in his own ability to carry Ontario, even if the Hepburn Liberals and the Drew Conservatives are to combine against him.

In all other provinces the local governments are favorable to the present federal Administration, Alberta alone being excepted, and the Aberhart Government is most certainly not Conservative. It is not to be expected, however, that the Government will get to the country scot free. Already one gun has been fired in the declaration of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, who protested in the Senate that "it is an insult to Parliament to call us here without any proposed "legislation," and that to call Parliament in these circumstances "is an affront unheard of in the history of the institution." Certainly the procedure is unusual, but it has been adopted under unusual conditions and the general verdict is likely to be that, since there must be a general election, the sooner it is held the better and that protracted parliamentary discussions would be more likely to aggravate than to improve the position of the country in so far as that position is likely to be affected by a war-time election.

L. 24.

D 53549

EXTRA

THE CANADA GAZETTE

LA GAZETTE DU CANADA

OTTAWA, SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1940

OTTAWA, SAMEDI, 27 JANVIER 1940

PROCLAMATIONS

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE THE SIXTH, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

To all to whom these Presents shall come,—

GREETING:

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS We are desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet Our People of Our Dominion of Canada, and to have their advice in Parliament:

We DO MAKE KNOWN Our Royal Will and pleasure to call a Parliament, and to further declare that by the advice of Our Privy Council for Canada, We have this day given Orders for issuing Our WRITS in due form, for calling a Parliament in Our said Dominion, which Writs are to bear date of the twenty-seventh day of January, 1940, and to be returnable on the seventeenth day of April, 1940.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John, Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, a Member of Our Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order, Member of Our Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Our Dominion of Canada.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, in Our City of Ottawa, in Our said Dominion, this twenty-seventh day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty and in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By Command,

E. H. COLEMAN,

Under-Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATIONS

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE SIX, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires Britanniques au-delà des Mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur des Indes.

A tous ceux à qui les présentes parviendront,—SALUT:

PROCLAMATION

ATTENDU que c'est Notre désir et détermination de Nous rencontrer aussitôt que faire se pourra avec Notre peuple de Notre Dominion du Canada, et d'obtenir son avis au Parlement,—

NOUS FAISONS CONNAÎTRE Notre volonté et plaisir royal de convoquer un parlement et Nous déclarons en outre que, de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé pour le Canada, Nous avons aujourd'hui même donné des ordres en vue de l'émission de Nos WRITS en due forme pour la convocation d'un parlement dans Notredit Dominion, lesquels Writs porteront la date du vingt-septième jour de janvier 1940, et rapportables le dix-septième jour d'avril 1940.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada. TÉMOIN: Notre très fidèle et bien-aimé John, Baron Tweedsmuir d'Elsfield, membre de Notre très honorable Conseil privé, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre royal de Victoria, membre de Notre Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Gouverneur général et Commandant en chef de Notre Dominion du Canada.

A NOTRE HÔTEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, en Notre cité d'Ottawa, en Notredit Dominion, ce vingt-septième jour de janvier en l'année de Notre Seigneur mil neuf cent quarante, et de Notre Règne la quatrième.

Par ordre,

E. H. COLEMAN,

Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat.

D 53550

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE THE SIXTH, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

To all to whom these Presents shall come,—
GREETING:

A PROCLAMATION

KNOW YE, that We being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet Our People of Our Dominion of Canada, and to have their advice in Parliament, do hereby, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council for Canada, summon and call together the House of Commons in and for Our said Dominion, to meet at Our City of Ottawa, in Our said Dominion, on Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of April next, then and there to have conference and treaty with the Great Men and Senate of Our said Dominion.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John, Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, a Member of Our Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order, Member of Our Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Our Dominion of Canada.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, in Our City of Ottawa, in Our said Dominion, this twenty-seventh day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty and in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By Command,

E. H. COLEMAN,
Under-Secretary of State.

OTTAWA—Printed by J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE SIX, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires Britanniques au-delà des Mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur des Indes.

A tous ceux à qui les présentes parviendront,—SALUT:

PROCLAMATION

SACHEZ que, désireux et ayant résolu, aussitôt que faire se pourra, de nous rencontrer avec Notre Peuple de Notre Dominion du Canada, et d'obtenir son avis au Parlement, Nous, par et de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé pour le Canada, par les présentes convoquons la Chambre des communes dans et pour Notredit Dominion, et la sommons de se réunir en Notre cité d'Ottawa, en Notredit Dominion, jeudi, le vingt-cinquième jour d'avril prochain, pour, là et alors, entrer en conférence et traiter avec les hommes illustres et le Sénat de Notredit Dominion.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada. TÉMOIN: Notre très fidèle et bien-aimé John, Baron Tweedsmuir d'Elsfield, membre de Notre très honorable Conseil privé, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre royal de Victoria, membre de Notre Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Gouverneur général et Commandant en chef de Notre Dominion du Canada.

A NOTRE HÔTEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, en Notre cité d'Ottawa, en Notredit Dominion, ce vingt-septième jour de janvier en l'année de Notre Seigneur mil neuf cent quarante, et de Notre Règne la quatrième.

Par ordre,

E. H. COLEMAN,
Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat.

OTTAWA—J.-O. PATENAUDE, O.S.I., Imprimeur de Sa Très Excellente Majesté le Roi.

A6 P.C. 347

D 53551

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 27th January, 1940.

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report from the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, submitting that it is expedient that a new Parliament be summoned, and recommending that a Proclamation do issue bearing date the 27th day of January, 1940, calling such new Parliament together and directing the issue of writs of election for a general election of persons to serve as members in the House of Commons; such writs of election to be dated the 27th day of January, 1940, fixing Tuesday the 26th day of March, 1940, as polling day at the said election (Monday, the 25th day of March being a legal holiday); said writs to be returnable on the 17th day of April, 1940.

The Prime Minister further recommends that a further Proclamation do issue, dated the 27th day of January, 1940, summoning Parliament to meet on Thursday the 25th day of April, 1940, at the city of Ottawa.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

Acting Clerk of the Privy Council.

January 30, 1940

D 53552

Memorandum for Mr. J. W. Pickersgill:

Re: Dissolution

An Admirable article entitled: "Why Did Mr. King Do It?" by Grant Dexter was published in the Ottawa Evening Journal of Tuesday, January 30th, page 4, column 3.

It should be helpful in the preparation of a broadcast on that subject. It is quite remarkable how well Dexter has traced exactly the course of events in accordance with what was in my mind. He might have added between the second last and last paragraphs, something as follows, which would have given a different interpretation to the last paragraph:

The resolution of the Ontario Legislature made perfectly clear two things: One, that a certain challenge and censure had been made against the Government, which had to be met, and the sooner met the better. If delayed, it would have indicated that the Government was holding on against the will of the people; Two, that an organized political campaign was already under way. That the battle had started even before Parliament had been called, and the keynote had been sounded for the campaign in Parliament itself.

In these circumstances, it was clear that, if I was to keep my mind on the main objective: namely, the psychological effect of a political campaign in Canada upon the course of the war in Europe - the interpretation of Germany on the one side, and the interpretation of France and Britain on the other - it was obviously desirable that I should limit political discussions as much as possible, and, in particular, that I should prevent what would have been inevitable: namely, dissolution at an early stage in the session as a result of warfare between political parties, giving the appearance in Europe of something happening in Canada similar to what has taken place in South Africa. As I said in my speech, even the Germans might understand exaggerated language in a political campaign, but they would not understand a political fight in Parliament itself.

The campaign, having obviously begun in the country, was certain to be continued in Parliament on the Debate on the Address. It would be certain to have rendered dissolution in Parliament in the course of Parliament itself, particularly, if dissolution were to take place in time for an election before the spring.

The frank, chivalrous, and wise thing to do was to announce the Government's intention from the Speech from the Throne, rather than seeking to take the Opposition by surprise by dissolving after political dissention had begun in Parliament itself.

Once any mention was made from the Speech from the Throne of early or immediate dissolution, it was obvious that this meant a "win the election, rather than win the war" course of events in Parliament. It meant political strife from the start. It was better, therefore, to have the dissolution come the time anything of the kind was observed. Manion and Woodsworth made it quite clear what the course of proceedings in Parliament would have been like, had Parliament continued longer. The immediate dissolution deprived the people of nothing, as it gave them, and all of them, the right to discuss anything and everything in any way they pleased. Election having to come anyway, obviously, the sooner it came the better, both on the grounds of having the vote taken before the soldiers in England went to Europe, and while most of the soldiers going to England and Europe are still in Canada. Before, also, the roads broke up for the spring, before the spring offensive, et cetera, et cetera.

Had none of these other factors been the governing ones they were, the immediate appeal on purely political grounds would have been advisable and necessary.

The manner of dissolution was, as a matter of fact, a feature to be admired, rather than one to be questioned, the object being to save two political battles while actual battle was going on at the front, and make impossible a misunderstanding of the cause and purpose of the election overseas.

W. L. M. K.

January 30, 1940

Memorandum for Mr. J. W. Pickersgill:

D 53554

Re: Dissolution

An Admirable article entitled: "Why Did Mr. King Do It?" by Grant Dexter was published in the Ottawa Evening Journal of Tuesday, January 30th, page 4, column 3.

It should be helpful in the preparation of a broadcast on that subject. It is quite remarkable how well Dexter has traced exactly the course of events in accordance with what was in my mind. He might have added between the second last and last paragraphs, something as follows, which would have given a different interpretation to the last paragraph:

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In these circumstances, it was clear that, if I was to keep my mind on the main objective: namely, the psychological effect of a political campaign in Canada upon the course of the war in Europe - the interpretation of Germany on the one side, and the interpretation of France and Britain on the other - it was obviously desirable that I should limit political discussions as much as possible, and, in particular, that I should prevent what would have been inevitable: namely, dissolution at an early stage in the session as a result of warfare between political parties, giving the appearance in Europe of something happening in Canada similar to what has taken place in South Africa. As I said in my speech, even the Germans might understand exaggerated language in a political campaign, but they would not understand a political fight in Parliament itself.

D 53555 Two

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The frank, chivalrous, and wise thing to do was to announce the Government's intention from the Speech from the Throne, rather than seeking to take the Opposition by surprise by dissolving after political dissention had begun in Parliament itself.

Once any mention was made from the Speech from the Throne of early or immediate dissolution, it was obvious that this meant a "win the election, rather than win the war" course of events in Parliament. It meant political strife from the start. It was better, therefore, to have the dissolution come the time anything of the kind was observed. Manion and Woodsworth made it quite clear what the course of proceedings in Parliament would have been like, had Parliament continued longer. The immediate dissolution deprived the people of nothing, as it gave them, and all of them, the right to discuss anything and everything in any way they pleased. Election having to come anyway, obviously, the sooner it came the better, both on the grounds of having the vote taken before the soldiers in England went to Europe, and while most of the soldiers going to England and Europe are still in Canada. Before, also, the roads broke up for the spring, before the spring offensive, et cetera, et cetera.

Had none of these other factors been the governing ones they were, the immediate appeal on purely political grounds would have been advisable and necessary.

The manner of dissolution was, as a matter of fact, a feature to be admired, rather than one to be questioned, the object being to save two political battles while actual battle was going on at the front, and make impossible a misunderstanding of the cause and purpose of the election overseas.

W. L. M. K.

MK:DR

D 53556

Memorandum for Mr. J. W. Pickersgill:

Re: "Parliament to Decide, et cetera."

This has reference to deciding as between Parliament and the Government, not as between Parliament and the people. Parliament could not decide that the Government was to carry on without extending itself -- that is only for the people to say.

Note that there may be different methods in different countries.

W. L. M. K.

January 30, 1940
MK:DR

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Journal

Date January 30, 1940

Subject Dissolution

D 53557

'WHY DID MR. KING DO IT?'

By Grant Dexter, Ottawa Correspondent of the Winnipeg Free Press.

TO begin with, Mr. King has always had a marked antipathy to fifth year sessions. But much more than fifth-year sessions, Mr. King has disapproved of extensions to the life of Parliament. Here another set of convictions come into play. Mr. King has always regarded an extension of this kind as a violation of the fundamental principle of democracy. And it is notable that last September 12, Mr. King used these words:

"In my opinion the people of the country have the right to say whom they wish to have administering the affairs of Canada, and they should exercise that right periodically at the time provided for in the constitution. I do not think that any Parliament should take it upon itself to deprive the people of that right."

Mr. King, specifically, was of the opinion that the presence of war did not modify the rightness of this view. He had been opposed to the extension of Parliament in 1916 and again in 1917 (when Sir Robert Borden withdrew the extension resolution), and he was opposed last September to any extension of the life of this Parliament because of the present war. He said so last September (page 175 of unrevised Hansard). He said so again on Thursday.

Last September Mr. King said, plainly, that he intended to call Parliament into session in January. "At that time", he said, "we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile."

The precision of this language is remarkable. It clearly proves that Mr. King, even then, had come to the decision to hold an election this Spring, at the latest. His promise was to "call" Parliament, not to have a session.

* * *

On Thursday he went a little further in this matter. Before he had given his September promise he had considered seriously the possibility of a general election immediately after the special September session. It is now evident that he very nearly adopted this course. He rejected it because he believed it essential, before holding an election, to organize the war effort, the economy controls, the finances and to complete the co-operative military projects then pending with Britain.

He was aware, of course, that there would be difficulty in holding a general election under wartime conditions. The Election Act requires 52 days to intervene between the issuing of the writs and polling day. This was far too long. He went to Hon. Dr. Manion with a proposal to cut the campaign period to 28 days. Nothing came of it.

Thus was Mr. King confronted with a problem which was capable of solution only within strict limits of time. He must hold an election before the end of March, since he expected the war to break in all its fury in the Spring. He has repeatedly let it be known that he expects the war to spread. And he regards it as of vital importance to have a government, fresh from the people, installed in office when the full shock strikes this country. An amendment to the Election Act being, in his view, impossible, he must allow for a campaign of not less than 52 days. He must lay the groundwork of the war effort and he must organize the home front. And he must call parliament in January.

These were the iron-clad limits within which he must work, and they steadily closed in upon him. The dangers of failure were, to him, very real. His speech showed this plainly. If he failed to bring off the election before the end of March, events would take command. He would be powerless. April, May and June were out of the question. The war might well pour like red hot lava across the path, hemming him in, compelling an extension of this parliament. His prejudices, his deep-held beliefs—stemming, no doubt, from the experience of Laurier in 1916 and after—spurred him to action. Plainly, he had steeled himself against an extension of parliament. The desire to act while events were still within his control was irresistible.

* * *

Thus, the record shows that it is wrong to think that this dissolution, swift and unexpected as it was, came as a result of anger. Mr. King did not lose his temper when Premier Hepburn and Col. Drew attacked him, when the Ontario Legislature went on record against his Government. On the contrary, the attack came as a relief, as crowning mercy. It sliced off, cleanly as a guillotine, whatever doubts and uncertainties remained in his mind. His hour had struck. The Hepburn-Drew attack was the occasion for dissolution, not the reason for it.

No doubt, Mr. King regrets the rudeness of the blow. No doubt, he is well aware that most Liberals were shocked by the manner of this dissolution but, with equal certainty, Mr. King is at rest in his own mind. What is, to him, the all-important election is now under way.

Gen. Election

"R"

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA D 53558

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

Ottawa, February 1st, 1940.

TELEGRAM PERSONAL

SECRET

CYPHER

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

As you will have noted I found it necessary to advise the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament. As Parliament was already in its fifth year and extension of term would not have been a feasible or adequate measure at this early stage in the war and could not be made without amending the British North America Act an election would have become necessary at an early date in any event. Aside from the desirability of having an election if possible before the heavy fighting began in the spring campaigns, and before the change from winter to spring began to affect condition of roads in many parts of Canada dissolution was made necessary by concerted criticisms which threatened to hamper the effective conduct of our war effort and to destroy the unity which was a marked feature of the action of Parliament in its September session. The election has been set for the earliest practicable date under the Election Act, namely March 26th. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr Landry to put
with papers re Dissolution

D 53559

KING'S COURAGE

Not Afraid of the People. — Wants to be Judged on His Record. — Democratic Practice.

By PENMAN.

Parliament has been dissolved. It took place with a suddenness that surprised the supporters of the Government and angered the Opposition, major and minor.

When challenged by a provincial critic of the Federal Government, Mr. King and his colleagues promptly decided that the snipers should be given an apportunity of fighting in the open. As he stated in graphic terms the Government was not prepared to fight on three fronts.

The Prime Minister's opponents may regard his action as shrewd strategy, but they cannot deny that, had Parliament remained in session, a great deal of valuable time would be taken up discussing war contracts and petty grievances. This would have served no useful or patriotic national purpose. The Prime Minister, therefore, wisely decided that, since he got his mandate from the people, he would prefer being judged by them, instead of being subjected to continuous attack in the House from his opponents. No fault can be found with a leader, who is prepared to go before the electors, and ask them whether he is entitled to a renewal of their confidence. Parliament is the nation's supreme forum, but those who compose it must first get their authority from the people.

Mr. King, on more than one occasion, whether in power or opposition, declared that a government should not avail itself of the statutory maximum but consult the people before its term expires.

Anticipating the desire on the part of the people to learn something relating to war contracts, it has had pamphlets printed giving, in the fullest detail, any information that may be sought as to manufacturers, suppliers, prices, and relevant data. It must therefore be evident to even the most prejudiced critic of the Government, that it has nothing to hide.

An absolutely non partisan board, made up wholly of experts, awards contracts to those who are equipped to carry them out. *Patronage has been eliminated.*

A sincere effort has been made to follow ordinary business practices. Those who can do the job, because their prices are right, and they possess the necessary equipment and facilities, get the business regardless of their political affiliation. Could any government go further or do better? Hardly! I can quite appreciate the readiness of the Opposition to make all the capital it can out of alleged scandals or negligence, but political capital and public interest are two diametrically opposed standards. If the public is satisfied that, in view of the circumstances, the government has honestly sought to do its best, it will pay scant attention to the criticism of its adversaries.

What makes the present election one that differs materially from those previously is, the attitude and antagonism of a provincial premier and his principal opponent in the legislative assembly, the Leader of the Opposition.

When Mr. King learned immediately after the opening of Parliament, that, as indicated by his address, the Leader of the Opposition would no longer co-operate but do his utmost to discredit the Government, he and his colleagues declared their willingness to accept the challenge. Far from appreciating this gesture at its true worth, the Provincial Opposition Leader characterized it in language studiously discourteous. He had the presumption to say that the Government head "must go"! Mr. King's move completely took the wind out of his sails. He was no longer in a position to assail the Government during the parliamentary session. The issue was referred to the people — the final judges.

Mr. King has shown himself splendidly and patriotically democratic. He refused to wait until the statutory life of Parliament expired, but took up the gage of battle with the utmost confidence in his cause, and an appreciation of the public's ability to estimate the value of what his government has accomplished, since it took office following the defeat of Mr. Bennett. During the course of the election, Mr. King and his colleagues will give their masters, the people, a full account of their stewardship. I think it can be said that, on the whole, they have labored in the public interest. They may not have met the views and wishes of their critics and opponents, but no alternative government could have done as well — certainly no better! The partisan belonging to the Opposition will not give the Government and its leader even a minimum of credit, but, fortunately, the average citizen is not stubbornly partisan. He does judge a leader and a party on its merits. He knows that ,try as it might, a government is not omnipotent, and must be governed by circumstances and the nation's financial condition.

The workers are principally interested in legislation that redresses grievances and reaffirms rights. They make allowance for what is said in the heat of debate and party criticism. They realize what a difficult task the Government has to carry out, and that, no matter how conscientious it may be, fault will be found.

It must be admitted by the most captious critic that it has able citizens in charge of the several ministries. Prior to and since the war, they have worked continuously and under great strain to carry on the normal functions of government and likewise make preparation to efficiently aid the Motherland. *It took prompt and drastic steps to curb any attempt at profiteering in vital necessities.* The War Price Board, made up of highly qualified senior civil servants, was in a position to tell both manufacturers and merchants, that it would not tolerate any attempt to exploit the consumer. Other boards and commissions created because of war are functioning efficiently.

During the last full session of Parliament, the Government amended the Criminal Code, making it an offense to discriminate against a worker because of union membership or activity. Since the election is still in its initial stages further opportunity will be provided before it concludes to comment upon its achievements.

The workers in their support of candidates and parties will be guided by what they consider is in their own interest and the nation's. On election day the humblest toiler enjoys the same political power as his wealthy or highly placed fellow citizen. Collectively, he can dismiss the Government

1 of/de

Not Afraid of the People. — Wants to be Judged on His Record. — Democratic Practice.

By PENMAN.

Parliament has been dissolved. It took place with a suddenness that surprised the supporters of the Government and angered the Opposition, major and minor.

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2 of/de 2

D 53560

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Re: Dissolution

Better position to judge today.

Look ahead next 5 years.

What is a Parliament for?

Will of the people.

Political parties - majority.

Responsible government, not monopoly of government.

Important controls;

Opposition,

Public Service,

Two Houses of Parliament

One body superior to Parliament;

the people.

Rights secured by Constitution.

Elections - 5 years - or when special interests demand.

Situation in January this year.

Election necessary - 5 sessions.

D 53561

Demand for election in 1939.

Demand for general election in summer.

Condemnation of Canada's war effort.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature -

Only one way to settle question.

What would have been said if other course followed.

<u>Picture situation.</u>

Political battle in House of Commons.

Speeches prepared for campaign.

Estimates and budget.

Everything magnified into scandal.

Manufacturing munition for campaig

<u>Then what would follow?</u>

Accused of hanging on.

Could not have given up in short time.
Spider and the fly.

Election had to come this year.

Could not agree to extension of time.

D53562

See the position we would have been in if sitting now, and no dissolution until after Easter.

More weeks of wrangling.

Position of defence forces.

Issues have been discussed quietly.

Glad elections nearly over.

2 questions: Why election in war time?

Abraham Lincoln's view.

Why not before Parliament called together?

Re: scuttling Parliament -
versus scuttling people.

Ship versus nation.

True view shown by Berriedale Keith

Content to leave verdict to history.

D 53563

Outline of Speech

by

MACKENZIE KING

Montreal, March 12, 1940.

Much said in present campaign about two things:

1. The dissolution of Parliament,

2. The desirability of forming a "national" or union government.

We are today in a better position to judge, to see exactly, the true significance of each of these matters.

For most people it is always difficult to look ahead, to see what lies beyond today or tomorrow - to be other than controlled by their immediate feelings and prejudices. That is why in the present campaign you have heard so little about what, after all, is most important - how your affairs and the affairs of this country are going to be managed in the next 5 years, and so much about a lot of things that belong to the past, and will never be thought of or heard of again after the 26th of this month.

Yet, it is with the future that the new Parliament will be concerned.

Let us now consider why a new Parliament is necessary.

First of all, why do we have a Parliament at all?

That the will of the people may be carried out, since all cannot participate, we must have representation.

Since representatives (like people themselves) have different views, therefore the views of the majority must prevail.

To ascertain views of the people and of the majority, political parties are necessary.

The majority becomes the government - the minority the Opposition.

This is the way every legislature, conducts its business in a free country, under a democratic system.

This doesn't mean that the government, representing the majority, has everything its own way - a monopoly of government.

There are two all-important controls:

1. the Opposition has rights and continues to function;

2. while Government decides policy, the real work of administration of the

D 53564

country's affairs is carried on by the public service, which is composed of men of all parties - advantages of a permanent civil service.

I might add a third -

3. The two Houses of Parliament:

the Senate has an equal voice with House of Commons on most matters.

There has never been a time since I have been leader of the party when the party has had a majority in the Senate: 1921-25; 1925-26; 1926-30; 1935-40.

A government in bringing forward its measures has always to take account of how they will be received

(a) by the Opposition,

(b) by the Senate.

I might add - the press, and all agencies that affect public opinion.

Work of government in war, as well as in peace, is carried on by Parliament as a whole. It is opinion that governs, and every Member of Parliament has utmost freedom of expression of his views.

Only one body superior to Parliament -

Only one set of persons whose views are of more importance than those of representatives of the people in Parliament, and that is the people themselves.

How rights of people to expression of their views secured by the Constitution:

1. elections to be held at least once in every five years;

2. elections to be held at any time when in opinion of those carrying on the work of government, the interests of government and of the people so demand.

The situation in January of this year.

Late Parliament elected in 1935.

Had to be an election in 1940.

Usually there is one session a year, and an election once in every four or less years -

This was true throughout Sir Wilfrid's time and has been true throughout my time at least when Liberals in office. The Conservatives have frequently held on till last minute, e.g.:

Conservative Government elected in 1891 - 1896;
Borden " " 1911 - 1917;
Bennett " " 1930 - 1935;

1. There had been 5 sessions of the late Parliament.

2. There had been (a) at session of 1939, expectations of a general election when session over;

(b) demands for a general election in summer.

3. There had been a condemnation of the war effort of the present administration - resolution by Legislature of largest province of the Dominion.

That resolution was supported by members of both political parties in the province - by some of one party, by all of the other party.

The fact that its motive was personal, political, vindictive, or whatever it may have been; that it was condemned by many of those who supported it; that it did not represent their real views, and certainly not the views of the province, did not affect its significance:

1. in the eyes of the people in other parts of the Dominion;

2. in the eyes of the allied powers;

3. in the eyes of the Germans;

or 4. in the use that it was intended should be made of it once Parliament had met again in regular session.

The fact was it stood out on the records of the Legislature and stands there today, and will continue to stand as a condemnation of the present government until on March the 26th it is answered by the people themselves in a voice so effective that no one will ever dare quote it again, except as a condemnation of those in the Legislature who joined to give it their support.

There was only one way in which to settle that question - a question which involved the policy of the government with respect to Canada's war effort, and not only the policy of the government, but the ability and capacity of its members to administer Canada's affairs at a time of war, and that was to allow the people to speak for themselves. This was essential in the interest of the country, its war effort and the cause of the allies, at the earliest moment possible.

What would have been said if any other course had been followed:

Let us picture the situation as it would have developed as it would be today.

Remember every one knew that the Session if it went on was to be followed by a general election.

Parliament would have begun debating the Address.

D 53566

Immediately a political battle would have begun in the House of Commons;

What it would have been like we now know from the speech Dr. Manion delivered on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th. He gave then in part the material he had in readiness for Monday the 29th.

Every other party leader and speaker would have followed with speeches not meant to help win the war, but to help him and his party win at the coming election.

The government would have next introduced the Estimates.

Still later the Budget. Every item in the Estimates would have been made a target for criticism on the score that the government was going too far, or not far enough, was helping this constituency or province, while neglecting some other constituency or province. A similar effort to score political capital would have been made with respect to every tax imposed. Some interest or class or part of the country, it would have been said, was being favoured while some other interest, or class or other part was being asked to carry more than its share of the burden, and so on and so on -- not a word would have been said as to what might be necessary to win the war, everything would have been said with an eye to winning the election.

Even the slightest indication of possible oversight, or error, however completely it might owe its existence to the imagination or suspicion of a political opponent, would have been made to assume proportions of a political scandal of the first magnitude, -- and all this regardless of the effect it might have upon Canada's war effort in the eyes of our allies or of the enemy.

The government would, from day to day, have been prevented from making headway with the business of government in order that amunition for a general election might be manufactured, printed at the public expense, and sent out in the form of speeches delivered in Parliament. At the same time, its opponents outside as well as inside Parliament would have kept firing at the administration.

Then what would have followed? We would have been told, and this in the most emphatic manner, that in continuing to carry on the work of government we were simply seeking to hang on to office - were postponing the day of dissolution because of the certainty of meeting defeat - that we had long since lost the confidence of the electorate - that the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was right, that if we had had any appreciation of our duty to the people we would have dissolved the moment that resolution was passed. When the time of dissolution finally came, the country would have been told that the government had meant to hang on to office to the last minute, that we would have probably done what a previous government had done in war time - amended the constitution, formed a union government and tried carrying on indefinitely if the combined opposition had not prevented anything of the kind and driven us at last to the country.

It is all very well for Dr. Manion and those who are supporting him on the platform and in the press to say the government should at least have met Parliament and given to Parliament an account of the way they had managed the affairs of the country; and that after Parliament had had a brief short session in which everyone would have co-operated and been glad to co-operate, we could have brought on the elections. But are you so sure matters would have worked out that way? I am perfectly sure they would not.

I come now to something which it will be easier for you to understand today than it was six weeks ago, and I ask you to keep it very much in mind during the next fortnight. Even more, I am going to ask the people of this country to have it in their minds from month to month throughout this very fateful year. It is

D 53567

something which in your interests, in the interest of the allies, and particularly in the interests of Canada's war effort I myself have always to keep very much in mind.

Unless we were to violate the constitution of this country an election had to come this year. - Some say, no, that we might have amended the constitution. My reply to them is that no power is given us by the constitution to take any such step. But they say, it was done in 1916 at a time of war. - I say it should not have been done then. Parliament took from the people and to itself at that time a right it should not have taken.

The people were deprived of the right of saying, every five years, who their representatives for the next five years should be. When the same Parliament tried again, in 1917, to perpetuate itself on the ground that the war was still on, it was seen clearly that war itself was no justification for such a step. The proposal had to be abandoned, and an election was held while the war was on.

I made clear at the special war session of Parliament last September that I would countenance nothing of the sort. As between the supremacy of the government and the supremacy of Parliament, I stated I had always stood and would continue to stand for the supremacy of Parliament, but that whenever, the question was one between the supremacy of Parliament, and the supremacy of the People, I was wholly and entirely, 100 percent, for the supremacy of the people. On this basis alone can we continue to enjoy in this country free representative institutions and responsible government. Indeed, it is only on this basis that we are entitled to continue to be called a democracy.

If then an election had to come this year, was if not all to the good, altogether in your interests, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the interests of the Allied Forces, and in the interests of our young Canadians who were enlisting in the defence forces on land, on sea and in the air, that it should be over just as soon as possible, and, if at all possible, out of the way before the German offensive commences, as it is almost certain to commence in the early spring.

Just consider the position we would now be in if I had not taken the course I did. Parliament in all probability would have still been sitting, with the probability of a dissolution at any time, and the certainty of a general election as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say, the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England will be able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe; others will vote before leaving Canadian soil, and all under conditions which will make for a fair and honest election.

Even more important, however, is the fact that not only will the people of Canada have been enabled, as they have during the past six weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself, whatever government it may be, will have been placed in a position to give its

D 53568

whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort at a time that this is certain to be most needed. If March 26th is passed before the whole European situation reaches its most alarming and appalling stage, we shall have reason to be thankful indeed. One thing is certain, we cannot expect fighting to be confined to the sea and the air much longer, nor to be on the limited scale it has been thus far. It is well for all of us that the elections are now so nearly over. Just imagine the agony of mind of every elector in Canada if, on top of two months political contention in Parliament, we had now to look forward to another two months of the same sort of thing in the country, with, in addition, as I greatly fear will prove to be a fact, war raging on an intensified scale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

The obvious desirability of having the appeal at this time, and having it over just as soon as possible, is so apparent that, but for two questions, no one of intelligence would, I think, have doubted for a moment the wisdom of and the necessity for the course taken.

The first question is why have an election at all in time of war? That, I think, I have already completely answered. This war may continue for many years. It is not going to end whenever we wish it to end. It will not end until the resources of war itself - till one or other, if not all, of the participants, and the resources on which they are dependent for victory, are exhausted. Would any one wish to have a Parliament, chosen in 1935 without any reference to war, continue on indefinitely through the forties, with no chance given the people to say whom they wished to manage their affairs in so critical a period? Meanwhile, the whole parliamentary situation, and the situation throughout the country, would have steadily deteriorated. Moreover, in a war to preserve freedom, such a course would have meant the destruction of our own free institutions.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with a similar situation, though one, if anything, even more difficult. The constitution of the United States called for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution never contemplated, and was not framed, to cope with a situation at a time of civil war, and that the elections, which were prescribed by the Constitution, could not be held under such circumstances. Lincoln held that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded; and that, in a war for freedom, America's free institutions had already been destroyed by the forces that were opposing freedom. "We cannot," he said, "have free government without elections." He held the elections. Lincoln and his government were sustained, and the world was shown that elections could be held under democratic institutions at a time of civil war and that democracy and freedom could be maintained despite the consequences of war. "The elections", said Lincoln, "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." "Until now", he added, "it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility." It will be possible to say the same of Canada, with respect to war, after the 26th of the present month.

The other question which naturally suggests itself is why, in the circumstances, did I wait till Parliament was called together before asking for a dissolution? The answer to that is very simple. I had given my word at the special war session of Parliament not to bring on a general election between the closing of one session and the opening of another, or, in other words, before Parliament was again called together. I said Parliament would likely be called together in January, but might be called together before that time. I did not say that Parliament would be continued in session, once it was called together. That would have meant tying the hands of the government regardless of what the public interest might demand.

What I said - I quote my exact words - they will be found in the records of the Parliamentary debates of September 12th, 1939:

"It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring honorable members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile."

I need not remind you what had taken place meanwhile. The Ontario Legislature's resolution was passed on January 18th. But for having promised to bring the Members together in January, if not before, I would have asked for dissolution on the day following the passing of the Ontario Resolution. I did the next best thing. I asked. for an immediate dissolution, once members had assembled, and announced the government's intention to dissolve in the Speech from the Throne.

It must be apparent, from what I have said to you, and from what you yourselves have had opportunity to witness since January 25th, that in taking the step I did at that time I was but fulfilling my constitutional duty as Prime Minister, once I saw that a general election at the earliest moment possible had become necessary in the interests of the country, of Canada's war effort, and of the Allied cause, so to advise the Governor General, regardless of what inconvenience it might occasion the Members of Parliament, most of whom were my own supporters, or however much the step itself might be misinterpreted and misrepresented in the course of the elections themselves.

It has been said I was "scuttling" Parliament. May I say that those who make this assertion were prepared, if such were the case, to scuttle the people. If I were scuttling the Ship of State, those who opposed the step were prepared to scuttle the Nation. The people, not Parliament, are the source of all political authority and power. There are times and seasons for all things. The time for a new Parliament had come; to attempt to carry on with a Parliament that had already had five sessions, with the knowledge that a general election was immediately to follow, would have been to ignore altogether the effect of such a course upon Canadian unity, upon Canada's war effort, and upon the cause of the Allies. Far from scuttling Parliament, I was in fact taking the necessary steps to bring into being at the earliest moment possible, at a time of war, a new and truly representative Parliament to replace a Parliament that had never been elected to serve the people's interests at a time of war, a Parliament that had nearly run its course and was doomed at any moment to die. At this very moment, I would have been receiving the strongest condemnation for not having foreseen the condition that was certain to arise, and would have been blamed for every consequence of it. That condemnation would have grown in intensity and volume every month that I had failed to permit an immediate appeal.

At times of political controversy, it is often difficult to see matters in their true light. The observations of impartial authorities, especially if they are known to be authorities on the British Constitution, may therefore be of value in helping us to reach a just conclusion. I think I am right in saying that there is no student of British parliamentary institutions in the British Empire whose opinions on matters of the kind is more widely sought or highly regarded than are those of Mr. Berriedale Keith, the author of many well known works on government in Great Britain and the Dominions. In a letter to "The Scotsman", in Edinburgh, published almost immediately after the dissolution of our Parliament, Mr. Berriedale Keith expressed his views in no uncertain terms. After saying that the criticism against myself, because of the dissolution, was clearly unjustified, Mr. Berriedale Keith went on to sum up the situation. He did so in the following words:

"Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; today, it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division overseas and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces."

Mr. Berriedale Keith concludes with the following words:-

"The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

That, ladies and gentlemen, will, I believe, be the verdict of history upon the most important decision I have had to make in the course of my public life. It is a decision the necessity for, and the wisdom of which I have never for a moment been in doubt. It is a decision which all who believe in free representative institutions and in responsible and democratic government may well be proud. It is a decision to which I believe the widest and most definite approval will be given by the people of Canada on the 26th of this month.

Toronto Globe and Mail

March 15, 1940

re: dissolution

D 53571

When Old Reformer Cried 'Shame'

(By JUDITH ROBINSON.)

Hincks and Morin tried it before. The reminder has come from British Columbia.

Eighty-five years seven months four days, before the second time, on the twenty-second of June, 1854, the Hincks-Morin Ministry sprang a snap dissolution of Parliament after the Speech from the Throne. No time was given for debate or reply, no time for legislation, no time for estimates. Parliament was prorogued without warning.

But a Member of Parliament named William Lyon Mackenzie got in a few words for the rights of Parliament before the House was emptied. These are they:

"Is it the intention now to deprive thousands of their political rights? Are their representatives to be thus driven from their seats like soldiers by drill sergeants in a garrison town?

"These representatives have come to see the public accounts. Where are they? The Treaty. What has become of it? They have come to lower the tariff. Why is it not done? Is all information to be shut out from them, though their table is furnished with a list of reports which ought to be presented? As an Old Reformer, I cry 'Shame on the Government'."

* * *

Mr. John A. Macdonald another private member, didn't have as much luck. He only got in one question before they shut him up with Parliament. Here it is: "Why did not the Ministry pass their necessary measures before they dissolved to escape inquiry into their corruption?"

Mr. George Brown was tongue-tied with indignation and could not make himself heard at all in the uproar. Sir Allan MacNab, Leader of the Opposition, said the most. He said for himself and his friends: "We are ready to give our assistance to pass that bill in order to make it available at the next election. We are also ready to pass the supplies, or to do anything else to enable the Government to be carried on in the best manner. We are ready to return a respectful reply to the Speech. . . . By advising His Excellency to do what I take to be a breach of the constitution, they have prevented the House from giving its views to the Governor-General."

On top of that the Speaker warned Mr. Hincks and M. Morin. He was John Sanfield Macdonald and a Liberal, quite a Liberal in his day. But he didn't seem to think that playing a slick trick on Parliament was anything to admire in a Liberal Leader. He told the Government that it was following an unprecedented and unconstitutional course.

It made no difference. Parliament was sent home just the same in 1854.

The Hincks-Morin Ministry was defeated in 1854, too.

That's history, not prophecy. This space is not prophetic.

* * *

Doesn't have to be. Forecaster Archie Draimin dropped around from Ward 4 lately to forecast the whole election free. But first he collected an entrance fee to the Disraeli Club. (Archie Draimin, president). It's a new club, President Draimin says, and he's perpetual president. He wants to be president. So he is.

Who says so? He does. It's his club. None of these elections of officers for him. He's been through all that. Do all the work and then get thrown out of your own club on your head by a bunch of nitwits that don't want anybody to talk but them. Nix on it.

Federal elections, Pres. and Forecaster Draimin says, are different and this one's going fine. No graveyard votes are going to be cast in Ward 4, the way they've been in other elections Mr. Draimin does not hesitate to mention. Colonel Blackstock is an outstanding candidate because he has no past. The League of Nations vote in the southern section of Spadina riding, comprised of good Canadians of many former nations like Austria, Poland, and like that will vote together to finish Hitler by showing a united front for no more vacillating, and Sammy Factor will be able to give his large practice of law full time.

That's local. For Toronto, Forecaster Draimin forecasts a Disraelian vote. Disraeli said it: "The world is a wheel and it will all come around right. Man is not the creature of circumstances, circumstances are the creatures of man."

In that high spirit of hope Forecaster Draimin takes Ontario in his stride. As Toronto goes, so goes Ontario, Forecaster Draimin says it with a fine heartening disregard for the teachings of history. When a man is with Mr. Disraeli on the side of the angels he can afford to disregard history. Canada next.

Canada, Mr. Draimin says, is in the bag. Whose? Dr. Manion's. When all the votes are counted, the results will show victory for National Government thus: Lib. 97; Cons. 101, C.C.F. 11, others 7.

If that don't tote up right, give the rest to the Conservatives. They can use 'em. Take it from that transient but not at all embarrassed phantom, Archie Draimin, Forecaster and Pres. the Disraeli Club, Toronto.

D 53572

EXHIBIT 1

Hansard, September 12, 1939

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King:

..... It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring hon. members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile.

.....

D 53573

DISSOLUTION

If anything further were needed to justify the appeal to the people of Canada and the dissolution of parliament which made the appeal possible, it was to be found in the march of events since January the 25th and in the nature of the campaign which our opponents have waged.

I ask you, the people of Canada, whether your interests as a people have not been better served by our action in accepting the challenge immediately and getting the election over in the shortest possible time. The dissolution may not have served the interests of certain political parties, it may have upset the well laid plans of men more concerned with their own personal advantage than with Canada's war effort, but since there had to be an election this year, I am confident that the people of Canada will be greatly relieved when this campaign is ended and a strong government backed by an unquestioned mandate is free, once again, to give its full and undivided attention to the winning of the war.

I wish to recall this fact. Under the constitution there had to be an election some time this year. Some say we should have extended the life of parliament, but

D 53574

the present government declined to do so. We refused to give dictatorship its first foothold by denying to the Canadian people their constitutional right to choose, during the constitutional period, those whom they wished to guide them through the stress of the gathering storm. We could have permitted two political campaigns. One in parliament, the other in the country. But I ask the people of Canada, after nearly eight weeks of the kind of campaign which has been waged, what their opinion would have been if the government had allowed that campaign to go on for four or five months. Such an arrangement would probably have pleased two groups of men. It might have pleased our political opponents. They have suggested that it would. It certainly would have pleased the Leaders of NaziiGermany. You know how quickly, in Germany, the violent condemnations and unfounded accusations have been picked up and broadcast to their people as evidence of the disunity and dissension in Canada.

On January the 25th, parliament was dissolved. The decision to dissolve parliament was reached for the most honourable of reasons: I believed the holding of

D 53575

an immediate election would be in the interest of Canada and of our allies. That interest demanded the earliest possible exercise by the Canadian people of their right to select a war parliament. It demanded the holding of an election before the spring offensive in Europe and the intensified warfare which we may then expect. It demanded that voting take place before our army in England went to France and before the Second Division left this country.

Our opponents are now asking: "Why did Mr. King lock the doors of parliament?" and this is their reply: "The only place in which the conduct of Mr.King's government in the management of Canada's war effort could be discussed - with any hope of arriving at the truth!" I am sure that most of you, after listening to the speeches of our political opponents will accept their own estimate of their own speeches. I knew that by dissolving parliament I was subjecting my colleagues and myself to attack. I knew that our opponents would be able to make a hundred irresponsible and reckless charges while we were replying carefully and accurately to one. If there was any political advantage in the

D 53576

dissolution of parliament it was not an advantage to the Liberal party or to the present administration. Had we kept parliament in session we could have replied fully and completely to the unfounded and irresponsible charges, ~~but it would have required months~~ and we were convinced that ~~there was more important work to do in those months~~ the needs of Canada and her allies had provided us with more important work to do than the Parliament wage a political campaign. The political advantage of dissolution, if there was any, was an advantage to our opponents. ~~The leader of~~ the Opposition had been challenging us to hold an election for more than a year. He had stated over and over again that we had lost the confidence of the country and that we were merely clinging to office.

When parliament was dissolved we were not thinking of party advantage, nor of our personal reputations. Our sole thought was the ~~inter~~national interests of Canada and the effective prosecution of the war. We considered your right to select a war parliament before the war had passed into new phases of tragedy and terror; we considered how necessary it was for the men charged with the heavy burden of government to feel the encouragement of your hands upon their shoulders. We were determined that the issues should be discussed

only to be postponed a few months thereby causing a continuation of such campaigns in the country

D 53577

freely with the people of Canada at a time of comparative quiet on the war front of Europe. We were resolved, if possible, to spare Canada the bitterness of party strife in parliament and in the country at a time when Canadian soldiers were falling in defence of freedom and when the vigour of a united country would be necessary to bring comfort to our allies.

We thought too of the effect upon the enemy. You know what kind of broadcasts have been coming from Germany in recent weeks. You know what use the Nazi propaganda machine has made of the misrepresentations of men whose partisanship and ambition have blinded their eyes and loosened their tongues. Had we allowed this sort of thing to proceed for months, in parliament and outside, the situation would soon have been represented in Germany as one in which Canada was at war with herself. You have learned how bitter an election can become. You know how hard unity can be pressed by the forces of disunion. You can imagine how much worse things would have been if our opponents had been given two or four months in parliament and another eight weeks on the hustings, evidently to develop and extend their attacks on Canadian unity. You will, I believe, be thankful

at the prospect of an early return to the real business:
the winning of the war.

Broadcast No. 3

D 53579

Re. Suppression of Information from the Opposition by Dissolution

The Leader of the Opposition has alleged that Parliament was dissolved in order to prevent a proper investigation of the war effort of the government. This charge is entirely without foundation. The truth is that there have been very few concrete and specific criticisms of our war effort. Such as there have been -- and some of them have been helpful -- have been considered promptly. Where they proved well founded, the government has not hesitated to make changes. Where they have been based on incomplete knowledge or understanding, full explanations of our conduct have been given.

About the beginning of November, however, the Leader of the Opposition made certain general charges against the conduct of the government, to which I shall refer in a moment. He was immediately challenged by the government to disclose the facts on which his general and unsupported charges were based. We promised immediate investigation and prompt action to correct any faults. He produced no facts. We have no choice but to believe that he had no evidence to produce. We were forced to conclude that they were irresponsible charges designed only to discredit the government.

Dr. Manion now says that we dissolved Parliament in order to conceal the evidence of our mal-administration from the opposition and the public. How does he know there has been the mal-administration and inefficiency in our war effort which he charges? If he already has the evidence, let me ask how the government could conceal it by dissolving Parliament. If he has evidence of mal-administration or inefficiency in our war effort, why does he not give concrete and specific details to the public instead of confining himself to general and unsupported charges? He surely does not think the people of this country are so lacking in understanding and a sense of fairness as to accept charges without proof.

If he has no facts with which to support his charges, the charges themselves are irresponsible, unfair and unworthy of a leader who is seeking the high office of Prime Minister and head of the government of Canada in wartime. It would be indeed surprising if our opponents could find no faults in our conduct of the war. We have never claimed it was perfect. We are ready to admit and to correct our mistakes. But my colleagues and I know that we have devoted ourselves single-mindedly and whole heartedly to our great trust. The failure of our opponents to find serious and substantial faults is,

we feel, in reality a tribute to what we have accomplished.

Dr. Manion's charge that my colleagues and I have risked the life of our government in an appeal to the people because we were afraid to meet Parliament, I shall treat as such a charge deserves to be treated. Is it likely that a government which was ashamed of its record -- which had something to conceal, would place its fate in the hands of the electorate a single moment before it was necessary. I ask you to consider whether, instead of the government being afraid to meet Parliament, it may not be that the Leader of the Opposition was afraid of meeting not Parliament, but the people.

EARNSCLIFFE
LINEN BOND
RAG CONTENT-CANADA

D 53582

2

2) Election Issue

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date February 2, 1940

Subject

D 53583

New Democracy Leader's Statement

Herridge Says There Is One Election Issue

Declares Only Question Is Measure of Canada's Contribution in War. New Democracy Stands For Maximum Effort. Calls for Defeat of Liberal Govt.

Declaring the only issue in the forthcoming election was the measure of Canada's contribution to the war, Hon. W. D. Herridge, head of the New Democracy movement and former Canadian minister to Washington, in a statement last night said "those who believe in the justice of our cause must believe in maximum contribution and must unite to defeat the Liberal government."

Mr. Herridge was called out of the city for a few days and before his departure said the New Democracy movement had not completed its plans for the coming campaign but an announcement in this connection would be made soon after his return. He is a candidate in Kindersley, Sask.

Mr. Herridge's statement follows:

"There is only one issue in this election: the measure of Canada's contribution to the war. The Liberal government has declared itself upon that issue. It intends that Canada shall not make its maximum contribution to the war. Those who believe in the justice of our cause must believe in maximum contribution and must unite to defeat the Liberal government.

"The first step to economic security at home is victory in this war. New Democracy, which is pledged to reform, stands for unity of patriotic effort.

"No fair-minded Canadian wants to play politics at this time. All parties gave the Liberal government full opportunity to recover from a bad start and to show its capacity and purpose. Had the government played the game by Canada and the Empire, we would have backed it to a man. But it has let us down and it must go."

Hon. W. D. Herridge To Hold Conference Soon

Canadian Press.

EDMONTON, Feb. 1.—Hon. W. D. Herridge, leader of the New Democracy movement with which Social Credit forces are affiliated in the Dominion field, is expected to hold a conference here with former Social Credit members of Parliament and the Alberta cabinet.

"Mr. Herridge has expressed willingness to come here for a conference but a date has not been set," said a Social Credit party spokesman. "It is expected that the meeting will be held shortly."

Name of Publication .....

Date March 9, 1940.

Subject Election Issue

53584 D

THE ELECTION

The Issue. — Labor and the War. — Mr. King's Splendid Leadership.

By PILOT.

Wage earners and all who must render service for a livelihood are voters. They are interested in the nation's welfare. They share ,or should, in its prosperity. Compensation for labor or service sets living standards. In the degree that the worker of either sex is well paid and treated is he or she happy.

Bachelors earning decent pay can get married. Girls earning poor pay will gladly give up their jobs to make a home for a young man who will make a good husband.

Men and women who work are vitally interested in social legislation. A country's progress can be measured by the legislation it enacts and administers to promote human well being. In democratic countries the workers constitute the bulk of the electors. In the mass, they can elect a sufficient number of candidates to give the party to which they belong a majority permitting the leader of the party to form a government.

The intelligent artisan is generally a member of a union. Membership in a union gives him a measure of self respect and makes him self reliant. He is not afraid of being summarily dismissed by an arrogant foreman or superintendent. If he suffers an injustice his union will fight it out for him. As a member of a union, he is not forced to sell his labor to the lowest bidder. He can bargain collectively through the aid of the union's representative. He can likewise support or oppose those who are not sympathetic to labor's just claims.

Men in public life appreciate the good will of the worker as an elector or member of an organized group. They know that labor can make its influence felt and does. In the strict sense there is no "labor vote." In a democracy, with a secret ballot, the worker who is a member of a union can vote as his conscience or interest dictate. No labor leader has the votes of his supporters in his pocket. He may point out that, owing to the attitude of a member or candidate, he is not entitled to the support of the workers. This has always been the policy of the American Federation of Labor. It concerns itself less with the party affiliation of the candidate than his attitude toward the workers. This policy is a sound and fair one. It would hardly be logical for the leaders of Labor to ask that the workers as individual electors vote for a candidate or party whose leader is antagonistic to the workers, or opposed to the adoption of legislation that will benefit the people.

Canada is now in the throes of an election. Candidates and leaders are appealing to the electors for their support. As the majority of electors who work for a living go so will the election. It was precipitated by the ill advised action of the two political leaders in the Ontario Legislature. Whatever the purpose or motive of these leaders may have been, the resolution was a reflection upon the leader of the Dominion Government and his colleagues. Coming but a few months after an attack upon the Federal administration by the predecessor of Premier Godbout, Prime Minister King acted with commendable courage and promptness in dissolving Parliament, thus leaving it to the electors to decide whether he and his colleagues are entitled to a renewal of their mandate, and the action of the Quebec ex-premier and the Ontario premier and opposition leader was justified.

No matter what his opponents and critics may say Mr. King showed that he was not afraid, but welcomed a public discussion of his record outside parliament. The intelligent electors will take all the senseless charges against him and his colleagues because of the dissolution of parliament at their true worth. They will be inclined to agree with the Associate Editor of *Liberty* who, in its issue of March 9th, says : "There is just one issue, as we see it, presented to the people of Canada : Are we exerting every possible effort to the one end of winning the war ?" That in this election is the sole issue. No amount of rhetoric or abuse of leaders, whether by invective, innuendo or vituperation will change it.

What the Government has done, since war started, has been explained in the clearest terms by the Prime Minister and his colleagues. *Judging by the comment following these broadcasts the people were satisfied and favorably impressed.*

One can quite understand how it is the interest of certain politicians to magnify petty grievances and emphasize individual complaints, but the carrying on of a war is not a retail business ; it is a vast undertaking and requires special knowledge and skill. The Government quickly and early availed itself of the experience of not only business and industrial experts but military men of distinction. It took steps to forestall any attempt to exploit the consumer because of war.

As the writer quoted asks: "Are we going to support them (our soldiers and sailors) to the full measure of our human ability or are we going to dissipate our efforts by playing politics with minor issues ?" The question is a pertinent one and there is but one answer to it : we must continue giving our confidence to the leaders who have demonstrated their ability and trustworthiness. Labor has loyally responded to the call of duty and patriotism. It has not criticized the Government. It feels that its interests will be protected by a government, the members of which have, on more than one occasion, expressed their sympathy with the ideals of the movement that has more

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53585

effectively protected and helped the workers than the spokesmen for the ideologies and "isms" that threaten to wreck civilization. Seldom has a government had a stronger cabinet than the one headed by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King, who is the author of "Industry and Humanity," has demonstrated his supreme statesmanship in peace and war. During the forty years that he has served the public, he has at all times thought in terms of public welfare. With colleagues like Lapointe, Ralston, Howe, Rogers, McLarty, Power and Cardin, he can be trusted to do all that our resources in men and material permit, to aid the Allies in winning the war and destroying the twin headed beast known as the Berlin-Moscow axis. No statesman is prouder of this country's tradictions and institutions than the gentleman who leads the Liberal party. He has served and will continue to serve his country and the Empire of which it is a part to the limit of his capacity and ability.

D 53586

Maclean's Magazine, March 15, 1940

The Issue



MR. KING

By RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister and Leader of the National Liberal Party

THERE is but one issue—it is Canada's war effort.

On March 26, the electors must choose the government whose responsibility it will be to continue to plan, organize, maintain and direct the war effort of Canada. Upon the wisdom of their choice will depend not only the part which Canada will play, but conceivably the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and certainly the effect of the war upon our own country.

Remember that Canada's war effort may mean, for much that we most prize, the difference between victory and defeat. Remember, as well, that although we are 3,000 miles from the battle zone, we cannot escape the impact of war upon our national life, its economy and its institutions. And, above all, remember that war is a destructive, a disruptive force which it will require all our power and intelligence as a people to control.

I believe this is the greatest struggle the world has ever witnessed. For good or ill, this war must profoundly affect the history of all mankind for generations to come, and upon the result of this war depends the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If we are defeated, liberty—free institutions the world over—will perish.

I believe the first essential is that the forces of liberty, of democracy, shall triumph. This war must be won. It will be won by the combined power of the British Commonwealth and of France, with the help of other freedom-loving peoples. It will only be won with sound strategy, wisely planned and efficiently executed.

In this common cause, it is imperative that Canada put forth the greatest possible effort. How can this be done? Our maximum contribution to the war can be made only by a united Canada. If Canada is torn asunder, divided by policies which do not meet with general acceptance, our war effort will be undermined. To the extent that we are divided among ourselves, we will fail to play our part. This requires no argument, it is a self-evident truth.

How can Canada's unity be maintained? What kind of government is best able to hold this country united in war?

I submit that, at this crisis in our history, the present administration is in the best position to keep Canada united and to achieve the maximum war effort. In support of that statement, I offer this evidence.

The present government has already guided this country through the most difficult period in its history, a period which witnessed Canada's decision through her Parliament to stand at the side of Britain and France. This country entered the war united and strong.

When Canadian unity, in this war, was challenged last October by the former premier of Quebec, the present administration accepted that challenge, met the attack, took the issue to the people of that province and received a verdict re-enforcing and endorsing the war policy of Canada. In defence of that policy throughout the provincial campaign, no leader of any political party in Canada, so far as I can recall, other than those of the Liberal party in the Federal administration and in the Province of Quebec, uttered a single syllable.

Much is being heard of a national government. Such a government to be truly representative would have to draw its strength from all sections of the country. The present government is in this sense a truly representative government. It draws its strength from every section of Canada. Moreover, the supporters of the present administration in the last Parliament, at the time of the war session, were more numerous even than they were after the election of 1935. Its strength over five years in office did not diminish; it increased.

The present government, under the stress of national problems, indeed in the crisis of war itself, has been continuously united. The only losses the administration has sustained have been through illness and death.

I put it to the electors that such unity can only be attained when the policies of a government are in accord with the will of the people as a whole.

As to the future, if returned to office, the government will continue to be a truly representative government, reflecting the wishes, the aspirations of the people as a whole. Canada entered into the war united. It is essential that this unity be maintained.

It is against this record, against the fact of the nation-wide strength and unity of the support given to the present government, that other political leaders must be measured. Can the present Leader of the Opposition hope to get a national following of this kind? Or the leader of the C.C.F. party? Or the Social Credit party? Or the unborn New Democracy party? Is there any political group or combination, known or unknown, which has the remotest chance of being comparably representative of Canadian opinion as a whole?

This is the vital question which the electors must answer on March 26. This war demands our utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a united people; by a people united behind a government which draws its strength from every section of the country, and is truly representative of the constituent elements in our country.

There are two other important consider-

Continued on page 53



DR. MANION

By HON. R. J. MANION, M.C.

Leader of the National Conservative Party

CANADA is at war.

We are engaged in a struggle with a dangerous enemy.

We have assumed an obligation which will test the strength, intelligence and staying power of this nation as they have never before been tested.

We are in to the end. There is no way out short of victory or defeat.

At the same time, we must solve internal problems which have been too long neglected and we must lay practical foundations now for rehabilitation when the war is over.

This job calls for a government strong, energetic and representative enough to enlist and co-ordinate the best human and material resources in Canada, not only for our own defence and reconstruction, but for the most effective co-operation with our allies in the struggle.

Canada as a nation can be really at war only when every citizen, regardless of his political or other personal beliefs, is encouraged by his government to shoulder a fair share of the nation's burden and if, having been so encouraged, he is enabled to make his voluntary contribution with a maximum of effectiveness and a minimum of delay and annoyance.

There is no room in the Dominion now for party politics. While I am leading a movement for National Government I will not use a smokescreen of war effort to promote political objectives; I will not give lip-service to national unity to conceal the consolidation and aggrandisement of a party machine. The problems and responsibility in our democracy are those of the whole nation, not those of a handful of party stalwarts. There must be absolute frankness and trust between all the people of Canada and every member of their government.

The issue in this campaign is clear:

Either the people of Canada want a government composed of the best of the manpower of Canada; or they want a straight Liberal party administration which will continue to obstruct the national effort with indecision, delay, incompetence, trickery, patronage and favoritism.

It is all very well to say the King government has called strong, experienced men into the national service as members of departments and boards. Unless the Cabinet itself, the Organism which has the last word in policy and administration, is made up exclusively of competent, energetic and trustworthy men, the work of the various services will be crippled from the start.

We submit that no body of experts, however capable it may be, can carry on an adequate program of Canadian war effort under a weak government.

For five years the King government has been "drafting" the services of "experts" at great expense to the national treasury and then either side-tracking or ignoring their recommendations.

I will get the best brains and ability in Canada in the Cabinet of a National Government.

That government which, for partisan advantage, ran and hid from the findings of the Purvis Commission on Unemployment cannot be believed when it claims to be making full use now of the best brains in the Dominion.

By the way, where is the Rowell-Sirois Commission's report on Dominion Provincial Relations?

So strongly is Mr. King be-devilled with the shibboleth of party solidarity at the expense of the nation that after Ian Mackenzie had proved himself utterly incompetent to prepare the nation for war, the Prime Minister appointed him chairman of the Cabinet subcommittee charged to prepare for rehabilitation after the war.

When the irresistible pressure of public opinion finally forced Mr. King to remove his discredited Minister of National Defence, he merely shifted him to another department where he carries a heavy obligation to returned men from the last war. He replaced him in the Department of National Defence by the equally discredited Minister of Labour, a theorist with no practical experience, who, in four years' time, had failed to scratch the surface of the unemployment problem which it was his duty to solve.

And now, after having himself betrayed Canada and our allies in 1937 or 1938 by refusing to permit the British to set up air training schools in Canada for British pilots, which schools would have put us ahead of Germany instead of behind her in air preparedness, he proposes to succeed himself as the head of the nation's affairs.

Not only do I believe that a Cabinet preoccupied with party considerations cannot give efficient attention to the serious problems created by war, but I believe also that the ministers who are wrapped up in war problems cannot give adequate care to matters of ordinary internal administration. I will set up a war council within the Cabinet charged with the responsibility of winning the war.

And, I propose also, in setting up a National Government, to establish a Department of Reconstruction, headed by an outstanding Canadian, whose sole duty will be to begin at once studying and preparing for the readjustments which will inevitably follow the war.

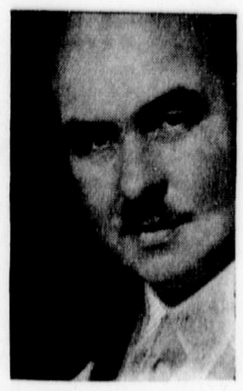
I repeat today an appeal I have made before, that in every constituency in Canada where nominations have not yet been made for the coming election, all Canadians who agree with me should endeavour to get together people of all

Continued on page 53

D 53587

Beverley Baxter's LONDON LETTER

Lord Tweedsmuir's Vision of a New World



A. Beverley Baxter, M.P.

LONDON, February 20. (By Cable)—The death of Lord Tweedsmuir is now sufficiently in the past for one to consider his personality and his place in the dual kingdoms of Literature and Imperial Service. One does not need even to ask how Canada received the news of his collapse and quick death. In no country in the world is there such warmth and generous kindliness toward a man who is trusted and liked. Canada grieved for a friend who had come from the old world and had made his home in the new. It was a strange fate which decided that he should never return to live in his beloved islands of the North Sea.

So much has been written about the late Governor-General that there is little new to be said about his achievements, and yet I feel that I would like to tell the story of how I met him first, our strange relations at that time, my subsequent talks and visits with him at Ottawa, and his revealing letter which reached me a fortnight or so before his death. I do not mean or want to pretend that I was an old or intimate friend of the late Governor-General. We had certain points of contact in journalism (he had been "Atticus" of the *Sunday Times*), the film world, politics, and eventually our mutually passionate interest in Canada.

The appointment of John Buchan to represent the King at Ottawa startled political circles in Great Britain. It had long been the custom to send the great figures of social and diplomatic life to Ottawa. One has only to recall the names of Devonshire, Grey, Connaught, Lansdowne, Elgin and Willingdon to realize that the choice fell almost automatically on those who by right of birth and position walked like gods. John Buchan knew everybody, but was neither duke nor nephew of one. He did not even possess a knighthood, although he could have had one at any time from 1918 onward. For a while he was called Colonel, but actually he remained John Buchan, scholar, historian, novelist, politician and commoner. He was one of those Members of the British Parliament who had great influence behind scenes but did not count greatly on the floor of the House. For a man with almost a schoolboy's zest for adventure, he had acquired a peculiarly high-pitched ecclesiastic voice in public speaking. One day he was addressing the House, and, being nervous, the ecclesiastic mannerism became so pronounced that suddenly, as he paused for effect, a member from the opposite benches intoned, "Let us pray." Buchan had a sensitive soul, and the roar of laughter that swept the House not only hurt him deeply, but kept him silent on many subsequent occasions where his counsel would have been of much value.

When a man does many things well, the British are inclined to underrate the quality of any one of his achievements. John Buchan had been a brilliant scholar. At Oxford his contemporaries spoke of him with awe. But suddenly the scholar wrote a book. Then he wrote another. Many undergraduates write books, but the lean young Scot broke the code by having them published. They decided he was not as great a scholar as they had thought. The truth is that Buchan was many men in one, and he denied none of his personalities the luxury and joy of self-expression. He possessed the spirit of adventure, and it found vent in his mountain-climbing and in writing adventure stories where his men were audacious, two-fisted fellows and his women, to use his own expression, were just stuffed dolls. Men he understood, but when it came to the complexities of women, he preferred, like Dickens, to take them from stock, and did not mind if they never came to life. He had the gift of Dumas for the romantic adventure story, and he had an even greater industry than the famous Frenchman.

But John Buchan was also deeply interested in nations and their stories. As a historian he went deep, and there are many volumes that mark his contribution to the understanding of men and events through the ages. If it had not been for his high-spirited novels the British might have thought him a great historian. But always there was that versatility which raised doubts in the solid British mind.

In Canada, however, a man named Mackenzie King had met the famous John Buchan and liked him. More than that, he saw possibilities for him in an entirely new sphere. True Mr. Mackenzie King was not Prime Minister. It was the year 1935, and a general election was in the offing. Both Mr. R. B. Bennett and Mr. King had a suspicion that there would be a change of government as a result. So the Premier consulted the Opposition Leader about recommending a new Governor-General, and King had his way. For the first time a commoner was invited to go to Ottawa and sit in the seat of the mighty. However, there was another King, and he sat on the throne of England. King George V turned John Buchan into Baron Tweedsmuir, and Rideau Hall was saved from having a mister as its tenant.

The whole business caused much discussion over here, while it was particularly interesting to my colleagues and myself in the Gaumont British Picture Corporation.



—Photo taken for *Maclean's Magazine* by Karsh, Ottawa.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR
"Language poured from him—thrilling language."

We had just finished shooting Buchan's novel, "The 39 Steps," and we saw the immediate advantages of the attendant publicity. Never in the film business had anyone made a picture from a story by a Governor-General. As usual, however, the director had taken liberties with the script and, indeed, many parts of the story. It fell to my lot to see John Buchan and take him to a private view of the picture which he had never seen, and had probably never been consulted about during the whole shooting. By appointment I went to Buchan's office, which was in a sprawling building just across from the Parliament Buildings. I was not then a member, but the famous author showed he knew something about me. Almost his first words were, "Now you must advise me about Canada." With some diffidence I suggested that he should resist the temptation of making the great Canadian speech in Canada. His eyes twinkled. "My dear Baxter, what is the great Canadian speech?" he asked. I told him that every prominent Briton who went to Canada always told Canadians they had vast agricultural areas, great mineral wealth, mighty forests and fisheries, were bounded by the Atlantic in the East and the Pacific in the West, and had the great, friendly American republic to the South. I said these facts were no doubt accurate and thrilling, but not exactly news to Canadians.

Buchan scratched his head ruefully. "It's too bad," he said. "That is the very speech I have just been preparing."

We motored to the tiny little private cinema where the film was waiting to be shown us. He was like a child with a new toy. Every time the story deviated from his original, he ejaculated, "First rate. Much better than my way." When it was finished, he stood up and thanked the operator who had run it through for us. "It's an immense improvement on the book," he said.

I took the good news to our directors, but they shook their heads. "There's something queer about it," they said. "No author ever behaved like that before."

On the first night of the film I presided at a dinner for Buchan, at which, with magnificent vulgarity, there were 39 steps, bedecked with flowers, leading to the head table. Sir John Simon and half a dozen other Ministers came along, while the film industry turned out in dark and serried ranks. Everybody felt most important except John Buchan, whose eyes were twinkling away throughout the affair. Sir John Simon, in a short speech, said that in choosing Governors-General for the Dominions it was always felt they should be men who were able to write, but in this case it seemed as if we had overdone it. Then, with a touch of unconscious prophecy, he added, "John Buchan will set such a standard of expression it will not be easy to nominate his successor."

At Rideau Hall

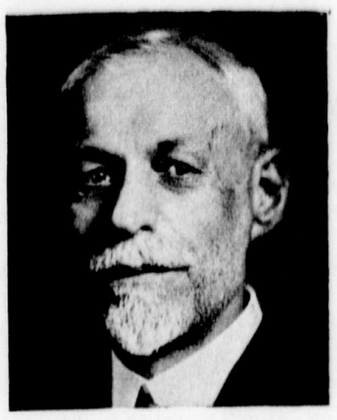
THE next time I saw Lord Tweedsmuir was on the occasion of the maiden voyage of the *Queen Mary*. When the ship reached New York there was a telegram asking my wife and myself to come to Rideau Hail. As we were returning as soon as the ship could turn round, it meant a rush trip to Ottawa, getting there for lunch and leaving at about four. The viceregal lodge in Ottawa is a stately dwelling place for those who wear the King's livery, set in grounds that wander languorously down to the river's edge. It might be a corner of the English countryside, that countryside which is now being mangled so roughly by progress and the necessities of fate. Each Governor-General, or, more truthfully, each Governor-General's wife, has added some improvement or made some alteration to the stately pile, but the proud old house remains much the same, mellowed by history and clothed in tradition. There is something splendid even about its floors, which have been there so long that a guest rising early in the morning causes such creaks and percussions that the whole wing is aware of the rake's progress.

We arrived just before lunch, and an A.D.C. advised us as to procedure. My wife would stand there, and I would stand here, please. Then, when Their Excellencies arrived, etc. It was a formal business I can tell you. When Their Excellencies were announced, we bowed and curtsied according to our sex, and John Buchan moved like one who had been nursed by the centuries for the task. He was the King's representative and carried himself as such. At luncheon, though, I was worried to see how much thinner he had become. While the rest of us tucked in in good style, he merely nibbled at a nut and skinned a grape. The internal trouble from which he was suffering was taking a toll from that frail body which had so little to give.

Continued on page 56

D 53588

as I See It



MR. WOODSWORTH

By J. S. WOODSWORTH

National President and Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

WE MUST win the war; nothing else matters; let us get on with the war—such statements are far from true and may easily be used to cloak practices inimical to the general welfare. War objectives, war policies, war appointments, war profiteering, war financing, decent living standards for our people and the retention of our hard-won liberties—these *do* matter.

During the Special War Session in September I stated my own personal conviction that war settles nothing. War is the inevitable outcome of the present economic and international system with its injustices, exploitations and class interest. The common people of any country gain nothing by slaughtering the common people of any other country. War is the negation of freedom, democracy and the spirit of Christianity. Other means of settling international difficulties must be found, but courage and self-sacrifice and faith are necessary. Many regard my position as "impracticable"—or worse, but large numbers of the younger generation agree with me. I am content to leave the final verdict to the future.

The official position of the C.C.F. with regard to the war was set forth by Mr. M. J. Coldwell. The unity and welfare of the Canadian people must be our first loyalty. Although Canada had no voice in the foreign policies of the European governments which have brought us to the present tragic position, the C.C.F. recognizes that the present struggle may involve the survival of democratic institutions. Canada should be prepared to defend her own shores, but her assistance overseas should be limited to economic aid and must not include conscription of man power or the sending of any expeditionary force. The C.C.F. would place the burden of financing the war upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, and insists that democracy at home must be preserved unimpaired during the war.

Such was the C.C.F. position at the outbreak of the war. Today a new situation must be faced. Canada has been definitely in the war for some months. Contingents have been despatched overseas. At the moment conscription, although not an issue, is undoubtedly a possibility. Ever since the outbreak of war government has been carried on by Orders-in-Council. Recently parliament was summoned only to be summarily dissolved. As the situation now exists, what are the issues before the Canadian people?

Perhaps the most outstanding consideration is that of the maintenance of civil liberties and British traditions. The Prime Minister has again and again declared that "Parliament will decide." As a matter of fact all the important war-policies and war-commitments and war-arrangements have been decided by the Government—that is, in effect, by a committee of the Liberal party. Parliament has had no voice whatever. Regulations vitally affecting our civil liberties have been adopted by Order-in-Council, not by Act of Parliament. Some of these practically sweep away Magna Charta. Large numbers of very important appointments have been made by Order-in-Council without any opportunity for parliamentary criticism. Contracts amounting to tens of millions of dollars have been given without parliament being able to scrutinize the accounts.

The summary dismissal of parliament is to be condemned not because it caused great inconvenience to members and to thousands of others, but because it effectively prevented discussion of public affairs by the elected representatives of the people. It prevented the securing even of essential information.

Under our constitution the majority in parliament has the responsibility of governing, but the minority has the important function of acting as a safeguard for the people's rights. Our government has an overwhelming majority yet it has effectively silenced criticism. Compare this with what has been done in Great Britain. There parliament has been almost continuously in session. The government has submitted its policies to parliament and daily has had to stand a regular barrage of questions and criticism. Here, with the exception of five days of the Special War Session and the few hours of the recent sitting, from the adjournment of the last regular session until the new parliament can assemble, Canada will have been without a parliament for ten critical months. Government by Order-in-Council is certainly less embarrassing but it is not democracy.

The Liberal press pleads for national unity. The Prime Minister has rejected the idea of a National Government. Under these circumstances unity is likely to mean the continuation of a Liberal monopoly—one is almost tempted to say "dictatorship." Have non-Liberals nothing to contribute at this time of national crisis?

The Prime Minister has now adopted a new slogan—"The people must decide"—but as a matter of fact, at this election the people have very little on which to base an intelligent decision. Charges of "patronage contracts," of party-appointments, of incompetence and bungling, of high national policies being dictated by political expediency—these can now neither be proved nor disproved. This is neither democratic nor British.

So also the curtailment of our civil liberties under the Defense of Canada Regulations. Men have been arrested for

Continued on page 53



MR. BLACKMORE

By JOHN H. BLACKMORE

Leader of the Social Credit Group in the House of Commons

MAN used waterpower for centuries before he learned that, converted into steam, it could serve new purposes; but to utilize the steam, he had to develop a new technique.

Man used windpower, for centuries, to drive his ships across the seas until he learned he could fly by wind power, but he had to develop a new technique.

The technique changed when the primitive method would no longer serve.

Scarcity reigned throughout the world until the beginning of the twentieth century, and it governed every activity of production.

Then, within the brief span of a generation, Scarcity fell before the onslaught of Mass Production and Abundance ascended the throne of Commerce.

But Scarcity still fought to reign!

While millions starved, crops were destroyed. While millions were ill-clad, cotton covering the rich plantations of the South was plowed under. Millions of tons of shipping was scrapped. Thousands of miles of railway lines were torn up. Financial sabotage drove industry to the wall that the economy of Scarcity might prevail. Widespread poverty, appalling housing conditions, restriction of purchasing power, increased debt and taxation burdens were effected in order that the economy of Scarcity might prevail.

But, like an all-engulfing flood, Abundance, supported by the intelligence of Mass Production, gained mastery, and Commerce, which for ages had been geared to methods of distribution based on principles of Scarcity, faced the problem of distributing to needy millions the abundance provided by Mass Production—a problem demanding a new technique.

The basic issue in this election is the solution of that problem.

Is it to be wondered that proponents of the technique required, like their forerunners Stephenson, Watt, Fulton, Bleriot and the Wright Brothers, have had to run the gauntlet of scorn and derision howled at them by public, press and politicians alike? Is it to be wondered that they have gained such loyal, unswerving and inspired encouragement and support from those who, in the long winter prairie evenings, have gathered about their firesides calmly, but determinedly, to study and investigate?

The steam engine technique required steam, but no doubt when people were first told this they asked, "What is steam?" No doubt they were likewise baffled by a reply involving thermodynamics; but what interested them most was an explanation of what the use of steam could accomplish.

The new money technique—demanded by the advent of an era of abundance—requires the use of social credit, i.e., of the credit of society. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these days people should ask, "What is social credit?" But they are not as interested in a discussion on social dynamics as they are in what this new science can accomplish for them.

In an era of scarcity, self-preservation made it necessary for each individual to struggle for the necessities of life. In an age of abundance it is increasingly necessary for each individual to struggle for higher quality and greater perfection in each calling, trade or profession, but since there is plenty for *all*, the individual struggle for MORE should cease because all should ensure that the available abundance is distributed to all in accordance with the needs of each individual. The application of social credit principles would achieve this purpose just as the application of steam power drives the locomotive.

The Parliament of Canada, if it would, could institute these principles for the distribution of abundance in a very short time without disrupting banking or displacing a single bank employee; without interfering with legitimate investments; without inflation; without disturbing trade and commerce whether internal or external; and without destroying individual initiative.

But it should be remembered that the application of such principles WOULD DESTROY THE POWER OF MONEY TO CONTROL ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING from human life to vast industrial or commercial enterprises, national or international.

Opposition to the principles of the money technique of abundance does not come from those persons who see in money merely a means through the use of which they may buy the things they need. When thoroughly acquainted with these principles, such persons support them eagerly.

The opposition comes from those persons who see in the use of money a means whereby they can control, for gain or greater power, the actions of their fellowmen or industry or commerce.

They oppose the use of the nation's credit because they know that it would destroy the power they wield through the control of money. Among the ranks of those who oppose those principles will be found persons who, through the power of money, control industry, commerce or the press or any portion of them—because these principles of the money technique of abundance, when applied, will give economic freedom to all.

In the minds of all in this day, credit is bound inseparably with the present conception of money. We must cease to regard money as something mysteriously

Continued on page 55

D 53589

ANOTHER DONALD MACKELLEN STORY

Five Wee Wimmen

In which a now-famous Scot has a birthday—and learns aboot the lassies

By KIT HIGSON



Margaret seized her adopted son and removed him bodily.

MARGARET looked away from the glowing fire that made the cool evening comfortable. Her husband, catching her glance, asked, "Bothered about anything, Margaret?"

She answered indirectly, "I've been thinking, George, I'd like Donald to have a party."

"A party?" George quite evidently found the proposition somewhat surprising.

"Yes," Margaret wrinkled her brows. "I want him to grow more childlike," she explained. "More childlike and less obstinate." She went on: "Coming from that lonely, outlandish place in Scotland, losing his mother and father before he was out of the cradle, having no one to turn to but that dreadful—that old grandfather. Naturally he's not quite like a normally brought up English boy of six years old. But he can be improved—I'm sure of that—and I owe it to Mary to do my best."

George said reminiscently, "I shall remember as long as I live that day we found him waiting on the platform; his funny little legs sticking out of his funny little kilt; his solemn disapproving little mug. Of all the queer self-contained little cusses!" He chuckled.

Margaret refused to smile. "His mother was so different," she said. "I should never have adopted Donald without seeing him first, if I hadn't been sure, having known Mary for so long, that he would be"—she was going to say, "satisfactory," but changed her mind, added instead, "sweet and lovable."

"One couldn't call Donald that," George admitted. "Lovable, perhaps; sweet, no, thank heaven!" he finished, tapping his pipe. "Personally, I've no use for your angel-faced children, Meg. I like 'em with a bit of pep."

Margaret, poking the fire viciously, advised him, "There's reason in everything." She continued, after an appreciable pause, "If that old housekeeper hadn't written in such a hurry after the grandfather died, saying Mary's baby was destitute, I might have arranged to see Donald before we settled things—we took an awful risk."

George asked, "You are sorry—we took the risk?"

Margaret answered slowly, almost with surprise, "No, however little Donald is like the baby I wanted, I wouldn't lose him now. All the same, he's a trial, and you know it, George. Look how he talks down to me! Just because that old Grandfather Mackellen hated women, Donald treats me, and cook, and every female thing he meets—well, you know how he treats us!" She paused, finishing resentfully. "All the children I've known—*cling*."

GEORGE, suppressing another gurgle, told his wife: "His upbringing's bin agin anything of the kind." He went on after he had lit his pipe, "You're in too much of a hurry. He's only been here a few months. All his life till he came to us has been spent in the company, the sole company as far as I can gather, of an old man and an old woman. Naturally the little chap's a bit old for his years."

"A bit!" Margaret raised her brows.

George puffed placidly at his briar. "He's loyal to the old chap," he said. "Faithful to his teaching. You ought to admire him for it, Margaret."

"Ought I?" Margaret pronounced after a short silence. "Well, I don't. I'm as fond of Donald as you are, George. But if I could smack his 'gran'faither' out of him I would. The trouble is, I can't."

George, not too impressed by his wife's declaration, agreed, "No, you can't. Time will wear some of the Mackellen out of him," he said. "But neither whackings nor scolding nor—"

Margaret interrupted. "I've only smacked him once. And then, as you very well know, George, I was driven to it. I want him to have a happy childhood—also"—she finished a little inconsequently—"I don't want to lose cook." She reached for her darning bag as a sign that the discussion was ended.

George taking up his paper, announced, "Cook's big enough to take care of herself."

"Size isn't everything, George. A mosquito can sting a giant." Margaret dug her darning needle into the heel of a sock. She had mended a large hole very beautifully when she spoke again.

"He does try to please me," she admitted. "He knows I don't like him to keep quoting that old man. But it's become a habit—a *dreadful* habit. And if he tells me what his gran'faither wad hae said once in a day, he tells me fifty times."

"He'll get over it," George said as he turned over the leaves of his paper. "Maybe your idea's not a bad one. A party might help," he concluded as Margaret rose, "always supposing the other small guests survive."

Margaret mentioned the matter of the party the next day after George had departed for business. The pleased smile that she had hoped would light up Donald's small face was only noticeable by its absence. "You've never had a party, perhaps, Donald?" she wanted to know.

"Na." He shook his head emphatically. "It's no a pairty I'm wanting, Marg'ret," he said. "It's a dug."

"A dug?"

"Ay, a dug."

"And what, pray, is a dug?"

"A dug, wuman? A dug's a dug o' course." Donald's brown eyes rested on Margaret with something very like compassion. "Dinna tell me ye canna mind whut a dug is," he said.

Margaret told him sharply, "You are not to call me 'woman,' Donald. I've told you that before."

"A'weel—my gran'faither wad always ca' a wuman, a wuman—whut else?" Donald seated himself on the low stool that was his own particular property. "Whut else?" he repeated.

"It's not polite," Margaret said. "And I won't have it."

"It's true, Marg'ret. Ye are a wuman. I'm nut saying it's no a peety. But it's the truth—an' the Guid Book says—"

"Donald!"

Donald, moving his stool unobtrusively, mentioned: "Ma gran'faither wad quote fra the Guid Book morning, noon an' nicht—an' he wis a Mackellen—"

"Oh, heavens!" Margaret clasped nervous hands. "Listen!" she ordered.

"I am listening, Marg'ret—wi' baith lugs."

"Don't use that horrible word, Donald. I've told you before I don't like it."

"But they *are* lugs." Donald gazed at her innocently. "Ma gran'faither wad always say, 'A wuman that canna mind tae wesh herr lugs winna mind tae mend herr claes.' "

"So you have told me."

Donald under Margaret's stern gaze became very still. "A'weel," he said.

"Now, listen, Donald," Margaret, slightly mollified by his meekness, went on in a softer voice, "It will be your sixth birthday very soon, and I thought it would be nice to ask all the little girls and boys in the neighborhood to come to tea."

Donald shook his head. "If ye mak' me hae a pairty," he said, "I'll put up wi' it. But I'll no hae wimmen to't."

"Little girls, Donald. *Nice* little girls." Margaret spoke in a more persuasive tone than she was aware.

"Na." Donald's tone became firmer.

"You see, Donald"—Margaret took a deep breath—"some of the little boys who will be coming to your party have sisters. You can't invite one and not the other."

"Can I no?"

"No." Margaret, feeling her point was gained, smiled down at him.



"Ye'd like a bluidhoond y'ersel', wad ye no?" Donald asked. "Look at the beastie."

D 53590

The Issue As I See It

By RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Continued from page 12

ations which should not be overlooked.

In normal times, the differences which divide people into various political groups are fundamental. These differences have to do with economics, finance, the degree of state intervention in the life of the community. In peace time it is difficult for electors who hold political views strongly to give support to any party but their own. But in war time, under conditions that now exist, this does not hold. These peace time differences of opinion will not be the paramount issues in the Parliament to be elected on March 26. Rather, the new Parliament will be consecrated to the winning of the war. The vital problems that it will deal with will be war problems, and it is conceivable the war may last the life of the new Parliament.

• In these circumstances, I suggest that there should be no uncertainty, no wavering. The government which is best able to hold this country constant and united in the maximum war effort is the present administration, and support should not be withheld from it because an elector does not agree with all of its peace time policies. This is a war time election, and it is a war time government that is being chosen.

The second consideration is this: An opposition is essential under our system of government. The present government and its supporters, if it is not returned to power, will become the opposition because the electors will have passed upon it and upon its war policy a vote of lack of confidence.

A new government will have to be formed out of one or more of the groups that, collectively, have defeated the present administration. It is for the electors to decide if it is possible to form out of these groups a government capable of maintaining national unity and of making the maximum war effort.

To sum up, this is the issue as I see it:

Our first aim must be victory.

To achieve victory, we must make our maximum war effort.

Our maximum war effort can be made only by a united people, led by a united government—a government itself unified by close association in office.

There is, in my judgment, but one party which can meet this test. It is for this reason that I believe Canada's interests, and the interests of the allied cause, demand the return to office of the present administration with a following which will leave no doubt of its support by the country as a whole. I ask for this support to the end that Canada may put forth her utmost effort in the winning of the war, and the preservation of freedom which depends on victory.

The Issue As I See It

By HON. R. J. MANION, M.C.

Continued from page 12

groups at open conventions for the purpose of naming some loyal, able citizen, of whatever party, as a National Government candidate.

It has been hinted darkly, if not said openly, that I have proposed a National Government as a screen behind which to promote conscription and railway amalgamation.

Both suggestions are utterly untrue.

I am against conscription on the ground, among others, that it is unnecessary. In the last war the chief result of attempts to apply it in Canada was national disunity and misunderstanding, and it raised very few men for our armies.

And I am against railway amalgamation, though I advocate full co-operation between the railways under a non-political board which would have the power to see that co-operation was actually made effective, with full protection for the men whose employment might be interfered with through co-operative measures.

I am campaigning for a National Government for one reason only: that a nation at war *needs* a National Government.

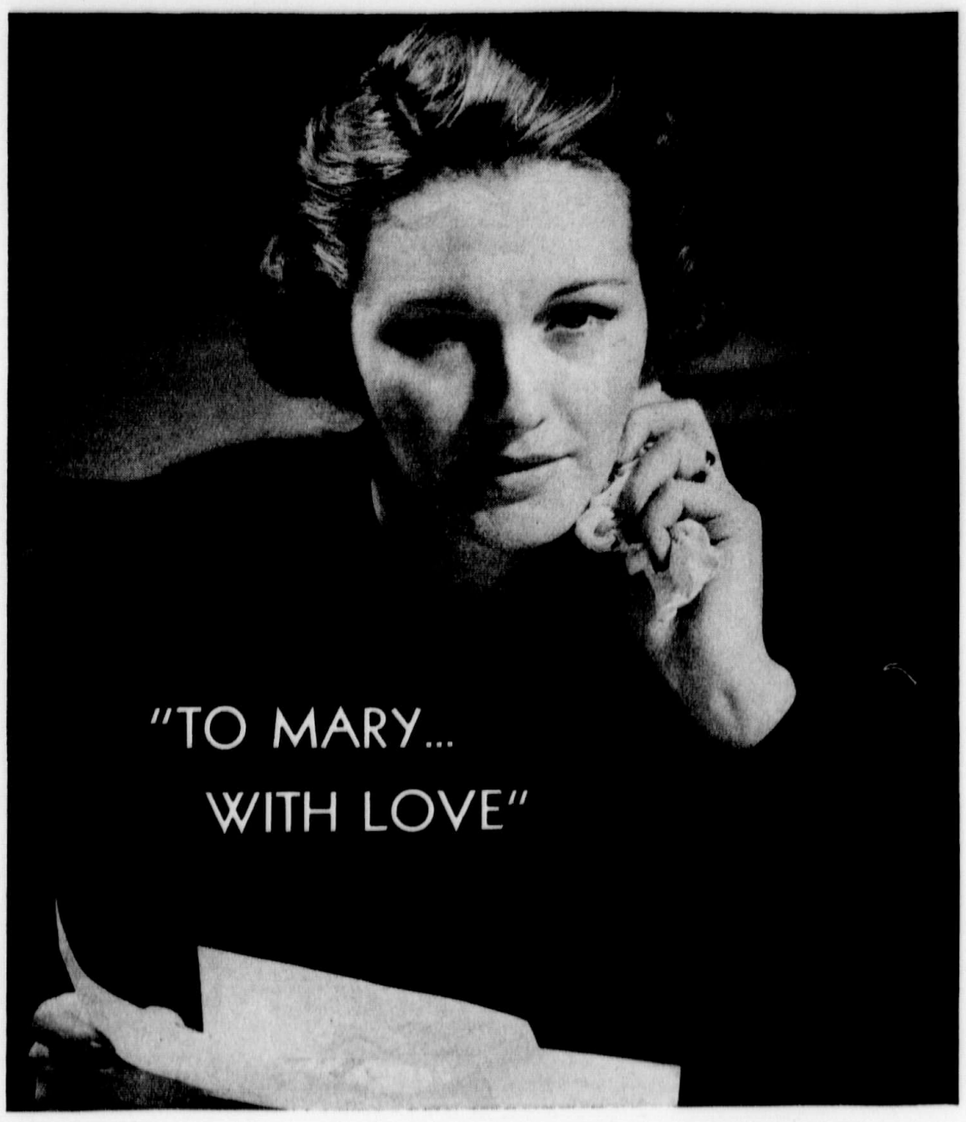
The Issue As I See It

By J. S. WOODSWORTH

Continued from page 13

mere statements of opinion having nothing whatever to do with military secrets. One outstanding case is that of an official of a Labor Union. Publications that circulate freely in Great Britain have been banned in Canada. Free assembly for minority groups has been made very difficult. Censorship of the radio has passed all bounds—a free people accustomed to free institutions, are becoming fear-ridden. We blame the Germans for not resisting the authority of Hitler. Are we Canadians to surrender lightly our boasted British rights? Prominent citizens—including Liberals—are now seeking to pledge the leaders of all parties to have these dangerous Regulations revised at the next session of parliament. Such revision has already been made in Great Britain. These Regulations, however, are not statutory. They were set up by the Liberals through Order-in-Council and can be altered by them tomorrow. Unless they are altered, how can the Liberals have the assurance to appeal to the people? Strange that in Canada under a "democratic government" we should need a Civil Liberties Union!

War profiteering has not been unknown in Canada. To prevent a recurrence, parliament a year ago enacted legislation limiting profits to five per cent. The manufacturers, not content with this, apparently adopted something in the nature of a boycott. The government weakly surrendered as revealed by the statement of Mr. Howe at the War Session —"The Defence Purchasing Board has done its very best to place contracts on that basis and has used every pressure that could be brought to bear in the form of patriotism and so on, but to date it has not succeeded in placing a single contract



Dear Mary,

When you read this, my dear, I will no longer be with you. You will have to face alone all those problems that we so confidently faced together.

But, Mary, many years ago I looked ahead to a time like this. And planned then help for you when you would need it most.

I wanted so many things for you, my dear! Peace and contentment and security. And, above all else, I wanted you always to keep your pride, your independence and your self-respect.

All these things . . . and all my love . . . are expressed in the life insurance I have left for you. You will find it in our "treasure box" . . . in a plain envelope on which I have written, in memory of the happiness we shared together, "To Mary . . . with love."

It was the privilege of a Prudential agent to help Mary's husband plan the protection and security he has left her . . . He is one of the 23,000 friendly Prudential agents who have brought the benefits of life insurance to millions of homes . . . Your Prudential agent wants to help you plan, soundly and intelligently, your own insurance program . . . to help you give your family the security and safety of Prudential life insurance protection.

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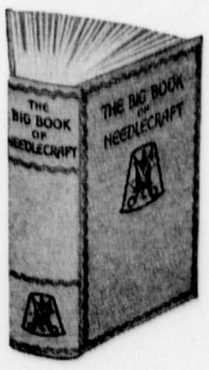

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. . . That part of the act we can consider as having proven to be unworkable."

Now apparently, the manufacturers are satisfied with the arrangements. But why should anyone make profits out of war? An appeal is made to young men to risk their lives for their country. Why should not industrialists at least loan their plants? The C.C.F. has urged that the manufacture of arms, munitions, and war materials should be nationalized.

Again in the financing of the war, the C.C.F. would urge a pay-as-you-go policy. Instead of this the Government has resorted to borrowing. The recent issue at three and a quarter per cent was largely oversubscribed, the great corporations subscribing the major proportion. Undoubtedly within a few years, the ordinary people will have been forced to surrender their bonds. This means that the insurance companies, mining companies and other great corporations will hold a mortgage on the future economic life of Canada. Their dividends will be considered to have the first claim. Once in the House when I suggested a reduction in the rate on the C.N.R. bonds, Mr. Bennett replied, "Ah, but these are our sacred obligations!" Some of the veterans of the last war are now eating in soup-kitchens; some widows of veterans are quite unprovided for. Are they not our sacred obligations?

After all, the great corporations were able to accumulate their large reserves through special concessions, privileges, and the security afforded them by governments. Long ago their large profits should have been taxed into the public treasury. Now in the time of national emergency, the Government instead of giving them a safe investment at a high rate of interest, should adopt the C.C.F. recommendation and immediately increase the tax on higher incomes and institute an excess profit and capital gains tax. The wealthy talk easily of conscripting men. The people are beginning to think in terms of conscripting wealth.

In his appeal in connection with this loan, the Honorable Ernest Lapointe used a phrase as cynical as revealing—"Profitable patriotism"! Profitable patriotism for the wealthy stay-at-homes? What of the boys at the front? The C.C.F. urges that the Government should provide for every soldier, security legally as binding as that afforded the bond-holders—an insurance policy which would provide in case of death, for his dependents and in case of return after the war, for health, re-education and absorption into civilian life. Further, at this stage in the war why not establish a sinking fund to finance the readjustments inevitable in the post-war period? Capitalists are being made secure. Why not labor, farmers and other citizens? You may laugh—well unless this is done the capitalists may not be as safe as they imagine! Referring to these post-war problems, the Prime Minister made only one proposal—the speedy enactment of unemployment insurance. Yet the same Mr. King used the B.N.A. Act to block Mr. Bennett's unemployment insurance legislation and for years has made no adequate provision for the unemployed or introduced other social legislation long overdue.

The Prime Minister seeks a fresh mandate to carry on the war. He should give the people a clear statement of war aims and plans for peace after the war. What are we fighting for? Is it to restore Poland? Is it to stop further aggression by Hitler? Is it to maintain the map of Europe as arranged by the Versailles Treaty? Is it to maintain the present economic order? Surely it is becoming clear that fundamental changes in both our political and economic structure are inevitable and that permanent peace can come only through collective action.

In the past each nation has lived a more or less self-contained life. But in recent times the world is becoming closely integrated. Think of the steamships, the railways, the bus lines, the airplanes, the

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telegraph, the telephone, the wireless. Our street traffic must now be carefully controlled or disaster results. Today the world's highways are crowded; yet we proceed on the old theory of "national sovereignty," that is, that each nation can do as it pleases. The C.C.F. believes that each nation must be willing to recognize the decisions of some world-organization.

Economic unity—industrial, commercial and financial—has travelled faster than political. Each household is dependent for even its necessities, upon almost every part of the world. We are literally members one of another. In society as in an organism, the welfare of any one part is dependent upon the welfare of each of the other parts. An infection in one part may cause death to the whole body. Our economic system, an inheritance from the past, fails to meet the needs of today. The war is demonstrating the need for economic controls. We have vast reserves of capital and on the other hand lack of purchasing power among the masses. We must dump goods in order to restore the balance of trade. American economists are already advocating that after the war, the United States should finance free, the restoration of Europe—this not as an act of generosity but in order to save her own economic life.

The old individualism is gone. We must choose either corporation control under an authoritarian state or co-operation in a real democracy. The C.C.F. as its name indicates, is working to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth both at home and in international affairs.

The Issue As I See It

By JOHN H. BLACKMORE

Continued from page 13

conceived and born through some ritualistic rite known only to a few. We must recognize it for what it is—a mere instrument, a mechanical device, created by man for his own use.

Money is a system of bookkeeping and as such should reflect in figures the true facts of economic activity. Money is also a measure of value and therefore should be controlled, as are all weights and measures, by the Government.

The nature of money depends entirely upon governmental decision. Were Parliament to decree that brass door knobs were legal currency of certain value, brass door knobs would be money. When Parliament decreed that pieces of paper of certain size and design were to be legal currency, without recourse to gold in exchange on demand, those pieces of paper became money.

Now, therefore, the next step in monetary reform, is to determine beyond question the right of government to create money in quantity sufficient to facilitate the distribution of all goods and services in Canada to all Canadians in accordance with their needs.

It should be borne in mind that but one major difference exists between those who advocate this procedure and those who oppose it. Those who oppose it argue that money can be made available to the government only in the form of taxes or in the form of loans—loans which in the final analysis must be provided by privately owned and controlled chartered banks, which are permitted to create credit out of thin air and based solely upon belief that the credit so created (by a loan) will be repaid with interest—a belief often proven to be unjustifiable.

(See Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Section "Banking and Credit": 'Banks create credit. It is a mistake to suppose that bank credit is created to any extent by the payment of money into the banks. A loan made by a bank is a clear addition to the amount of money in the community.')

We advocate that the government create money in quantity sufficient to facilitate the distribution of all goods and services in Canada to all Canadians according to their requirements. We contend that, if privately controlled banks can create currency and credit in this way, surely the government can create, at cost, currency and credit backed by all the resources, developed and potential, of Canada to facilitate the desired distribution of goods and services.

This above all else is the major issue in the forthcoming federal election. It surpasses even the issue of Canada's war effort because, to settle the question in favor of monetary reform would enable the Dominion of Canada to pursue the war effort without increased taxation, without borrowing and without, therefore, increasing the tremendous and growing burden of debt for generations to come.

That which is physically possible is financially possible. Mr. Graham F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada, confirmed this fact in evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Banking and Commerce in the Spring of 1939.

Since it is physically possible and therefore financially possible, it is clearly the immediate and supreme duty of any federal government to organize and develop the vast resources of this Dominion to enable Canada to put forth her maximum war effort, provide adequately for the needs of all our people and to build a strong foundation which will enable us to take advantage of the glorious opportunities which peace will bring.

Any attempt to meet the tremendous problems that face this country with the present ramshackle economic system and broken down money technique will spell disaster.

It would seem that the sudden dissolution of Parliament was due to a premonition of this collapse on the part of the Prime Minister. In fear, he demanded that the people take the responsibility, without full knowledge of all the facts, for a decision regarding monetary reform which he and his ministers should have made and which, in fact, they pledged themselves in the last federal election to effect.

How can the people accept this responsibility? The Prime Minister has given them too short a time in which to become informed.

Yet he, himself, has no remedy except that of borrowing, which is no solution and which only rushes us on to the collapse and chaos that the Prime Minister and everyone else must know is inevitable if such a course is continued.

We advocate, as the solution, the creation of debt-free money—not only because it is physically and financially possible, but also because it is as logical and right as votes for women, representation by population, the secret ballot or any of the other many reforms achieved by man in his struggle for freedom since the dawn of history.

It is the next great reform demanded by those circumstances which gave rise to the advent of this era of abundance in the place of the past era of scarcity.

Although the great majority of Canadians may not realize it, this is the major issue in this election—an issue which can be won without violence or bloodshed and without the surrender of any private individual rights or possessions or financial security.

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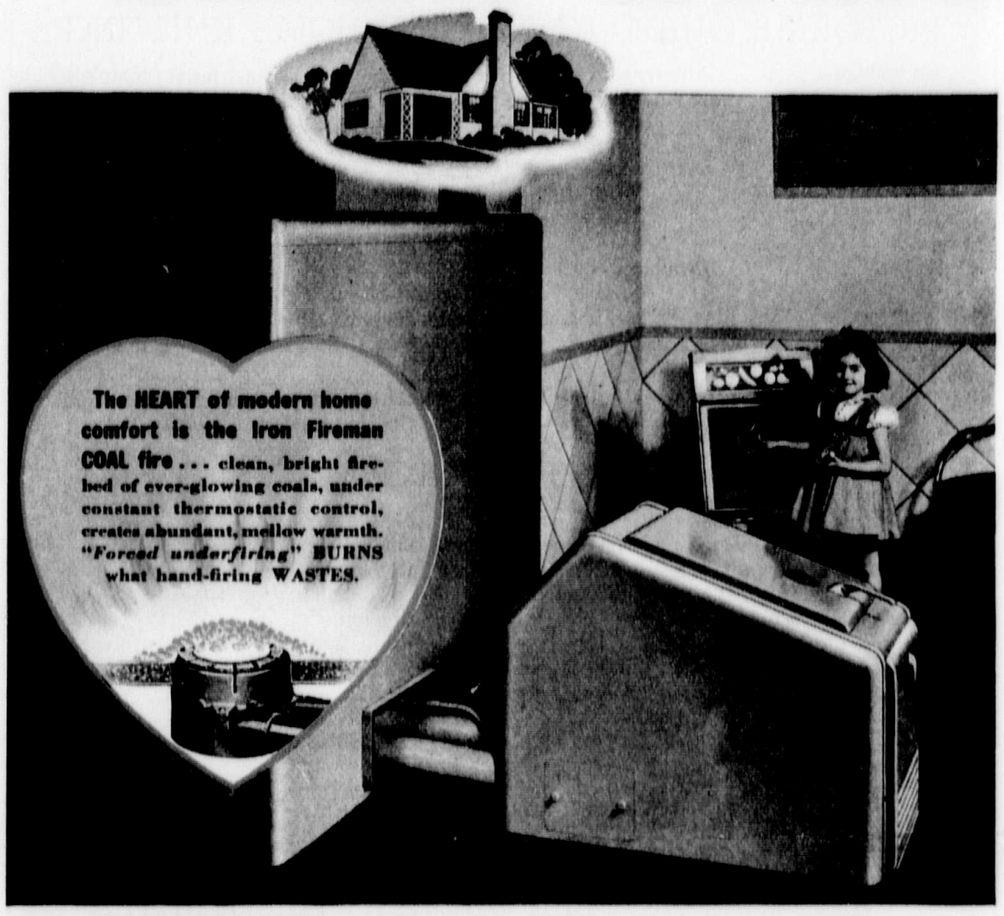

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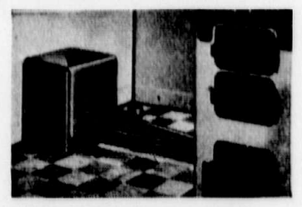

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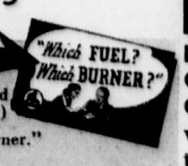

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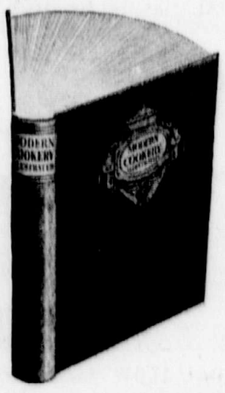

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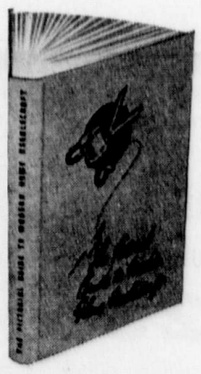

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London Letter

Continued from page 11

Luncheon came to a formal end and the host and hostess withdrew. In about ten minutes an A.D.C. came to me with the message that His Excellency would receive me in the library. When I entered, Tweedsmuir jumped to his feet and pushed me into the most comfortable chair and produced a first-rate cigar. He was like a schoolboy, and chuckled away with sheer exuberance of spirit. "Tell me about everything and everybody," he cried. "How's L. G., and Max and Kemsley? How is Sam, and what is Winston up to? Is Neville standing up to it?"

When I had got rid of my load of mischief, I asked him how he liked Canada. He made rather a shy gesture with his hands. "I have lost my heart to it," he said. "So completely has it obsessed me that I doubt if I shall go home on leave when it is due. I don't want old ties and associations to upset this spiritual unison between Canada and myself, which has become so precious."

We went for a walk in the grounds. There was a cricket match—some school against the staff of Rideau Hall. Being a cricket match, the excitement did not prevent our continuing to converse from time to time. Canada was truly obsessing his mind and his emotions. It was challenging Old Scotia itself for first place in his heart. Like a parent, he spoke with special affection of French-Canadian Quebec, the problem child of the Dominion. The man had grown immensely in stature with his new post.

"Vision of a New World"

IT WAS next year, I think, that we stayed at Rideau Hall for a longer visit before sailing from Quebec. Tweedsmuir was even more frail, but there was greater vivacity than before. He seemed burning with some vision or prophecy which had gripped his mind. Prime Minister Mackenzie King came to dinner and talked with that engaging frankness which is one of his best characteristics. Jack McConnell, owner of the Montreal *Star*, was there with his nice wife, and the whole party would have been fun if it had been held in a log cabin.

One night after dinner Tweedsmuir again took me to the library. Choosing an even better cigar, he said, "I have seen a vision. It excites me so much I can think of nothing else." He had just returned from a dangerous, almost madcap, airplane tour of the Arctic. Walking up and down the room, he released a torrent of language. "I have seen a vision of a new world in the Arctic," he said, "where winter is kindlier than on the plains, and summer, with its double allowance of sunshine, is both beautiful and bountiful. I can see this rich new world held together by the cheapest and safest air travel in existence, and I can visualize a happy, courageous people, ennobled and made unselfish and happy by contact with the clean, antiseptic North." He stopped as if ashamed of his own excitement. "I agree it is all out of scale with humanity, but I suppose it's a good thing for us pygmies to realize that the world is not made to our dimensions."

Again language poured from him, thrilling language that had both beauty and understanding. Other phrases cut the air with their incisive, almost harsh quality. Once he described the ugliness he had seen with oozing mud that fouled the rivers, and his words pictured the whole revolting mess. Then, as if to wipe out that memory, he said slowly. "But when you follow the North Star until you come to pack ice, then there is such a sense of infinite peace and lonely, shimmering beauty that it is hard to persuade the soul to come away."

He stopped, smiled. His cheeks had gone suddenly pale, and there was a look of infinite fatigue about his face. "We had better go back to the others," he said.

"My Roots Are Pretty Deep"

FROM time to time after that we exchanged letters. I would tell him of Westminster; he would give me word pictures of Canada in a world of gathering shadows. The last letter I received from him came three weeks ago. With immense gusto he described the French-Canadian regiments that had rallied so well, and the Toronto Highlanders whom he had inspected. "I never saw a kilted regiment to equal them," he wrote, "long, rangy, rawboned fellows whom you could imagine slipping over the borders on a foray into Northumberland."

Then he discussed his approaching departure. "I have to face the problem of my going next September. The Cabinet has asked me to undertake a second term of office, but my P. M. told them that was impossible. Then they asked for me to remain for the duration of war, or, at any rate, for an extra year. There are very good reasons why I should leave next September. One is the general principle that I think five years is long enough for any Governor-General, especially someone like myself, for I do not want my idiosyncrasies to harden into precedents which would embarrass a successor. Also, a time of war is excellent for a change, for we have no serious problems, and my successor would have only, at first, simple formal duties, and not be compelled to do what I did and make about forty speeches in the first two months. There is also the question of my health and my wife's. At the same time it is not very easy to leave such a kindly and generous people, for I have got my roots down pretty deep. I think my P. M. will assent to my going, but, of course, the ultimate word lies with the King."

That letter is before me as I write. In its simplicity of spirit, yet in the constant vigor of its thought, it reveals what many of us have suspected, that John Buchan achieved fame in Britain but that he found his real greatness in Canada.

Perhaps in his dying moments his soul found again that shimmering beauty of the Arctic night in the track of the North Star, in the land of infinite peace.

✣ ✣ ✣ ✣ ✣

War. Canadians, in association with one another, have built this vast Dominion, linked coast to coast with rail lines and air lines, wrought homes from her vast forests and have torn unsurpassed wealth from her mines, farms, ranches, lakes, rivers and mountains.

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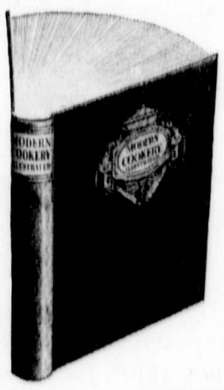

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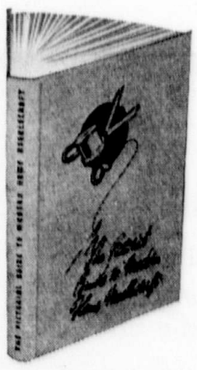

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War. Canadians, in association with one another, have built this vast Dominion, linked coast to coast with rail lines and air lines, wrought homes from her vast forests and have torn unsurpassed wealth from her mines, farms, ranches, lakes, rivers and mountains.

Canadians, in association with one another, can get what they want.

The opportunity of the hour lies in the fact that now Canadians have an opportunity to demand of Parliament that they be granted true democracy in the sphere of finance. This they shall do if they become sufficiently enlightened.

Unless this issue is settled at this time it may be too late. Before the next election we may become engulfed in the financial collapse toward which blind folly is rushing us and from which we can not possibly escape unless at once we institute and put into operation a new technique in money.

London Letter

Continued from page 11

Luncheon came to a formal end and the host and hostess withdrew. In about ten minutes an A.D.C. came to me with the message that His Excellency would receive me in the library. When I entered, Tweedsmuir jumped to his feet and pushed me into the most comfortable chair and produced a first-rate cigar. He was like a schoolboy, and chuckled away with sheer exuberance of spirit. "Tell me about everything and everybody," he cried. "How's L. G., and Max and Kemsley? How is Sam, and what is Winston up to? Is Neville standing up to it?"

When I had got rid of my load of mischief, I asked him how he liked Canada. He made rather a shy gesture with his hands. "I have lost my heart to it," he said. "So completely has it obsessed me that I doubt if I shall go home on leave when it is due. I don't want old ties and associations to upset this spiritual unison between Canada and myself, which has become so precious."

We went for a walk in the grounds. There was a cricket match—some school against the staff of Rideau Hall. Being a cricket match, the excitement did not prevent our continuing to converse from time to time. Canada was truly obsessing his mind and his emotions. It was challenging Old Scotia itself for first place in his heart. Like a parent, he spoke with special affection of French-Canadian Quebec, the problem child of the Dominion. The man had grown immensely in stature with his new post.

"Vision of a New World"

IT WAS next year, I think, that we stayed at Rideau Hall for a longer visit before sailing from Quebec. Tweedsmuir was even more frail, but there was greater vivacity than before. He seemed burning with some vision or prophecy which had gripped his mind. Prime Minister Mackenzie King came to dinner and talked with that engaging frankness which is one of his best characteristics. Jack McConnell, owner of the Montreal *Star*, was there with his nice wife, and the whole party would have been fun if it had been held in a log cabin.

One night after dinner Tweedsmuir again took me to the library. Choosing an even better cigar, he said, "I have seen a vision. It excites me so much I can think of nothing else." He had just returned from a dangerous, almost madcap, airplane tour of the Arctic. Walking up and down the room, he released a torrent of language. "I have seen a vision of a new world in the Arctic," he said, "where winter is kindlier than on the plains, and summer, with its double allowance of sunshine, is both beautiful and bountiful. I can see this rich new world held together by the cheapest and safest air travel in existence, and I can visualize a happy, courageous people, ennobled and made unselfish and happy by contact with the clean, antiseptic North." He stopped as if ashamed of his own excitement. "I agree it is all out of scale with humanity, but I suppose it's a good thing for us pygmies to realize that the world is not made to our dimensions."

Again language poured from him, thrilling language that had both beauty and understanding. Other phrases cut the air with their incisive, almost harsh quality. Once he described the ugliness he had seen with oozing mud that fouled the rivers, and his words pictured the whole revolting mess. Then, as if to wipe out that memory, he said slowly. "But when you follow the North Star until you come to pack ice, then there is such a sense of infinite peace and lonely, shimmering beauty that it is hard to persuade the soul to come away."

He stopped, smiled. His cheeks had gone suddenly pale, and there was a look of infinite fatigue about his face. "We had better go back to the others," he said.

"My Roots Are Pretty Deep"

FROM time to time after that we exchanged letters. I would tell him of Westminster; he would give me word pictures of Canada in a world of gathering shadows. The last letter I received from him came three weeks ago. With immense gusto he described the French-Canadian regiments that had rallied so well, and the Toronto Highlanders whom he had inspected. "I never saw a kilted regiment to equal them," he wrote, "long, rangy, rawboned fellows whom you could imagine slipping over the borders on a foray into Northumberland."

Then he discussed his approaching departure. "I have to face the problem of my going next September. The Cabinet has asked me to undertake a second term of office, but my P. M. told them that was impossible. Then they asked for me to remain for the duration of war, or, at any rate, for an extra year. There are very good reasons why I should leave next September. One is the general principle that I think five years is long enough for any Governor-General, especially someone like myself, for I do not want my idiosyncrasies to harden into precedents which would embarrass a successor. Also, a time of war is excellent for a change, for we have no serious problems, and my successor would have only, at first, simple formal duties, and not be compelled to do what I did and make about forty speeches in the first two months. There is also the question of my health and my wife's. At the same time it is not very easy to leave such a kindly and generous people, for I have got my roots down pretty deep. I think my P. M. will assent to my going, but, of course, the ultimate word lies with the King."

That letter is before me as I write. In its simplicity of spirit, yet in the constant vigor of its thought, it reveals what many of us have suspected, that John Buchan achieved fame in Britain but that he found his real greatness in Canada.

Perhaps in his dying moments his soul found again that shimmering beauty of the Arctic night in the track of the North Star, in the land of infinite peace.

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REPEAT REPETITION

D 53594 Maclean's Magazine, March 15, 1940

The Issue



MR. KING

By RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister and Leader of the National Liberal Party

THERE is but one issue—it is Canada's war effort.

On March 26, the electors must choose the government whose responsibility it will be to continue to plan, organize, maintain and direct the war effort of Canada. Upon the wisdom of their choice will depend not only the part which Canada will play, but conceivably the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and certainly the effect of the war upon our own country.

Remember that Canada's war effort may mean, for much that we most prize, the difference between victory and defeat. Remember, as well, that although we are 3,000 miles from the battle zone, we cannot escape the impact of war upon our national life, its economy and its institutions. And, above all, remember that war is a destructive, a disruptive force which it will require all our power and intelligence as a people to control.

I believe this is the greatest struggle the world has ever witnessed. For good or ill, this war must profoundly affect the history of all mankind for generations to come, and upon the result of this war depends the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If we are defeated, liberty—free institutions the world over—will perish.

I believe the first essential is that the forces of liberty, of democracy, shall triumph. This war must be won. It will be won by the combined power of the British Commonwealth and of France, with the help of other freedom-loving peoples. It will only be won with sound strategy, wisely planned and efficiently executed.

In this common cause, it is imperative that Canada put forth the greatest possible effort. How can this be done? Our maximum contribution to the war can be made only by a united Canada. If Canada is torn asunder, divided by policies which do not meet with general acceptance, our war effort will be undermined. To the extent that we are divided among ourselves, we will fail to play our part. This requires no argument, it is a self-evident truth.

How can Canada's unity be maintained? What kind of government is best able to hold this country united in war?

I submit that, at this crisis in our history, the present administration is in the best position to keep Canada united and to achieve the maximum war effort. In support of that statement, I offer this evidence.

The present government has already guided this country through the most difficult period in its history, a period which witnessed Canada's decision through her Parliament to stand at the side of Britain and France. This country entered the war united and strong.

When Canadian unity, in this war, was challenged last October by the former premier of Quebec, the present administration accepted that challenge, met the attack, took the issue to the people of that province and received a verdict re-enforcing and endorsing the war policy of Canada. In defence of that policy throughout the provincial campaign, no leader of any political party in Canada, so far as I can recall, other than those of the Liberal party in the Federal administration and in the Province of Quebec, uttered a single syllable.

Much is being heard of a national government. Such a government to be truly representative would have to draw its strength from all sections of the country. The present government is in this sense a truly representative government. It draws its strength from every section of Canada. Moreover, the supporters of the present administration in the last Parliament, at the time of the war session, were more numerous even than they were after the election of 1935. Its strength over five years in office did not diminish; it increased.

The present government, under the stress of national problems, indeed in the crisis of war itself, has been continuously united. The only losses the administration has sustained have been through illness and death.

I put it to the electors that such unity can only be attained when the policies of a government are in accord with the will of the people as a whole.

As to the future, if returned to office, the government will continue to be a truly representative government, reflecting the wishes, the aspirations of the people as a whole. Canada entered into the war united. It is essential that this unity be maintained.

It is against this record, against the fact of the nation-wide strength and unity of the support given to the present government, that other political leaders must be measured. Can the present Leader of the Opposition hope to get a national following of this kind? Or the leader of the C.C.F. party? Or the Social Credit party? Or the unborn New Democracy party? Is there any political group or combination, known or unknown, which has the remotest chance of being comparably representative of Canadian opinion as a whole?

This is the vital question which the electors must answer on March 26. This war demands our utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a united people; by a people united behind a government which draws its strength from every section of the country, and is truly representative of the constituent elements in our country.

There are two other important consider-

Continued on page 53



DR. MANION

By HON. R. J. MANION, M.C.

Leader of the National Conservative Party

CANADA is at war.

We are engaged in a struggle with a dangerous enemy.

We have assumed an obligation which will test the strength, intelligence and staying power of this nation as they have never before been tested.

We are in to the end. There is no way out short of victory or defeat.

At the same time, we must solve internal problems which have been too long neglected and we must lay practical foundations now for rehabilitation when the war is over.

This job calls for a government strong, energetic and representative enough to enlist and co-ordinate the best human and material resources in Canada, not only for our own defence and reconstruction, but for the most effective co-operation with our allies in the struggle.

Canada as a nation can be really at war only when every citizen, regardless of his political or other personal beliefs, is encouraged by his government to shoulder a fair share of the nation's burden and if, having been so encouraged, he is enabled to make his voluntary contribution with a maximum of effectiveness and a minimum of delay and annoyance.

There is no room in the Dominion now for party politics. While I am leading a movement for National Government I will not use a smokescreen of war effort to promote political objectives; I will not give lip-service to national unity to conceal the consolidation and aggrandisement of a party machine. The problems and responsibility in our democracy are those of the whole nation, not those of a handful of party stalwarts. There must be absolute frankness and trust between all the people of Canada and every member of their government.

The issue in this campaign is clear:

Either the people of Canada want a government composed of the best of the manpower of Canada; or they want a straight Liberal party administration which will continue to obstruct the national effort with indecision, delay, incompetence, trickery, patronage and favoritism.

It is all very well to say the King government has called strong, experienced men into the national service as members of departments and boards. Unless the Cabinet itself, the Organism which has the last word in policy and administration, is made up exclusively of competent, energetic and trustworthy men, the work of the various services will be crippled from the start.

We submit that no body of experts, however capable it may be, can carry on an adequate program of Canadian war effort under a weak government.

For five years the King government has been "drafting" the services of "experts" at great expense to the national treasury and then either side-tracking or ignoring their recommendations.

I will get the best brains and ability in Canada in the Cabinet of a National Government.

That government which, for partisan advantage, ran and hid from the findings of the Purvis Commission on Unemployment cannot be believed when it claims to be making full use now of the best brains in the Dominion.

By the way, where is the Rowell-Sirois Commission's report on Dominion Provincial Relations?

So strongly is Mr. King be-devilled with the shibboleth of party solidarity at the expense of the nation that after Ian Mackenzie had proved himself utterly incompetent to prepare the nation for war, the Prime Minister appointed him chairman of the Cabinet subcommittee charged to prepare for rehabilitation after the war.

When the irresistible pressure of public opinion finally forced Mr. King to remove his discredited Minister of National Defence, he merely shifted him to another department where he carries a heavy obligation to returned men from the last war. He replaced him in the Department of National Defence by the equally discredited Minister of Labour, a theorist with no practical experience, who, in four years' time, had failed to scratch the surface of the unemployment problem which it was his duty to solve.

And now, after having himself betrayed Canada and our allies in 1937 or 1938 by refusing to permit the British to set up air training schools in Canada for British pilots, which schools would have put us ahead of Germany instead of behind her in air preparedness, he proposes to succeed himself as the head of the nation's affairs.

Not only do I believe that a Cabinet preoccupied with party considerations cannot give efficient attention to the serious problems created by war, but I believe also that the ministers who are wrapped up in war problems cannot give adequate care to matters of ordinary internal administration. I will set up a war council within the Cabinet charged with the responsibility of winning the war.

And, I propose also, in setting up a National Government, to establish a Department of Reconstruction, headed by an outstanding Canadian, whose sole duty will be to begin at once studying and preparing for the readjustments which will inevitably follow the war.

I repeat today an appeal I have made before, that in every constituency in Canada where nominations have not yet been made for the coming election, all Canadians who agree with me should endeavour to get together people of all

Continued on page 53

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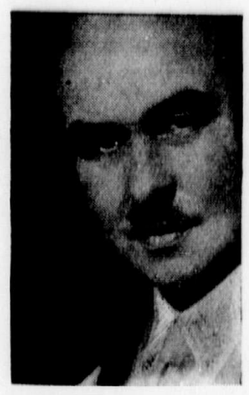
Beverley Baxter's LONDON LETTER

Lord Tweedsmuir's Vision of a New World



A. Beverley Baxter, M.P.

LONDON, February 20. (By Cable)—The death of Lord Tweedsmuir is now sufficiently in the past for one to consider his personality and his place in the dual kingdoms of Literature and Imperial Service. One does not need even to ask how Canada received the news of his collapse and quick death. In no country in the world is there such warmth and generous kindliness toward a man who is trusted and liked. Canada grieved for a friend who had come from the old world and had made his home in the new. It was a strange fate which decided that he should never return to live in his beloved islands of the North Sea.

So much has been written about the late Governor-General that there is little new to be said about his achievements, and yet I feel that I would like to tell the story of how I met him first, our strange relations at that time, my subsequent talks and visits with him at Ottawa, and his revealing letter which reached me a fortnight or so before his death. I do not mean or want to pretend that I was an old or intimate friend of the late Governor-General. We had certain points of contact in journalism (he had been "Atticus" of the *Sunday Times*), the film world, politics, and eventually our mutually passionate interest in Canada.

The appointment of John Buchan to represent the King at Ottawa startled political circles in Great Britain. It had long been the custom to send the great figures of social and diplomatic life to Ottawa. One has only to recall the names of Devonshire, Grey, Connaught, Lansdowne, Elgin and Willingdon to realize that the choice fell almost automatically on those who by right of birth and position walked like gods. John Buchan knew everybody, but was neither duke nor nephew of one. He did not even possess a knighthood, although he could have had one at any time from 1918 onward. For a while he was called Colonel, but actually he remained John Buchan, scholar, historian, novelist, politician and commoner. He was one of those Members of the British Parliament who had great influence behind scenes but did not count greatly on the floor of the House. For a man with almost a schoolboy's zest for adventure, he had acquired a peculiarly high-pitched ecclesiastic voice in public speaking. One day he was addressing the House, and, being nervous, the ecclesiastic mannerism became so pronounced that suddenly, as he paused for effect, a member from the opposite benches intoned, "Let us pray." Buchan had a sensitive soul, and the roar of laughter that swept the House not only hurt him deeply, but kept him silent on many subsequent occasions where his counsel would have been of much value.

When a man does many things well, the British are inclined to underrate the quality of any one of his achievements. John Buchan had been a brilliant scholar. At Oxford his contemporaries spoke of him with awe. But suddenly the scholar wrote a book. Then he wrote another. Many undergraduates write books, but the lean young Scot broke the code by having them published. They decided he was not as great a scholar as they had thought. The truth is that Buchan was many men in one, and he denied none of his personalities the luxury and joy of self-expression. He possessed the spirit of adventure, and it found vent in his mountain-climbing and in writing adventure stories where his men were audacious, two-fisted fellows and his women, to use his own expression, were just stuffed dolls. Men he understood, but when it came to the complexities of women, he preferred, like Dickens, to take them from stock, and did not mind if they never came to life. He had the gift of Dumas for the romantic adventure story, and he had an even greater industry than the famous Frenchman.

But John Buchan was also deeply interested in nations and their stories. As a historian he went deep, and there are many volumes that mark his contribution to the understanding of men and events through the ages. If it had not been for his high-spirited novels the British might have thought him a great historian. But always there was that versatility which raised doubts in the solid British mind.

In Canada, however, a man named Mackenzie King had met the famous John Buchan and liked him. More than that, he saw possibilities for him in an entirely new sphere. True Mr. Mackenzie King was not Prime Minister. It was the year 1935, and a general election was in the offing. Both Mr. R. B. Bennett and Mr. King had a suspicion that there would be a change of government as a result. So the Premier consulted the Opposition Leader about recommending a new Governor-General, and King had his way. For the first time a commoner was invited to go to Ottawa and sit in the seat of the mighty. However, there was another King, and he sat on the throne of England. King George V turned John Buchan into Baron Tweedsmuir, and Rideau Hall was saved from having a mister as its tenant.

The whole business caused much discussion over here, while it was particularly interesting to my colleagues and myself in the Gaumont British Picture Corporation.



—Photo taken for *Maclean's Magazine* by Karsh, Ottawa.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR
"Language poured from him—thrilling language."

We had just finished shooting Buchan's novel, "The 39 Steps," and we saw the immediate advantages of the attendant publicity. Never in the film business had anyone made a picture from a story by a Governor-General. As usual, however, the director had taken liberties with the script and, indeed, many parts of the story. It fell to my lot to see John Buchan and take him to a private view of the picture which he had never seen, and had probably never been consulted about during the whole shooting. By appointment I went to Buchan's office, which was in a sprawling building just across from the Parliament Buildings. I was not then a member, but the famous author showed he knew something about me. Almost his first words were, "Now you must advise me about Canada." With some diffidence I suggested that he should resist the temptation of making the great Canadian speech in Canada. His eyes twinkled. "My dear Baxter, what is the great Canadian speech?" he asked. I told him that every prominent Briton who went to Canada always told Canadians they had vast agricultural areas, great mineral wealth, mighty forests and fisheries, were bounded by the Atlantic in the East and the Pacific in the West, and had the great, friendly American republic to the South. I said these facts were no doubt accurate and thrilling, but not exactly news to Canadians.

Buchan scratched his head ruefully. "It's too bad," he said. "That is the very speech I have just been preparing."

We motored to the tiny little private cinema where the film was waiting to be shown us. He was like a child with a new toy. Every time the story deviated from his original, he ejaculated, "First rate. Much better than my way." When it was finished, he stood up and thanked the operator who had run it through for us. "It's an immense improvement on the book," he said.

I took the good news to our directors, but they shook their heads. "There's something queer about it," they said. "No author ever behaved like that before."

On the first night of the film I presided at a dinner for Buchan, at which, with magnificent vulgarity, there were 39 steps, bedecked with flowers, leading to the head table. Sir John Simon and half a dozen other Ministers came along, while the film industry turned out in dark and serried ranks. Everybody felt most important except John Buchan, whose eyes were twinkling away throughout the affair. Sir John Simon, in a short speech, said that in choosing Governors-General for the Dominions it was always felt they should be men who were able to write, but in this case it seemed as if we had overdone it. Then, with a touch of unconscious prophecy, he added, "John Buchan will set such a standard of expression it will not be easy to nominate his successor."

At Rideau Hall

THE next time I saw Lord Tweedsmuir was on the occasion of the maiden voyage of the *Queen Mary*. When the ship reached New York there was a telegram asking my wife and myself to come to Rideau Hall. As we were returning as soon as the ship could turn round, it meant a rush trip to Ottawa, getting there for lunch and leaving at about four. The viceregal lodge in Ottawa is a stately dwelling place for those who wear the King's livery, set in grounds that wander languorously down to the river's edge. It might be a corner of the English countryside, that countryside which is now being mangled so roughly by progress and the necessities of fate. Each Governor-General, or, more truthfully, each Governor-General's wife, has added some improvement or made some alteration to the stately pile, but the proud old house remains much the same, mellowed by history and clothed in tradition. There is something splendid even about its floors, which have been there so long that a guest rising early in the morning causes such creaks and percussions that the whole wing is aware of the rake's progress.

We arrived just before lunch, and an A.D.C. advised us as to procedure. My wife would stand there, and I would stand here, please. Then, when Their Excellencies arrived, etc. It was a formal business I can tell you. When Their Excellencies were announced, we bowed and curtsied according to our sex, and John Buchan moved like one who had been nursed by the centuries for the task. He was the King's representative and carried himself as such. At luncheon, though, I was worried to see how much thinner he had become. While the rest of us tucked in in good style, he merely nibbled at a nut and skinned a grape. The internal trouble from which he was suffering was taking a toll from that frail body which had so little to give.

Continued on page 56

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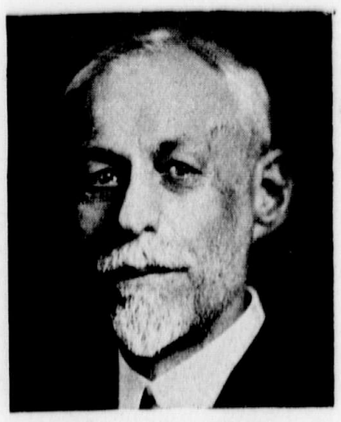
as I See It



MR. WOODSWORTH

By J. S. WOODSWORTH

National President and Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

WE MUST win the war; nothing else matters; let us get on with the war—such statements are far from true and may easily be used to cloak practices inimical to the general welfare. War objectives, war policies, war appointments, war profiteering, war financing, decent living standards for our people and the retention of our hard-won liberties—these *do* matter.

During the Special War Session in September I stated my own personal conviction that war settles nothing. War is the inevitable outcome of the present economic and international system with its injustices, exploitations and class interest. The common people of any country gain nothing by slaughtering the common people of any other country. War is the negation of freedom, democracy and the spirit of Christianity. Other means of settling international difficulties must be found, but courage and self-sacrifice and faith are necessary. Many regard my position as "impracticable"—or worse, but large numbers of the younger generation agree with me. I am content to leave the final verdict to the future.

The official position of the C.C.F. with regard to the war was set forth by Mr. M. J. Coldwell. The unity and welfare of the Canadian people must be our first loyalty. Although Canada had no voice in the foreign policies of the European governments which have brought us to the present tragic position, the C.C.F. recognizes that the present struggle may involve the survival of democratic institutions. Canada should be prepared to defend her own shores, but her assistance overseas should be limited to economic aid and must not include conscription of man power or the sending of any expeditionary force. The C.C.F. would place the burden of financing the war upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, and insists that democracy at home must be preserved unimpaired during the war.

Such was the C.C.F. position at the outbreak of the war. Today a new situation must be faced. Canada has been definitely in the war for some months. Contingents have been despatched overseas. At the moment conscription, although not an issue, is undoubtedly a possibility. Ever since the outbreak of war government has been carried on by Orders-in-Council. Recently parliament was summoned only to be summarily dissolved. As the situation now exists, what are the issues before the Canadian people?

Perhaps the most outstanding consideration is that of the maintenance of civil liberties and British traditions. The Prime Minister has again and again declared that "Parliament will decide." As a matter of fact all the important war-policies and war-commitments and war-arrangements have been decided by the Government—that is, in effect, by a committee of the Liberal party. Parliament has had no voice whatever. Regulations vitally affecting our civil liberties have been adopted by Order-in-Council, not by Act of Parliament. Some of these practically sweep away Magna Charta. Large numbers of very important appointments have been made by Order-in-Council without any opportunity for parliamentary criticism. Contracts amounting to tens of millions of dollars have been given without parliament being able to scrutinize the accounts.

The summary dismissal of parliament is to be condemned not because it caused great inconvenience to members and to thousands of others, but because it effectively prevented discussion of public affairs by the elected representatives of the people. It prevented the securing even of essential information.

Under our constitution the majority in parliament has the responsibility of governing, but the minority has the important function of acting as a safeguard for the people's rights. Our government has an overwhelming majority yet it has effectively silenced criticism. Compare this with what has been done in Great Britain. There parliament has been almost continuously in session. The government has submitted its policies to parliament and daily has had to stand a regular barrage of questions and criticism. Here, with the exception of five days of the Special War Session and the few hours of the recent sitting, from the adjournment of the last regular session until the new parliament can assemble, Canada will have been without a parliament for ten critical months. Government by Order-in-Council is certainly less embarrassing but it is not democracy.

The Liberal press pleads for national unity. The Prime Minister has rejected the idea of a National Government. Under these circumstances unity is likely to mean the continuation of a Liberal monopoly—one is almost tempted to say "dictatorship." Have non-Liberals nothing to contribute at this time of national crisis?

The Prime Minister has now adopted a new slogan—"The people must decide"—but as a matter of fact, at this election the people have very little on which to base an intelligent decision. Charges of "patronage contracts," of party-appointments, of incompetence and bungling, of high national policies being dictated by political expediency—these can now neither be proved nor disproved. This is neither democratic nor British.

So also the curtailment of our civil liberties under the Defense of Canada Regulations. Men have been arrested for

Continued on page 53



MR. BLACKMORE

By JOHN H. BLACKMORE

Leader of the Social Credit Group in the House of Commons

MAN used waterpower for centuries before he learned that, converted into steam, it could serve new purposes; but to utilize the steam, he had to develop a new technique.

Man used windpower, for centuries, to drive his ships across the seas until he learned he could fly by wind power, but he had to develop a new technique.

The technique changed when the primitive method would no longer serve.

Scarcity reigned throughout the world until the beginning of the twentieth century, and it governed every activity of production.

Then, within the brief span of a generation, Scarcity fell before the onslaught of Mass Production and Abundance ascended the throne of Commerce.

But Scarcity still fought to reign!

While millions starved, crops were destroyed. While millions were ill-clad, cotton covering the rich plantations of the South was plowed under. Millions of tons of shipping was scrapped. Thousands of miles of railway lines were torn up. Financial sabotage drove industry to the wall that the economy of Scarcity might prevail. Widespread poverty, appalling housing conditions, restriction of purchasing power, increased debt and taxation burdens were effected in order that the economy of Scarcity might prevail.

But, like an all-engulfing flood, Abundance, supported by the intelligence of Mass Production, gained mastery, and Commerce, which for ages had been geared to methods of distribution based on principles of Scarcity, faced the problem of distributing to needy millions the abundance provided by Mass Production—a problem demanding a new technique.

The basic issue in this election is the solution of that problem.

Is it to be wondered that proponents of the technique required, like their forerunners Stephenson, Watt, Fulton, Bleriot and the Wright Brothers, have had to run the gauntlet of scorn and derision howled at them by public, press and politicians alike? Is it to be wondered that they have gained such loyal, unswerving and inspired encouragement and support from those who, in the long winter prairie evenings, have gathered about their firesides calmly, but determinedly, to study and investigate?

The steam engine technique required steam, but no doubt when people were first told this they asked, "What is steam?" No doubt they were likewise baffled by a reply involving thermodynamics; but what interested them most was an explanation of what the use of steam could accomplish.

The new money technique—demanded by the advent of an era of abundance—requires the use of social credit, i.e., of the credit of society. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these days people should ask, "What is social credit?" But they are not as interested in a discussion on social dynamics as they are in what this new science can accomplish for them.

In an era of scarcity, self-preservation made it necessary for each individual to struggle for the necessities of life. In an age of abundance it is increasingly necessary for each individual to struggle for higher quality and greater perfection in each calling, trade or profession, but since there is plenty for *all*, the individual struggle for MORE should cease because all should ensure that the available abundance is distributed to all in accordance with the needs of each individual. The application of social credit principles would achieve this purpose just as the application of steam power drives the locomotive.

The Parliament of Canada, if it would, could institute these principles for the distribution of abundance in a very short time without disrupting banking or displacing a single bank employee; without interfering with legitimate investments; without inflation; without disturbing trade and commerce whether internal or external; and without destroying individual initiative.

But it should be remembered that the application of such principles WOULD DESTROY THE POWER OF MONEY TO CONTROL ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING from human life to vast industrial or commercial enterprises, national or international.

Opposition to the principles of the money technique of abundance does not come from those persons who see in money merely a means through the use of which they may buy the things they need. When thoroughly acquainted with these principles, such persons support them eagerly.

The opposition comes from those persons who see in the use of money a means whereby they can control, for gain or greater power, the actions of their fellowmen or industry or commerce.

They oppose the use of the nation's credit because they know that it would destroy the power they wield through the control of money. Among the ranks of those who oppose those principles will be found persons who, through the power of money, control industry, commerce or the press or any portion of them—because these principles of the money technique of abundance, when applied, will give economic freedom to all.

In the minds of all in this day, credit is bound inseparably with the present conception of money. We must cease to regard money as something mysteriously

Continued on page 55

D 53597

ANOTHER DONALD MACKELLEN STORY

Five Wee Wimmen

In which a now-famous Scot has a birthday — and learns aboot the lassies

By KIT HIGSON



Margaret seized her adopted son and removed him bodily.

MARGARET looked away from the glowing fire that made the cool evening comfortable. Her husband, catching her glance, asked, "Bothered about anything, Margaret?"

She answered indirectly, "I've been thinking, George, I'd like Donald to have a party."

"A party?" George quite evidently found the proposition somewhat surprising.

"Yes," Margaret wrinkled her brows. "I want him to grow more childlike," she explained. "More childlike and less obstinate." She went on: "Coming from that lonely, outlandish place in Scotland, losing his mother and father before he was out of the cradle, having no one to turn to but that dreadful—that old grandfather. Naturally he's not quite like a normally brought up English boy of six years old. But he can be improved—I'm sure of that—and I owe it to Mary to do my best."

George said reminiscently, "I shall remember as long as I live that day we found him waiting on the platform; his funny little legs sticking out of his funny little kilt; his solemn disapproving little mug. Of all the queer self-contained little cusses!" He chuckled.

Margaret refused to smile. "His mother was so different," she said. "I should never have adopted Donald without seeing him first, if I hadn't been sure, having known Mary for so long, that he would be"—she was going to say, "satisfactory," but changed her mind, added instead, "sweet and lovable."

"One couldn't call Donald that," George admitted. "Lovable, perhaps; sweet, no, thank heaven!" he finished, tapping his pipe. "Personally, I've no use for your angel-faced children, Meg. I like 'em with a bit of pep."

Margaret, poking the fire viciously, advised him, "There's reason in everything." She continued, after an appreciable pause, "If that old housekeeper hadn't written in such a hurry after the grandfather died, saying Mary's baby was destitute, I might have arranged to see Donald before we settled things—we took an awful risk."

George asked, "You are sorry—we took the risk?"

Margaret answered slowly, almost with surprise, "No, however little Donald is like the baby I wanted, I wouldn't lose him now. All the same, he's a trial, and you know it, George. Look how he talks down to me! Just because that old Grandfather Mackellen hated women, Donald treats me, and cook, and every female thing he meets—well, you know how he treats us!" She paused, finishing resentfully. "All the children I've known—*cling*."

GEORGE, suppressing another gurgle, told his wife: "His upbringing's bin agin anything of the kind." He went on after he had lit his pipe, "You're in too much of a hurry. He's only been here a few months. All his life till he came to us has been spent in the company, the sole company as far as I can gather, of an old man and an old woman. Naturally the little chap's a bit old for his years."

"A bit!" Margaret raised her brows.

George puffed placidly at his briar. "He's loyal to the old chap," he said. "Faithful to his teaching. You ought to admire him for it, Margaret."

"Ought I?" Margaret pronounced after a short silence. "Well, I don't. I'm as fond of Donald as you are, George. But if I could smack his 'gran'faither' out of him I would. The trouble is, I can't."

George, not too impressed by his wife's declaration, agreed, "No, you can't. Time will wear some of the Mackellen out of him," he said. "But neither whackings nor scolding nor—"

Margaret interrupted. "I've only smacked him once. And then, as you very well know, George, I was driven to it. I want him to have a happy childhood—also"—she finished a little inconsequently—"I don't want to lose cook." She reached for her darning bag as a sign that the discussion was ended.

George taking up his paper, announced, "Cook's big enough to take care of herself."

"Size isn't everything, George. A mosquito can sting a giant." Margaret dug her darning needle into the heel of a sock. She had mended a large hole very beautifully when she spoke again.

"He does try to please me," she admitted. "He knows I don't like him to keep quoting that old man. But it's become a habit—a *dreadful* habit. And if he tells me what his gran'faither wad hae said once in a day, he tells me fifty times."

"He'll get over it," George said as he turned over the leaves of his paper. "Maybe your idea's not a bad one. A party might help," he concluded as Margaret rose, "always supposing the other small guests survive."

Margaret mentioned the matter of the party the next day after George had departed for business. The pleased smile that she had hoped would light up Donald's small face was only noticeable by its absence. "You've never had a party, perhaps, Donald?" she wanted to know.

"Na." He shook his head emphatically. "It's no a pairty I'm wanting, Marg'ret," he said. "It's a dug."

"A dug?"

"Ay, a dug."

"And what, pray, is a dug?"

"A dug, wuman? A dug's a dug o' course." Donald's brown eyes rested on Margaret with something very like compassion. "Dinna tell me ye canna mind whut a dug is," he said.

Margaret told him sharply, "You are not to call me 'woman,' Donald. I've told you that before."

"A'weel—my gran'faither wad always ca' a wuman, a wuman—whut else?" Donald seated himself on the low stool that was his own particular property. "Whut else?" he repeated.

"It's not polite," Margaret said. "And I won't have it."

"It's true, Marg'ret. Ye are a wuman. I'm nut saying it's no a peety. But it's the truth—an' the Guid Book says—"

"Donald!"

Donald, moving his stool unobtrusively, mentioned: "Ma gran'faither wad quote fra the Guid Book morning, noon an' nicht—an' he wis a Mackellen—"

"Oh, heavens!" Margaret clasped nervous hands. "Listen!" she ordered.

"I am listening, Marg'ret—wi' baith lugs."

"Don't use that horrible word, Donald. I've told you before I don't like it."

"But they *are* lugs." Donald gazed at her innocently. "Ma gran'faither wad always say, 'A wuman that canna mind tae wesh herr lugs winna mind tae mend herr claes.' "

"So you have told me."

Donald under Margaret's stern gaze became very still. "A'weel," he said.

"Now, listen, Donald," Margaret, slightly mollified by his meekness, went on in a softer voice, "It will be your sixth birthday very soon, and I thought it would be nice to ask all the little girls and boys in the neighborhood to come to tea."

Donald shook his head. "If ye mak' me hae a pairty," he said, "I'll put up wi' it. But I'll no hae wimmen to't."

"Little girls, Donald. *Nice* little girls." Margaret spoke in a more persuasive tone than she was aware.

"Na." Donald's tone became firmer.

"You see, Donald"—Margaret took a deep breath—"some of the little boys who will be coming to your party have sisters. You can't invite one and not the other."

"Can I no?"

"No." Margaret, feeling her point was gained, smiled down at him.



"Ye'd like a bluidhoond y'ersel', wad ye no?" Donald asked. "Look at the beastie."

D 53598

The Issue As I See It

By RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Continued from page 12

ations which should not be overlooked.

In normal times, the differences which divide people into various political groups are fundamental. These differences have to do with economics, finance, the degree of state intervention in the life of the community. In peace time it is difficult for electors who hold political views strongly to give support to any party but their own. But in war time, under conditions that now exist, this does not hold. These peace time differences of opinion will not be the paramount issues in the Parliament to be elected on March 26. Rather, the new Parliament will be consecrated to the winning of the war. The vital problems that it will deal with will be war problems, and it is conceivable the war may last the life of the new Parliament.

In these circumstances, I suggest that there should be no uncertainty, no wavering. The government which is best able to hold this country constant and united in the maximum war effort is the present administration, and support should not be withheld from it because an elector does not agree with all of its peace time policies. This is a war time election, and it is a war time government that is being chosen.

The second consideration is this: An opposition is essential under our system of government. The present government and its supporters, if it is not returned to power, will become the opposition because the electors will have passed upon it and upon its war policy a vote of lack of confidence.

A new government will have to be formed out of one or more of the groups that, collectively, have defeated the present administration. It is for the electors to decide if it is possible to form out of these groups a government capable of maintaining national unity and of making the maximum war effort.

To sum up, this is the issue as I see it:

Our first aim must be victory.

To achieve victory, we must make our maximum war effort.

Our maximum war effort can be made only by a united people, led by a united government—a government itself unified by close association in office.

There is, in my judgment, but one party which can meet this test. It is for this reason that I believe Canada's interests, and the interests of the allied cause, demand the return to office of the present administration with a following which will leave no doubt of its support by the country as a whole. I ask for this support to the end that Canada may put forth her utmost effort in the winning of the war, and the preservation of freedom which depends on victory.

The Issue As I See It

By HON. R. J. MANION, M.C.

Continued from page 12

groups at open conventions for the purpose of naming some loyal, able citizen, of whatever party, as a National Government candidate.

It has been hinted darkly, if not said openly, that I have proposed a National Government as a screen behind which to promote conscription and railway amalgamation.

Both suggestions are utterly untrue.

I am against conscription on the ground, among others, that it is unnecessary. In the last war the chief result of attempts to apply it in Canada was national disunity and misunderstanding, and it raised very few men for our armies.

And I am against railway amalgamation, though I advocate full co-operation between the railways under a non-political board which would have the power to see that co-operation was actually made effective, with full protection for the men whose employment might be interfered with through co-operative measures.

I am campaigning for a National Government for one reason only: that a nation at war *needs* a National Government.

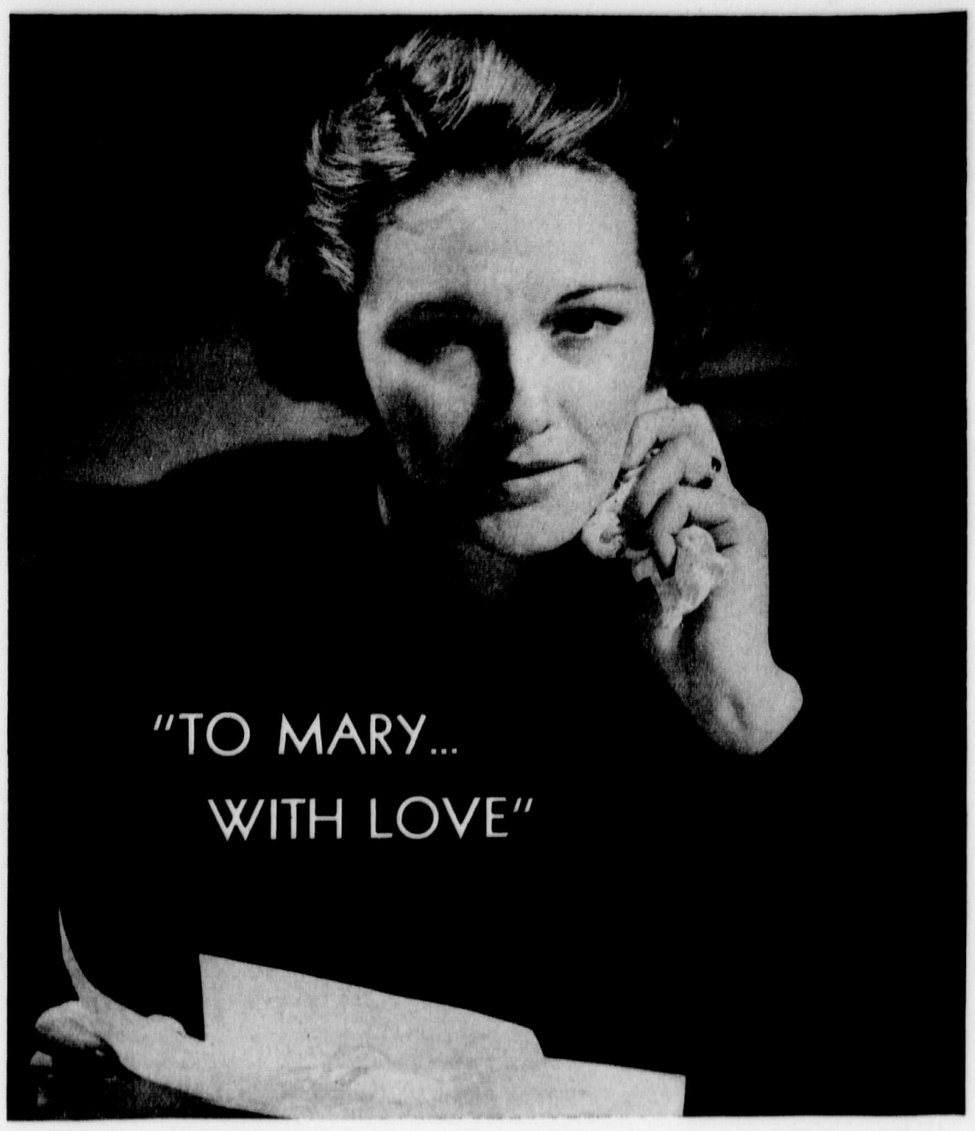
The Issue As I See It

By J. S. WOODSWORTH

Continued from page 13

mere statements of opinion having nothing whatever to do with military secrets. One outstanding case is that of an official of a Labor Union. Publications that circulate freely in Great Britain have been banned in Canada. Free assembly for minority groups has been made very difficult. Censorship of the radio has passed all bounds—a free people accustomed to free institutions, are becoming fear-ridden. We blame the Germans for not resisting the authority of Hitler. Are we Canadians to surrender lightly our boasted British rights? Prominent citizens—including Liberals—are now seeking to pledge the leaders of all parties to have these dangerous Regulations revised at the next session of parliament. Such revision has already been made in Great Britain. These Regulations, however, are not statutory. They were set up by the Liberals through Order-in-Council and can be altered by them tomorrow. Unless they are altered, how can the Liberals have the assurance to appeal to the people? Strange that in Canada under a "democratic government" we should need a Civil Liberties Union!

War profiteering has not been unknown in Canada. To prevent a recurrence, parliament a year ago enacted legislation limiting profits to five per cent. The manufacturers, not content with this, apparently adopted something in the nature of a boycott. The government weakly surrendered as revealed by the statement of Mr. Howe at the War Session —"The Defence Purchasing Board has done its very best to place contracts on that basis and has used every pressure that could be brought to bear in the form of patriotism and so on, but to date it has not succeeded in placing a single contract



Dear Mary,

When you read this, my dear, I will no longer be with you. You will have to face alone all those problems that we so confidently faced together.

But, Mary, many years ago I looked ahead to a time like this. And planned then help for you when you would need it most.

I wanted so many things for you, my dear! Peace and contentment and security. And, above all else, I wanted you always to keep your pride, your independence and your self-respect.

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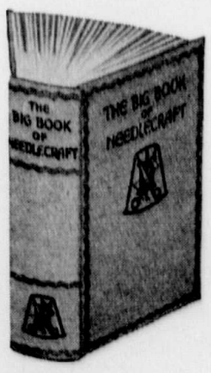

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. . . That part of the act we can consider as having proven to be unworkable."

Now apparently, the manufacturers are satisfied with the arrangements. But why should anyone make profits out of war? An appeal is made to young men to risk their lives for their country. Why should not industrialists at least loan their plants? The C.C.F. has urged that the manufacture of arms, munitions, and war materials should be nationalized.

Again in the financing of the war, the C.C.F. would urge a pay-as-you-go policy. Instead of this the Government has resorted to borrowing. The recent issue at three and a quarter per cent was largely oversubscribed, the great corporations subscribing the major proportion. Undoubtedly within a few years, the ordinary people will have been forced to surrender their bonds. This means that the insurance companies, mining companies and other great corporations will hold a mortgage on the future economic life of Canada. Their dividends will be considered to have the first claim. Once in the House when I suggested a reduction in the rate on the C.N.R. bonds, Mr. Bennett replied, "Ah, but these are our sacred obligations!" Some of the veterans of the last war are now eating in soup-kitchens; some widows of veterans are quite unprovided for. Are they not our sacred obligations?

After all, the great corporations were able to accumulate their large reserves through special concessions, privileges, and the security afforded them by governments. Long ago their large profits should have been taxed into the public treasury. Now in the time of national emergency, the Government instead of giving them a safe investment at a high rate of interest, should adopt the C.C.F. recommendation and immediately increase the tax on higher incomes and institute an excess profit and capital gains tax. The wealthy talk easily of conscripting men. The people are beginning to think in terms of conscripting wealth.

In his appeal in connection with this loan, the Honorable Ernest Lapointe used a phrase as cynical as revealing—"Profitable patriotism"! Profitable patriotism for the wealthy stay-at-homes? What of the boys at the front? The C.C.F. urges that the Government should provide for every soldier, security legally as binding as that afforded the bond-holders—an insurance policy which would provide in case of death, for his dependents and in case of return after the war, for health, re-education and absorption into civilian life. Further, at this stage in the war why not establish a sinking fund to finance the readjustments inevitable in the post-war period? Capitalists are being made secure. Why not labor, farmers and other citizens? You may laugh—well unless this is done the capitalists may not be as safe as they imagine! Referring to these post-war problems, the Prime Minister made only one proposal—the speedy enactment of unemployment insurance. Yet the same Mr. King used the B.N.A. Act to block Mr. Bennett's unemployment insurance legislation and for years has made no adequate provision for the unemployed or introduced other social legislation long overdue.

The Prime Minister seeks a fresh mandate to carry on the war. He should give the people a clear statement of war aims and plans for peace after the war. What are we fighting for? Is it to restore Poland? Is it to stop further aggression by Hitler? Is it to maintain the map of Europe as arranged by the Versailles Treaty? Is it to maintain the present economic order? Surely it is becoming clear that fundamental changes in both our political and economic structure are inevitable and that permanent peace can come only through collective action.

In the past each nation has lived a more or less self-contained life. But in recent times the world is becoming closely integrated. Think of the steamships, the railways, the bus lines, the airplanes, the

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telegraph, the telephone, the wireless. Our street traffic must now be carefully controlled or disaster results. Today the world's highways are crowded; yet we proceed on the old theory of "national sovereignty," that is, that each nation can do as it pleases. The C.C.F. believes that each nation must be willing to recognize the decisions of some world-organization.

Economic unity—industrial, commercial and financial—has travelled faster than political. Each household is dependent for even its necessities, upon almost every part of the world. We are literally members one of another. In society as in an organism, the welfare of any one part is dependent upon the welfare of each of the other parts. An infection in one part may cause death to the whole body. Our economic system, an inheritance from the past, fails to meet the needs of today. The war is demonstrating the need for economic controls. We have vast reserves of capital and on the other hand lack of purchasing power among the masses. We must dump goods in order to restore the balance of trade. American economists are already advocating that after the war, the United States should finance free, the restoration of Europe—this not as an act of generosity but in order to save her own economic life.

The old individualism is gone. We must choose either corporation control under an authoritarian state or co-operation in a real democracy. The C.C.F. as its name indicates, is working to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth both at home and in international affairs.

The Issue As I See It

By JOHN H. BLACKMORE

Continued from page 13

conceived and born through some ritualistic rite known only to a few. We must recognize it for what it is—a mere instrument, a mechanical device, created by man for his own use.

Money is a system of bookkeeping and as such should reflect in figures the true facts of economic activity. Money is also a measure of value and therefore should be controlled, as are all weights and measures, by the Government.

The nature of money depends entirely upon governmental decision. Were Parliament to decree that brass door knobs were legal currency of certain value, brass door knobs would be money. When Parliament decreed that pieces of paper of certain size and design were to be legal currency, without recourse to gold in exchange on demand, those pieces of paper became money.

Now, therefore, the next step in monetary reform, is to determine beyond question the right of government to create money in quantity sufficient to facilitate the distribution of all goods and services in Canada to all Canadians in accordance with their needs.

It should be borne in mind that but one major difference exists between those who advocate this procedure and those who oppose it. Those who oppose it argue that money can be made available to the government only in the form of taxes or in the form of loans—loans which in the final analysis must be provided by privately owned and controlled chartered banks, which are permitted to create credit out of thin air and based solely upon belief that the credit so created (by a loan) will be repaid with interest—a belief often proven to be unjustifiable.

(See Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Section "Banking and Credit": 'Banks create credit. It is a mistake to suppose that bank credit is created to any extent by the payment of money into the banks. A loan made by a bank is a clear addition to the amount of money in the community.')

We advocate that the government create money in quantity sufficient to facilitate the distribution of all goods and services in Canada to all Canadians according to their requirements. We contend that, if privately controlled banks can create currency and credit in this way, surely the government can create, at cost, currency and credit backed by all the resources, developed and potential, of Canada to facilitate the desired distribution of goods and services.

This above all else is the major issue in the forthcoming federal election. It surpasses even the issue of Canada's war effort because, to settle the question in favor of monetary reform would enable the Dominion of Canada to pursue the war effort without increased taxation, without borrowing and without, therefore, increasing the tremendous and growing burden of debt for generations to come.

That which is physically possible is financially possible. Mr. Graham F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada, confirmed this fact in evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Banking and Commerce in the Spring of 1939.

Since it is physically possible and therefore financially possible, it is clearly the immediate and supreme duty of any federal government to organize and develop the vast resources of this Dominion to enable Canada to put forth her maximum war effort, provide adequately for the needs of all our people and to build a strong foundation which will enable us to take advantage of the glorious opportunities which peace will bring.

Any attempt to meet the tremendous problems that face this country with the present ramshackle economic system and broken down money technique will spell disaster.

It would seem that the sudden dissolution of Parliament was due to a premonition of this collapse on the part of the Prime Minister. In fear, he demanded that the people take the responsibility, without full knowledge of all the facts, for a decision regarding monetary reform which he and his ministers should have made and which, in fact, they pledged themselves in the last federal election to effect.

How can the people accept this responsibility? The Prime Minister has given them too short a time in which to become informed.

Yet he, himself, has no remedy except that of borrowing, which is no solution and which only rushes us on to the collapse and chaos that the Prime Minister and everyone else must know is inevitable if such a course is continued.

We advocate, as the solution, the creation of debt-free money—not only because it is physically and financially possible, but also because it is as logical and right as votes for women, representation by population, the secret ballot or any of the other many reforms achieved by man in his struggle for freedom since the dawn of history.

It is the next great reform demanded by those circumstances which gave rise to the advent of this era of abundance in the place of the past era of scarcity.

Although the great majority of Canadians may not realize it, this is the major issue in this election—an issue which can be won without violence or bloodshed and without the surrender of any private individual rights or possessions or financial security.

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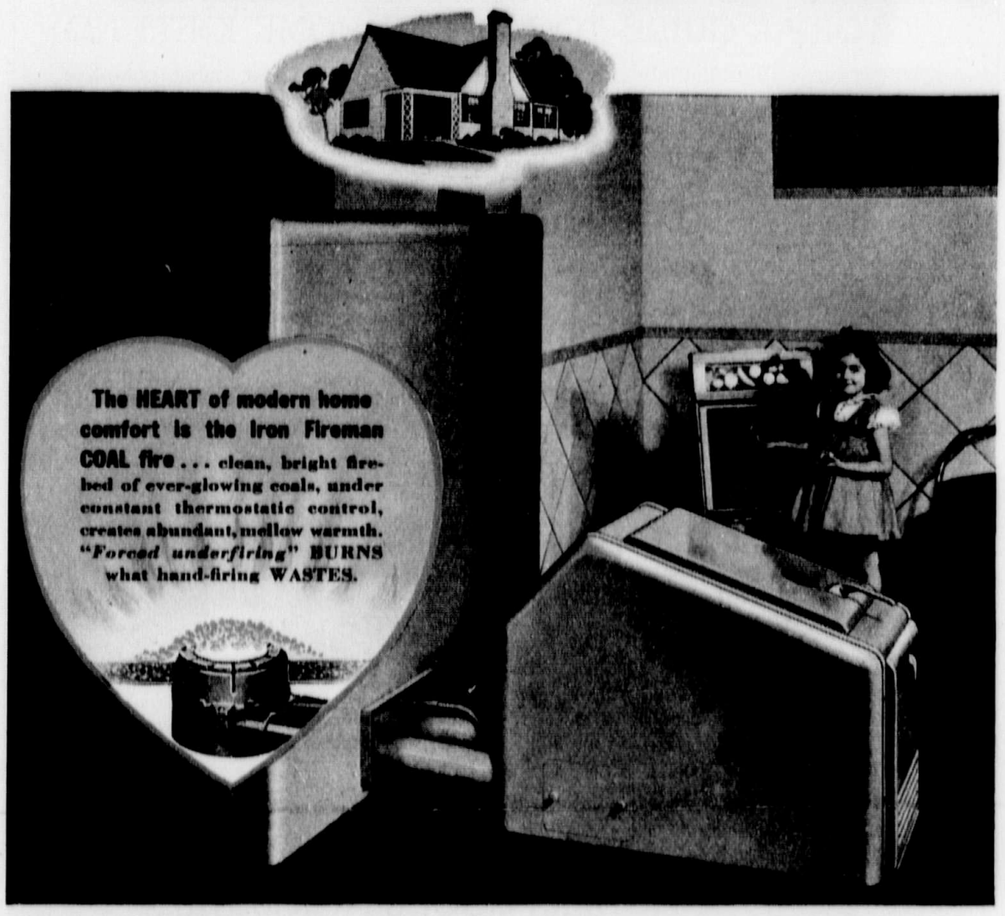

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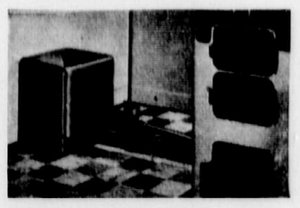

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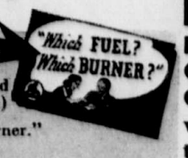

Iron Fireman Mfg. Co. of Canada, Ltd.
602 King St., West, Toronto. (British Columbia and Alberta, write 560 Vernon Drive, Vancouver, B. C.)

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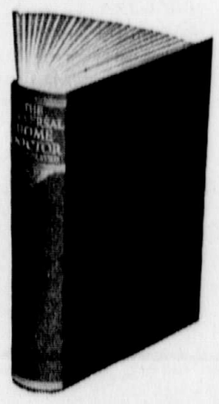

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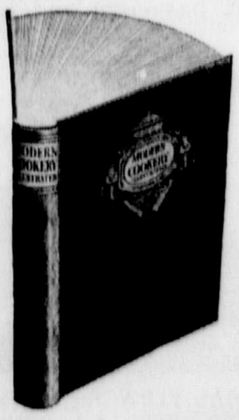
MODERN COOKERY ILLUSTRATED



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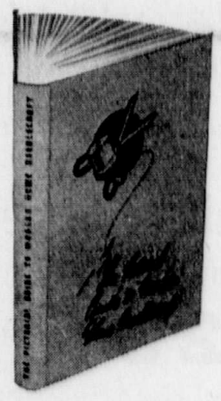

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Continued from page 11

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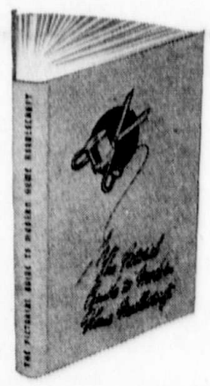

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REPEAT REPETITION

came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England have been able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe, others have voted

D 53603

3

3) Canada's War Effort

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date Dec. 29/39

D 53604

Subject

Balfour Admires War Effort of Canada

LONDON, Dec. 29.—(CP)—Canada's effort in these days of war is something to be admired, according to Captain Harold Balfour, British Under-Secretary for Air, who has returned to London after assisting in negotiations at Ottawa leading to the British Commonwealth air training plan.

"Canada is like this country and other Dominions in feeling that we're probably in for a long war and we must make our preparations accordingly", said Capt. Balfour in a statement.

"Her problem of changing her economic and industrial life from a peace-time to war-time basis is a big one. Yet it is being done, and when we think that the war has only been on us for some four months, Canada's actual industrial effort is something to be admired."

Aside from a tremendous devotion to work on the part of everybody engaged in discussions for the air training plan, Captain Balfour said his chief impression was the informality of the proceedings in Ottawa.

"We always met as friends out to agree and the difficulties—there are always difficulties—were approached in this spirit."

Gen. Election

~~Sec~~ Dan Mackenzie has asked + file
he can use this for
broadcast publicly

53605

January 19,1940.

O.D.S.

Hamburg broadcasting in English for Great Britain January 19th refers to Ontario Legislature Resolution condemning inefficiency of the Canadian Government's war measures after Premier had given the House detailed statement about unsatisfactory equipment for Canadian troops.

D 53606

January 18,1940

Deutschlandsender in German for Germany,6 a.m., Greenwich Mean Time. "Canadian soldiers. Ontario Prime Minister told Canadian Government that Canadian soldiers who were allowed to fight for plutocrats in London were badly cared for".

Hamburg,in English,for Great Britain,2.15 Greenwich Mean Time.

"War unpopular in Canada. Canadian people far from being pleased with her participation in the war. Subscriptions to war loan coming in very slowly. Leader of Opposition stated that dependent mothers of Canadian soldiers had not received any assistance and were living in great poverty and distress. Government was requested to take immediate steps for relief. The Canadian Prime Minister stated Canada had made insufficient preparation for participation in the war. Troops were not properly equipped or warmly enough clad."

Zeesen,in German,for Far East,1 p.m.,Greenwich Mean Time.

"Leading Canadian party made serious accusations against central Government. Thousands of mothers of Canadian soldiers were in bitter distress since their sons had been called to the army as State was not giving them any financial support. The distress among these women was so great it must be described as shameful for Canada".

January 30,1940

D 53607

German wireless in home programme of January 26th,referring to dissolution of Canadian Parliament,stated it has caused a sensation and that demands for new elections is connected with strong criticism of war effort by Ontario Government: That this is without precedent in Canadian international policy. A second broadcast on the same subject the same day stated Canadian Prime Minister,acting on pressure from London, announced dissolution of Parliament and that this measure made democratic freedom of the English Dominions appear in a very strange light.

On January 27th Zeesen short wave for North America quotes German newspaper "Daz" as stating editorially that dissolution of Canadian Parliament by Governor General means that Mackenzie King is too much of a Canadian to submit to the wishes of London and that Conservatives and devotees of the Empire in Ontario have been led to stall his cautious war policy.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Subject.....

D 53608

Date.....Jan.23, 1940.....Publication.....Toronto Globe and Mail.....

Canadian People Rely on Ottawa To Direct National War Effort

Hepburn and Drew Serving Country Badly in Asking Ontario Legislature to Condemn King, Concensus of Press Opinion

COMMONS CHAMBER IS CONSIDERED PROPER FORUM

(The Globe and Mail publishes herewith a symposium of Canadian press opinion concerning the recent action of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in passing a resolution condemning Canada's war effort. Broadly speaking, the newspapers express the view that the Ontario Legislature should mind its own business and leave discussions about the nation's war effort to the National Parliament, which meets at Ottawa this week. Some editors say the speeches of Premier Hepburn and Colonel Drew were harmful rather than helpful and add that the incident must have a disturbing effect.)

OTTAWA THE PROPER FORUM.

(Winnipeg Free Press (Liberal).

It would be idle to suppose that the concerted attack on the Dominion Government by Premier Hepburn of Ontario and the Leader of the Opposition at Queen's Park, Mr. George Drew, is without significance. For a good while now Mr. Hepburn has used his position to arrogate to himself and his Legislature the right to discuss matters of wholly Dominion jurisdiction. He now attacks the Dominion's war policy on the ground of its inefficiency and half-heartedness. Needless to say, Mr. Drew finds this highly satisfactory from his point of view, and supports him.

The proper forum for this debate is, of course, Ottawa and not Queen's Park, and when Parliament meets the fullest discussion of the matter will be taken up where it can be adequately debated and dealt with. Until that time comes most people will remember that almost nothing Mr. King has done has pleased Mr. Hepburn, and that Mr. Drew's natural function in our political life is to destroy the strength of the Liberal Party.

Let us in any case await the meeting of Parliament in order to have some basis for a fair and reasoned judgment. The present witnesses for the prosecution can hardly be said to be adequate, and their union on this issue may have motives very far removed from the efficient prosecution of the war.

LEGISLATURE WRONG PLACE.

London Free Press (Ind.-Con.).

As far as the whole debate is concerned, it was rather out of place. If the Ottawa Government is not doing its full duty; if it has failed in a vigorous prosecution of the war, then it is open to criticism. Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not fail to criticize in the last war, nor does the Opposition in England hold back. But the place for such a criticism is at Ottawa, where the Government is able to place its side of the case before the public. Both Colonel Drew and Mr. Hepburn were out of order in introducing the subject in the Legislature, and Mr. Hepburn particularly overstepped the mark when he introduced a resolution.

It is a long time since the Conservatives have had a chuckle, but they must be having one now.

FOMENTERS OF DISUNITY.

Brantford Expositor (Ind.).

If the Leader of the Ontario Conservative Opposition has information to the effect that there is bungling and lack of achievement in regard to Canada's war effort, he should be specific and furnish the details. He has indicted the Government on three points: first, its lack of protection for the hydro-electric plants of the country; second, inefficiency and delay in the organization of the Empire air training scheme; and third, the failure to take care of the large numbers of young men who desired to enlist in the army, but who were given no opportunity. It is generally admitted that a capable Opposition is one of the essential factors of good government. At the same time it must be said that what may be styled "political sniping" at the Government, under the present circumstances, is not patriotic, wise or helpful. With Colonel Drew making his charges, what are the Canadian people to think of the exposition of Canada's war efforts made by the Prime Minister, Colonel the Hon. J. L. Ralston and the Hon. C. D. Howe? All of these addresses have been particularly instructive and convincing to the ordinary Canadian, yet Colonel Drew makes the assertion that everywhere "nearly every man you meet is talking about the inefficiency of the Dominion Government's war effort." That is a very serious charge. It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister or one of his Ministers will take occasion to completely answer Colonel Drew even before Parliament meets on Jan. 25. If these complaints are justified, the sooner the people of Canada know it the better. If they are groundless, then those who make unfounded allegations should be condemned as fomenters of strife and disunity.

CASTING THE FIRST STONE.

Ottawa Citizen (Ind.-Lib.).

The Ontario Legislature could quite properly discuss the Federal Administration of Canada's part in the war. There is much to be criticized. Premier Hepburn contented himself with citing a few instances of Canada's obvious unreadiness. The Leader of the Opposition in the Legislature, Colonel George Drew, also spoke of the Government at Ottawa's failure to measure up to the war situation. When the Province is required to undertake defense liabilities, the right to criticize cannot be denied.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Subject.....

D 53608

Date.....Jan. 23, 1940.....*Publication*.....Toronto Globe and Mail.....

Canadian People Rely on Ottawa To Direct National War Effort

Hepburn and Drew Serving Country Badly in Asking Ontario Legislature to Condemn King, Concensus of Press Opinion

COMMONS CHAMBER IS CONSIDERED PROPER FORUM

(The Globe and Mail publishes herewith a symposium of Canadian press opinion concerning the recent action of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in passing a resolution condemning Canada's war effort. Broadly speaking, the newspapers express the view that the Ontario Legislature should mind its own business and leave discussions about the nation's war effort to the National Parliament, which meets at Ottawa this week. Some editors say the speeches of Premier Hepburn and Colonel Drew were harmful rather than helpful and add that the incident must have a disturbing effect.)

OTTAWA THE PROPER FORUM.

(Winnipeg Free Press (Liberal).

It would be idle to suppose that the concerted attack on the Dominion Government by Premier Hepburn of Ontario and the Leader of the Opposition at Queen's Park, Mr. George Drew, is without significance. For a good while now Mr. Hepburn has used his position to arrogate to himself and his Legislature the right to discuss matters of wholly Dominion jurisdiction. He now attacks the Dominion's war policy on the ground of its inefficiency and half-heartedness. Needless to say, Mr. Drew finds this highly satisfactory from his point of view, and supports him.

The proper forum for this debate is, of course, Ottawa and not Queen's Park, and when Parliament meets the fullest discussion of the matter will be taken up where it can be adequately debated and dealt with. Until that time comes most people will remember that almost nothing Mr. King has done has pleased Mr. Hepburn, and that Mr. Drew's natural function in our political life is to destroy the strength of the Liberal Party.

Let us in any case await the meeting of Parliament in order to have some basis for a fair and reasoned judgment. The present witnesses for the prosecution can hardly be said to be adequate, and their union on this issue may have motives very far removed from the efficient prosecution of the war.

LEGISLATURE WRONG PLACE.

London Free Press (Ind.-Con.).

As far as the whole debate is concerned, it was rather out of place. If the Ottawa Government is not doing its full duty; if it has failed in a vigorous prosecution of the war, then it is open to criticism. Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not fail to criticize in the last war, nor does the Opposition in England hold back. But the place for such a criticism is at Ottawa, where the Government is able to place its side of the case before the public. Both Colonel Drew and Mr. Hepburn were out of order in introducing the subject in the Legislature, and Mr. Hepburn particularly overstepped the mark when he introduced a resolution.

It is a long time since the Conservatives have had a chuckle, but they must be having one now.

FOMENTERS OF DISUNITY.

Brantford Expositor (Ind.).

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D 53609

Subject.....

Date.....*Publication*.....

Before placing blame on the Government, however, political critics need to ask themselves whether they are entirely free to cast the first stone. There is no reason to believe that the Conservatives would have done better.

In the sessions before the war the Opposition at Ottawa gave little or no evidence of standing for a more comprehensive policy of preparedness. They talked a little more about the possibility of another war, but right up to the actual outbreak of war the Conservative Party were thinking more of a general election. Both sides were concerned more with election politics than with national preparedness.

SERVED CANADA BADLY.

Montreal Herald (Ind.).

When the war broke out Ontario's Premier Hepburn, with what seemed to us admirable patriotism, buried the hatchet and forgot his quarrel with Ottawa.

But buried hatchets and well-behaved Provincial regimes don't make news.

Possibly Mr. Hepburn yearned for the limelight. So he staked his career on this censure of his Federal chieftains.

Well, he has the limelight again, but he has done his country an ill turn.

A MORAL DEFEAT.

Windsor Star (Ind.).

That Premier Hepburn sustained a moral, if not an actual, defeat in the Legislature this week cannot be denied.

The leader of the Government, continuing his bitter vendetta against the King Administration in Ottawa, brought the argument to a dramatic head by moving a resolution of censure against the Federal Ministry. And he threatened to resign if the resolution were defeated. This was putting the pressure on his followers in no uncertain way. Nevertheless, when the roll was called, Mr. Hepburn found himself with the support of less than half of the Liberal members of the Legislature.

The Ontario Legislature should really confine itself to Ontario matters. Moreover, if Mr. Hepburn's chief ambition at the moment is to oust Mr. King from the office of Leader of Federal Liberalism, it would be much more appropriate for him to give battle on the Federal battlefield rather than from a Queen's Park pulpit. However, judging from comment in Toronto and elsewhere, ousting Mr. King will provide "Mitch" with by far the biggest assignment he has tackled to date. If he thinks the Prime Minister is without friends and supporters in the Liberal Party, Mr. Hepburn is due for a rude awakening.

DISPLAY OF BAD MANNERS.

Ottawa Journal (Con.).

It was not a display of intelligence, because, as The Journal noted the other day in discussing the attitude of Mr. Hepburn and Colonel Drew, their criticism of the King Government has been general (founded on questionable premises) and not specific, and they have failed to distinguish between the shortcomings of the Government's prewar policy and its very real achievements since war was declared.

The incident was, we think, a display of stupidity, childlishness, temper, and bad manners.

Mr. Mackenzie King takes the proper and dignified position that the House of Commons is the place for discussion of the Government's war policy. He will not be misled into attaching too much importance to this teapot tempest, and he is too shrewd—and too much the gentleman—to enter a controversy on Mr. Hepburn's terms of abuse and bitterness. He has other business in hand.

Wholesale indefinite criticism, and vulgar personal abuse of the Prime Minister, are calculated to do only harm and are unworthy of the high post Mr. Hepburn occupies.

OTTAWA THE LOGICAL PLACE.

Northern News (Ind.), Kirkland Lake.

Colonel Drew is a military critic of some merit. But, if he is to serve his country in that capacity, he should enter the Dominion field exclusively.

Premier Hepburn, who recently returned from the United States with the comment that over there they were laughing at Canada's war efforts, has not, that we know of, any great knowledge of international or military affairs. He is a very smart Premier, a hard worker when at home, and a somewhat impulsive man whose utterances always get him front-page space.

Colonel Drew boasted in the Legislature that Ontario represents one-third of the population of Canada and one-half of its industrial production. That is exactly why Ontario has a proportionate representation in the Dominion House of Commons, which is the only logical place for discussion and criticism of the Dominion's policy, formulated by the Dominion Government.

MR. KING SHOULD KNOW.

St. Thomas Times-Journal (Ind.).

Premier Hepburn said the other day that he had been unable to provoke Prime Minister Mackenzie King into an open quarrel. We fear the Dominion Prime Minister may be conducting his feud in a much more subtle and dangerous way. . . . Mr. King is the most responsible Minister in the Dominion; his subordinates have to be responsible to him, and he knows, or should know, what they are doing and what they are not doing; what supplies they have and what supplies they are in want of. If he is "feuding" with Mr. Hepburn to the extent that he will not co-operate with the Ontario Government, it is criminal to do so at this time. If that is not the reason for these things, he needs to make another shift in his Defense Minister.

"CHEAP POLITICS."

Winnipeg Tribune (Ind.).

An extraordinary exhibition was staged in the Ontario Legislature on Thursday. Premier Mitchell Hepburn hastily scribbled a resolution condemning the Dominion Government's war effort, and announced that he would resign if it were voted down. Nine of the Premier's party voted against it, but with the support of Colonel George Drew and his Conservative followers the resolution passed, 44-10.

Mr. Hepburn's political technique resembles on a smaller scale that of every dictator at the second stage of his career—the stage at which matters at home get into such a mess that it becomes expedient to start a fight outside the home bailiwick.

Mr. Duplessis created his diversion in the belief that the people of Quebec opposed Canadian participation in the war. Mr. Duplessis came a cropper. His ex-partner in the Ontario-Quebec axis now tries the same game in reverse English, trying to exploit the traditional loyalty of Ontario as Duplessis tried to exploit the supposed "disloyalty" of Quebec. In both cases "cheap politics" is the most applicable term.

CRITICISM CAN BE HELPFUL.

Port Arthur News-Chronicle (Ind.).

Criticism can be made helpful in war as in peace. Criticism was a big factor in bringing success in the first Great War. It was under an avalanche of criticism that Herbert Asquith resigned to make way for the dynamic Right Hon. David Lloyd-George, whose personality and driving power were, perhaps, the greatest of all non-military influences contributing to the final victory.

What this paper does believe is that the place to offer criticism is in Ottawa, where Parliament will be reassembling in a few days. An Opposition under Hon. Dr. R. J. Manion is functioning at Ottawa. There is no reason to believe, for the present at least, that it will fail in its duty or its privilege.

The House of Commons is the place to offer that criticism, because it is the only place where the Government

can exercise what is its right, that of defending itself.

It is from criticism and reply in the Commons that the public will be justified in drawing conclusions.

RELIABILITY OR INSTABILITY?

Brockville Recorder (Lib.).

If the people of Ontario should be asked to choose between King and Hepburn, as the Ontario Legislature was asked to choose, we are in no doubt about the outcome, for reliability is nearly always preferred to instability, especially during a period of war strain; calm deliberation to rash impulsiveness, experience to inexperience, soundness to snap judgment, and broad statesmanship to narrowness. A Government at Ottawa subject to the whims and fancies of a Hepburn dictatorship would turn order into chaos. It would be the surest possible way in which to produce that confusion and alarm which any country should avoid at all costs in time of national emergency and peril, and it would breed far-reaching consequences of great national disadvantage and weakness, especially at such a time as this. Canada can much more easily and much more profitably afford to get along without a minor politician like Hepburn than it can afford to dispense with the statesmanship of King. In fact, as the result of what has taken place, we may expect a growing movement throughout this Province demanding that the leader of its Government shall make good his threat to retire to private life.

OTTAWA IS NATIONAL CAPITAL.

Peterborough Examiner (Ind.).

In a few days the Federal House will be in session at Ottawa. That is where our war effort is centred, whether Premier Hepburn believes it or not. Also in the House there is Dr. Manion, Leader of the Conservatives, a gentleman with sufficient experience to attend to all the Federal censuring which is necessary during a war period.

Our own belief is that if members had been given sufficient time to carefully analyze that motion of censure they would not have voted for it even as they did. It stated specifically that the House had heard the reports and statements of Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Drew and endorsed them. Not another thing was mentioned.

The Ontario Government was bent a short time ago on adding more to its powers so it could tell municipalities when they could or could not vote. Now the same House has turned its attention to the more serious business of telling the Federal Government how to operate. Some bright day it may dawn on Toronto that the business of the Legislature is to look after the affairs of the Province of Ontario.

MISDIRECTED ZEAL.

Fort William Times-Journal (Ind.).

The zeal of Mr. Hepburn in favor of more effective measures in Canada to win the war could probably be made use of in many directions if he were willing to have the Ontario Government co-operate to that end, instead of merely sponsoring resolutions of condemnation which he has no means of putting into any effective form of action.

FAT IS IN THE FIRE.

Sarnia Observer (Ind.).

It is a puzzling situation in the matter of politics in Ontario. Liberal Premier Hepburn has cultivated an intense dislike for Liberal Premier King at Ottawa in recent years, and he has given public manifestations of that disregard on numerous occasions. . . .

There is one thing about Mr. Hepburn when he goes after an opponent. He is not inclined to pull his punches even if the adversary is the general in his own political army. His picturesque language in describing what he considers the deficiencies of the Federal Prime Minister must be regarded as a classic in political condemnation. Certainly he has succeeded in flinging a formidable chunk of fat into the fire of his differences with the Federal Leader, and he doesn't appear to be at all concerned as to what dimensions the conflagration may attain. In fact, he has stated that he is prepared to stake his political life on the issue which he has raised.

BLOCKS UNION GOVERNMENT.

St. Catharines Standard (Con.).

One may well discount rumors about Premier Hepburn and Colonel Drew entering the Federal field and taking virtual command. Ontario is not Canada, not yet. What cannot be discounted, however, is the tremendous loss of prestige by the national Liberal leadership in the power-drive launched against it by Premier Hepburn. The sins of commission and omission of the party in power are cumulative in their effect, and that effect is a wave of public opinion against the Government. This week it was given further impetus when the sale of a million bushels of wheat to Russia was announced, casually, as a matter of routine trade business. It is by and on such things governments collapse.

From a national and win-the-war point of view, which is the only one to be considered at this time, it would be well if coalition government actually took shape now. The strongest and most united effort of this Dominion will be required in the days to come. The crisis of war has yet to be met. But the stumbling block to union is the Prime Minister, who has command of the loyalties of his followers throughout the Dominion, if not entirely in Ontario. Mr. King won't let go until he has to; that is almost a certainty.

HEPBURN TOO QUICK ON TRIGGER.

Calgary Herald (Con.).

Hepburn might well have deferred his attack until the Federal Government's war program is submitted in its entirety to Parliament.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 53610

Subject

Date *Publication*

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Journal

Date January 31, 1940

Subject Canadian War Effort

D 53611

McNaughton Stresses Strong Stand

LONDON, Jan. 31.—(CP)—Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, General Officer Commanding the Canadian Active Service Force, told a Canada Club luncheon meeting today there was no doubt that Canadians had decided "the menace which hangs over Europe and the world must be set at rest for ever", and heard two ministers of the British Cabinet voice thanks for the Dominion's assistance and loyalty.

"We are in this war beside the peoples of these islands and France with grim determination to see it through to the end", the Canadian Commander said before a brilliant gathering of British and French statesmen and soldiers and upwards of 300 of Canada's most prominent residents in the United Kingdom.

Canada Gives Example.

Dominions Secretary Anthony Eden said Canada once more had earned the unbounded gratitude of all France and the Empire, and had "given inspiring example to freedom-loving people everywhere".

Not kinship or sentiment alone made the Dominion answer the call, he added. Rather it was realization that "everything that is a Briton's heritage is at stake".

The soul of Nazidom was servitude. It was not civilization but a beast of prey, and the Dominions Secretary said he wanted to apologize to the beasts for mentioning them in the same breath as Hitlerism.

Oliver Stanley, making one of his first speeches as War Secretary, told General McNaughton and 50 other officers of the First Division present that their presence and record in the last war made the Allies confident that "we shall fight with the same courage, the same loyalty, and, in the end, the same result".

Dominion's Unity Impresses.

The determination and unity of the Dominion—as shown by the presence of large numbers of French-Canadians in the C.A.S.F. —had greatly impressed the British people, Mr. Stanley said. Because it was realized that Canadians 3,000 miles away were less immediately threatened than people in the Old Country, their decision as a free people to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy and for fundamental truth was all the more welcome.

"We not only welcome Canadian words of support", he added, "but their army of support."

Chairman at the luncheon was Lord Mottistone, who served almost four years with the Canadians in the First Great War and commanded a Canadian cavalry brigade with distinction. He related that only this week he visited the charger he used in France on its 31st birthday.

Lord Mottistone read a message from the King thanking the club and its guests for their "loyal message of good wishes on the occasion of the luncheon to the distinguished commander of the Canadian forces".

Bennett and Bessborough.

The Earl of Bessborough, former Governor General of Canada, sat at the head table, as did Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, Hon. Vincent Massey, General Sir Edmund Ironside, and the Duke of Devonshire.

The Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada during part of the last war, sent a message expressing confidence that **"we have with us a division that will be worthy successors of those who distinguished themselves for all time" at Ypres, Vimy, Passchendaele and elsewhere.**

There was a tone of paternal pride in General McNaughton's voice as he told the gathering of the composition of the First Division, that every officer was qualified for the rank he holds by reason of his attendance at Canadian military schools. Staff officers were products of Camberley, Quetta or other post-graduate military colleges.

"Political or private patronage does not exist", General McNaughton declared, speaking of the organization of the Canadian Force. "It has been stamped out by our Minister (Hon. Norman Rogers), and merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion."

He closed, expressing hope that after the trials and tribulations of war were past, something would remain of "enduring benefit to the unity of the Empire and to close association with our great Ally."

Col. Flynn's Speech.

Speaking in French, Lieut. Col. P. Flynn, of the Royal 22nd Regiment, brought greetings from French Canada. The gathering paid tribute to famous French-Canadian fighters by repeatedly shouting "Vingt Deuxieme!"

Mr. Massey, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, expressed Canada's appreciation for the reception the United Kingdom gave the Canadian troops and for the many things done to make them feel at home.

D 53612

Canada's War Effort

1. The Air Training Scheme - the betrayal ---
(See Manion Jan.25,1940 Hansard p.15)

before election — after

Nature of proposal
What it would have involved

2. The meaning of preparedness

(a) Things not done
(b) Things done

Not prepared for war in Europe in peace time.

(1) Prepared for Canada defence
(2) " "
(3) " to go on with co-operation

3. National Defence - rapidity of extent of readiness for Parliament - Special Session, legislation, etc.
(See Manion, Hansard Jan.25, 1940, page 15)

4. In Planning for a long war -

Consultation with British
1st steps (see debates special session)
2nd step (air plan)
- statements by: McNaughton
Lord Riverdale
Diplomatic - fill vacancies
Military; Army, Navy, Air
Economic fronts - cost of living, export control, etc.
(see broadcasts)

5. A National Government - to manage war

differ between Cabinet - policy
no opposition to carry on
boards, etc. (see Howe)
war of all parties

6. Re National Government - objectives)
) See Journal editorial
7. If need be - re extension of Parliament) Saturday
What Tories wanted
deprive people of rights.

D 53613

8. What has actually been achieved?

List of:

9. The shortcommings - clothes, shoes, etc.
Where were British and other countries, etc.,
Where are we now, at the end of 5 months.
re time for orders to be filled.

10. re statement of issue:

1) Canada's war effort
to be obtained by a united effort
to be secured by a united Canada.

Broadcast No. 2

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

D53614

The Record in Peace and War

Topics covered in Second Consolidated Draft

1. Our Military Programme
2. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan
3. Air Training based on Preparedness
4. The Air Force under Two Administrations
5. The Progress of the Air Training Programme
6. The Expeditionary Force
7. The Work of the Royal Canadian Navy
8. The Military Record

The following are covered in the Economic Record:

9. The Economic Front
10. The Vital Importance of Transport
11. Industrial Preparedness
12. Agriculture and the War
13. Safeguarding Consumers
14. The Financial Record

1st Revise by W.L.M.K. Feb.16.

D

53615

Broadcast No.2.

Ladies and gentlemen:

When last I spoke to you, I tried to tell you, ~~in the short time at my disposal,~~ how the present government had brought to the assistance of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I spoke, as you remember, of the gradual development of those conditions in Europe which eventually plunged the defenders of freedom into a war against tyranny. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to remain calm and patient during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. Our duty was to establish a unity of opinion in Canada on the issues which we faced, and a unity of vigour and action in the manner in which to meet them. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve these ends. I tried to picture for you the pride in British institutions that inspired the people of Canada as a free nation of the British Commonwealth. I suggested that our historic faith in liberty under the British Crown had united the youthful strength of a free people in the steady and persistent determination to fight and vanquish the forces of evil.

D 53616

Broadcast No. 2

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.

(1) Canada's contribution made possible through foresight.

(2) Needs of allied powers basis of Canada's war effort.

(3) The Land - the Sea - the Air - industrial activity.

(4) [redacted] position wholly different from that of 1914.

(5) The charge of "unpreparedness".

(6) Outstanding features of government's war record.

(7) Earliest measures of co-operation - at sea, on land and in the air.

(8) The British Commonwealth joint air training plan.

(9) Agreement concluded in minimum of time.

(10) Air Training plan may prove decisive factor in winning war.

(11) Development of plan proceeding rapidly.

(12) An army division already overseas - another shortly to cross.

(13) Army Co-operation Air Squadron also proceeding overseas.

(14) The Navy performing silent and effective service.

(15) The home front - The furnishing of supplies.

(16) Railways, Air-ways, National Broadcasting essential factors in war economy.

(17) Industry transformed to serve war time needs.

(18) Enormous quantities of war supplies.

(19) Agriculture ~~being~~ adapted to war needs - the farmers' interests ~~being~~ safeguarded.

(20) The consumers' interests ~~being~~ watched.

Broadcast No. 3

D 53617

Canada's War Effort

A Forecast of Future Development

Suggested Topics to Cover:

1. The significance of the Present War.
2. Diplomatic and Strategic Possibilities to be faced: What of Russia, Japan, Italy, etc?
3. Planning for a Long War.
4. The Necessity of a Unified Allied Plan.
5. The Nature of Canada's Part in the War.
   (a) Responsibility for National Defence;
   (b) The Lines of Co-operation.
6. The Programme for the next few months.

   Here need of secrecy, necessity of changes to meet new developments, etc., should be emphasized -- only a broad outline possible.
7. The Importance of the Home Front.
   (a) Safeguarding Dependents of our Fighting Men;
   (b) Protection of Labour (Unemployment Insurance);
   (c) Industrial Planning;
   (d) The position of the Farmers.
8. Planning for the Post War Period.
   (a) Demobilization and Re-establishment;
   (b) A Policy for Youth;
   (c) The Postponement of Public Works;
   (d) Agricultural re-organization.
9. National Unity for War and Unity for Peace.

Every reason to think people believe in government's planning efforts. Best proof was that press of country generally were asking that the government should continue in office and that we should not have a general election. If the country generally had been dissatisfied with the government, a general election would have been demanded.

In the light of Mr. Manion's speech in the House, Woodsworth's, and what has been said since dissolution, of incompetence of government, etc., are we to believe that all this was a delusion and a snare? - an effort to have the government kept in office not to be supported by the Opposition and other parties in a united effort to win the war, but to be made a target for party and political intrigue to play its game. If that was the case the wisdom of the decision made must be apparent.

Nothing can be clearer than that up to the end of 1939 the impression existed that in Canada, in England, in Germany and elsewhere, that our country and our Parliament were united in war effort and approval of it's government's policies in relation thereto.

It was not till the beginning of the New Year - the year which was to witness a general election and a sixth session of Parliament, the last before an election - that any fault began to be openly found with the administration. What had happened at the beginning of the New Year to change the opinion that the government had the confidence of the people was certainly not the way in which the people responded to the War Loan Appeal. Indeed, the success of that appeal immediately became a subject of political controversy. It was urged that the government were

the President and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs are about the only Ministers heard to speak on government matters. In Great Britain, Ministers generally.

D 53620

February 8, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PICKERSGILL:

Re Radio Addresses

I think the best title for the second radio broadcast would be "Canada's War Effort".

The broadcast to be a half-hour broadcast. Into this space will have to be expressed, in the most telling fashion possible, the story of that war effort, not in terms merely of the things accomplished, though that will be the body of the broadcast, but the larger factors which have had to be taken into account, as for example:

the planning of the whole;

the communications with the British government so that Canada's plan would fit into the whole;

the viewing of the war effort, not for a sudden emergency only, but for a war that may extend over a possible series of years;

the necessity of getting appropriations from Parliament, the outlay involved, e.g., $1,000,000 a day;

the political, military and economic fronts;

the necessity to have every possible contingency and development in mind, e.g.: the disappointments that may come in the Orient; Japan being associated with Russia, or the U.S. and Japan; also possible developments on our Eastern coasts.

(Dictation continued, morning of February 9th)

The broadcast on Canada's War Effort should have cognizance of the points raised in Manion's speech, last night (February 8th). I am hoping we will have it in print by Monday night, when we can listen to Manion's broadcast and, if need be, add or alter a line or two as a consequence.

My feeling mainly at the moment is to get a straight statement of the war effort, to leave to later broadcasts the answering, in the main, of Manion's representations.

However, regarding the air training scheme, I think I should recall how I had, prior to the war, sought to avoid political discussion which would serve to divide Canada prior to any declaration by Parliament. That the suggestion of having a British military establishment owned, controlled, and directed from London was full of dangers of the kind. That the fundamental part of the request was not refused but proceeded with.

(See statement in my broadcast re air training).

Note: It was not until June or July a year ago that the question was raised. Note what developments have taken place since.

In this connection, however, bring in that real cause of delay was what was done by Bennett's Government of which Manion was a member, in cutting down air force and air force facilities.

Note too what Howe says about cutting down air transportation facilities.

All this would have to come into one page.

Be sure and see at once statement by Mackenzie as basis of material on Canada's War Effort.

Next broadcast will have to go into 20 pages.

Therefore, would suggest that body of material be worked out first with extra material worked in at stages as we proceed with revision.

Indicate clearly at the end what more is to be done. How to be carried on.

For references regarding doing according to British plans, see original cables to British Government prior to my statement in the House of Commons. Also statement there. Dr. Skelton will know exactly where these references are to be found.

Then note particularly my statement in the broadcast regarding Empire Air Training scheme which I made.

Statement authorized by the British Government that this was the most important contribution Canada could make.

Note: Look again at my first broadcast to see what was said there about developments at outset based on British co-operation.

See both statements of Rogers (at Kingston, February 7th) and of Howe (at Ottawa, February 8th) for material.

Re: notes for future articles in dealing with Ontario Resolution, stress fact that it was intended for use against us in federal House and on public platform.

That it does not represent the voice of the people of Ontario but of the terrorism and threats in vogue at Queen's Park.

Secure dates of assembling of Ontario Session. (already requested).

In last speech in campaign: ask again what leader now is going to be able to bring together the different elements in Parliament and in Canada, saying I had kept this feature in mind all along.

D 53623

February 10, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PICKERSGILL:

RE: BROADCAST ON CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

I would suggest that the broadcast begin in some such fashion as follows:

In my last (or opening) broadcast, (or in the broadcast which I delivered on Wednesday evening last), I spoke of the conditions in Europe which I have seen developing and of some of the things that, as leader of the Party, I had done and of others that I had refrained from doing in order that no grounds for dissention or cleavages of opinion might arise in the event of war breaking out in Europe which might involve a decision on the part of the government and people of Canada as to whether or not they would participate in the war.

There was one matter to which I did not refer as I had dealt with it in the broadcast on the British Commonwealth Air Training Scheme, and which had to do with an informal inquiry which had been made of the Government a few weeks before the prorogation of Parliament on July 1st, 1938, as to how Canada might view the British government's setting up an air training establishment in Canada under the ownership, immediate direction and authority of the British government.

The establishment thought of was not in reference to the training of air pilots generally, but solely that of sending to Canada pilots already trained in the Royal Air Force of Britain to pursue a course of advanced training in long distance flights, bombing, etc.

The intimation given by way of reply was that it was now many years since the old military stations at Esquimalt and Halifax, which formerly were administered from London had been taken over;

That Canada's naval service was based on the principle of complete autonomy.

That any attempt to begin military establishments in Canada to be directed from London, administered by the British Government, etc., would certainly be misunderstood by the Canadian people;

Would give rise to debate in the country;

Would be looked upon as a move to draw Canada, in advance, into war should war come eventually, and, moreover,

Would occasion friction between officials of British and Canadian defence departments.

That the same object, namely, affording opportunity to advance British fliers to avail themselves of the vast spaces of Canada could be given by the Canadian Government itself;

that Canada would be quite prepared to afford the facilities required, and, to this end, work out an arrangement jointly with the British Government.

This opinion was immediately communicated to the British Government and the following question addressed to the British Minister of Air and his reply in the House of Commons, on _____, indicates the complete satisfaction of the British Government with Canada's attitude.

It is apparent that the British Government could not have approached Canada to make the arrangements for British flyers herself, though, undoubtedly, they may have felt that the offer of the Canadian government to undertake the necessary establishment in co-operation with the British government met the purpose effectively and without possibility of friction or dissension.

Plans were immediately proceeded with. Provision was made by Parliament for the purpose, and had the matter been begun by the British authorities, so far as the training was concerned, matters would not have been farther ahead than they were when war broke out.

In the meantime, on the basis of co-operation which followed, ground work had been laid for what has developed now into the much larger scheme of air training project.

See speech on British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

What, it may be asked, has given rise to the kind of rumor which was circulated immediately after these conversations, which, so far as the government was concerned, were wholly exploratory?

I can only give my own views, which, however, I believe will be discovered to be well founded.

(1) There were certain individuals in Canada anxious to get government contracts from the British government for the building of planes, etc. It was from these would-be contracting firms that the rumor was spread.

In other words, these parties thought that they might, by their representation, force the hand of the Canadian government in the matter of getting immediate contracts themselves. It will be recalled that a Mission had been sent from Great Britain to the United States to place orders for planes. Before returning to England, they visited Canada, were in touch with individuals from Montreal, etc., and I have not the least doubt the latter were of the opinion that, if British establishments could be commenced immediately in Canada, they would be given certain orders.

(2) Another circumstances which helped to explain the matter being brought up in Parliament by those who had no official information and could have been speaking only as a result of representations made to them by interested parties, was that the Conservative convention had been fixed for _____.

It was thought these representations could be repeated there and a party fight begun on some jingo move. The attempt was made. It only served to rend the convention asunder and make impossible the continued leadership of Mr. Bennett or the new leadership of Mr. Meighen, and to land Dr. Manion into the leadership of the party, and to bring Herridge to birth as leader of the New Democracy.

Typical features:

Rumors manufactured for the Tory convention.

What split the convention is the best evidence as to how the country would have been split.

It landed Manion, instead of Meighen, or Bennett, as the leader.

Rumors spread by individuals seeking the quiet monopoly of contracts with the British government.

See answer made by Sir Kingsley Wood.

(I am just setting forth facts and ideas here, not with a view of having any of this necessarily brought into the article, except by their reference, which will be understood by the public. Everything that I am herein indicating will have to be rechecked with regard to the advisability of its inclusion. It is, however, the true explanation.)

There is no better evidence of the government's wisdom in rejecting the proposal which it is now said we should have agreed to than the fact that the mention of it at the Conservative convention, which came on _____ served to rend the convention asunder, indicating what the result would have been in Canada itself had the government attempted a move of the kind at that time.

Note that Dr. Manion today speaks of this as a betrayal of the country because of the dangers of war that were threatening and were evident to all.

As to what Dr. Manion's views were in regard to war being inevitable, I leave the country to judge by two things:

(1) The reply he made to me in Parliament with respect to confidential information I showed him, to let him see, as the leader of the Opposition, how critical European conditions were and how careful as a consequence, the government had to be in every official word and act.

(Please note I am not using the language - just giving the ideas)

Please have the passages incorporated.

It was the reply he made in which he said that I had only shown him the correspondence as a bluff.

(2) Dr. Manion's repeated demands for a general election, following prorogation, and in July and August. These should be gotten together and one or two used.

I might add that when Dr. Manion speaks of my not having continued to take him into the confidence of the government on matters pertaining to war, he himself and others may find some explanation of the reason in these experiences.

Dr. Manion makes a charge of my having betrayed the country on a particular matter, yet so little had he knowledge of the situation of which he himself was speaking, or has yet, that in referring to the matter in the speech he made in parliament on the 25th of January - as will be seen from Hansard - he did not know in which particular year the matter to which he was referring had taken place.

(See Hansard and insert passage in which he said 1937 or 1938)

In charging the Prime Minister of the country with having betrayed the nation, on an act respecting success or failure in the war, the leader of the Opposition should at least have sufficient knowledge of the alleged offence to know at least the year in which it occurred.

No greater proof of the wisdom of dissolving parliament without further debate on this or other subjects could have been afforded than just what was said by Dr. Manion on this very subject that afternoon. He made it clear that it was to be made the outstanding issue in the campaign - that, in the absence of other grounds of attack, this was to be made the feature of the campaign.

Note: exact language - "We will hear lots of it during the campaign".

As I said in parliament, and in my opening address the other evening, the British and the French in this war and, perhaps, even the Germans, will understand talk about betrayal of a country on the hustings during a campaign. They might have found it more difficult to understand talk of the kind in parliament, where language of the kind would not have been permitted under the rules of the House.

D 53628

Following is repetition of some ideas in the foregoing:

In my last broadcast I spoke of the fear I had that war might come, and of the necessity of keeping Canada united if it came; why I had refused to do certain things.

One of the matters I omitted making reference to, among the things I had sought to avoid a course being taken, which I felt would create dissension in advance, was that of the subject referred to by Manion re British schools in Canada.

I made no reference as I had dealt with this matter in a previous broadcast and thought the subject one which I did not feel it necessary to repeat.

Now that Dr. Manion has begun his campaign, or has come out with a blast, declaring that I have betrayed the country in this matter, it becomes necessary to refer to it again.

From what Dr. Manion said at Brockville we can now see what the country would have been in for in parliament had Manion gone on there as he had evidently intended from the outset to do.

Note how loose his statement was. He did not know the year of the charg he was making.

The matter was first brought up by Bennett in the House of Commons and the situation fully explained there. It had been brought up in parliament to prepare the way for a "cry" at the Conservative convention.

Manion must be asked to give proof of his statement and his sources of it.

Note that there was nothing to prevent the British government from placing orders with firms in Canada for any planes that might be needed. The planes she was ordering in the United States were not for any scheme ~~xxx~~ in Canada, they were for use in Britain. The same planes were required for use in England as with training scheme here.

Note how difficult it has been, even since the war has started, to get orders placed in Canada from Britain for planes, which shows we would not have been any further ahead. One might ask one's self the question:

How would we be proceeding in Canada today had the proposal been carried out and we would have had part of our air force administered from London and the other part administered from Ottawa? Obviously, it was desirable to have this question settled before any war.

Manion's charges are as unfounded and reckless as the language itself, in which they are expressed, is intemperate. In other words, they are as reckless, intemperate, and unfounded as the language in which they are expressed.

The speech itself on war effort should then begin with preparedness and take up the charges of lack of preparedness, showing first, regarding the air force, what the real cause was; show production of air force under Bennett at the time Manion was a member of his administration. (See my speech in the House of Commons in 1937 and figures given there.) Nail this down to the air force discussion. Point out how we had to restore the air force and bring it up to its proportions.

Note, too, what Howe said about the Bennett government, of which Manion was a member, stopping the scheme for air transportation begun by a Liberal administration, before Mr. Bennett came in, and delay that has followed there as a consequence of air fields, etc., not being developed.

Note progress we ourselves have made with that development.

Howe's speech of February 8th at Ottawa contains excellent material which, in this connection, should be used in part again by myself.

Next, show how preparedness did not mean preparedness for a European war in time of peace, but preparedness for Canada's defence in the event of war coming. The first duty being the defence of our own country.

D 53630

Show how almost automatically this defence work was put into operation. Follow up with saying that all this work was in readiness at once, thereby permitting the next step for co-operation to be proceeded with, with the greatest rapidity, eg., preparing for expeditionary force, development of air force. All this preparedness side should be fully covered in this address.

If the space required will not permit of complete statement of Canada's war effort, I can conclude by saying that in my next address, I shall continue on Canada's war effort. The purpose of this should be to make clear how effectively we have prepared for both: national defence and co-operation.

This speech should show how we have been guided by conference with Britain. See, in that connection, statement made in Parliament at special session, of our policy. Reference to British asking us to start the air training scheme.

Note particularly statement made by Lord Riverdale as to our being further advanced than they were in the last war. Also statement at the time of leaving, of how completely satisfactory the development was. Also be sure and include statement from General McNaughton indicating a ~~in~~ reference to all men being thoroughly trained, and no favouritism. (Speech at recent London banquet).

Then, re preparedness. Speech should dwell on care exercised in planning as to balancing different efforts, military, economic, financial, etc.

Also in reference to probable duration of war, not being exhausted at beginning, with no endurance left Necessity of keeping in mind war may run three or four years.

Get from Ralston latest figures about what war may be costing, though let him know I do not intend to cut in on what he may be saying in Toronto, but want to foreshadow that the expenditure may be greater than a million dollars a day.

Feb. 11- '40

D 53631

Canada's War Effort

1. The Air Training Scheme - the betrayal ---
(See Manion Jan.25,1940 Hansard p.15)

before election after

Nature of proposal
What it would have involved

2. The meaning of preparedness

(a) Things not done
(b) Things done

Not prepared for war in Europe in peace time.

(1) Prepared for Canada defence
(2) " "
(3) " to go on with co-operation

3. National Defence - rapidity of extent of
readiness for Parliament - Special Session, legislation, etc.
(See Manion, Hansard Jan.25, 1940, page 15)

4. In Planning for a long war -

Consultation with British
1st steps (see debates special session)
2nd step (air plan)
- statements by: McNaughton
Lord Riverdale
Diplomatic - fill vacancies
Military: Army, Navy, Air
Economic fronts - cost of living, export control, etc.
(see broadcasts)

5. A National Government - to manage war

differ between Cabinet - policy
no opposition to carry on

war of all parties

6. Re National Government - objectives
7. If need be - re extension of Parliament

See Journal editorial Saturday
What Tories wanted
deprive people of rights.

D 53632

8. What has actually been achieved?

List of:

9. The shortcomings - clothes, shoes, etc.
Where were British and other countries, etc.,
Where are we now, at the end of 5 months.
re time for orders to be filled.

D. re statement of issue:

1) Canada's war effort
to be obtained by a united effort
to be secured by a united Canada.

D 53633

4) National Unity

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D 53634

Subject.....

Date Feb.8,1940 *Publication* Ottawa Journal

PREMIER KING'S KEYNOTE ADDRESS.

No one who heard the Prime Minister last evening, or who will read him in print today, can come to other than one conclusion—that Mr. KING puts national unity (with no definition of what national unity may be about, or of how it may be brought about) before everything else—before Canada's part in the war; before the war itself.

Said Mr. KING:

"The first duty of any Government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity."

Here, in a sense, we have Mr. KING's war policy. It is a policy of qualified war; of war effort subordinated to and limited by ideas Mr. KING may have about national unity. In other words, if Mr. KING be judged by this speech, then he, as Prime Minister, would permit a minority in this country (which might threaten national unity) to limit his war effort; to hold virtual veto over his war measures. Let any group or minority or section in Canada declare its opposition to war effort, or to some particular method of war effort, and Mr. KING would seek to placate it by limiting war effort—this regardless of the majority, or of national right and duty.

* * *

If Mr. KING's "national unity" (about which he seemed to be obsessed last night) be national unity of that sort, paid for in that way, we doubt very much if the people of Canada want it. They want it no more than General SMUTS wanted the same sort of "national unity" in South Africa—unity based upon the domination of the majority by an anti-war minority. General SMUTS could have had unity, and peace, at that price; could have (in Mr. KING's words) made it the "first duty" of his Government. General SMUTS made the "first duty" of his Government the winning of the war. General SMUTS refused any minority the right to limit his Government's war effort; to qualify its war effort. National unity on that basis he rejected contemptuously.

* * *

Unfair to Mr. KING? Surely not. Because this refrain of national unity was uppermost in Mr. KING's address of last evening from beginning to end; was its overtone and undertone; the very soul of its theme. Again and again throughout the broadcast he used sentences like these:

"Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world."

"No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and heart to the maintenance of national unity."

"The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation by Canada, in European conflicts. . . ."

"I have had, all the while, to ask myself how our country could be kept united."

"It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted through my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a Government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English."

"The nature of the political campaign which our opponents, and I may say the opponents of Canadian unity, intended to wage."

Indeed, Mr. KING, toward the close of his speech, presented "national unity" as the principal issue of the war. Said he:

"What, then, are the issues of the election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the Government in the prosecution of the war."

Nothing could be clearer. "On the first issue depends the second issue." On "national unity" depends what we do about the war.

* * *

Now national unity, of itself, by itself, may mean anything. Unless we secure it on the right basis, built upon right principles and aims,

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 53635

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

national unity may indeed be an evil thing: Imposed by some aggressive minority, or compelled by some autocratic majority, or the result of weak surrender to expediency.

The people of Canada, THE JOURNAL believes, don't want their war effort qualified in such a way. National unity they certainly desire; national unity they are willing to pay for reasonably—but the price cannot be recreancy to national duty at the dictation of any minority. National honor is not in that course.

* * *

And why does Mr. KING raise this issue? Who in this country has been threatening national unity?

* * *

This, truly, is an extraordinary speech. Here is a Prime Minister who has just torpedoed Parliament and called a general election; a Prime Minister who told us an immediate election was necessary so that the Government's war record might be examined. Yet now, in his first election speech, when he has all the nation for an audience, he makes no attempt to meet the very general criticism that his Government has been dilatory and half-hearted in the prosecution of Canada's part in the war, makes no suggestion even that he will give a full explanation at a later date. All that Mr. KING asks us to believe is that he blew up Parliament so that we might have an election—on national unity!

What is Mr. KING saying? Is he not saying in effect?—"Whatever we have left undone in a war way, whatever limits we placed on war effort, has been a deliberate part of our policy. We qualified—and we intend to go on qualifying—our war effort to preserve unity at home; to keep certain groups and sections quiet. You may judge us upon that."

If that be the keynote of Mr. KING'S campaign—if this be the flag under which his party intends to fight this election—then, for scores of thousands of people, the whole position may have changed. The issue then will be qualified war, or complete war. Limited liability, or full liability. The majority will, or the minority will.

We find ourselves seriously wondering whether Mr. KING has not in this keynote address done something to imperil the very national unity that he is so very much concerned about maintaining.

"A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people" were Mr. KING'S closing words. It does—but not a war effort qualified in any way.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE D 53636

Subject.....

Date Feb.9,1940 *Publication* Ottawa Journal

WHILE MR. KING TALKS OF "NATIONAL UNITY".

One particular passage in Prime Minister KING's election "keynote" speech of Wednesday night should be noted by all who would understand what thought governs Mr. KING's war policy—plus what thought governs his strategy in this war election.

Here is the passage:

> "It (national unity) was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the Government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called 'national' government that might **enforce conscription** or **disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens.** The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people."

To whom—to what groups—is Mr. KING here appealing? When he trots out the bogey of conscription, and when he goes back 23 years to dig up the old War Time Elections Act, what has he in mind? Has he in mind national unity—or has he in mind (1) the votes of certain people in Quebec, and (2) the votes of the foreign-born populations of Alberta and Saskatchewan?

The answer seems clear.

Here is the Prime Minister of Canada submitting his war record to the country, asking the country to examine it, to say whether it wishes to continue him in office. Here is the Prime Minister of Canada supposedly (and professedly) appealing for national unity—yet misusing his opportunity by a none too subtle appeal to racial prejudices.

No one in Canada is talking about conscription; it is not an issue. No one in Canada is talking about disfranchising anybody; it is not an issue. Yet Mr. KING, directing his talk straight at Quebec, intimates his opponents might "enforce conscription"; and then, directing his talk this time straight at Saskatchewan, raises the spectre of disfranchisement—disfranchisement of "many classes of Canadian citizens". "The memories of those experiences in the last war", he declares, "are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people." Which we should say is appalling nonsense.

If Mr. KING's speech really sounded the "keynote" of his party's position in this election—and Mr. ROGERS' statements at Kingston suggest that it did—then something is raised that goes far deeper than the mere war record of the Government. Raised is the issue whether the Government wants to wage war as most Canadians would have war waged, or whether it is to be waged with an eye on the prejudices and fears of certain minorities—minorities that have votes.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

53637

Subject.....

Date.....Feb.10,1940..... *Publication*.....Ottawa Journal.....

MR. KING THE SOLE JUDGE OF PATRIOTISM?

The address this week of the Prime Minister, Mr. KING, has placed urgently before every citizen of this country the responsibility of deciding for himself what he thinks about Mr. KING's leadership in the present national emergency; and what he should think about Mr. KING's demand to be dictator in this country. That Mr. KING is sincere in his appeal for Canadian unity in resolute prosecution of the war is of course unquestionable: What arises in this question of motif is something else. It is the question whether Mr. KING himself has not gone grossly wrong in his national course. Mr. KING has had long tenure of absolute political power in this country. It seems to us to have given him a completely wrong and blind obsession as to what he has a right to ask of his fellow citizens other than his own party now. We decline to think that Mr. KING has some divine right now to call upon all parties to fall in behind him in order to be true to Canadian effort in the war.

Let us look at the record.

* * *

Prior to the war, many in this country were dissatisfied with the Government's part which undoubtedly in the minds of many of us was grossly at fault—indifferent or inefficient. War came: The feeling then was "Let us forget—What's past is dead". But this forgiveness was contingent on vigorous war action by the Government, with fair play to everybody.

What followed?

The vital action to ensure fair play and united spirit would have been to propose Union Government. This would, if accepted by the party leaders, have enabled all of us to fall in behind Mr. KING. If not accepted, it would have left all citizens free to judge for themselves and to back Mr. KING without any feeling of being disloyal to previous party affiliations.

Even short of effort to form Union Government, despite the fine precedent set in the last war, Mr. KING could still have extended the life of Parliament, leaving a forum for observation and criticism of his war effort and a possibility of later union.

Mr. KING took neither the first course nor the last.

Mr. KING, having spurned Canadian unity prior to last week jumped upon us this week with a demand for Canadian unity accompanied by a demand to call it Mackenzie King.

* * *

Having never made effort of any kind to promote national unity, and spurning any idea of opportunity for parliamentary discussion, Mr. KING suddenly exploded upon us the cry that the people of all parties must not only swallow all he has done or has not done, but must give him carte blanche to carry on as he pleases—or else, of course, be open to being branded as opposed to vigorous prosecution of the war. "You must go it blind with me", he practically declares, "or you are no true Canadian. You may have been a Conservative or something else all your life, but I demand that you shake your life-long political friends and affiliations and come in with me, or take the onus of being opposed to national unity and resolute war on HITLER".

Under the circumstances, every citizen, we think, has the right to reflect if he chooses that the part played by the King Government prior to the war was either grossly negligent or grossly incompetent; also that, for all he knows, it is not what it should be now; and finally that Mr. KING has proved himself unworthy of further leadership.

* * *

It was not the Conservative party, nor any other opposition party, but the Liberal majority

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D 53638

Subject.....

Date Feb.10,1940 *Publication* Ottawa Journal

in the Ontario Legislature, which passed this censure upon Mr. KING'S Government.

> "We regret that the Federal Government at Ottawa has made so little effort to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire."

It is in the face of this resolution—fathered by members of his own party and unanswered by himself—that Mr. KING practically demands that every Conservative shall vote for his Government—in order to prove "national unity"!

* * *

Mr. KING'S course in bringing on this general election in the way he has done, and the appeal he makes in connection with it has to THE JOURNAL'S mind involved a gross wrong to every citizen of this country who has not been affiliated with the Liberal party—and indeed wrong even to Liberals, because it assumes that they alone think themselves to be good enough Canadians to run this war, which we decline to believe they want to think. Mr. KING, by demanding in the name of national unity that Canada must follow him and him alone, has practically stigmatized as unpatriotic those who may not choose to do so.

Surely no political or national emergency could justify this. Surely it is so great a wrong in principle, so deep a measure of injustice, so profound a misunderstanding by Mr. KING of what is due to his own position and to the Canadian people that it merits their rejection; and with rejection their change to some one else to lead Canada in this crisis.

February 14, 1940.

D 53639

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

During the last few days, I have been able to receive reactions to your last broadcast from districts as widely separated as the Maritimes and Vancouver, Montreal and the Crow's Nest Pass (by some Conservatives to Liberals).

There has been a complete unanimity that the moderate and gentlemanly tone of the things you said, and the way in which you said them, have made a profound impression. Public men sometimes forget that the great majority of radio listeners are sitting in quiet homes. Personalities, vehemence, and an attempt to create the atmosphere of a public meeting are quite foreign to the canons of good broadcasting. I know that your own instinct, therefore, is to continue to set an example by the maintenance of these standards. If a quiet, judicial atmosphere could be created in the homes of your listeners, that would provide the most desirable opportunity to present your case. I therefore suggest that some such words as those indicated on the next page be used as an introduction to the more controversial portion of your broadcast.

L. W. B.

D 53640

5) National Government

5

D 53641

Re: National Government

When the word "government" is used, it has a significance different to that of party. A party may wish to form a government. In that event, it is known the the members of the government will be from the party. When, however, a union government is formed, the situation is different. The members of the government are not of one party, but from different parties. Therefore, it becomes necessary for a leader of a national government to make the personnel of the government known in making his appeal; also, his policies, because of the bringing together of men who support different policies.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 53642

PUBLICATION Winnipeg FreePress DATE February 26, 1940

A Proposal Without Reality

Mr. King, in a radio broadcast on Friday night, made a completely destructive attack upon Dr. Manion's project of a "national government," which, of course, is not a genuine proposition but a transparent dodge to get support for a party programme which is singularly lacking in attractive appeal. But Mr. King did not strengthen his case by appearing to make his criticism of Dr. Manion of universal application. There have been union governments (which is the more accurate title) in Canada in the past and there may be such governments in the future. But at this time there is no need for a union government in Canada; no demand for it; no defensible basis upon which such a demand can rest. The cry for it is simply a device adopted in the hope that electors who would not vote for Dr. Manion as the leader of the Conservative party can be induced to vote for him as the self-appointed leader of a shadowy, indefinite future union government. The camouflage is too transparent to entrap even the least wary.

* * *

Union governments come into being when some national need cannot be met by the operation of the traditional party system. The making of Confederation by a Canadian government which included party leaders between whom there were divergences of party feeling reinforced by deep and continuing personal hatreds is, of course, a notable example of how union governments come into being and of the ends they serve. The second illustration in Canadian political history was the union government which came into existence in 1917 in response to a public demand which transcended party lines. To the extent that Mr. King may try to find in the 1917 developments arguments against Dr. Manion's project—of which there have been hints—he injures his argument, because there were in that case conditions which are wholly lacking today: a need for union government, a basis upon which it could be formed and a cause to be served. We do not propose to enter into the merits or otherwise of that cause; it is enough, for our present purpose, to say that it was very real to a substantial majority of the people of Canada and that they were resolute in demanding that it should be expressed in policy. Upon this issue one of the major parties was deeply divided; and the creation of an ad hoc administration to give effect to the public demand was desirable and necessary. The alternative would have been to put party allegiance above recognized obligation to the state as the determinant of policy and of action. The solution of the deadlock that was reached admittedly left a legacy of difficult problems; but the alternative course would have been still more disastrous. The unfortunate clash of loyalities and interests in 1917 has its

own lesson for the parties of today; it is a warning against having too much politics in war time when consultation between the leaders should be the rule rather than the exception.

* * *

When a union government comes into being in Canada or elsewhere it is invariably the result of negotiations and understanding between the leaders of the dominant parties or of sections of these parties. That was true of the coalitions in Canada in 1864 and in 1917; of the war ministry in Great Britain in 1916 and of the so-called national government which was formed in Great Britain in 1931. These negotiations usually rest upon the emergence of an issue which divides one of the leading parties and makes possible and sometimes inevitable the creation of an ad hoc government to deal with this issue. No parallel to such a situation prevails in Canada today. The federal party which at the moment appears to be much the strongest political organization in Canada is united both with respect to policy and leadership; yet without the co-operation of a large section of this party under the leadership of public men of recognized standing there could not be created anything resembling a national government.

What Canada is undergoing at present is a campaign between the two historic parties: the Liberal, led by Mr. King, the Conservative, led by Dr. Manion; and since there is no disagreement about the war issue—the rightness of this war and the need for participation in it by Canada on a major scale—the choice of the electors between these leaders and these parties must be on the basis of fitness, experience and past performance. Dr. Manion asks that he and the historic party which he leads—a temporary change of name does not change the party itself—be given charge of Canada and of Canada's participation in the war. His claim to the high responsibility he seeks will be judged by these tests and not by vague promises of some kind of a new deal following the election. He is having ample opportunity to put his case before the people; and upon the close of nominations two weeks hence the electors will know the material from which, if he is victorious, he will have to choose his government. To date all his supporting candidates, whatever they may call themselves, are easily recognizable as belonging to the party which chose Dr. Manion as its leader in 1938; and the remaining nominations will not to any appreciable degree change this picture. It will be even clearer by election day than it is now that no question of union or national government enters into the issue of this election: that it is a plain choice between the two traditional Canadian parties.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

JWP/MP
10.3.40

National Government and the War

D 53644

The Leader of the Opposition has not yet told us who will be in his so-called "national" government, if he forms it. Up until a few days ago he had given us no hint either of the policy for the prosecution of the war which his national or union government will follow.

Attitude of C.C.F.

The other opposition groups have announced their policies. The C.C.F. policy was outlined to Parliament by Mr. Coldwell last September. This was its main point, as expressed in his own words:

> "Canada should be prepared to defend her own shores, but her assistance overseas should be limited to economic aid and must not include conscription of man power or the sending of any expeditionary force."

Is Dr. Manion prepared to refuse military aid to the allies in order to get Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Coldwell to join his union government?

Both Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Coldwell have stated publicly that they will have nothing to do with a national government as proposed by Dr. Manion.

JWP
10.3.40

Listen to what Mr. Woodsworth said about Dr. Manion's proposal:

> "Such a government would be like a ship with three or four pilots at the helm, each of them wanting to go in a different direction."

Position of Social Credit

The other opposition group was called the Social Credit party in the last Parliament. Like the Conservative party, it has been re-born under a new name for this election. We must now try to learn to call it the "New Democracy". Sometimes it appears under other disguises. In one province it supports candidates who use labels like "United Reformers", "National Unity" candidates, and other designations which are thought to have a local appeal. This Social Credit-New Democracy is the only political party or group which has not openly refused to co-operate with Dr. Manion in his national government. In many constituencies in one province the Social Crediters and Conservatives are in open alliance.

Social Credit War Policy

The Social Credit-New Democracy has a war policy. It is true that it is not easy to understand it. One point, however, seems clear. They are for conscription--conscription

of finance and conscription of man power. They say conscription of finance is not to involve the expropriation of the property or money of individuals. They are careful not to tell us what it will involve. Conscription of man power, however, has only one meaning. Dr. Manion says he will never introduce conscription. What then is his attitude to the policy of the only electoral friends he has yet found outside his own party?

The National Government Policy

The people of Canada have waited for more than six weeks since the election was announced for a statement of Dr. Manion's war policy. He finally gave them a statement in his national broadcast on March the 7th. His policy is summed up by him in nine points. Let us see what these points actually amount to.

The first is an efficient, voluntary war effort. That is surely general enough. But what does it mean specifically? Will the national government send more troops to Europe or will they reduce our army? Will they train more pilots and airmen or fewer than we propose to train? Will they build more ships or not so many? Surely Dr. Manion should tell you what his government would do that the present government has failed to do to prosecute the war.

D 53647

The second point is no conscription. Does that, I ask the question again, mean that the Social Credit-New Democrats need not apply for admission to the Manion government?

The third point is the production of all war materials possible in Canada. This, too, is completely vague. What will Dr. Manion's union government produce in the way of war supplies that Canada is not already producing or organizing herself to produce. Let him tell us.

The fourth point is the encouragement of voluntary recruiting. Does this mean that Dr. Manion proposes to call for mass enlistments without regard to the nature of development of the war, the plans of the allies or their urgent requirements? If so, he will merely disorganize our national economy and weaken our war effort. Masses of untrained men are not urgently required; our war effort must be kept in balance.

The fifth point is the immediate appointment of an Overseas Minister. Dr. Manion does not tell us what good such an appointment would do at this juncture. The policy of the present government is to make no appointments until the appointments are really needed.

D 53648

The sixth point is the employment of as many veterans as possible in connection with our war effort. It is not necessary to change the government to have this policy put into effect. It has been followed by the present government since the outbreak of war.

The seventh point is a generous policy of caring for the dependents of men in our fighting forces. The policy of Canada in this regard is already the most generous of any country at war. Is this merely a vote-getting promise? What does Dr. Manion propose that is not now being done?

The eighth is a proper co-ordination of the activities of war-time Boards and agencies. This is vaguer still! Let Dr. Manion tell us what activities are not co-ordinated? Let him also be specific about the measures he would adopt for their co-ordination? Actually there is the most remarkably smooth and efficient co-ordination of our war-time activities. No doubt our war effort would be noisier if there were more friction--but it would be less effective.

The last point is a promise to review the censorship regulations and the facilities for providing public information. The present government has also undertaken, and, indeed, always intended to have the censorship and,

for that matter, all restrictive regulations reviewed by Parliament. There is no need of a new government to get that done. As for public information, Dr. Manion is impossible to satisfy. In one breath he complains of constant floods of what he calls governmental propaganda, in the next he complains because the public is not informed of what the government is doing. He cannot have it both ways.

Dr. Manion's Policy is not a Policy

Dr. Manion's nine points do not really add up to a policy. They are not specific. Apart from the appointment of an Overseas Minister, they suggest nothing which is not already being done by the present government. Surely Dr. Manion does not expect you to replace a government you know for a government you do not know simply in order to enable Dr. Manion to send one of his supporters to London as an Overseas Minister. It is time Dr. Manion told you something specific. The platform of the national government at present consists of blanks rather than planks. Here are some questions he might answer on matters about which the people of Canada deserve to be informed.

Blanks in the National Government Platform

How will their military policy differ from that of the present government? Will they make any changes in the air training programme? Will they adopt a different naval policy?

Will they spend more money than the present government is spending? Will they increase taxation? What taxes will they increase? Will they borrow more than the present government? Will they conscript finance? If they say yes, will they tell us what they mean by conscripting finance. Will they issue debt-free money to pay for the war? And will they explain what debt-free money is?

Dr. Manion knows that our war effort cannot be intensified without increased expenditure. He knows, or he should know, that we can expect a long war, and that in a long struggle the effort should be increased steadily and not all put forth in the first few months. After all it is the last round which will decide victory.

The "National" Government and War Supply

Dr. Manion has had a good deal to say about patronage and profiteering in our war effort. He never gives any concrete evidence--perhaps wisely! Does Dr. Manion really mean to leave the impression that the non-partisan

War Supply Board has exercised patronage or permitted profiteering? Why does he not get down to cases? What are the examples? Will Dr. Manion's national government give more war contracts to Conservatives than the War Supply Board has given? Are the people of Canada really being asked to substitute a government of tried and experienced men for an anonymous band merely in order to make sure that more Conservatives get war orders. Is that the real issue for the advocates of national government?

If it is not, how will the so-called national government handle the problem of war supply. Will the contracts be let by the superman (whoever he is) who is to be Dr. Manion's Minister of National Defence? Or will they continue to follow the policy of the present government which has entrusted the letting of war contracts to a Board of business men of the highest integrity. The people ought to know what the policy of the national government regarding supply will be.

The "National" Government and Price Control

Perhaps Dr. Manion does not really mean that the War Supply Board has permitted profiteering in war orders; perhaps he thinks the government is permitting profiteering in the necessaries of life. He has never told us what

he means by the charge--we can only try to guess! Well, everybody knows what happened to sugar in the last war, and everybody also knows what has happened this time. The government met the sugar problem at the very outset by creating the War-Time Prices and Trade Board. Does Dr. Manion consider its work unsatisfactory? Let him tell the housewives of Canada, who have reason to give thanks to the present government every time they buy a pound of sugar, or a ball of wool, whether his national government will abandon the policy of the present government in controlling the prices of the necessaries of life.

"National" Government really needs no policy

The people of Canada know the men in the present administration, they know what our record is, and they know what our policies are. They do not know what men Dr. Manion would have in his national government, though they can perhaps guess who some of them would be. They have never been told in specific terms what policies Dr. Manion would adopt for carrying on the war, although he is going about the country making random promises about matters having little or nothing to do with the great struggle in which Canada is engaged, and to which the government is devoting its energies.

D 53653

Dr. Manion may, of course, have no men in mind and no policies. He does not really need either. He knows, and the people of Canada know, he will not be called upon to form a government, national or otherwise, and that he will not be putting any policies into effect. The people of Canada are not going to entrust their future, at a time when the future at best is a dark one, to men they do not know, with policies they dare not advocate, or, even worse, without policies at all.

53654

Outline of Speech

by

MACKENZIE KING

Montreal, March 12, 1940.

Much said in present campaign about two things:

1. The dissolution of Parliament,

2. The desirability of forming a "national" or union government.

We are today in a better position to judge, to see exactly, the true significance of each of these matters.

For most people it is always difficult to look ahead, to see what lies beyond today or tomorrow - to be other than controlled by their immediate feelings and prejudices. That is why in the present campaign you have heard so little about what, after all, is most important - how your affairs and the affairs of this country are going to be managed in the next 5 years, and so much about a lot of things that belong to the past, and will never be thought of or heard of again after the 26th of this month.

Yet, it is with the future that the new Parliament will be concerned.

Let us now consider why a new Parliament is necessary.

First of all, why do we have a Parliament at all?

That the will of the people may be carried out, since all cannot participate, we must have representation.

Since representatives (like people themselves) have different views, therefore the views of the majority must prevail.

To ascertain views of the people and of the majority, political parties are necessary.

The majority becomes the government - the minority the Opposition.

This is the way every legislature, conducts its business in a free country, under a democratic system.

This doesn't mean that the government, representing the majority, has everything its own way - a monopoly of government.

There are two all-important controls:

1. the Opposition has rights and continues to function;

2. while Government decides policy, the real work of administration of the

country's affairs is carried on by the public service, which is composed of men of all parties - advantages of a permanent civil service.

I might add a third -

3. The two Houses of Parliament:

the Senate has an equal voice with House of Commons on most matters.

There has never been a time since I have been leader of the party when the party has had a majority in the Senate: 1921-25; 1925-26; 1926-30; 1935-40.

A government in bringing forward its measures has always to take account of how they will be received

(a) by the Opposition,

(b) by the Senate.

I might add - the press, and all agencies that affect public opinion.

Work of government in war, as well as in peace, is carried on by Parliament as a whole. It is opinion that governs, and every Member of Parliament has utmost freedom of expression of his views.

Only one body superior to Parliament -

Only one set of persons whose views are of more importance than those of representatives of the people in Parliament, and that is the people themselves.

How rights of people to expression of their views secured by the Constitution:

1. elections to be held at least once in every five years;

2. elections to be held at any time when in opinion of those carrying on the work of government, the interests of government and of the people so demand.

The situation in January of this year.

Late Parliament elected in 1935.

Had to be an election in 1940.

Usually there is one session a year, and an election once in every four or less years -

This was true throughout Sir Wilfrid's time and has been true throughout my time at least when Liberals in office. The Conservatives have frequently held on till last minute, e.g.:

Conservative Government elected in 1891 - 1896;
Borden " " 1911 - 1917;
Bennett " " 1930 - 1935;

1. There had been 5 sessions of the late Parliament.

2. There had been (a) at session of 1939, expectations of a general election when session over;

(b) demands for a general election in summer.

3. There had been a condemnation of the war effort of the present administration - resolution by Legislature of largest province of the Dominion.

That resolution was supported by members of both political parties in the province - by some of one party, by all of the other party.

The fact that its motive was personal, political, vindictive, or whatever it may have been; that it was condemned by many of those who supported it; that it did not represent their real views, and certainly not the views of the province, did not affect its significance:

1. in the eyes of the people in other parts of the Dominion;

2. in the eyes of the allied powers;

3. in the eyes of the Germans;

or 4. in the use that it was intended should be made of it once Parliament had met again in regular session.

The fact was it stood out on the records of the Legislature and stands there today, and will continue to stand as a condemnation of the present government until on March the 26th it is answered by the people themselves in a voice so effective that no one will ever dare quote it again, except as a condemnation of those in the Legislature who joined to give it their support.

There was only one way in which to settle that question - a question which involved the policy of the government with respect to Canada's war effort, and not only the policy of the government, but the ability and capacity of its members to administer Canada's affairs at a time of war, and that was to allow the people to speak for themselves. This was essential in the interest of the country, its war effort and the cause of the allies, at the earliest moment possible.

What would have been said if any other course had been followed:

Let us picture the situation as it would have developed as it would be today.

Remember every one knew that the Session if it went on was to be followed by a general election.

Parliament would have begun debating the Address.

Immediately a political battle would have begun in the House of Commons;

What it would have been like we now know from the speech Dr. Manion delivered on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th. He gave then in part the material he had in readiness for Monday the 29th.

Every other party leader and speaker would have followed with speeches not meant to help win the war, but to help him and his party win at the coming election.

The government would have next introduced the Estimates.

Still later the Budget. Every item in the Estimates would have been made a target for criticism on the score that the government was going too far, or not far enough, was helping this constituency or province, while neglecting some other constituency or province. A similar effort to score political capital would have been made with respect to every tax imposed. Some interest or class or part of the country, it would have been said, was being favoured while some other interest, or class or other part was being asked to carry more than its share of the burden, and so on and so on -- not a word would have been said as to what might be necessary to win the war, everything would have been said with an eye to winning the election.

Even the slightest indication of possible oversight, or error, however completely it might owe its existence to the imagination or suspicion of a political opponent, would have been made to assume proportions of a political scandal of the first magnitude, -- and all this regardless of the effect it might have upon Canada's war effort in the eyes of our allies or of the enemy.

The government would, from day to day, have been prevented from making headway with the business of government in order that amunition for a general election might be manufactured, printed at the public expense, and sent out in the form of speeches delivered in Parliament. At the same time, its opponents outside as well as inside Parliament would have kept firing at the administration.

Then what would have followed? We would have been told, and this in the most emphatic manner, that in continuing to carry on the work of government we were simply seeking to hang on to office - were postponing the day of dissolution because of the certainty of meeting defeat - that we had long since lost the confidence of the electorate - that the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was right, that if we had had any appreciation of our duty to the people we would have dissolved the moment that resolution was passed. When the time of dissolution finally came, the country would have been told that the government had meant to hang on to office to the last minute, that we would have probably done what a previous government had done in war time - amended the constitution, formed a union government and tried carrying on indefinitely if the combined opposition had not prevented anything of the kind and driven us at last to the country.

It is all very well for Dr. Manion and those who are supporting him on the platform and in the press to say the government should at least have met Parliament and given to Parliament an account of the way they had managed the affairs of the country; and that after Parliament had had a brief short session in which everyone would have co-operated and been glad to co-operate, we could have brought on the elections. But are you so sure matters would have worked out that way? I am perfectly sure they would not.

I come now to something which it will be easier for you to understand today than it was six weeks ago, and I ask you to keep it very much in mind during the next fortnight. Even more, I am going to ask the people of this country to have it in their minds from month to month throughout this very fateful year. It is

D 53658

something which in your interests, in the interest of the allies, and particularly in the interests of Canada's war effort I myself have always to keep very much in mind.

Unless we were to violate the constitution of this country an election had to come this year. - Some say, no, that we might have amended the constitution. My reply to them is that no power is given us by the constitution to take any such step. But they say, it was done in 1916 at a time of war. - I say it should not have been done then. Parliament took from the people and to itself at that time a right it should not have taken.

The people were deprived of the right of saying, every five years, who their representatives for the next five years should be. When the same Parliament tried again, in 1917, to perpetuate itself on the ground that the war was still on, it was seen clearly that war itself was no justification for such a step. The proposal had to be abandoned, and an election was held while the war was on.

I made clear at the special war session of Parliament last September that I would countenance nothing of the sort. As between the supremacy of the government and the supremacy of Parliament, I stated I had always stood and would continue to stand for the supremacy of Parliament, but that whenever, the question was one between the supremacy of Parliament, and the supremacy of the People, I was wholly and entirely, 100 percent, for the supremacy of the people. On this basis alone can we continue to enjoy in this country free representative institutions and responsible government. Indeed, it is only on this basis that we are entitled to continue to be called a democracy.

If then an election had to come this year, was if not all to the good, altogether in your interests, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the interests of the Allied Forces, and in the interests of our young Canadians who were enlisting in the defence forces on land, on sea and in the air, that it should be over just as soon as possible, and, if at all possible, out of the way before the German offensive commences, as it is almost certain to commence in the early spring.

Just consider the position we would now be in if I had not taken the course I did. Parliament in all probability would have still been sitting, with the probability of a dissolution at any time, and the certainty of a general election as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say, the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England will be able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe; others will vote before leaving Canadian soil, and all under conditions which will make for a fair and honest election.

Even more important, however, is the fact that not only will the people of Canada have been enabled, as they have during the past six weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself, whatever government it may be, will have been placed in a position to give its

whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort at a time that this is certain to be most needed. If March 26th is passed before the whole European situation reaches its most alarming and appalling stage, we shall have reason to be thankful indeed. One thing is certain, we cannot expect fighting to be confined to the sea and the air much longer, nor to be on the limited scale it has been thus far. It is well for all of us that the elections are now so nearly over. Just imagine the agony of mind of every elector in Canada if, on top of two months political contention in Parliament, we had now to look forward to another two months of the same sort of thing in the country, with, in addition, as I greatly fear will prove to be a fact, war raging on an intensified scale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

The obvious desirability of having the appeal at this time, and having it over just as soon as possible, is so apparent that, but for two questions, no one of intelligence would, I think, have doubted for a moment the wisdom of and the necessity for the course taken.

The first question is why have an election at all in time of war? That, I think, I have already completely answered. This war may continue for many years. It is not going to end whenever we wish it to end. It will not end until the resources of war itself - till one or other, if not all, of the participants, and the resources on which they are dependent for victory, are exhausted. Would any one wish to have a Parliament, chosen in 1935 without any reference to war, continue on indefinitely through the forties, with no chance given the people to say whom they wished to manage their affairs in so critical a period? Meanwhile, the whole parliamentary situation, and the situation throughout the country, would have steadily deteriorated. Moreover, in a war to preserve freedom, such a course would have meant the destruction of our own free institutions.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with a similar situation, though one, if anything, even more difficult. The constitution of the United States called for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution never contemplated, and was not framed, to cope with a situation at a time of civil war, and that the elections, which were prescribed by the Constitution, could not be held under such circumstances. Lincoln held that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded; and that, in a war for freedom, America's free institutions had already been destroyed by the forces that were opposing freedom. "We cannot," he said, "have free government without elections." He held the elections. Lincoln and his government were sustained, and the world was shown that elections could be held under democratic institutions at a time of civil war and that democracy and freedom could be maintained despite the consequences of war. "The elections", said Lincoln, "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." "Until now", he added, "it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility." It will be possible to say the same of Canada, with respect to war, after the 26th of the present month.

The other question which naturally suggests itself is why, in the circumstances, did I wait till Parliament was called together before asking for a dissolution? The answer to that is very simple. I had given my word at the special war session of Parliament not to bring on a general election between the closing of one session and the opening of another, or, in other words, before Parliament was again called together. I said Parliament would likely be called together in January, but might be called together before that time. I did not say that Parliament would be continued in session, once it was called together. That would have meant tying the hands of the government regardless of what the public interest might demand.

What I said - I quote my exact words - they will be found in the records of the Parliamentary debates of September 12th, 1939:

"It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring honorable members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile."

I need not remind you what had taken place meanwhile. The Ontario Legislature's resolution was passed on January 18th. But for having promised to bring the Members together in January, if not before, I would have asked for dissolution on the day following the passing of the Ontario Resolution. I did the next best thing. I asked. for an immediate dissolution, once members had assembled, and announced the government's intention to dissolve in the Speech from the Throne.

It must be apparent, from what I have said to you, and from what you yourselves have had opportunity to witness since January 25th, that in taking the step I did at that time I was but fulfilling my constitutional duty as Prime Minister, once I saw that a general election at the earliest moment possible had become necessary in the interests of the country, of Canada's war effort, and of the Allied cause, so to advise the Governor General, regardless of what inconvenience it might occasion the Members of Parliament, most of whom were my own supporters, or however much the step itself might be misinterpreted and misrepresented in the course of the elections themselves.

It has been said I was "scuttling" Parliament. May I say that those who make this assertion were prepared, if such were the case, to scuttle the people. If I were scuttling the Ship of State, those who opposed the step were prepared to scuttle the Nation. The people, not Parliament, are the source of all political authority and power. There are times and seasons for all things. The time for a new Parliament had come; to attempt to carry on with a Parliament that had already had five sessions, with the knowledge that a general election was immediately to follow, would have been to ignore altogether the effect of such a course upon Canadian unity, upon Canada's war effort, and upon the cause of the Allies. Far from scuttling Parliament, I was in fact taking the necessary steps to bring into being at the earliest moment possible, at a time of war, a new and truly representative Parliament to replace a Parliament that had never been elected to serve the people's interests at a time of war, a Parliament that had nearly run its course and was doomed at any moment to die. At this very moment, I would have been receiving the strongest condemnation for not having foreseen the condition that was certain to arise, and would have been blamed for every consequence of it. That condemnation would have grown in intensity and volume every month that I had failed to permit an immediate appeal.

At times of political controversy, it is often difficult to see matters in their true light. The observations of impartial authorities, especially if they are known to be authorities on the British Constitution, may therefore be of value in helping us to reach a just conclusion. I think I am right in saying that there is no student of British parliamentary institutions in the British Empire whose opinions on matters of the kind is more widely sought or highly regarded than are those of Mr. Berriedale Keith, the author of many well known works on government in Great Britain and the Dominions. In a letterto "The Scotsman", in Edinburgh, published almost immediately after the dissolution of our Parliament, Mr. Berriedale Keith expressed his views in no uncertain terms. After saying that the criticism against myself, because of the dissolution, was clearly unjustified, Mr. Berriedale Keith went on to sum up the situation. He did so in the following words:

"Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; today, it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division overseas and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces."

Mr. Barriedale Keith concludes with the following words:-

"The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

That, ladies and gentlemen, will, I believe, be the verdict of history upon the most important decision I have had to make in the course of my public life. It is a decision the necessity for, and the wisdom of which I have never for a moment been in doubt. It is a decision which all who believe in free representative institutions and in responsible and democratic government may well be proud. It is a decision to which I believe the widest and most definite approval will be given by the people of Canada on the 26th of this month.

D 53662

6) Air Training Plan

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 53663

Name of Publication Toronto Saturday Night

Date January 13, 1940

Subject Air Training Plan (By Flight Commander A.H. Sandwell)

THE essence of what is known as "blind" or instrument" flying is the receipt by radio of assurance that—however opaque the clouds through which the machine may be passing at the moment—there is sufficient visibility for a safe landing at some airport which may be reached before the fuel runs out. Occasionally the weather at the destination closes down just before the plane arrives. In such case there must be enough fuel in reserve to reach an alternative field known to be still open. There is no longer any room for the taker of chances, even when the chances seem favorable, much less when they are in the order of ten to one against.

Why then, when we condemn the commercial air pilot for taking chances that imperil the safety of perhaps twenty-three people, should we lavish praise on a national pilot who takes chances that endanger the existence of an Empire? It is the contention of this writer that for the past two or three years Canada's national defence policy has been "on instruments," flying gaily through clouds of political oratory and opportunism, but without any idea as to when the fuel may run out or a mountain loom up ahead.

By long odds the most remarkable thing about the Prime Minister's announcement of the Empire Air Training Scheme in mid-December was the almost universal blanket approval accorded both the scheme and the Premier in the editorial columns of the press during the following week. It seemed as if Canadian editors were so delighted that at last something was actually happening that they permitted their joy and enthusiasm to run away with them.

Yet a moment's thought would have made it tragically plain that only by the most astounding luck was it possible for Canadians to hold up their heads at all, and to regard this belated training scheme even with complacence. Had the war followed the course freely predicted by the military and political experts of the whole civilized world, the Dominion would have been instantly exposed in a blinding spotlight as the most backward, the most unready and the most futile of all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. And the chief reason for our unpreparedness, is the pathetic—one might truly say psychopathic—inability of the Prime Minister to think in terms of anything but political exigency.

Eighteen Months Late

As it is, we are eighteen months late with the training scheme; we have foozled our opportunity to become a vast source of supply for military aircraft (as opposed to training machines) for the Empire, and we are not out of the woods yet! Heavy losses in the coming spring, before our training scheme even gets into its stride, may focus critical attention on our failure to face facts.

At this point, some one will doubtless inject the remark that all this is water over the dam, and let's get on with the war now that we have started! But how do we know, what reason for expectation have we, that the water now approaching the dam is any different? And how many of us have really examined the structure of the dam which impeded the flow towards military preparedness in the months preceding the outbreak of war. The issues involved are interesting historically, and also because they may arise to confuse us again some day.

In his radio speech of December 17, the Prime Minister devoted considerable time to clearing up what he termed a "misconception" about the genesis of this training scheme. It is perfectly true that the Empire Training Scheme as such was not envisaged in the conversations which took place in May and June of 1938 between representatives of the governments of Canada and Great Britain. The suggestion at that time was that advanced training camps for Royal Air Force personnel might be established in the Dominion under the authority and direction of the Air Ministry of the United Kingdom. This suggestion was turned down flat by the Prime Minister because he was sure the Canadian people would not like to have R.A.F. personnel in Canada unless it was directly under the control of the Canadian government. I am aware that many patriotic Canadians espouse this view. But a very large number of conversations with equally patriotic citizens in all walks of life lead me to the conviction that the feeling is by no means as widespread as some people would have us believe. Some people hold strongly that there was no more reason for denying to the Royal Air Force the privilege of operating training camps in Canada than there is for denying the use of our harbors to vessels of the Royal Navy or for denying officers and men from those vessels shore leave while in port. Carried to its logical conclusion, the principle would lead us to insist either that His Majesty's ships stay outside the territorial waters of the Dominion or become units of the Royal Canadian Navy as soon as they pass the three-mile limit inbound! Both of which are obviously absurd. More absurd when one considers that in the last war it was possible to operate training camps of the Royal Flying Corps in Texas without the slightest friction or ill-feeling.

Constitutional Rights

There are excellent reasons for believing that the refusal to entertain the suggestion for the establishment of R.A.F. camps in Canada was part and parcel of the policy of the Prime Minister in refusing to admit what everybody else but the politicians knew and openly stated, that when Great Britain and Germany went to war, the Dominion was in it just as certainly as if the British government still retained the power to declare war on our behalf. As some one phrased it a few days ago, "We have the same constitutional right to abstain from going into this war alongside the Old Country as we have to cross the street on a green light in the path of a runaway autobus." The war was as clearly visible as the bus, and the pity of it is that our paid and trusted representatives apparently could not, or would not, see it coming.

One of the most tragic of the events that contributed to the Dominion's pitiful state of unpreparedness in September last was the celebrated Bren Gun Enquiry. If this exposé was launched from patriotic motives, it had the most deplorable results. Not only did it fail to bring about the cancellation of the original contract, but it threw Parliament and the Department of National Defence into a state of dither from which they have not yet recovered. The natural reaction of any department under fire is to play 'possum and give the best possible portrayal of a state of suspended animation. This the D.N.D. achieved with such outstanding success that from the time the Bren Scandal "broke" to the actual declaration of war the ordering of aircraft and other munitions in Canada was at a complete standstill.

Fatuous Purchasing Bill

Meanwhile—a whole winter was spent in Ottawa messing about with a completely fatuous Defence Purchases Bill which went into the discard the moment war broke out; the Minister of National Defence, quite out of his depth in the muddy waters of political patronage in which he found himself, and his hard-working Deputy, were subjected to a barrage of criticism and abuse, much of which was as unfair as it was unfounded; and the British aircraft industry was developed to the stage where (unless bombed out of existence) it can supply the needs of the Royal Air Force, export to Canada quantities of training machines, which we could and should have built ourselves, and even spare firstline aircraft for sale to Roumania, South Africa, New Zealand and this Dominion, with a promise of Spitfire fighters and other machines in quantity for Finland. I had the honor of commenting on the Defence Purchases Bill in these pages while it was going through Parliament, and its failure has justified everything then said about it. The Hon. Mr. Howe, I think it was, commented sadly on the demise of this Bill that under its provisions (one of which was a profit of five per cent annually on the average amount of capital employed in filling any order),—"contractors would not accept contracts, even from motives of patriotism!"

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 53664

In one of my conversations, I expressed a degree of pleasure that the failure to expand Canada's aircraft production immoderately might perhaps save us from the worst rigours of a post-war slump. Imagine my distress at this reply: "However big the post-war reaction may be, I don't think you or I will live to see it. By the time this is all over, Hitler will be a minor incident, somewhere in the background."

If this should prove a true prophecy—which God forbid!—Canada's tardiness, like Hitler's invasion of Poland, may not turn out to be as important as it seems to some of us just now. Nevertheless, a widely held Canadian view is that we have let the Old Country down seriously and repeatedly; that the Air Training Scheme is late, and at best a poor shadow of what it might have been if we hadn't had to be kicked and pushed into doing anything at all, and finally that if it goes through as planned, it will be largely due to the initiative and experience of a handful of Britishers in Ottawa who know what is required and are getting on with it in spite of the obstructive interference of people who should be extremely grateful for their help.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 53665

Statement by Dr. Manion in the House of Commons, January 25th, re: Air Training Program.

"The fact is that by July 1, 1938--personally I think it goes back to 1937--the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air-training schools in Canada to train British pilots."

"The British proposed to come over here and establish schools for their flying pilots, to be maintained at their own expense. Let us see what would have happened if the right hon. gentleman had said

"yes" to them at that time, as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air-training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

"The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in a time of distress. He refused; and the British then started to do what they did not wish to do; they built up manufacturing plants for their planes in their own country--manufacturing plants which they came over here with the intention

D 53667

of establishing in Canada. I learned when I was in England not long ago that on one occasion, they came over here with a hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any of those contracts at that time."

D53668

February 15, 1940

Memorandum for Mr. Pickersgill:

Re: Air training plan

The points to bring out are simply the following:

1. Two things must be distinguished:

(a) The British Government's point raised consideration of British training establishments under the British Government in Canada;

(b) Contracts for aeroplanes, etc.

2. The only communications I had with anyone on 1(a) were with the British High Commissioner, Sir Francis Floud, and by direct communication with the British Government through the Secretary of State of the Dominions and the Prime Minister.

(See answer of Kingsley Wood re question in the House of Commons.)

Re 1(b). I had nothing to do with the British Government sending a mission to the United States to place orders for planes, and to Canada. These were orders for the British Government and were, in no way that I was informed or any of the members of our government informed, connected with any plan for training in Canada.

No member of the Mission had anything to do with school training plan, or to discuss with the government. Their business was wholly with contractors.

My only connection with the Mission was that of promising the Defence Department would lend all possible assistance as to giving information as to firms, etc., the understanding being contracts were to be placed not through the government but direct by the British Government with the firms concerned.

In other words, the contract business was independent altogether of the other. Moreover the Mission had been in the United States and had discussed their business in Montreal with contractors there before any interview had taken place between Sir Francis Floud and myself.

3 (a) See Manion's speech in House of Commons, January 25th.

It will be seen that he speaks of two different things as though they were one and the same. The first, the so-called proposal of the British Government for schools for advanced training only, and that advanced training for members of the British Royal Air Force.

(b) The present air training scheme which is not so much for advanced training - which is only one of the four courses and the last - and which is for training large numbers of Canadians in all courses, Australians and New Zealanders, etc. with Canadians in the last.

4. The question of jurisdiction and administration which lay at the foundation of any joint scheme was settled at the time the proposal was made. (See my speech of July 1st, 1937).

Please be sure and work in question and answer of Kingsley Wood in the British House.

Also please let me have, as soon as possible, Manion's statement in the House of Commons, made during the debate on External Affairs, I think, where he claimed that I had only shown him correspondence regarding the war as a bluff.

Also my own statement at an earlier stage when I advised the House to be prepared for more serious emergency later on. The point to bring out strongly is that the question regarding British establishments in Canada was one of policy. Could only be discussed between the governments. Was only discussed between the British Government and myself through the medium of the High Commissioner.

If Manion has other sources of information, let him disclose them.

I am prepared to have my statement rest with the British Government itself.

All of this could be, I think, compressed into a page. It is most important.

W. L. M. K.

D 53671

Ottawa M. Citizen
March 11, 1940

Manion Replies To King's Talk On Air Scheme

States Prime Minister Gave British Delegation Impression Canada Might Be Neutral in War.

Canadian Press.

HALIFAX, March 10.—Prime Minister Mackenzie King gave British aircraft purchasing agents two years ago the impression that "Canada might be neutral if there was a war and, if it was neutral, their orders might not be filled if a war actually took place," Conservative Leader Manion charged here last night.

Sticks to Claims.

The Conservative leader, replying to Mr. King's Friday night broadcast, stuck to his claims that the present government turned down two years ago a British effort to establish British air training schools here at Britain's expense.

At the same time, British agents were prepared to place in Canada orders for $100,000,000 of aircraft if the British training scheme was approved.

On his own conversations with the Canadian manufacturers, who would have received those orders, and from the British agents themselves, whom he met later in England, Dr. Manion said he based his charge of the Prime Minister's attitude at that time.

"I don't know what frightened him (Mr. King) about the British scheme then," Dr. Manion said. "Perhaps it's his American complex."

Mere "Quibbling."

Although Mr. King asked in his broadcast who the British representatives were who broached the British air training scheme, Dr. Manion wondered what difference that made. That was mere "quibbling," as was the Prime Minister's suggestion now that the scheme was never really brought up in 1937 or 1938.

"He's simply trying to flimflam you. It's all in Hansard of July 1, 1938," Dr. Manion told the audience of 1,200 in the Casino theater.

"Remember there are always two Mackenzie Kings, one in the House boasting of what had been done for defence and the other in an election. You pay your money and you take your choice."

The only conclusion one could come to from Mr. King's behavior was that he was "both mentally and tempermentally unsuited to handle our affairs in such a time of national emergency.

While the Prime Minister, in his broadcast, challenged Dr. Manion's statement that $188,000,000 had been supposedly spent on defence since 1935, the Conservative leader again produced details from a statement by Mr. King in the House on Sept. 8, 1939.

At that time, Dr. Manion emphasized, the Prime Minister said the money had been expended but now said it had not been expended.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D

53672

7) Vancouver Property

53673

D

E

VANCOUVER PROPERTY

The Leader of the Opposition has given only one example of what he calls mal-administration.

The example is:

The expropriation of a property in Vancouver for use as living quarters for unmarried officers and for an officers mess at the Air Station.

The facts are:

1) The government originally approved plans for a building to cost $130,000.

2) It was learned that a suitable property adjoining the Air Station was for sale.

3) The additional land was needed.

4) The price was not fixed by the owner.

5) It was not fixed by the government.

6) The property was expropriated. The price to be paid was fixed by the Exchequer Court of Canada.

land less Asian owners owned for

7) The court followed the usual procedure in expropriations and based the valuation on an inventory.

D 53674

8) The inventory naturally included all the improvements to the property.

9) When a house is bought, it is usual to purchase the land.

10) The property was purchased on the recommendation of the officials responsible for organizing Canada's air defences.

The Leader of the Opposition has set his opinion against that of the defence experts when he says a suitable building could have been erected for $10,000.

The whole transaction occurred before the outbreak of war. This is not an excuse. No excuse is needed. But it does suggest that Dr. Manion is having difficulty in finding anything definite to say in criticism of our war effort.

Just own property - could sell for more

does away with road

6 acres - Situation [illegible]

JWP/W
5,111,40

D 53675

Re: Single Officers' Quarters and Officers' Mess at Vancouver

What is the charge made by the Leader of the Opposition? These are the words he used in his broadcast from Brandon on February 16th:

> "This government so lacks common sense that, instead of building an officers' mess for less than $10,000, it expropriates a luxurious residence for $94,000."

Dr. Manion's charge is based on an article which appeared in the Financial Post of Toronto. He appears to have accepted the allegations made in the article without further investigation.

What are the facts:

1. The property in question was purchased not only for an officers' mess but also for living quarters for the unmarried officers attached to the Air Station.

2. Dr. Manion says a suitable building could have been built for $10,000. He gives no authority for his estimate of cost. Dr. Manion may be more expert in such matters but the fact is that the responsible

D 53676

authorities of the Department of National Defence estimated in 1938 that a suitable building would cost $130,000.

3. Instructions were then given that they should investigate the suitability of a private property situated on several acres of ground immediately adjoining the Air Station.

4. It was found that the property was assessed by the City of Vancouver at $49,150, and that it would cost $30,000 to remodel the building for the purpose required.

5. The property was therefore expropriated by the government and the price was fixed by the Exchequer Court of Canada at $94,440.

6. The purchase price plus the cost of alterations came to less than the estimated cost of a new building. The tax-payers were saved more than $5,000 on the building alone.

7. The land on which the building was situated was also needed. The Air Station had to be extended in area to meet additional demands, and

this in an area where property was difficult to obtain.

8. The purchase of the land enabled the government to close a street which formerly ran through the Air Station. This added more land to the station and gave the station an additional hundred feet of waterfront, as well as ending the inconvenience of having the station divided by a public thoroughfare.

9. The possession of the additional land will make it possible to construct living quarters for the married officers on the premises.

It will be seen from a review of the facts that this purchase, far from being extravagant, represented a direct saving to the tax-payers.

It also increased the size and efficiency of a seaplane base which is vital to our coastal defences.

It is impossible to sustain any charge of favouritism and patronage when it is recalled that the property was not purchased by negotiation but acquired by expropriation, and when the price was fixed, not by the owner or by the government, but by one of the highest courts in the land.

D 53678

EXPROPRIATION FOR OFFICERS' QUARTERS FOR
JERICHO AIR STATION, VANCOUVER, B. C.

The Financial Post criticized this transaction on October 14, 1939, in an article under the heading:

"MR. MACKENZIE BUYS AN OFFICERS' MESS"
"Why did Ottawa pay $94,000 for
prominent citizen's estate, when
undeveloped land available"

The text of the Financial Post article referred to the development of Jericho Air Station at Vancouver, B. C., and said:

"A quarter of a mile or so from the waterfront, was the residence of a prominent citizen associated with a group known to be close to Mr. Mackenzie. In due course the Department concluded that the Station needed a single officers' mess. It decided to acquire the prominent citizen's residence and estate for this purpose."

"That is a sample of the way Canada's Defence millions were spent under Mr. Mackenzie. In such transactions were certain individuals favored at the expense of the Treasury."

THE FACTS: In connection with the expansion of the Jericho Air Station it became necessary to provide living quarters for the unmarried officers, and an officers' mess. Plans for a suitable building were drawn. The estimated cost of this building was $130,000.

This fact is definitely set out in P.C. 773 of April 9, 1938. The Order-in-Council authorized in the following language:

" Preliminary plans have been prepared for the construction of such accommodation, and the estimated cost has been placed at $130,000."

Before action had been taken on the proposal to build, attention was directed to the fact that a private residence, and the six acres of land surrounding it, lying immediately to the south of the Station, might be bought for less money than the cost of erecting a new building.

Instructions were issued that this be investigated.

The language in which the instructions were issued by the Chief of the Air Staff to the Officer Commanding the Western Air Command at Vancouver, clearly indicate the determination of the responsible heads of the Department, including the Minister, that no personal considerations should enter into the matter.

The following is quoted directly from the letter written by the Chief of the Air Staff:

"It has been suggested that possibly a more economical way to meet our requirements for single officers' quarters and officers' mess at Jericho would be to acquire the property lying to the south of the property we presently own.

Expropriation for Officers' Quarters for Jericho Air Station - Continued

"Before any official action is taken, an absolutely unbiased opinion from a service point of view if required as to the suitability

(a) Of the house with a view to converting it into an officers' mess and single officers' quarters, and,

(b) The suitability of the remainder of the land in this block for future building as required.

"With this object in view, will you please approach the owner and without discussing the suitability of the house, and the terms and conditions of sale in any way, examine the house and make a full report upon its suitability,

"Above all, bear this in mind, that your report must be entirely unbiased, and must be based only upon satisfactory solution to our problem from the service point of view."

The Officer Commanding the Western Air Command investigated and reported. His report was considered by the Headquarters Staff. The Chief of the Air Staff with these reports before him, reported as follows:

"From this information I am satisfied that it will be more economical and in every way more desirable to purchase this property for the above purpose, than it will be to construct a building on our present property for the purpose. I would further add that our property is now so limited that the acquisition of the land surrounding the house will be of great assistance in the development of the Station."

The several reports showed the following advantages:

(1) Purchase would be cheaper than a new building.
(2) Six acres of additional land would be added to the Station.
(3) Acquisition of this property would permit the closing of a public thoroughfare running between two parts of the Station.
(4) Closing the street would give the Station possession of one hundred feet of additional water-frontage lying between two portions of the Station.

The Financial Post suggested that the price paid was excessive.

The fact is that the price was fixed by the Exchequer Court of Canada after trial held in open Court.

A Committee of the Cabinet, at the request of the Minister of National Defence, went into the whole transaction. An Officer of the Department of Justice reported to this Committee. After reciting all the relevant documents and facts his report said:

"Taking the above into consideration, and the view of the Air Officers that this property was particularly desirable for the purposes intended, and that it would permit the diversion of the main thoroughfare, I feel that the Crown received reasonable value, particularly having in mind that the Exchequer Court determined the compensation."

Re. Vancouver Property

D 53680

In support of his reckless charge of mal-administration, Dr. Manion gave only one example. He referred to the expropriation of a property in Vancouver for use as an officers' mess. Although no one will expect the Prime Minister to spend his time and yours discussing this transaction in detail, I will give you one or two facts which Dr. Manion omitted.

The building was bought before the war. It is situated in the large, thriving city of Vancouver. It was purchased to provide a home for men who had offered their lives for Canada. These men in my opinion were entitled to comfortable and pleasant surroundings.

The property was purchased on the recommendation of the officials responsible for organizing Canada's defences.

When a house is bought, it is usual to purchase the ground on which it stands, even if there is a small fish pond in the garden.

The price paid was fixed by one of the highest courts in the land. I am advised that it was purchased at less, rather than more, ~~than~~ its actual value.

The property now belongs to the people of Canada. It is tax-free, and could no doubt, be sold today at a profit.

The transaction was open, public and honest. The purchase

was necessary. The price was fair. Dr. Manion may know more about the needs than those who recommended the purchase. He may know more about the price than the court that fixed it. He may desire to see the officers of the Canadian ~~army~~ air-force unworthily housed. As far as I am concerned, I prefer to leave the decision in all these matters to trained men who know their business.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Feb. 19/40

Subject

D 53[illegible]2

Emergence of Real Issue!

The Great Issue upon which the people of Canada must concentrate their minds, wills and purposes at this juncture has emerged.

Its importance is indicated by the fact that Dr. Manion, on Friday night, took some minutes of his valuable radio time to dwell on its enormity.

Further proof that here we have the dominating issue of these times is furnished by the fact that while Dr. Manion was enlightening the people of the whole Dominion, George Drew was firing the heather in Ontario with the same stirring recital of these facts of deep moment.

George Drew, it might be indicated, made himself first lieutenant to Dr. Manion by inventing the slogan "King Must Go!"; or possibly he rates himself, actually or prospectively, still higher.

Now for the portentous, stupendous, world-shaking issue:

The purchase price of the residence which the Government bought in Vancouver* as an officers' mess included this outlay:

For fish pond $30.00
For manure pit $60.00

Dr. Manion and George Drew having pulled the veil aside from what the gallant doctor delicately calls an "odoriferous deal," and stigmatized it in terms which might be regarded as somewhat partisan were it not for their assurance that they speak from a higher plane, it will be for the electorate of the whole Dominion to grapple with the problem thus presented, and to give it their best judgment.

It is consoling, however, to think this Great, Overpowering Issue will be disposed of on March 26 (this seems to be a justification for the early election!), thus enabling Canada to get back thereafter to the much less important business of fighting the war.

*The amount paid for this residence was not fixed by the Dominion Government, but was determined by the Exchequer Court of Canada in a judgment rendered August 21, 1939. (Canadian Law Reports, Part VI, 1939. p. 340.) The judgment recounts that the Dominion Government offered the owner, Isabel Gertrude Spencer (Mrs. Victor Spencer) $49,150 (the municipal assessment) which she declined to accept, asking instead $145,750. The expert evidence given both for and against the Dominion offer is summarized: Mr. Justice Angers holds that "municipal assess-

"ments are usually lower than the "real value" and "that the market "price is not necessarily a conclusive "test of real values; and gives an "award of $94,446."

re Vancouver Property D 53683

In support of his reckless charge of mal-administration, Dr. Manion gave only one example. He referred to the expropriation of a property in Vancouver for use as an officers' mess. Although no one will expect the Prime Minister to spend his time and yours discussing this transaction in detail, I will give you one or two facts which Dr. Manion omitted.

The building was bought before the war. It is situated in the large, thriving city of Vancouver. It was purchased to provide a home for men who had offered their lives for Canada. These men in my opinion were entitled to comfortable and pleasant surroundings.

The property was purchased on the recommendation of the officials responsible for organizing Canada's defences.

When a house is bought, it is usual to purchase the ground on which it stands, even if there is a small fish pondin the garden.

The price paid was fixed by one of the highest courts in the land. I am advised that it was purchased at less,rather than more, than its actual value.

The property now belongs to the people of Canada. It is tax-free, and could no doubt, be sold today at a profit.

The transaction was open, public and honest. The purchase

was necessary. The price was fair. Dr. Manion may know more about the needs than those who recommended the purchase. He may know more about the price than the court that fixed it. He may desire to see the officers of the Canadian army unworthily housed. As far as I am concerned, I prefer to leave the decision in all these matters to trained men who know their business.

D53685

Broadcast No. 3

Alleged Mal-Administration

In his broadcast a week ago the Leader of the Opposition made the most sweeping charge of "mal-administration" against the present government. In support of this reckless charge, Dr. Manion gave only one example. This referred to the expropriation of a property in Vancouver for use as an officers' mess. No one, I am sure, will expect the Prime Minister to spend his time and yours discussing all the details of this transaction. I wish only to refer briefly to one or two aspects of the matter. In the first place, it has nothing to do with the efficiency of our war effort. The transaction was completed before the war. I do not offer that as an excuse. It does suggest, however, that the Leader of the Opposition has been hard put to it to find anything seriously to criticize in our actual war effort. One further observation: the property in question was acquired because the authorities responsible for organizing Canada's defences decided, rightly or wrongly, that it was needed. The Leader of the Opposition states that it was unnecessary. I do not know and you do not know on what he bases his judgment. I do know that the value of the property was set neither by the government nor by the owners. It was set by one of the highest courts of law in the land. For my part, I do not propose to question the decision of the Exchequer Court of Canada.

D 53686

8) Soldiers' Vote

8

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, JAN 30 1940

File

To THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR INFORMATION D 53687

I left out "allocation of votes"

R.

Gen. Election

D 53688

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OTTAWA

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN LONDON

Ottawa, 30th January, 1940

Telegram No. 103

Confidential

Code

By Order in Council January 27th John Thomas Connelley Thompson, D.S.O., was appointed special returning officer to be stationed in office of High Commissioner London to superintend taking and counting vote cast by active service electors in United Kingdom.

You should inform appropriate Canadian military authorities of Thompson's appointment. Thompson will then communicate directly with them in clear, namely, with MacNaughton, Crerar, and senior Royal Canadian Air Force officer, who will for the time being be Heakes, pending organization of head-quarters in England.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

D 53689

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECHES

ELECTION CAMPAIGN, 1940

EXHIBITS

1. Mr. Hepburn's vagaries. January, 1940

2. Letter of Mr. A. Berriedale Keith to "The Scotsman" - January 27, 1940.

3. Extract from "Letters and State papers of Abraham Lincoln" - Volume Two - Complete Works - edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay - Page 595.

4. Press report of address of Major General A.G.L. McNaughton to Canada Club luncheon - January 31, 1940.

5. Copy of telegram from Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa to the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London - February 22, 1940.

6. Extract from telegram from Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. King re: Mr. Crerar. (December 15, 1939)

7. Pre-war defence expenditures. (Statement re)

8. Conservative neglect of Air Force - (Statement re).

9. Statement to press by Lord Riverdale - (December 17, 1939)

10. Statement to press by Captain H. Balfour - (Dec. 29, 1939)

11. "Vancouver property" - notes re.

12. Outstanding demands upon Prime Minister's time and attention since 1935.

13. Hon. R.J. Manion - Extract from Hansard of March 7, 1939.

14. Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King - Extracts from Hansard of January 16, 1939.

15. Sir K. Wood's statement in British House of Commons, July 7, 1938.

16. Dependents' allowances - notes re.

17. Extracts from article entitled "The Conservative Party: Whither Away?" - by W.R. Givens.

18. Outline of Speech by Mr. King - Montreal, March 12, 1940

19. Summary of Nominations by Provinces and Parties.

20. Notes re Putting Party ahead of Country - Massey Hall, Toronto - March 14, 1940.

21. Quotation from Hansard - September 12, 1939 - Mr. King - re calling of Parliament in January 1940.

22. Headings re "Canada and the War."

D 53691

Exhibits

E X H I B I T S

D 53692

Mr. HEPBURN'S VAGARIES.

What trust can be placed in Mr. Hepburn's denunciations. Here is what a Conservative paper has to say:

"How easily Premier Hepburn can change his mind. In 1935 at Port Arthur he said in a speech

"We want men at the helm who have vision, statesmanship, and all those qualities that we need so badly today. Canada needs King! I SAY THAT BECAUSE I SAT UNDER HIM FOR EIGHT YEARS. I KNOW THE CALIBRE OF MAN HE IS."

On Thursday last in the Legislature Mr. Hepburn said:

"Mackenzie King has not done his duty by his country, and he never will. IT ISN'T IN HIM. I sat with him at Ottawa for eight years, and I know him".

Ottawa Journal, January 24, 1940.

D 53693

Ottawa Journal

ESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1940.

MR. HEPBURN IN OTHER ROLES

From the Toronto Globe and Mail.

PREMIER HEPBURN has again shown that he "can't take it" as well as he expects the other fellow to. Because the Globe and Mail declined to accept too seriously his dramatic attack on the Federal Government for not supplying Hon. Colin Campbell with an overcoat promptly, he accuses this newspaper of callous disregard for the soldiers.

If we fail to be carried to ethereal heights by the Premier's histrionics, there may be justification. Let us look into it. At present he is beating his breast in alarm and proclaiming his defence of the British Empire and his concern for the unfortunate, ill-clad soldiers, who, he finds, are threatened with tuberculosis. He was also head of the Ontario Government when 107 unemployed, ill-clad, starving youths of 22 years average age had no better place to sleep than on newspapers on the floor of Rev. John Frank's church. When they were taken in off the streets, according to Mr. Frank, ten of them were already threatened with tuberculosis. The disease was found, said Mr. Frank, when the men, all of them, volunteered for the provincial farm employment scheme. Was Mr. Hepburn deeply concerned? Mrs. Kaspar Fraser was quoted as telling the Welfare Council of Toronto that the Premier's erstwhile sympathy for the transient group was not in evidence when he met a deputation from the Council. "In fact, he seemed to care extremely little for any unemployed."

These young men were prospective soldiers. After this newspaper, in co-operation with some of its patriotic readers, who contributed generously, provided them with a home and then a farm which brought them back to vigorous health, 27 of them offered their services to King and country. Most of these were accepted and are now enlisted to defend that democracy which denied them food and shelter, and was not greatly worried about the tuberculosis threatening their weakened bodies.

Of those who went through John Frank's Home and John Frank's Farm—homeless drifters buffeted by misfortune who received no official sympathy—more than 60 with restored morale struck out and got useful jobs for themselves. They had no desire to live on public or private charity. The farm was closed when only a score remained. Were these youths any the less human beings because there was then no war?

Mr. Hepburn's British attitude, at present so vigorously sympathetic, might also be examined. It is not many weeks since he told an audience that 2,000 mechanized Germans could lick the whole Canadian army. A remarkable line of patriotic fervor, was it not? Let us recall, also, some remarks made by the Premier in 1936 when he was criticized for repudiating the power contracts — affecting the same source of supply which he now finds useful for industrial expansion in connection with the war. Newspapers and members of the Opposition that now seems to be hunky-dory with him, which urged revision of the contracts rather than repudiation, were subjected to the Premier's abuse.

When British newspapers condemned his act he declared "the English would be well advised to run their own affairs and let us do the same". He accused the British Government of defaulting on payment of its war debts to the United States, asking: "Was not that repudiation?" We would say it was a rather unpatriotic and un-British attitude for the Prime Minister of this very British province. If we recalled the several assaults on the power of the courts, the established British procedure for administering justice, we do not think it would enhance the Ontario Premier's reputation for British patriotism.

If we fail to get excited over Mr. Hepburn's new concern for loyalty and the valiant enlisted men we are at least no worse than a large number of Mr. Hepburn's own followers in the Legislature. Fourteen of the 26 members who supported him were Cabinet members who have seen what happens to those who kick over the traces. Forty Liberals either voted against his resolution or were absent. It is a fair assumption that all of those away from the House would not have supported him. Does the Premier see any significance in this situation?

If he has become sympathetic with the young men who are anxious to fight for their country we are glad to see it. But, perhaps, in thinking things over he may conclude it is little wonder that the newspapers failed to respond to his theatrical demonstrations.

D 53694

ADDRESS OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL CONANT OF ONTARIO, BEFORE THE CANADIAN CLUB OTTAWA, DECEMBER 12th 1939, praising the Government's war organization.

"Speaking in the presence of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, the Ontario Attorney-General said he personally believed the Federal Government had succeeded so far in organizing Canada's man power and resources in the most efficient possible manner for prosecution of the war"

Globe and Mail, Toronto, 13 Dec. 1939

"That the federal government did so little in the matter of defence prior to the war "was not a criticism but an appreciation," commented the attorney-general. The people of Canada were so ultra-democratic that any other attitude would have been reflected at the polls.

Praises Federal Govt.

He praised the federal government for succeeding so far in very large measure in prosecution of the war. "

Citizen, Ottawa, 13 Dec., 1939

,"Mr. Conant expressed as his personal view, that the government "has succeeddd in a very large measure" in its policies in prosecution of the war."

Journal, Ottawa, Dec. 13, 1939.

D 53695

"Little more than a month later Mr. Conant voted in the Legislature with Mr. Hepburn in condemnation of the Federal Government. The Star adds:

"At Ottawa, of course, he was expressing his "personal opinion". But what significance is there to a division in the Legislature if it does not express the personal opinions of those who vote?."

Journal, Ottawa, Feb. 2, 1940.

B.F.L. House
2
D 53696

Points of View

WAR-TIME GENERAL ELECTIONS

CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND BRITAIN

Mr Mackenzie King's Lead

Edinburgh, January 27, 1940

SIR,—The criticism directed against Mr Mackenzie King's dissolution, not only by the Conservative leader, by Mr Hepburn, in whose eyes he can do nothing right, and by Mr Aberhart, whose efforts at confiscation he has checked, but also by the *Winnipeg Free Press*, is clearly unjustified. Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; to-day it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division oversea, and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organise the military forces. The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth.

2. It may be hoped that the Australian Prime Minister will take advantage of Mr King's lead and appeal to the people to clear up a situation so patently unsatisfactory. There, also, an election must be fought, and, while there is no difference between parties in condemnation of German aggression, the Labour Party stands out against the policy of dispatching troops to Europe, actuated apparently by the erroneous idea that Australia needs all her resources for local defence, and ignoring the fact that disaster in Europe would leave her exposed to far greater dangers. In the face of this fact, it is deplorable that Mr Menzies's intransigence should delay an effective and honourable coalition with the Country Party preliminary to a definite appeal to the people to give full approval to the Governmental policy of sending aid overseas. In face of this need, minor questions of home policy and all issues of *amour propre* should be relegated to a secondary position. Mr Cameron seems at the present crisis to show a keener perception of what is necessary than the Premier, and it will be disastrous if the election comes upon them before they have consolidated their forces.

3. For Britain also an election falls to be held, unless Parliament exercises its plenary authority—not possessed by Canada or Australia—and extends its own duration. It is difficult not to think that, as in Canada, it would be an act of statesmanship to seize the lull in operations to secure a mandate for all efforts against Germany, for the election of 1935 was fought by the Ministry on a policy ruling war out of question, and later on this lack of a mandate may prove a grave cause of confusion. A people fights best for that which it has deliberately willed.—I am &c.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

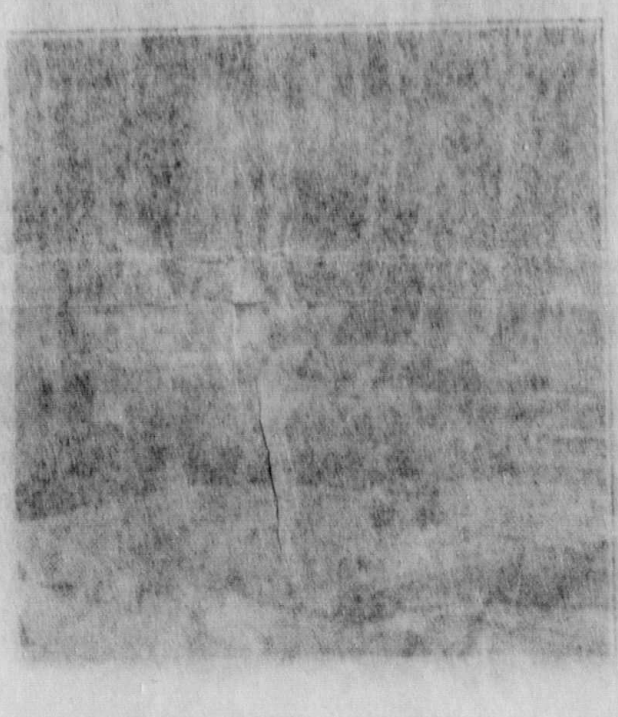
D 23636
3/6

"Scobman"
30/1/40

FOUNDRY SUPPLIES



rkers at a metal merchant's premises



D 53697

Letters and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln

November 10, 1864 - Response to a Serenade. pp.595-6

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occuring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes. It shows, also, to the extent yet known, that we have more men now than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been

here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reelection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

May I ask those who have not differed with me to join with me in this same spirit toward those who have? And now let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skilful commanders.

ltr D exhibits 53699

November 9, 1864 - Response to a Serenade.

Page 594-595

Friends and Fellow-citizens: Even before I had been informed by you that this compliment was paid me by loyal citizens of Pennsylvania, friendly to me, I had inferred that you were of that portion of my countrymen who think that the best interests of the nation are to be subserved by the support of the present administration. I do not pretend to say that you, who think so, embrace all the patriotism and loyalty of the country, but I do believe, and I trust without personal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement should be given.

I earnestly believe that the consequences of this day's work, if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable, will be to the lasting advantage, if not to the very salvation, of the country. I cannot at this hour say what has been the result of the election. But, whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion: that all who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union have wrought for the best interests of the country and the world; not only for the present, but for all future ages.

I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.

D 537003

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"It has long been a grave question, whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test and a Presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion added not a little to the strain. If the loyal people united were put to the utmost strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us."

"The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good." The incidents of this one could be studied for wisdom to be learned from them, "and none of them as wrongs to be revenged."

The election, with its "incidental and undesirable strife," had done good, too. "It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes."

D 53701 3

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EXTRACT FROM "LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN" - Volume Two - Complete works - edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.

Page 595

. . . "If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes. .."

If Election Was Fair - was it Lincoln

PRESS CLIPPINGS

2 exhibits

Office of The Prime Minister 4

Name of Publication Ottawa 50'clock Journal

Date Jan. 31/40

Subject

D 53702

McNaughton Stresses Strong Stand

LONDON, Jan. 31.—(CP)—Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, General Officer Commanding the Canadian Active Service Force, told a Canada Club luncheon meeting today there was no doubt that Canadians had decided "the menace which hangs over Europe and the world must be set at rest for ever", and heard two ministers of the British Cabinet voice thanks for the Dominion's assistance and loyalty.

"We are in this war beside the peoples of these islands and France with grim determination to see it through to the end", the Canadian Commander said before a brilliant gathering of British and French statesmen and soldiers and upwards of 300 of Canada's most prominent residents in the United Kingdom.

Canada Gives Example.

Dominions Secretary Anthony Eden said Canada once more had earned the unbounded gratitude of all France and the Empire, and had "given inspiring example to freedom-loving people everywhere".

Not kinship or sentiment alone made the Dominion answer the call, he added. Rather it was realization that "everything that is a Briton's heritage is at stake".

The soul of Nazidom was servitude. It was not civilization but a beast of prey, and the Dominions Secretary said he wanted to apologize to the beasts for mentioning them in the same breath as Hitlerism.

Oliver Stanley, making one of his first speeches as War Secretary, told General McNaughton and 50 other officers of the First Division present that their presence and record in the last war made the Allies confident that "we shall fight with the same courage, the same loyalty, and, in the end, the same result".

Dominion's Unity Impresses.

The determination and unity of the Dominion—as shown by

Continued from Page One

the presence of large numbers of French-Canadians in the C.A.S.F. —had greatly impressed the British people, Mr. Stanley said. Because it was realized that Canadians 3,000 miles away were less immediately threatened than people in the Old Country, their decision as a free people to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy and for fundamental truth was all the more welcome.

"We not only welcome Canadian words of support", he added, "but their army of support."

Chairman at the luncheon was Lord Mottistone, who served almost four years with the Canadians in the First Great War and commanded a Canadian cavalry brigade with distinction. He related that only this week he visited the charger he used in France on its 31st birthday.

Lord Mottistone read a message from the King thanking the club and its guests for their "loyal message of good wishes on the occasion of the luncheon to the distinguished commander of the Canadian forces".

Bennett and Bessborough.

The Earl of Bessborough, former Governor General of Canada, sat at the head table, as did Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, Hon. Vincent Massey, General Sir Edmund Ironside, and the Duke of Devonshire.

The Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada during part of the last war, sent a message expressing confidence that **"we have with us a division that will be worthy successors of those who distinguished themselves for all time" at Ypres, Vimy, Passchendaele and elsewhere.**

There was a tone of paternal pride in General McNaughton's voice as he told the gathering of the composition of the First Division, that every officer was qualified for the rank he holds by reason of his attendance at Canadian military schools. Staff officers were products of Camberley, Quetta or other post-graduate military colleges.

"Political or private patronage does not exist", General McNaughton declared, speaking of the organization of the Canadian Force. "It has been stamped out by our Minister (Hon. Norman Rogers), and merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion."

He closed, expressing hope that after the trials and tribulations of war were past, something would remain of "enduring benefit to the unity of the Empire and to close association with our great Ally."

Col. Flynn's Speech.

Speaking in French, Lieut. Col. P. Flynn, of the Royal 22nd Regiment, brought greetings from French Canada. The gathering paid tribute to famous French-Canadian fighters by repeatedly shouting "Vingt Deuxieme!"

Mr. Massey, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, expressed Canada's appreciation for the reception the United Kingdom gave the Canadian troops and for the many things done to make them feel at home.

D 53703

Exhibit A

Extract from telegram from the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain to the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

London, December 15, 1939

"Mr. Crerar is leaving London today and I should like to let you know on behalf of my colleagues and myself how grateful we are to you for your kindness in sparing him to come here. His visit has made possible during the past six weeks an exchange of views over a wide range of subjects with results which I am confident will have contributed greatly to the effectiveness of our war effort. The assistance of the official staff which accompanied Mr. Crerar has been most valuable in connection with the discussions which have taken place."

The Leader of the Opposition has asked what we have to show for the $100 million we spent on Defence before the outbreak of war.

What the government really spent:

1. We have not spent $100 million.

2. What we have actually spent:
   (i) The unexpended portion of the $17 million allotted national defence by the Conservative Government for the fiscal year 1935-6.

   Note: The previous administration had of course decided how this money was to be spent.

   (ii) A total of $94 million in the 3 years 1936-39

   (iii) A part of the $63 million appropriated by Parliament at the regular session last year for the fiscal year 1939-40. Naturally a good many orders had been placed before the outbreak of war in September, but very few deliveries had taken place. Military equipment cannot be bought like vegetables in a market and carried home by the buyer. Much of it requires months, some of it years to produce.

3. What the present government can properly be expected to account for is the $94 million spent from 1936-39.

How expenditures apportioned:

1. Nearly $10 million on non-military matters such as relief camps started by the former government, civil aviation before it was transferred to the Department of Transport, etc.

2. $52 million on pay and allowances of the men in the three services, and on the care of properties.

3. This left a little more than $33 million for new equipment and stores, arms, ammunition, defence works, aircraft, ships, etc.

Deplorable neglect of previous administration:

First duty to replenish stores and equipment neglected by the government to which Dr. Manion belonged

D 53705

(Pre-war defence expenditures - continued)

In 1935, the Air Force had no modern service planes and no bombs;

The magazines and shore equipment of the Navy were in a dilapidated state;

The Militia had no modern weapons and no mechanical equipment;

Coastal defence fortifications were inadequate and the guns were almost unserviceable.

What we got with the money:

1) **For the Navy:**

Doubled naval personnel
Increased reserves
Established Fishermen's Reserve
5 new destroyers
4 new mine sweepers
1 training schooner
a new naval magazine at Esquimalt
new port defences - Halifax and Esquimalt
Additional naval barracks and docks.

2) **For the Militia:**

New coastal fortifications (Pacific) with 8 new batteries
Emergency defence plan (Atlantic coast) put into operation September
Mechanized Militia
Began to manufacture weapons and anti-aircraft search lights
Increased manufacture of ammunition

Acquired:

Tanks and other mechanized vehicles
Anti-tank guns
Anti-aircraft guns
Heavy machine guns

Complete or enlarged training camps and barracks

Kingston, Ontario
Calgary, Alberta
Dundurn, Saskatchewan
Shilo, Manitoba

D 53705

(Pre-war defence expenditures - continued)

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Complete or enlarged training camps and barracks
Kingston, Ontario
Calgary, Alberta
Dundurn, Saskatchewan
Shilo, Manitoba

REPEAT
REPETITION

3) For the Air Force:

Permanent Air Force strength trebled
12 Auxiliary Air Squadrons organised

110 aircraft delivered by March 31, 1939;
deliveries proceeding steadily since.

230 aircraft engines delivered up to the
same date.

Stocks of bombs, ammunition and other equipment
acquired, including:
75 motor transport vehicles and
26 marine craft.

Air Stations enlarged at:

Ottawa
Trenton, Ontario
Vancouver
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

New Air Stations at:

Sydney, Truro, and Yarmouth, N.S.

Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte
Islands, and Prince Rupert, B.C.

(These are only the highlights).

D 53707

Conservative neglect of Air Force

1) Comparison of Expenditures:-

Last Liberal year (1930) $ 6 million

Bennett-
Hanlon: 1931-32 " 4 "
1932-33 less than " 2 "
1933-34 " " 2 "
1934-35 just over 2 "
1935-36 less than 4 ".

First full year present
administration: 1936-37 almost 6 "
1937-38 10 "
1938-39 nearly 12 "
1939-40 (pre-war
appropriation) nearly 30 ".

2) Effects of Conservative Reductions.

1931-32 total flying time 32,000 hours
1932-33 " " " 5,000 "
1933-34 " " " 1,200 "

In 1932-33 they dismissed:

180 officers
103 airmen
125 technical civilian employees

Wireless service discontinued.
Engineer services curtailed.
Construction of Trenton Station practically stopped.
No replacement of aircraft.

3) Protest of Liberal Opposition:

The Liberal Opposition during these years opposed the wholesale reduction in expenditures upon the Air Services.

(Conservative neglect of Air Force - continued)

Serving as principal critic on the Opposition side, during the 1932 session, Honourable J.L. Ralston moved an adjournment to discuss a matter of urgent public importance

> "in connection with the dismissal of between 200 and 300 officers and men of the R.C.A.F."

The Speaker ruled the motion out of order, and refused leave to appeal to the House.

Later, on this subject, Colonel Ralston said:

> "With regard to the Air Force, in the interest of humanity, national interest, and further in the international interest, the government should re-consider this whole matter. If it is true that these airmen (dismissed from the R.C.A.F.) are about to enlist in the forces of another country, no one can blame them.... I submit that that will not be a good thing for Canada, regardless of whether or not it is legally possible... It is not a "Canada First" policy."

4) Where would our Air Force be today if the present Administration had continued the policy of the government in which the Leader of the Opposition was a prominent member?

5) Canada would have had a larger Air Force today if we had not needed to use so much of the money appropriated by Parliament to repair the deficiencies left by our predecessors.

D D

Conservative neglect of Air Force 53709

1) Comparison of Expenditures:

Last Liberal year (1930)				$ 6	million
Bennett-Manion:	1931-32			4	"
	1932-33	less	than	2	"
	1933-34	"	"	2	"
	1934-35	Just	over	2	"
	1935-36	less	than	4	"
First full year present administration:	1936-37	almost		6	"
	1937-38			10	"
	1938-39	nearly		12	"
	1939-40 (pre-war appropriation)	nearly		30	"

2) Effects of Conservative "Butchery"

1931-32	total flying time	32,095	hours
1932-33	" " "	5,000	"
1933-34	" " "	1,200	"

In 1932-33 they dismissed:

180 officers
100 airmen
125 technical civilian employees

Wireless service discontinued.
Engineer services curtailed.
Construction of Trenton Station practically stopped.
No replacement of aircraft.

3. What the present government can properly be expected to account for is the $94 million spent from 1936-39.

How expenditures apportioned.

1. Nearly $10 million on non-military matters such as relief camps started by the former government, civil aviation before it was transferred to the Department of Transport, etc.

2. $52 million on pay and allowances of the men in the three services, and on the care of properties.

3. This left a little more than $32 million for new equipment, defence works, aircraft, ships, etc.

Deplorable neglect of previous administration.

First duty to replenish stores and equipment neglected by the government to which Dr. Manion belonged.

(4) In 1935, the Air Force had no modern service planes and no bombs;

53711

3) Protest of Liberal Opposition:

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D53713

New Air Stations at:

Sydney, Truro, and Yarmouth, N.S.

Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, and Prince Rupert, B.C.

(These are only the highlights)

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D 53714

EXHIBIT C (a)

Lord Riverdale
Head of the British Air Mission

(Ottawa M. Citizen - Dec. 18, 1939)

In an interview, last night, Lord Riverdale said:

"We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your air force officers.

"This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it. A tremendous amount of details have been settled in remarkably short time. The Canadian Transport Department's civil aviation branch has co-operated fully. The technical experts I brought from England with me are very enthusiastic over the co-operation to be found on all sides in Canada."

EXHIBIT C(b)

D 53715

Captain Harold Balfour,
British Under-Secretary for Air

(Ottawa Morning Journal - December 29, 1939)

After his return to London Captain Harold Balfour said:

"Canada is like this country and other Dominions in feeling that we're probably in for a long way and we must make our preparations accordingly.

Her problem of changing her economic and industrial life from a peace-time to war-time basis is a big one. Yet it is being done, and when we think that the war has only been on us for some four months, Canada's actual industrial effort is something to be admired."

D 53716

VANCOUVER PROPERTY

The Leader of the Opposition has given only one example of what he calls mal-administration.

The example is:

The expropriation of a property in Vancouver for use as living quarters for unmarried officers and for an officers' mess at the Air Station.

The facts are:

1) The government originally approved plans for a building to cost $130,000.

2) It was learned that a suitable property adjoining the Air Station was for sale.

3) The additional land was needed.

4) The price was not fixed by the owner.

5) It was not fixed by the government.

6) The property was expropriated. The price to be paid was fixed by the Exchequer Court of Canada.

7) The court followed the usual procedure in expropriations and based the valuation on an inventory.

8) The inventory naturally included all the improvements to the property.

9) When a house is bourght, it is usual to purchase the land.

10) The property was purchased on the recommendation of the officials responsible for organizing Canada's air defences.

The Leader of the Opposition has set his opinion against that of the defence experts when he says a suitable building could have been erected for $10,000.

The whole transaction occurred before the outbreak of war. This is not an excuse. No excuse is needed. But it does suggest that Dr. Manion is having difficulty in finding anything definite to say in criticism of our war effort.

D 53717 12

Outstanding demands upon Prime Minister's time and attention since 1935

1935

1. October 14 - General election. Return of Liberal administration.
2. - Arrival of Governor General.
3. October - November - Ethiopian crisis - Sanctions.
4. November 15 - Trade agreement with the United States. Prime Minister signed agreement at Washington.
5. December 9 - Dominion-Provincial Conference re Unemployment.

1936

6. January 20 ✓ - Death of His Majesty George V.

7. February 6 - ✓June 23 - 1st Session, 18th Parliament.

8. March ✓ - German remilitarization of the Rhineland.

9. July ✓ - Outbreak of civil war in Spain.

10. September 13 ✓ - November 7 - Attended 17th Session of Assembly of League of Nations.

11. December 11 ✓ - Abdication of His Majesty Edward VIII.

D 53719

1937

12. January 14 - April 10 - 2nd Session of 18th Parliament.

13. April 24 - July 8 - Coronation of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth;

followed by Imperial Conference, and visit to Continent.

14. July 7 - Outbreak of war between China and Japan.

15. November - Brussels Conference of signatories of Nine-Power Pact.

16. November 29 - December 15 - Prime Minister's trip to Florida.

1938

17. January 27 - July 1 - Third Session of 18th Parliament.

18. March ✓ - German invasion of Austria.

19. August 18 ✓ - Attendance with President Roosevelt at opening of International Bridge, Ivy Lea, Ont.

20. August - October ✓ - Prime Minister's illness with sciatica.

21. September ✓ - International crisis, Munich Agreement. Annexation of Sudeten land.

22. October ✓ - Trip to West Indies.

23. November 17 ✓ - Trade Agreement with United States signed. Also U.K.-U.S. Agreement.

D 53721

1939

24. January 12 - June 3 - 4th Session of 18th Parliament.
25. March - German invasion of Czechoslovakia (Establish (protectorate of (Bohemia and (Moravia.
26. April - Albania annexed by Italy.
27. May - June - Royal Visit.
28. July and August - Conservative Leader makes repeated demands for a general election as European crisis developed.
29. September 1 - German invasion of Poland.
30. September 3 - Great Britain declares war on Germany.
31. September 7-13 - 5th Session of 18th Parliament.
32. September 10 - Canadian declaration of a state of war with Germany.
33. September 19 - Military programme announced.
34. December 17 - British Commonwealth Air Training Agreement signed.

D 53722

1940

35. January 25 - 6th Session of 18th Parliament assembled:

Parliament dissolved;

general election called.

D 53723

In Hansard, March 7th, 1939, (p. 1754 unrevised edition), Dr. Manion is reported as saying,

"When I heard the Right Honorable gentleman even bring up the phantom of war, as he did the other day, to frighten the people, I suppose without any more basis for it than there is a basis for very much that the Right Honorable gentleman says...I doubt whether the Right Honorable gentleman the other day, when he stood up in this House and implied or made a statement to the effect that we were possibly on the verge of war, had anything at all in the back of his head except the idea of evading the question put to him as to whether he favored the giving of contracts on that basis."

(p. 1762) "His tactics are to draw a red herring across the trail. That is what he did the other day with regard to this supposedly terribly critical world situation--a situation no more critical than it has been for months and months..."

"He called me in one day and shewed me some of the despatches...I know his tactics; he wanted to be able to stand up in this House and say that on one occasion he called me in. That is his slippery way. I know his tactics, his slippery tactics."

Today Dr. Manion wishes to give the impression and would [redacted] have the electors believe that he alone realized the gravity of the situation and that a do-nothing, know-nothing King Government never realised it.

Yet at Brockville he is reported to have said that "Mr. King made his refusal (of certain air training proposals alleged to have been made two or three years ago) at a time when Britain was facing a life and death struggle."

Was Dr. Manion ready in March to concur in huge provision of money, men and arms for a critical situation which he denied to exist? huge provision which he now asserts should have been made.

If Dr. Manion believed that in March, should he not have pressed, and pressed strenuously for huge provision of money, men and arms for what he now realizes to be a life and death struggle? Did he do so? Not at all. Instead he called it a 'supposedly critical world situation', 'a red herring drawn across the trail', a 'phantom of war to frighten the people'. He flouted the idea of its seriousness and made it a matter of abuse of the Prime Minister that the latter suggested that a critical situation existed.

What reliance can be placed on the assertions and promises of a man whose statements veer like a weather cock according to whatever he deems to be a favorable wind for himself at the moment. Now he claims for himself and his party that they alone had knowledge and foresight, that they alone can save the country, that they would have made adequate and elaborate preparations in men and arms and money long in advance of the war that is now upon us. Yet, inconsistently

53725
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with his large claims, he is not going to rely on himself and his party and their knowledge, foresight and capacity but he says he is going to call in men from other parties, "the best brains in the country", which, therefore, obviously, on his own assertion are not to be found in his party.

[2]

Memorandum Re Speech

D 53726

HANSARD - March 7th, 1939

(p. 1754, unrevised edition)

Hon. R. J. Manion:

"When I heard the right hon. gentleman even bring up the phantom of war, as he did the other day, to frighten the people, I suppose without any more basis for it than there is a basis for very much that the right hon. gentleman says . . . I doubt whether the right hon. gentleman the other day, when he stood up in this House and implied or made a statement to the effect that we were possibly on the verge of war, had anything at all in the back of his head except the idea of evading the question put to him (as to whether he favored the giving of contracts on that basis.")

(p. 1762) "His tactics are to draw a red herring across the trail. That is what he did the other day with regard to this supposedly terribly critical world situation -- a situation no more critical than it has been for months and months . . . "

"He called me in one day and showed me some of the despatches. . . I know his tactics; he wanted to be able to stand up in this House and say that on one occasion he called me in. That is his slippery way. I know his tactics, his slippery tactics."

D 53727

Hon. R.J. Manion - (March 7, 1939):

"When I heard the right hon. gentleman even bring up the phantom of war, as he did the other day, to frighten the people, I suppose without any more basis for it than there is a basis for very much that the right hon. gentleman says; when he did that, and dodged the question that was put to him. . . . . I could not help thinking he was taking a rather serious attitude. I doubt whether the right hon. gentleman the other day, when he stood up in this house and implied or made a statement to the effect that we are possibly on the verge of war, had anything at all in the back of his head except the idea of evading the question put to him ~~as to whether he favoured the giving of contracts on that basis.~~"

..... "His tactics are to draw a red herring across the trail. That is what he did the other day with regard to this supposedly terribly critical world situation--a situation no more critical than it has been for months and months..."

..... "He called me in one day and showed me some of the despatches. He has not called me in since. I know his tactics: he wanted to be able to

stand up in this house and say that on one occasion he called me in. That is his slippery way. I know his tactics, his slippery tactics; I know them just as well as he knows my tactics."

D 53729 14

Unrevised Hansard
Monday, January 16, 1939:

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:

"I ask this House to-night: Was I right or wrong in believing that the nations were nearing a stage where another world war was about to take place? ....I wish that shadow had passed. I wish all of us in the house to-night could feel secure as to what may take place in the course of this very year. May I add this: If he is going to deal intelligently, carefully and thoughtfully with the problems facing the world and Canada to-day, in relation to what may take place in the next few months or before this year is out, the Prime Minister of Canada cannot be going back and forth across the country making political speeches and making personal appearances before local audiences. He has this House of Commons to speak in. What better forum is there in the world? He has the radio to speak over. Is it not much better to give a few nation-wide addresses in carefully chosen words than to be giving the kind of oration to which we have listened this afternoon and tonight?

Let me say only this in conclusion: The position of the leader of a government in Canada to-day is not unlike that of the captain of a ship when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm. Mr. Speaker,

I intend to remain

I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada and have the strength to perform the duties of my office. But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty I shall seek to serve this country as best I can, according to the best light my conscience may give me.

Unrevised Hansard - January 16, 1939
Pages 74 and 75:

D 53731

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:

"Any one who holds the office of Prime Minister in these days must view his duties, not from the point of view of whether or not he is going to be returned to Parliament at the next election. He must not be thinking only of his own seat in the House of Commons - or even, may I say, mainly of whether or not his own party is to be returned. He has to do his duty as he sees it, day by day, in the light of his conscience with the knowledge of world conditions as they exist."

.....

"I confess I am not in a position to travel back and forth across the country and be in Ottawa at the same time. I confess I have been greatly concerned with international affairs - much more than I wish had been necessary. I said to the House of Commons during the last session that I thought we were in perilous times, that we were coming dangerously near to a crisis in the world's history."

.....

So far as I am concerned, each day I have to ask myself; What is the most important thing to do this day, with the time at my disposal?

****

"We have far too much travel and talk these days on the part of many people - far too much of it, and from too many sources. The difficulty today is to get time quietly to think about the great problem which confronts this and other countries."

D 53733

15

British House of Commons, July 7, 1938, column 596

Mr. Attlee (by Private Notice) asked the Secretary of State for Air whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion Government are prepared in connection with their own establishment to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, if that would be of service, and whether he had any statement to make.

Sir Kingsley Wood (Secretary of State for Air):

"Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister through the the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore in co-operation with the Canadian government the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

DEPENDENT'S ALLOWANCES

1) A war-time problem.

2) Dependent's Allowance Board - Set up at outbreak of war.

3) Board organized to work day and night.

4) About 60,000 applications received.

5) Every effort to speed up consideration.

6) Nearly $9,000,000 paid to dependents:

$3½ million from assigned pay and

$5½ " by government.

7) Scales of allowances more generous than in last war.

8) Only wives included (1914-18); now children and other dependents covered.

9) 37,000 families getting support, which covers more than 70,000 dependents.

10) Original regulations required evidence (except for wives) of six months prior dependency.

11) Regulations worked hardship in some cases where unemployed men enlisted.

12) Regulations have been modified to permit allowances in such cases where need exists.

13) Government cannot pay allowances indiscriminately, but intend to deal promptly with all cases.

14) In present war, allowances represent a great advance in social responsibility.

D 53735 17

Winnipeg Free Press
February 26, 1940

Extracts from article entitled "THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY: WHITHER AWAY?" by W.R. Givens.

"To say that the King Government has made a shocking mess of its conduct of the war will not get us anywhere, because any sane man who has studied conditions and followed the doings of government knows that that is not so. The British Government does not so think so - and our contingents already overseas, and their splendid condition, reinforce that view. Fully as much to the point is the declaration of the last Conservative Minister of National Defence, Hon. Dr. Sutherland, who only the other day in a statement at Woodstock, deploring the shocking

resolution of the Hepburnized Ontario Legislature, said: "I think the Government has been doing everything that could possibly be done - I am convinced of that." Here is an authoritative voice - and a Conservative one at that - that cannot lightly be laughed aside."

.....The overshadowing duty before us at the moment is to do our bit as citizens of Empire to help win the war - for win it, we must. Can we do that better by putting in power a New Party whose elements and policies are as yet unknown? Or should we continue in power the King Government already well along in its war work and in close communion and understanding with the Government of the Mother Country? In other words, can a yet unformed Party

carry on better than one already in the saddle? That is the all-important question for Canada at the moment. It transcends all others and removes it quite out of the sphere of partisanship."

D 53738

Outline of Speech

by

MACKENZIE KING

Montreal, March 12, 1940.

Much said in present campaign about two things:

1. The dissolution of Parliament,

2. The desirability of forming a "national" or union government.

We are today in a better position to judge, to see exactly, the true significance of each of these matters.

For most people it is always difficult to look ahead, to see what lies beyond today or tomorrow - to be other than controlled by their immediate feelings and prejudices. That is why in the present campaign you have heard so little about what, after all, is most important - how your affairs and the affairs of this country are going to be managed in the next 5 years, and so much about a lot of things that belong to the past, and will never be thought of or heard of again after the 26th of this month.

Yet, it is with the future that the new Parliament will be concerned.

Let us now consider why a new Parliament is necessary.

First of all, why do we have a Parliament at all?

That the will of the people may be carried out, since all cannot participate, we must have representation.

Since representatives (like people themselves) have different views, therefore the views of the majority must prevail.

To ascertain views of the people and of the majority, political parties are necessary.

The majority becomes the government - the minority the Opposition.

This is the way every legislature, conducts its business in a free country, under a democratic system.

This doesn't mean that the government, representing the majority, has everything its own way - a monopoly of government.

There are two all-important controls:

1. the Opposition has rights and continues to function;

2. while Government decides policy, the real work of administration of the

country's affairs is carried on by the public service, which is composed of men of all parties - advantages of a permanent civil service.

I might add a third -

3. The two Houses of Parliament:

the Senate has an equal voice with House of Commons on most matters.

There has never been a time since I have been leader of the party when the party has had a majority in the Senate: 1921-25; 1925-26; 1926-30; 1935-40.

A government in bringing forward its measures has always to take account of how they will be received

(a) by the Opposition,

(b) by the Senate.

I might add - the press, and all agencies that affect public opinion.

Work of government in war, as well as in peace, is carried on by Parliament as a whole. It is opinion that governs, and every Member of Parliament has utmost freedom of expression of his views.

Only one body superior to Parliament -

Only one set of persons whose views are of more importance than those of representatives of the people in Parliament, and that is the people themselves.

How rights of people to expression of their views secured by the Constitution:

1. elections to be held at least once in every five years;

2. elections to be held at any time when in opinion of those carrying on the work of government, the interests of government and of the people so demand.

The situation in January of this year.

Late Parliament elected in 1935.

Had to be an election in 1940.

Usually there is one session a year, and an election once in every four or less years -

This was true throughout Sir Wilfrid's time and has been true throughout my time at least when Liberals in office. The Conservatives have frequently held on till last minute, e.g.:

D 53740

Conservative Government elected in 1891 - 1896;
Borden " " 1911 - 1917;
Bennett " " 1930 - 1935;

1. There had been 5 sessions of the late Parliament.

2. There had been (a) at session of 1939, expectations of a general election when session over;

(b) demands for a general election in summer.

3. There had been a condemnation of the war effort of the present administration - resolution by Legislature of largest province of the Dominion.

That resolution was supported by members of both political parties in the province - by some of one party, by all of the other party.

The fact that its motive was personal, political, vindictive, or whatever it may have been; that it was condemned by many of those who supported it; that it did not represent their real views, and certainly not the views of the province, did not affect its significance:

1. in the eyes of the people in other parts of the Dominion;

2. in the eyes of the allied powers;

3. in the eyes of the Germans;

or 4. in the use that it was intended should be made of it once Parliament had met again in regular session.

The fact was it stood out on the records of the Legislature and stands there today, and will continue to stand as a condemnation of the present government until on March the 26th it is answered by the people themselves in a voice so effective that no one will ever dare quote it again, except as a condemnation of those in the Legislature who joined to give it their support.

There was only one way in which to settle that question - a question which involved the policy of the government with respect to Canada's war effort, and not only the policy of the government, but the ability and capacity of its members to administer Canada's affairs at a time of war, and that was to allow the people to speak for themselves. This was essential in the interest of the country, its war effort and the cause of the allies, at the earliest moment possible.

What would have been said if any other course had been followed:

Let us picture the situation as it would have developed as it would be today.

Remember every one knew that the Session if it went on was to be followed by a general election.

Parliament would have begun debating the Address.

Immediately a political battle would have begun in the House of Commons;

What it would have been like we now know from the speech Dr. Manion delivered on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th. He gave then in part the material he had in readiness for Monday the 29th.

Every other party leader and speaker would have followed with speeches not meant to help win the war, but to help him and his party win at the coming election.

The government would have next introduced the Estimates.

Still later the Budget. Every item in the Estimates would have been made a target for criticism on the score that the government was going too far, or not far enough, was helping this constituency or province, while neglecting some other constituency or province. A similar effort to score political capital would have been made with respect to every tax imposed. Some interest or class or part of the country, it would have been said, was being favoured while some other interest, or class or other part was being asked to carry more than its share of the burden, and so on and so on -- not a word would have been said as to what might be necessary to win the war, everything would have been said with an eye to winning the election.

Even the slightest indication of possible oversight, or error, however completely it might owe its existence to the imagination or suspicion of a political opponent, would have been made to assume proportions of a political scandal of the first magnitude, -- and all this regardless of the effect it might have upon Canada's war effort in the eyes of our allies or of the enemy.

The government would, from day to day, have been prevented from making headway with the business of government in order that amunition for a general election might be manufactured, printed at the public expense, and sent out in the form of speeches delivered in Parliament. At the same time, its opponents outside as well as inside Parliament would have kept firing at the administration.

Then what would have followed? We would have been told, and this in the most emphatic manner, that in continuing to carry on the work of government we were simply seeking to hang on to office - were postponing the day of dissolution because of the certainty of meeting defeat - that we had long since lost the confidence of the electorate - that the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was right, that if we had had any appreciation of our duty to the people we would have dissolved the moment that resolution was passed. When the time of dissolution finally came, the country would have been told that the government had meant to hang on to office to the last minute, that we would have probably done what a previous government had done in war time - amended the constitution, formed a union government and tried carrying on indefinitely if the combined opposition had not prevented anything of the kind and driven us at last to the country.

It is all very well for Dr. Manion and those who are supporting him on the platform and in the press to say the government should at least have met Parliament and given to Parliament an account of the way they had managed the affairs of the country; and that after Parliament had had a brief short session in which everyone would have co-operated and been glad to co-operate, we could have brought on the elections. But are you so sure matters would have worked out that way? I am perfectly sure they would not.

I come now to something which it will be easier for you to understand today than it was six weeks ago, and I ask you to keep it very much in mind during the next fortnight. Even more, I am going to ask the people of this country to have it in their minds from month to month throughout this very fateful year. It is

something which in your interests, in the interest of the allies, and particularly in the interests of Canada's war effort I myself have always to keep very much in mind.

Unless we were to violate the constitution of this country an election had to come this year. - Some say, no, that we might have amended the constitution. My reply to them is that no power is given us by the constitution to take any such step. But they say, it was done in 1916 at a time of war. - I say it should not have been done then. Parliament took from the people and to itself at that time a right it should not have taken.

The people were deprived of the right of saying, every five years, who their representatives for the next five years should be. When the same Parliament tried again, in 1917, to perpetuate itself on the ground that the war was still on, it was seen clearly that war itself was no justification for such a step. The proposal had to be abandoned, and an election was held while the war was on.

I made clear at the special war session of Parliament last September that I would countenance nothing of the sort. As between the supremacy of the government and the supremacy of Parliament, I stated I had always stood and would continue to stand for the supremacy of Parliament, but that whenever, the question was one between the supremacy of Parliament, and the supremacy of the People, I was wholly and entirely, 100 percent, for the supremacy of the people. On this basis alone can we continue to enjoy in this country free representative institutions and responsible government. Indeed, it is only on this basis that we are entitled to continue to be called a democracy.

If then an election had to come this year, was if not all to the good, altogether in your interests, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the interests of the Allied Forces, and in the interests of our young Canadians who were enlisting in the defence forces on land, on sea and in the air, that it should be over just as soon as possible, and, if at all possible, out of the way before the German offensive commences, as it is almost certain to commence in the early spring.

Just consider the position we would now be in if I had not taken the course I did. Parliament in all probability would have still been sitting, with the probability of a dissolution at any time, and the certainty of a general election as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say, the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England will be able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe; others will vote before leaving Canadian soil, and all under conditions which will make for a fair and honest election.

Even more important, however, is the fact that not only will the people of Canada have been enabled, as they have during the past six weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself, whatever government it may be, will have been placed in a position to give its

D 53743

whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort at a time that this is certain to be most needed. If March 26th is passed before the whole European situation reaches its most alarming and appalling stage, we shall have reason to be thankful indeed. One thing is certain, we cannot expect fighting to be confined to the sea and the air much longer, nor to be on the limited scale it has been thus far. It is well for all of us that the elections are now so nearly over. Just imagine the agony of mind of every elector in Canada if, on top of two months political contention in Parliament, we had now to look forward to another two months of the same sort of thing in the country, with, in addition, as I greatly fear will prove to be a fact, war raging on an intensified scale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

The obvious desirability of having the appeal at this time, and having it over just as soon as possible, is so apparent that, but for two questions, no one of intelligence would, I think, have doubted for a moment the wisdom of and the necessity for the course taken.

The first question is why have an election at all in time of war? That, I think, I have already completely answered. This war may continue for many years. It is not going to end whenever we wish it to end. It will not end until the resources of war itself - till one or other, if not all, of the participants, and the resources on which they are dependent for victory, are exhausted. Would any one wish to have a Parliament, chosen in 1935 without any reference to war, continue on indefinitely through the forties, with no chance given the people to say whom they wished to manage their affairs in so critical a period? Meanwhile, the whole parliamentary situation, and the situation throughout the country, would have steadily deteriorated. Moreover, in a war to preserve freedom, such a course would have meant the destruction of our own free institutions.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with a similar situation, though one, if anything, even more difficult. The constitution of the United States called for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution never contemplated, and was not framed, to cope with a situation at a time of civil war, and that the elections, which were prescribed by the Constitution, could not be held under such circumstances. Lincoln held that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded; and that, in a war for freedom, America's free institutions had already been destroyed by the forces that were opposing freedom. "We cannot," he said, "have free government without elections." He held the elections. Lincoln and his government were sustained, and the world was shown that elections could be held under democratic institutions at a time of civil war and that democracy and freedom could be maintained despite the consequences of war. "The elections", said Lincoln, "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." "Until now", he added, "it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility." It will be possible to say the same of Canada, with respect to war, after the 26th of the present month.

The other question which naturally suggests itself is why, in the circumstances, did I wait till Parliament was called together before asking for a dissolution? The answer to that is very simple. I had given my word at the special war session of Parliament not to bring on a general election between the closing of one session and the opening of another, or, in other words, before Parliament was again called together. I said Parliament would likely be called together in January, but might be called together before that time. I did not say that Parliament would be continued in session, once it was called together. That would have meant tying the hands of the government regardless of what the public interest might demand.

What I said - I quote my exact words - they will be found in the records of the Parliamentary debates of September 12th, 1939:

"It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring honorable members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile."

I need not remind you what had taken place meanwhile. The Ontario Legislature's resolution was passed on January 18th. But for having promised to bring the Members together in January, if not before, I would have asked for dissolution on the day following the passing of the Ontario Resolution. I did the next best thing. I asked. for an immediate dissolution, once members had assembled, and announced the government's intention to dissolve in the Speech from the Throne.

It must be apparent, from what I have said to you, and from what you yourselves have had opportunity to witness since January 25th, that in taking the step I did at that time I was but fulfilling my constitutional duty as Prime Minister, once I saw that a general election at the earliest moment possible had become necessary in the interests of the country, of Canada's war effort, and of the Allied cause, so to advise the Governor General, regardless of what inconvenience it might occasion the Members of Parliament, most of whom were my own supporters, or however much the step itself might be misinterpreted and misrepresented in the course of the elections themselves.

It has been said I was "scuttling" Parliament. May I say that those who make this assertion were prepared, if such were the case, to scuttle the people. If I were scuttling the Ship of State, those who opposed the step were prepared to scuttle the Nation. The people, not Parliament, are the source of all political authority and power. There are times and seasons for all things. The time for a new Parliament had come; to attempt to carry on with a Parliament that had already had five sessions, with the knowledge that a general election was immediately to follow, would have been to ignore altogether the effect of such a course upon Canadian unity, upon Canada's war effort, and upon the cause of the Allies. Far from scuttling Parliament, I was in fact taking the necessary steps to bring into being at the earliest moment possible, at a time of war, a new and truly representative Parliament to replace a Parliament that had never been elected to serve the people's interests at a time of war, a Parliament that had nearly run its course and was doomed at any moment to die. At this very moment, I would have been receiving the strongest condemnation for not having foreseen the condition that was certain to arise, and would have been blamed for every consequence of it. That condemnation would have grown in intensity and volume every month that I had failed to permit an immediate appeal.

At times of political controversy, it is often difficult to see matters in their true light. The observations of impartial authorities, especially if they are known to be authorities on the British Constitution, may therefore be of value in helping us to reach a just conclusion. I think I am right in saying that there is no student of British parliamentary institutions in the British Empire whose opinions on matters of the kind is more widely sought or highly regarded than are those of Mr. Berriedale Keith, the author of many well known works on government in Great Britain and the Dominions. In a letter to "The Scotsman", in Edinburgh, published almost immediately after the dissolution of our Parliament, Mr. Berriedale Keith expressed his views in no uncertain terms. After saying that the criticism against myself, because of the dissolution, was clearly unjustified, Mr. Berriedale Keith went on to sum up the situation. He did so in the following words:

"Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; today, it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division overseas and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces."

Mr. Berriedale Keith concludes with the following words:-

"The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

That, ladies and gentlemen, will, I believe, be the verdict of history upon the most important decision I have had to make in the course of my public life. It is a decision the necessity for, and the wisdom of which I have never for a moment been in doubt. It is a decision which all who believe in free representative institutions and in responsible and democratic government may well be proud. It is a decision to which I believe the widest and most definite approval will be given by the people of Canada on the 26th of this month.

D 53746 19

Summary of Nominations
by Provinces and Parties

Following is a Canadian Press summary of nominations by provinces and parties for the Dominion general elections: (Ottawa Morning Citizen, March 12, 1940)

245 - total
123 - to give majority
re forming a government - begin at far end

from point of view of members:

Other = Non-descripts . . . 9 - if all elected couldn't form a government.

New Democracy . . . 28 - " " "

C. C. F. . . . 96 - " " "

N. D. and C.C.F. combined = 124 - just a majority if everyone elected, but they are bitterly opposed to each other.

So we get down to choice between the remaining parties:

N. G's. 213
Liberals . . . . 240 plus 4 Liberal-Progressives

Gives Liberals a start of 31

Let us examine the N.G's. - to be representative of their name at all must be known.

They should compose known members of all parties,

e.g. Sir Robert Borden's party - Conservative - Liberals

They are every one Conservatives -

Conservatives ashamed to fight under their own banner, or show their own colours.

D 53747

Let us look at the National Government Party.

When was it formed?

Not at a convention.

Not at the Conservative convention at which Dr. Manion was chosen leader.

True the Party changed its name at that Convention.

From National Liberal Conservative

to National Conservative.

It was getting away from its national complexion into a straight party complexion.

Dr. Manion chosen its leader.

It was never formed.

Who chose its leader?

Dr. Manion was chosen leader of the Conservative party.

He would hardly choose a leader from another party.

Who then chose the leader?

No one can surmise.

Strange as it may seem, it was Dr. Manion himself.

Why did he choose the leader of another party?

Because he wished a national or Union Government,

with himself at the head, and there was no other way of forming the combination.

The non-descripts would not go in with him.

The Social Credit " " " " " "
(now the New Democracy)

The C. C. F. " " " " " "

The Liberals " " " " " "

Apparently, he thought some Conservatives would not go in with him.

So only way to get in was to lead two parties:

the Conservative and the National government.

And, if possible, get in under the one head which was broad enough to include both.

D 53749

Next:

What is the Platform of the National Government Party?

There was a platform of the old Conservative party laid down in Ottawa - Summer of 1938.

But, when was National Government platform laid down?

There has been no meeting of the party.

There has been no meeting of its candidates.

We did not know who they were for certain until yesterday.

There will be no meeting between now and election day.

There have been no resolutions passed by National Government party organizations.

Are candidates pledged to the platform?

They cannot be, because there is no platform.

There are lots of promises.

What guarantee is there that, if candidates are elected, single promise will be carried out.

Here give list of promises.

Are these all subscribed to by all the candidates?

If they are, and they should be returned, and carried out, what is going to be left of the public treasury wherewith to carry on the war?

D 53750

Is Dr. Manion not doing in this election exactly what Mr. Stevens did in the elections of 1935?

(1) Desert his own party.

Oh no, you say, Dr. Manion is still a Conservative. But so was Mr. Stevens, as I said at the time and ad he proved to be in the House of Commons, once Dr. Manion became leader. He, too, has again deserted the old Conservative party.

(2) Create a new party and give it its name.

Mr. Stevens called his the National Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion calls his the National Government Party.

(3) Write out the platform himself

and put it forward without any endorsation by any convention, or caucus.

(4) Supplement the platform with endless promises

made to suit the several localities visited - a sort of Joseph's coat of many colours - so everyone's taste would be suited. To the colour blind, the different colours would all look the same - National government would cover that.

D 53751

(5) Choose the leader himself -

and himself as the leader.

(6) Baptize the candidates himself -

then leave the rest to the electorate.

Well, what happened as a consequence?

Mr. Stevens himself was returned.

Not one of Mr. Stevens' candidates was elected.

Did you ever think of what, as a consequence, became of the party, of its name, of its platform, of the promises, of the leader himself?

It might be well, for those who are being carried away by the name National Government, by Dr. Manion's many promises, to think of that between now and Easter Monday.

But let me mention another possibility.

Mr. Stevens is a classical example of what good a leader, without a following, may be in carrying out platform promise:

But there is another possibility.

Unlike the party and his followers, Mr. Stevens himself was lucky. He was returned to Parliament. But, suppose he had not been returned, what then?

D 53752

Suppose Dr. Manion should not be equably lucky, and himself not returned? Is there any guarantee that anyone of them will honour his pledge to form a National Government or to carry out a single promise that he has made. In their own interests, electors will do well to take every possibility of a campaign into full account.

Dr. Manion will say Mr. King may not be elected. There is, of course, such a possibility. I do not think it is a probability. But, supposing I were not elected. There are 15 gentlemen of outstanding ability by whom I have been surrounded in the Cabinet for years past. Everyone of them stands for the same policies as I do, are pledged to support and to carry them out, and would see to it that not a moment was lost in carrying on Canada's war effort in accordance with the wish of the electors as expressed at the polls. This is something of which it is well to take account at a time of war.

D 53753 20

Massey Hall meeting,
Toronto, March 14, 1940

Re: Putting Party ahead of Country

Were the Liberals doing that when they were putting through increased defence estimates, and had not the support of their own party?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they gave no support to these estimates, while they were being opposed by other parties?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they were cutting down the estimates for the air force in those years?

Were the Liberals doing that when we announced that if Poland were attacked and Britain went to war, we would be at the side of Britain?

Were we doing that when we presented our policy to the Commons?

Have we been doing that since we have continued on in office?

Were we doing that

When we refused to extend the term of Parliament, and form a national government while Parliament was in session, depriving the people of their rights?

" When we dissolved Parliament and sought to have this election over?

" When Duplessis' government attacked our federal policy, and Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin and Mr. Power, with the approval of their colleagues took their political life in their hands, and fought for Canadian unity?

" When we dissolved Parliament, and gave the people not the Liberal Party, the chance to say who was to continue carrying on the government?

" When we wanted to preserve the constitution of the country both written and unwritten?

D 53754

Re: Party and Country in terms of
National Government

Look at the list of the parties in the House -

Would we be the party to combine with the New Democracy in order to get a majority in the next House of Commons?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

Would we be doing that if we joined with the C.C.F. to carry on?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

If not, he wishes to have a Union Government of the Liberals and Conservatives only.

What does that mean?

(Quote Dr. Manion's own words)

Turning over the Opposition to combination of C.C.F., New Democracy (equals Social Credit) and miscellaneous. They to be the body to succeed if the government destroyed.

To join with the Liberals - do away with any effective Opposition.

Create in the minds of the people suspicion in the country as to government by two old political parties, interested only in alliance, etc.; furthering big interests, etc.; getting this country divided; bringing on a class war while we are confronted with Great War.

Compare Sir Wilfrid Laurier's attitude - to remain Opposition.

Next, Manion says he had consent of Caucus and provincial leaders before deciding on policy.

Not a member of the Caucus was a member of Parliament.

Parliament had been dissolved.
They had no authority.

Some of them have not even received nominations,

D 53755

Besides, do people surrender to representatives their right to change policies?

Had these members consulted their constituents?

Had Dr. Manion consulted the men who put him in office at the Conservative Convention?

He says he consulted provincial leaders?

Who are these leaders?

Who gave them the authority to speak in the name of anybody?

I presume it would be in the name of the Conservative Party.

They certainly did not get the right from the people of the province generally,

then it must have been from the Conservative Party.

Where was the meeting of the Party?

Who gave them the authority?

<u>The whole position is an exact parallel to that of Stevens and his Reconstruction Party.</u>

(Take in headings)

Cite example first of Borden Government,

Sir John MacDonald's Government.

Did Sir John bury the name of the Conservative Party? It was a co-alition of two parties that maintained their identity for a specific purpose.

Borden and his party - specific purpose - <u>conscription</u>.

Was Sir Wilfrid against the interests of his country when he preferred defeat to supporting a policy of conscription?

Note particularly what guarantee Dr. Manion himself will be returned.

Possibility of my defeat.

D 53756

Next, what guarantee if National Government were formed that he would be accepted as the head?

Bring in re different men being offered leadership of the National Government at the time of conscription - Mulock among the number.

Quite certain Manion will never be head of a National Government.

First, manner in which he has attacked Social Credit or New Democracy, C.C.F., Liberals and myself.

Take in Manion's statement in House of Commons as to showing him documents.

Get statements regarding "no danger of war".

Put in statement regarding demand for an election last July.

Was he putting Party or country first?

Make out list of questions where Manion was putting his Party first and not the country.

Get quotation of Sir Wilfrid as to attitude of Opposition.

<u>State why Liberal Party wishes to carry on government.</u>

Because of the country.

Because it believes it is the only Party that can unite the country.

Look at present position to demonstrate that.

Believes it can save the country from extreme men - extreme in the one direction - not doing enough; extreme in the other - doing too much.

(Take in measures, etc.)

Because it can command following in every province.

The only government that can form a truly National Government.

Take relations with Quebec and Ontario.

Take position throughout West.

Note Manion's following in Saskatchewan -
None there - look at list.

Conclude by reference to my own public life.

Challenge anyone to say where in the 21 years I have been leader of my Party, I have ever put Party before the country.

Party - an instrument.
- means to an end.

Means of uniting people to work together.

Therefore no harsh word in present campaign, though much provocation.

Similarly, government an art - not a business or a science.

The art of getting largest number of men to work together for the common good.

Next, Manion putting the party before the country -

making these various promises in different localities;

diverting attention away from that of main issue: winning of the war.

Give main issue - and mandate for a strong government.

Have I put Party before country in present campaign by refraining from visiting different parts,

from making numerous public appearances, and

not allowing business of government and the war to drift at Ottawa.

Have I done that for the last five years, when I felt the demands required my presence at Ottawa.

Mention of recent visit to Saskatchewan.
Unable to visit my own constituency.

Say a word that they will get the answer from Saskatchewan which will let them see that humble citizens, early settlers and others

understand situation better than Dr. Manion - will not fall for a number of promises.

Dr. Manion putting country before party when he talks of reducing licence fees.

Run over various promises, asking that question.

EXHIBIT

21

Hansard, September 12, 1939

53759

Mr. MACKENZIE KING:

It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring hon. members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile.

Broadcast by
Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King
Wed. Feb.23, 1940

D 53760 22

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort - How Best Promoted

"National" versus "Union" Government

Leader of Opposition holds opposite views

Merits of union government more apparent than real.

The true meaning of national government.

Union government - what it means.

Place of political parties in government.

Mackenzie King government a true national government.

Union government leads to dictatorship.

Union government a pretext for other ends.

Leader of Opposition in a quandry.

Who are to compose union government?

How will union government ministers find seats in Parl't?

No possibility of a Conservative govrnment

Opposition an essential part of parliamentary system

Liberals will constitute Opposition if present government not returned.

Responsibility for government one thing - monopoly of government another.

No patronage in Canada's war effort

Services of non-partisan character to be utilized in advisory capacity.

Dr. Manion begins at wrong time and wrong end.

Electors being led up blind alley.

An unquestioned mandate essential to Canada's war effort.

D 53761

New dangers and terrors threaten world.

A strong and experienced government -
Canada's greatest need.

D 53762

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Wednesday, February 21, 1940:

Canada's contribution made possible through foresight

Needs of allied powers basis of Canada's war effort

The land - the sea - the air - industrial activity

Canada's position wholly different from that of 1914

The charge of "unpreparedness"

Outstanding features of government's war record

Earliest measures of cooperation - at sea, on land and in the air

The British Commonwealth joint air training plan

Agreement concluded in minimum of time

Air Training Plan may prove decisive factor in winning war

Development of plan proceeding rapidly

An army division already overseas- another shortly to cross

Army co-operation Air Squadron also proceeding overseas.

The navy performing silent and effective service

The home front - the furnishing of supplies

Railways, Airways, National Broadcasting essential factors ~~fundtions~~ in war economy.

Industry transformed to serve wartime needs

D 53763

CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

Unity and Freedom

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Wednesday, February 7, 1940:

How Canadian unity might have been destroyed

How Canadian Unity was achieved

Necessary freedom of action carefully safeguarded

Organization of Canada's war effort

Resolution of Ontario Legislature beginning of a political campaign

Parliament supreme over government but not over people

Canada's war effort the first consideration

Immediate election rendered imperative

The preservation of national unity

Efforts to maintain peace in Europe

Efforts to preserve unity in Canada

The people's right to decide upon leaders and policies

How best to give effect to will of people -
(a) in Canada's War Effort
(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

People themselves to decide Canada's future and their own fate

A united war effort of a united Canada.

D 53764

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

Broadcast by
Hon. Norman McL. Rogers
Minister of National Defence.

December 20, 1939

The need for caution

The defence of Canada

The Mobilization of Troops

The Canadian Navy

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Commonwealth Air Plan

The First Canadian Division

Ancillary Troops

Military Supplies

Dependents' Allowances

Medical Services

The Auxiliary Services

Spiritual Welfare of the Troops

D 53765

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AIR TRAINING PLAN

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Sunday, December 17, 1939:

Acceptance in principle of the proposal

The negotiation of the agreement

The objective of the plan

The joint training programme

The stages in air training

The extent of the training establishment

The apportionment of costs

Administration of the joint training programme

Co-operation in the provision of instructors

Pre-war discussions on air training in Canada

The attitude of the Canadian government

The approach to effective co-operation

The genesis of the joint air training plan

The progress already made

Arrangements for active service

The relation of the Air Training Plan to Canada's Military effort as a whole

The real contribution

The mission of the airman

D 53766

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

Broadcast by
Hon. J. L. Ralston
Minister of Finance

Friday, November 24, 1939

Canada's war effort

Principles on which Canada's participation is based

Canada's war program
- (a) The Canadian Navy
- (b) The Canadian Air Force
- (c) The Canadian Army

The cost of Canada's war program

The Empire Air Training Scheme

Economic Aspects of Canada's War Effort
- (a) Financing U.K. purchases in Canada by Repatriation of Canadian Securities
- (b) Foreign Exchange Control Board
- (c) Wartime Prices and Trade Board
- (d) War Supply Board

Reason for lack of publicity

Activities of Defence Purchasing Board and War Supply Board

Collateral Activities

Charges against government of inactivity

Excess Profits tax

Voluntary contributsion to Canada's war effort

Call to Service in the Economic Army

D 53767

THE ORGANIZATION OF CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

Parliament and the Government

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Tuesday, October 31, 1939:

Summoning of Parliament and its proceedings

The speedy despatch of public business

Careful planning of Canada's war effort

Problems of defence and cooperation created by the present war

A carefully co-ordinated national effort

The military aspect of Canada's war effort
(1) The Canadian army
(2) The Canadian navy
(3) The Canadian air force

Military cooperation with the allied forces

Canada's war effort - its economic aspect

The production and purchase of munitions and other supplies

Measures to protect consumers and to further production

The vital importance of finance

Other essential and helpful features

The maintenance of national unity.

D 53768

THE ISSUE IN THE PRESENT WAR

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Friday, October 27, 1939:

The nature of the conflict

Naziism founded on the doctrine of Force

The rise of Naziism in Germany

The threat and use of force within Germany

The threat and use of force against other countries

The technique of Nazi aggression

Apparent success of Nazi methods

The Nazi ambition of world domination

Hatred of war and dictatorship - Efforts to preserve Peace

The need to withstand aggression

The preservation of Christian civilization

D 53769

CANADA AND THE WAR

Speech by
Right.Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Delivered in the House of Commons, Sept.8, 1939

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

I.

Introductory - Reply to speech by Leader of Opposition.

The preservation of liberty

A plea for toleration

A truce to party strife

Consultation with party leaders

Government policy duly set forth

Germany's aims and ambitions

Helpful suggestions welcomed

Government's attitude towards profiteering and patronage

Empire and domestic problems

The forces of good and evil

II.

Background of the present conflict.

A sense of impending calamity

A steady progression of acts of aggression

Continuous increase in Canadian defence expenditures

The invasion of Poland

Events since March 15, 1939

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LE DOSSIER CONTINUE SUR LA BOBINE SUIVANTE

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