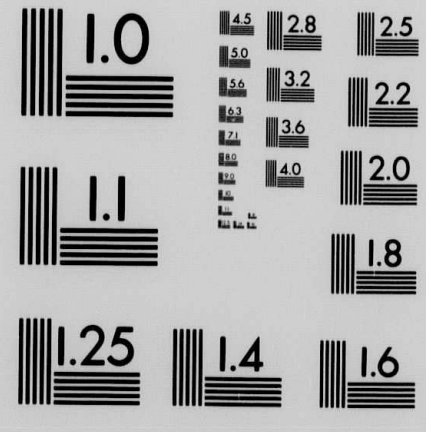
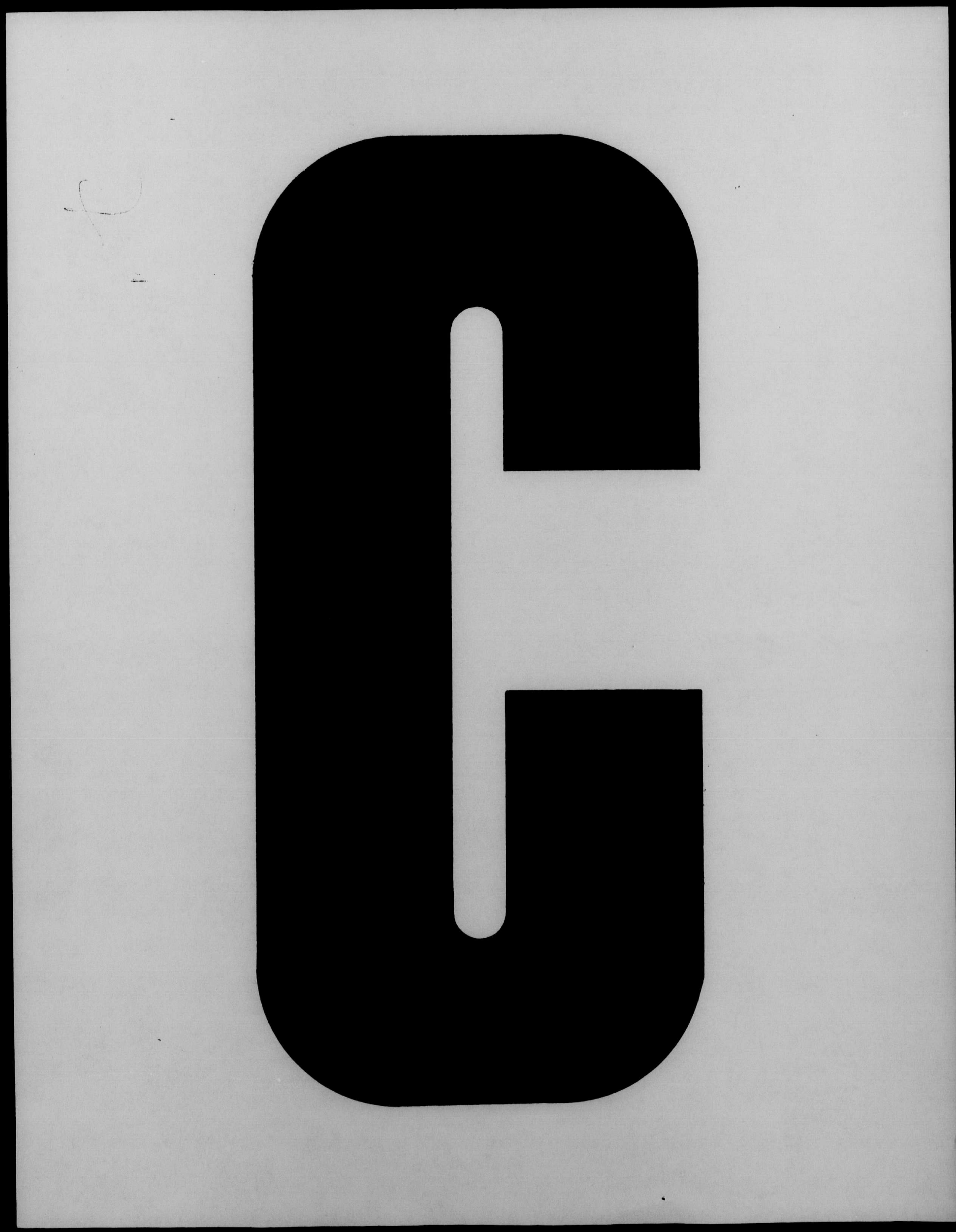


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



START

DÉBUT

ROLL

NO. 9

ROULEAU

National Archives of Canada

Archives nationales du Canada

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N3

Date octobre 2000

Camera - Caméra C-8

Operator - Opérateur Sylvie Crêtes

Reduction - Réduction 13 X

Data - Données MG26, J5

Canada

ARC 0178 (88/04)

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

Political Archives Section.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

Deux matrices originales des enregistrements du Carilon de la Paix et du discours de King, ler 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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

ACCESS RESTRICTED
SEE FILE
ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		National Liberal Federation meeting. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 47233 - D 47235	
76		Progress of the War. Speeches in Parliament	26 Mar. 1944	D 47236 - D 47244	
76		Canadian Participation in Pacific War. Speeches in Parliament	4 Apr. 1944	D 47245 - D 47279	
76		Tribute to the late H.B. McKinnon M.P. Speeches in Parliament	17 Apr. 1944	D 47280 - D 47296	
76		Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	22 Apr. 1944	D 47297 - D 47320	
76		Prime Ministers Meeting, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	1 May 1944	D 47321 - D 47334	
76		Luncheon given by Viscount Cranborne, London. Speeches outside Parliament	2 May 1944	D 47335 - D 47336	
76		London, England, House of Commons. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1944	D 47337 - D 47348	
76		Ottawa City Council Reception. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 47349 - D 47350	

D 47335 file

Luncheon given by Viscount Cranborne,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
Tuesday, May 2, 1944.

Appreciation of courtesy.

Tribute to Lord Cranborne -
Understanding and sympathy with views and outlook of other nations of Commonwealth.

Place of Dominions Office in Commonwealth Relations - both a department of U.K. Government and a bridge between British Govt. and govts. of other Commonwealth countries.

Inter-Commonwealth Communications - High Commissioners in other nations are officials of Dominions Office.

Tribute to Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald.

Happy relationship between Canada House in London and Dominions Office -

Word re Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey.

Opportunity to say, in the presence of Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, whose responsibility it largely has been, how smooth and efficient and thorough have been means and extent of communications between Britain and Canada - sure Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth nations would echo words in relation to their own countries.

Tribute to importance of Commonwealth Relations that one of the leading Ministers of the govt. - entrusted with the office of Dominions' Secretary.

D 47336

Luncheon given by Viscount Cranborne,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
Tuesday, May 2, 1944.

Appreciation of courtesy.

Tribute to Lord Cranborne -
Understanding and sympathy with views and outlook of other nations of Commonwealth.

Pèace of Dominions Office in Commonwealth Relations - both a department of U.K. Government and a bridge between British Govt. and govts. of other Commonwealth countries.

Inter-Commonwealth Communications - High Commissioners in other nations are officials of Dominions Office.

Tribute to Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald.

Happy relationship between Canada House in London and Dominions Office -

Word re Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey.

Opportunity to say, in the presence of Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, whose responsibility it largely has been, how smooth and efficient and thorough have been means and extent of communications between Britain and Canada - sure Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth nations would echo words in relation to their own countries.

Tribute to importance of Commonwealth Relations that one of the leading Ministers of the govt. - entrusted with the office of Dominions' Secretary.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		National Liberal Federation meeting. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 47233 - D 47235	
76		Progress of the War. Speeches in Parliament	26 Mar. 1944	D 47236 - D 47244	
76		Canadian Participation in Pacific War. Speeches in Parliament	4 Apr. 1944	D 47245 - D 47279	
76		Tribute to the late H.B. McKinnon M.P. Speeches in Parliament	17 Apr. 1944	D 47280 - D 47296	
76		Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	22 Apr. 1944	D 47297 - D 47320	
76		Prime Ministers Meeting, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	1 May 1944	D 47321 - D 47334	
76		Luncheon given by Viscount Cranborne, London. Speeches outside Parliament	2 May 1944	D 47335 - D 47336	
76		London, England, House of Commons. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1944	D 47337 - D 47348	
76		Ottawa City Council Reception. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 47349 - D 47350	

Notes - H. of C., Monday 22nd May, 1944

D 47337

Thanks for words.

Privilege to express feelings and sentiments of Canadian people.

Sense of responsibility.

Impressions:

1. The Conference (Proceedings secret)

   Time

   Value

   Meetings with Churchill -

   P.M. in health and strength.

   Symbolism

2. Canadian Forces in Britain

   1. Naval units in action;

      Visit to units of army and air force.

3. High Place Canada holds in Minds and Hearts of British

   Production - industry and agriculture;

   Hundreds of thousands of young Canadians.

4. The British People

   Greatness as a people

D 47338

5. Confidence in ultimate victory -
   hard struggle;
   long struggle.
6. Britain as the gateway of freedom of World.
7. Evil forces to be conquered.
8. Proud Canada - and Br. Commonwealth

II. The kernel of citizenship

What life has taught me above all else;
" trip abroad has emphasized -
We are members one of another -
No man liveth unto himself, and
no nation unto itself.

III. The Scope of citizenship -
An ever-widening circle of inter-related and interdependent associations and responsibilities:

(1) Citizen of community in which one lives;
(2) " " country;
(3) " " Commonwealth;
(4) " " World.

D 47339

IV. A word on each - in light of impressions gained by recent trip:

Ottawa: - residence in Ottawa 44 yrs.

(dog tag No. 1 - Pat)

interest in Capital.

Canada: - Place in Commonwealth

(something to give and to receive)

Commonwealth:- Place in world

World: - World in which we live - members one of another.

V. Concluding paragraph in address -

Reference to burdens of wartime Administration and post war responsibilities -

Think of these in reference to our armed forces and merchant marine; preserving our liberties with their lives -

D 47340

Make our lives worthy of their work;
our city and our country worthy
of their service and sacrifice.

VI. Concluding words:

Say of address and honour done
today -
Can think of no legacy which I
could be prouder to bequeath
to the city in which I have
lived, and to the country I
have sought throughout my life
to serve.

Notes - H. of C., Monday 22nd May, 1944

Thanks for words.

D 47341

Privilege to express feelings and sentiments of Canadian people.

Sense of responsibility.

Impressions:

1. The Conference (Proceedings secret)

   Time

   Value

   Meetings with Churchill -

   P.M. in health and strength.

   Symbolism

2. Canadian Forces in Britain

   1. Naval units in action;

      Visit to units of army and air force.

3. High Place Canada holds in Minds and Hearts of British

   Production - industry and agriculture;

   Hundreds of thousands of young Canadians.

4. The British People

   Greatness as a people

D 47342

5. Confidence in ultimate victory -
   hard struggle;
   long struggle.
6. Britain as the gateway of freedom of World.
7. Evil forces to be conquered.
8. Proud Canada - and Br. Commonwealth

II. The kernel of citizenship
What life has taught me above all else;
" trip abroad has emphasized -
We are members one of another -
No man liveth unto himself, and no nation unto itself.

III. The Scope of citizenship -
An ever-widening circle of inter-related and interdependent associations and responsibilities:
(1) Citizen of community in which one lives;
(2) " " country;
(3) " " Commonwealth;
(4) " " World.

D 47343

IV. A word on each - in light of impressions gained by recent trip:

Ottawa: - residence in Ottawa 44 yrs.

(dog tag No. 1 - Pat)

interest in Capital.

Canada: - Place in Commonwealth

(something to give and to receive)

Commonwealth:- Place in world

World: - World in which we live - members one of another.

V. Concluding paragraph in address -

Reference to burdens of wartime Administration and post war responsibilities -

Think of these in reference to our armed forces and merchant marine; preserving our liberties with their lives -

Make our lives worthy of their work;
our city and our country worthy
of their service and sacrifice.

VI. Concluding words:

Say of address and honour done
today -

Can think of no legacy which I
could be prouder to bequeath
to the city in which I have
lived, and to the country I
have sought throughout my life
to serve.

D47345

Notes - H. of C., Monday 22nd May, 1944

Thanks for words.

Privilege to express feelings and sentiments of Canadian people.

Sense of responsibility.

Impressions:

1. The Conference (Proceedings secret)

   Time

   Value

   Meetings with Churchill -

   P.M. in health and strength.

   Symbolism

2. Canadian Forces in Britain

   1. Naval units in action;

      Visit to units of army and air force.

3. High Place Canada holds in Minds and Hearts of British

   Production - industry and agriculture;

   Hundreds of thousands of young Canadians.

4. The British People

   Greatness as a people

D 47346

5. Confidence in ultimate victory -
   hard struggle;
   long struggle.
6. Britain as the gateway of freedom of World.
7. Evil forces to be conquered.
8. Proud Canada - and Br. Commonwealth

II. The kernel of citizenship

What life has taught me above all else;
" trip abroad has emphasized -
We are members one of another -
No man liveth unto himself, and
no nation unto itself.

III. The Scope of citizenship -
An ever-widening circle of inter-related and interdependent associations and responsibilities:

(1) Citizen of community in which one lives;
(2) " " country;
(3) " " Commonwealth;
(4) " " World.

D47347

IV. A word on each - in light of impressions gained by recent trip:

Ottawa: - residence in Ottawa 44 yrs.

(dog tag No. 1 - Pat)

interest in Capital.

Canada: - Place in Commonwealth

(something to give and to receive)

Commonwealth:- Place in world

World: - World in which we live - members one of another.

V. Concluding paragraph in address -

Reference to burdens of wartime Administration and past war responsibilities -

Think of these in reference to our armed forces and merchant marine; preserving our liberties with their lives -

D 47348

4734

Make our lives worthy of their work;
our city and our country worthy
of their service and sacrifice.

VI. Concluding words:

Say of address and honour done
today -

Can think of no legacy which I
could be prouder to bequeath
to the city in which I have
lived, and to the country I
have sought throughout my life
to serve.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		National Liberal Federation meeting. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 47233 - D 47235	
76		Progress of the War. Speeches in Parliament	26 Mar. 1944	D 47236 - D 47244	
76		Canadian Participation in Pacific War. Speeches in Parliament	4 Apr. 1944	D 47245 - D 47279	
76		Tribute to the late H.B. McKinnon M.P. Speeches in Parliament	17 Apr. 1944	D 47280 - D 47296	
76		Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	22 Apr. 1944	D 47297 - D 47320	
76		Prime Ministers Meeting, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	1 May 1944	D 47321 - D 47334	
76		Luncheon given by Viscount Cranborne, London. Speeches outside Parliament	2 May 1944	D 47335 - D 47336	
76		London, England, House of Commons. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1944	D 47337 - D 47348	
76		Ottawa City Council Reception. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 47349 - D 47350	

D 47349

Final Notes - City Council
Reception, Ottawa,
May 25, 1944

Ottawa Welcome & Reception

Introductory:

The occasion of tendering welcome

Motion of City Council

What it meant:

all had gone well
beginning of return home.

Surprise on reaching Rockcliffe air-port

a city crowned with light
welcome by Mayor and others

The welcome today

1. guard of honour

2. representative character of those assembled

3. address

Significance of welcome

Reference to part overseas,
welcome there.

representative capacity
P.M. of Canada
what Canada stands for

Present welcome personal by
fellow citizens to a
citizen of Ottawa.

D47350

Final Notes - City Council
Reception, Ottawa,
May 25, 1944

Ottawa Welcome & Reception

Introductory:

The occasion of tendering welcome

Motion of City Council

What it meant:

all had gone well
beginning of return home.

Surprise on reaching Rockcliffe airport

a city crowned with light
welcome by Mayor and others

The welcome today

1. guard of honour
2. representative character of those assembled
3. address

Significance of welcome

Reference to part overseas,
welcome there.

representative capacity
P.M. of Canada
what Canada stands for

Present welcome personal by
fellow citizens to a
citizen of Ottawa.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

31.5.

Dinner, Country Club
in honour of
Rt.Hon.John Curtin
Prime Minister of Australia

47351

Repeat about arrangements for conference
invitation to Mr. Curtin

Meeting at conference in London

Now visit of Mr. and Mrs. Curtin to Ottawa,
extend to them very warm welcome

Evening for guests from Australia
welcome to members of their party

Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, G.B.E., K.C.B.
Commander-in-Chief
Australian Military Forces

Sir Frederick Shedden, K.C.M.G.,
Secretary,
Department of Defence

Reference to Hon. J.V.Fairbairn
Minister for Air
killed August 13, 1940

Dinner, Buckingham Palace
- Princess Elizabeth

Welcome to Prime Minister of Australia
both in representative and personal capacity

would like to speak particularly of
Australia

Indelible character of [redacted]

in Egypt and the Western Desert,
Greece and Crete.

31.5.

Dinner, Country Club
in honour of
Rt.Hon.John Curtin
Prime Minister of Augtralia

47351

Repeat about arrangements for conference
invitation to Mr. Curtin

Meeting at conference in London

Now visit of Mr. and Mrs. Curtin to Ottawa,
extend to them very warm welcome

Evening for guests from Australia
welcome to members of their party

Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, G.B.E., K.C.B.
Commander-in-Chief
Australian Military Forces

Sir Frederick Shedden, K.C.M.G.,
Secretary,
Department of Defence

Reference to Hon. J.V.Fairbairn
Minister for Air
killed August 13, 1940

Dinner, Buckingham Palace
- Princess Elizabeth

Welcome to Prime Minister of Australia
both in representative and personal capacities

would like to speak particularly of
Australia

Indelible character of fight

in Egypt and the Western Desert,
Greece and Crete.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47352

Appreciation of Australia's position

Representatives to I.L.O. --

Sir Frederick Leggett, C.B.
Deputy Secretary
U.K. Ministry of Labour

Mr. George Tomlinson, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary
U.K. Ministry of Labour

Dr. Henry Laureys - just returned from South Africa

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, May 26, 1944

PRIME MINISTER

D 47353

This is a suggestion for remarks in introducing Mr Curtin in the House of Commons on Thursday next, June 1. The text of the motion follows the one which you moved when Mr Menzies spoke in Parliament on May 7, 1941.

J.A.G.

I am also drafting notes for Govt Dinner

DRAFT

JAG/Z
26-5-44

D 47354

Introduction of Hon. John Curtin
Prime Minister of Australia
House of Commons - June 1, 1944

MR. SPEAKER:

I should like to move, seconded by my honourable friend the Acting Leader of the Opposition:

> That the sitting of the House be suspended, during pleasure, for the purpose of welcoming in the Chamber the Honourable John Curtin, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, and that the speeches delivered on this occasion be inserted in the House of Commons Debates and form part of the permanent records of this Parliament.

This is one of a number of occasions throughout the years of war upon which we have had both the satisfaction and the great pleasure of welcoming to the Parliament of Canada distinguished visitors from other nations. It is a particular pleasure to welcome today the Prime Minister of Australia in the person of the Honourable John Curtin, who is now returning to Australia from the meeting of Prime Ministers in London.

D 47355

Just over three years ago, hon. members of this House joined in a welcome to Mr. Curtin's predecessor in office. Mr. Menzie's visit came at a time before Pearl Harbour, before the territory of the United States had been wantonly attacked, and before the militaristic ambitions of a belligerent Japan had created a menace to freedom throughout the whole of the Pacific area.

Mr. Curtin assumed the office of Prime Minister at a very critical moment in the fortunes of his country, and at a time when no one could foretell how widespread would be the limits of Japanese aggression in the Western Pacific. It is a high tribute to him, both as a man and as a leader of the people of Australia, that the war effort of the Commonwealth of Australia was developed to so great an extent. Australia had not only to defend her own shores - which more than once suffered under enemy air attacks - but she had also to help in driving out the Japanese enemy from his entrenched points of strategy in the island outposts of the western Pacific. This latter has been a grim task, from which the armed forces of Australia have never flinched.

In paying tribute to the successes of Australian arms in this jungle warfare of New Guinea and New Britain,

D 47356

one must not forget the earlier Australian contributions to the battles of the western desert, at a moment when the Axis threat in North Africa was very real and constant. The fighting men of Australia have served on many fronts. They held firm on many an embattled front, when the fortunes of war seemed hardest. They will have a foremost place in the eventual assaults upon the far-flung conquests of Japan.

Mr. Curtin's main pre-occupation in office has been with the waging of the war and in maintaining at its highest pitch the total war effort of the people of Australia. In welcoming him today to the capital of Canada, we join in honouring that effort of the people of Australia. We welcome Mr. Curtin also as a leader in the great fight of the freedom-loving nations of the world, and in the confident hope that the efforts of all free peoples, joined in the comradeship of war and the vision of the future, will combine to build a better world than any we have so far known.

I shall, I am sure, be speaking for the people of Canada as a whole in extending to Mr Curtin the heartiest of welcomes, and in wishing him, as he continues on his homeward journey, good luck and Godspeed.

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia

Introduction to the House of Commons

June 1, 1944

D 47357

Pleasure at any time to welcome a Prime Minister of a sister nation of the British Commonwealth.

Welcome all the more cordial, when to close association of our two countries is added the comradeship in arms of a time of war.

Mr. Curtin is visiting Canada for the first time, but he is assured of the most friendly reception because he has been preceded, during the war, by thousands of the friendliest ambassadors from his country - the splendid young men from Australia who have come to Canada for training for aerial combat.

The dark blue of the Australian airman is a familiar and a welcome sight on the streets of our cities and towns and in many Canadian homes.

The Canadian people have tried to compensate for the extreme cold of our winters by the warmth of our hearts.

For me personally, a great satisfaction to renew in Canada the acquaintance with Mr. Curtin begun in London - an acquaintance which time and events are fast ripening into a friendship which, I hope and believe, will be of benefit to both our countries, to the British Commonwealth and to the United Nations.

Mr. Curtin is returning to Australia from his <u>first visit as Prime Minister</u> to Britain

Close association for nearly three weeks at meetings of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Curtin's participation distinguished by:

(1) vigilant and constant concern for the vital interests of his own country which has been so terribly menaced in this world-wide struggle;

(2) co-operative spirit and ready understanding in general deliberations on matters of common concern to the several nations of the Commonwealth.

D 47359

At all times, and particularly in his notable speech at the Guildhall when receiving the freedom of London, Mr. Curtin spoke with a full consciousness of his primary responsibility to the Parliament and people of Australia, but also with a pride in being a citizen of the wider Commonwealth.

Mr. Curtin's presence gives us an opportunity to pay a brief tribute to the part - the distinguished part - Australia is taking in the struggle for our common freedom.

In 1939, despite the overhanging shadow of Japanese power, Australia did not hesitate to prepare at once to take a most active part in the war in Europe and, more particularly, in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Australian troops fought with the greatest gallantry and distinction in the Western Desert, in Greece and in Crete. Not too much to say that the Australians were a vital element in holding the Mediterranean life-line of freedom in the critical year from June, 1940, to June, 1941.

D 47360

Since the outbreak of war in the Far East, the Australian army has been engaged nearer home; first, in keeping the invader off the Australian mainland and, more recently, in slowly but inexorably forcing back the Japanese aggressors.
The courage and resolution of the Australian troops in what is perhaps the most terrible battlefield in the world - the jungles of New Guinea,-will ever be a source of the greatest pride to the Australian people.

Australian airmen training in Canada already mentioned. Like our own Canadian airmen, the fighting airmen from Australia have taken part in the battle of the skies around the globe. An evidence that, despite its extreme peril, Australia has not taken a narrow or local view of this global war.

The Australian navy less known to Canadians than the R.A.A.F., butno less vital to the common cause.

D 47361

A precious element of allied naval strength in the Pacific - and a factor of continuing importance in overcoming Japanese naval strength.

Up to now, Canada's main strength concentrated - in accord with allied strategy - against Nazi Germany.

Canadian people not unmindful that our country, too, looks out on the Pacific.

Since December 1941, Canadian naval and air forces have co-operated with the United States forces in the Alaskan and Northern Pacific areas. Last August, Canadian troops shared in occupying Kiska in the Aleutians. Canada also remembers the fall of Hong Kong after a heroic resistance in which Canadian troops had a part.

The people of Canada also rejoice that geography and resources have combined to enable us through mutual aid to share some of our war supplies with the gallant forces of Australia.

D 47362

I cite these as evidences of the determination of the Canadian people to stand beside their sister nation of Australia until Japan, as well as Germany, is completely defeated.

In addition to our greetings and the assurance of our growing friendship, that is the message I ask the Prime Minister of Australia to carry back from Canada to his homeland.

D 47363

Au Conseil, N.A.T.O.

Relations du Canada – Les Conseils

(1) au Conseil Atlantique et Permanent

(2) pour l'année financière.

Chef de notre Délégation auprès du Conseil Atlantique est M. Lester B. Pearson

Délégués auprès du Conseil Permanent à Londres

(1) " " " " à Paris

Les contributions des Forces Armées, leur

financement,

Aperçu :

Les forces Stationnées,

Les contributions à l'Alliance – distinction entre Forces

affectées à la défense contre attaque et celles à la défense de l'Europe

Les Conférences Atlantiques,

Participation au Conseil,

Questions à l'ordre du jour,

Décisions prises,

Futures Conférences. Fonctions du Secrétaire

Degré de liaison entre Délégations

Publicité accordée

Échange de renseignements

Affectation de personnel du Secrétariat (distinction entre civils et militaires)

Siège du Secrétariat,

Statut du Canada

Privilèges et immunités diplomatiques.

Les Conférences Atlantiques :

Réunion du Conseil Atlantique –

Travaux du Comité Économique – Échange de renseignements

Coopération économique

Le Comité Scientifique – Coopération scientifique

Échange d'informations

Le Comité des Affaires Publiques.

D 47364

Relations across the Pacific – The meeting of the Pacific
The great main seat of the conflict
– The war in Europe & the war
– The Congress already made in the Pacific
– Shifting & Operations — Russia — &c –
–

Problems in Common

Geography – boundaries
Communications Defence
Aviation
etc. etc.

Sense of Oneness – and common interest

Need closer relationship more diplomacy
Common & of interests – arms & colonies
Economics and of currency.

D 47365

Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

We are greatly privileged to have as a guest of our two Houses today the Right Honourable John Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Curtin has kindly consented to address us this afternoon. Before he does so I should like, on behalf of the parliament and people of Canada, to say just a word or two to him; and, through him, to the parliament and people of Australia.

It is difficult to believe that more than three years have elapsed since members here assembled had the honour of being addressed by Mr. Curtin's distinguished predecessor, the Right Honourable R. G. Menzies. At that time, the war was far into its second year. Nazi Germany had subjugated most of Europe. There was desperate fighting in Egypt, in Libya, in Greece and in Crete, and on the waters of the Mediterranean. In all these theatres of war, and over Europe from Britain, Australian soldiers, sailors and airmen had been heroically withstanding the onslaughts of the enemy, often at great sacrifice.

D 47366

But not in Africa and Europe only were the armed forces of Australia on active service. They were serving at that time in Australia itself; in Asia, at Singapore and in Malaya; some, we are proud to say, were training as brothers in arms with our own airmen here in Canada. On no less than five continents and on many seas, Australia had distributed her fighting forces to help preserve the world's liberties. All this was even before Russia had come into the war. I mention these things that you, Mr. Curtin, may know that the recollection of the service rendered the world by Australia in those early and perilous years is as vivid in our minds today as it was at the time. These memories will never be effaced.

Appalling as the prospect appeared to your countrymen, as indeed it did to all the other peoples of the British Commonwealth in those first two years of war, that prospect, to you and to the people of Australia, must have seemed almost unreal by comparison with the situation which confronted Australia within two months of the time [redacted] you became Leader of the Government.

D 47367

For years, the Japanese had been waiting for the day they might proclaim themselves masters of the Pacific. While you were denuding your own continent of its bravest men, and even of its own defences, to help save freedom in Europe, Japan was extending her conquest of China. She was stealthily encroaching on other territories which brought her, in full strength, ever closer to your own shores. After Pearl Harbour, after the fall of Singapore, before aid could come to you from any quarter of the globe, you and the people of Australia must have experienced terrible anxiety. What Britain had to endure, when she stood alone facing the might of Germany, Australia for many months must have felt in facing the might of Japan. As Britain kept open the gates of freedom in the North Atlantic, so Australia and New Zealand kept open the gates of freedom in the South Pacific.

The free world will probably never realize what it owes to Australia; what it owes, Mr. Curtin, to your own sagacious and resolute leadership. We are anxious, however, at this moment to express what acknowledgment we can of so great a debt. With this acknowledgment we wish to give to you the assurance that, just as your forces and ours have been working their strength

D47368

have been exerting their strength wherever the call was most imperative in this global war; just as we await with confidence, the outcome of the colossal conflict which will crush forever the menace of Nazi tyranny; so on the morrow, our forces will be found closer than ever at the side of yours, sharing with our allies in the total destruction of the tyranny of Japan.

Before calling upon the Prime Minister of Australia to address us, I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of the Opposition, to join with me in extending to Mr. Curtin a unanimous welcome, and our best of wishes for the safe return of Mrs. Curtin and himself, and the members of their party, to their homeland. We ask them to take with them to the people of Australia the profound admiration and heartfelt good wishes of all the people of Canada.

Final revise

D 47369

Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

We are greatly privileged to have as a guest of our two Houses today the Right Honourable John Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Curtin has kindly consented to address us this afternoon. Before he does so I should like, on behalf of the parliament and people of Canada, to say just a word or two to him; and, through him, to the parliament and people of Australia.

It is difficult to believe that more than three years have elapsed since members here assembled had the honour of being addressed by Mr. Curtin's distinguished predecessor, the Right Honourable R. G. Menzies. At that time, the war was far into its second year. Nazi Germany had subjugated most of Europe. There was desperate fighting in Egypt, in Libya, in Greece and in Crete, and on the waters of the Mediterranean. In all these theatres of war, and over Europe from Britain, Australian soldiers, sailors and airmen had been heroically withstanding the onslaughts of the enemy, often at great sacrifice.

But not in Africa and Europe only were the armed forces of Australia on active service. They were serving at that time in Australia itself; in Asia, at Singapore and in Malaya; some, we are proud to say, were training as brothers in arms with our own airmen here in Canada. On no less than five continents and on many seas, Australia had distributed her fighting forces to help preserve the world's liberties. All this was even before Russia had come into the war. I mention these things that you, Mr. Curtin, may know that the recollection of the service rendered the world by Australia in those early and perilous years is as vivid in our minds today as it was at the time. These memories will never be effaced.

Appalling as the prospect appeared to your countrymen, as, indeed, it did to all the other peoples of the British Commonwealth in those first two years of war, that prospect, to you and to the people of Australia, must have seemed almost unreal by comparison with the situation which confronted Australia within two months of the time ~~at which~~ you became Leader of the Government.

D 47371

For years, the Japanese had been waiting for the day they might proclaim themselves masters of the Pacific. While you were denuding your own continent of its bravest men, and even of its own defences to help save freedom in Europe, Japan was extending her conquest of China. She was stealthily encroaching on other territories which brought her, in full strength, ever closer to your own shores. After Pearl Harbour, after the fall of Singapore, before aid could come to you from any quarter of the globe, you and the people of Australia must have experienced terrible anxiety. What Britain had to endure, when she stood alone facing the might of Germany, Australia for many months must have felt in facing the might of Japan. As Britain kept open the gates of freedom in the North Atlantic, so Australia and New Zealand kept open the gates of freedom in the South Pacific.

The free world will probably never realize what it owes to Australia; what it owes, Mr. Curtin, to your own sagacious and resolute leadership. We are anxious, however, at this moment to express what acknowledgment we can of so great a debt. With this acknowledgment we wish to give to you the assurance that just as your forces and ours

have been exerting their strength wherever the call was most imperative in this global war; just as today we await with confidence the outcome of the colossal conflict which will crush forever the menace of Nazi tyranny; so on the morrow our forces will be found closer than ever at the side of yours, sharing with our allies in the total destruction of the tyranny of Japan.

Before calling upon the Prime Minister of Australia to address us, I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of the Opposition, to join with me in extending to Mr. Curtin a unanimous welcome, and our best of wishes for the safe return of Mrs. Curtin and himself, and the members of their party, to their homeland. We ask them to take with them to the people of Australia the profound admiration and heartfelt good wishes of all the people of Canada.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

D 47373

D 47373

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47374

brief read in broadcast at 8 am June 6th 1944
Modified for use in Broadcast to be issued, in advance France 11,

~~At half past three o'clock this morning the Government received official word that~~ The invasion of Western Europe has begun ~~and that~~ Canadian troops ~~were~~ are among the Allied Forces who landed this morning on the northern coast of France ~~in France~~. Canada ~~will be~~ is proud to learn that ~~our~~ her troops are being supported by units of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The great landing in Western Europe is the opening of what we hope and believe will be the decisive phase of the war against Germany. The fighting is certain to be heavy bitter and costly. We must not expect early results. We should be prepared for local reverses as well as successes. No one can say how long this phase of the war may last, but we have every reason for confidence in the final outcome.

hush
hush.

Here in Canada we ~~will~~ share something of the emotion with which the people of France heard General Eisenhower express his pride in having again under his command the gallant forces of France. The hearts of all in Canada will be filled with silent prayer for the success of our own Allied forces and for the early liberation of the peoples of Europe.

D 47375

I cannot better express ~~to you all~~ the Government's feelings at this moment than by giving to you the words of General Crerar, the Canadian Army Commander, as conveyed to the Canadian assault forces on the eve of their embarkation: "I have," said General Crerar, "complete confidence in our ability to meet the tests which lie ahead. We are excellently trained and equipped. The quality of both the senior and junior leadership is of the highest. As Canadians, we inherit military characteristics which were feared by the enemy in the last Great War. They will be still more feared before this war terminates."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 7 19

D 47376

Subject

Mackenzie King's Broadcast

Ottawa, June 6.— (CP) —Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's broadcast follows:

At half past three o'clock this morning the government received official word that the invasion of western Europe had begun. Word was also received that Canadian troops were among the Allied forces who landed this morning on the northern coast of France.

Canada will be proud to learn that our troops are being supported by units of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The great landing in Western Europe is the opening of what we hope and believe will be the decisive phase of the war against Germany. The fighting is certain to be heavy, bitter and costly. We must not expect early results. We should be prepared for local reverses as well as successes.

No one can say how long this phase of the war may last, but we have every reason for confidence in the final outcome.

I cannot better express to the people of Canada the government's feelings at this moment than by giving to you the words of Gen. Crerar. The Canadian Army commander, as conveyed to the Canadian assault forces on the eve of their embarkation:

"I have," said Gen. Crerar, "complete confidence in our ability to meet the tasks which lie ahead. We are excellently trained and equipped. The quality of both the senior and junior leadership is of the highest. As Canadians, we inherit military characteristics which were feared by the enemy in the last Great War. They will be still more feared before this war terminates."

I should like to add this word: Let the hearts of all, in Canada today, be filled with silent prayer for the success of our own and Allied forces, and for the early liberation of the people of Europe.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 8 19

D 47376

Subject

Mackenzie King's Broadcast

Ottawa, June 6.— (CP) —Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's broadcast follows:

At half past three o'clock this morning the government received official word that the invasion of western Europe had begun. Word was also received that Canadian troops were among the Allied forces who landed this morning on the northern coast of France.

Canada will be proud to learn that our troops are being supported by units of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The great landing in Western Europe is the opening of what we hope and believe will be the decisive phase of the war against Germany. The fighting is certain to be heavy, bitter and costly. We must not expect early results. We should be prepared for local reverses as well as successes.

No one can say how long this phase of the war may last, but we have every reason for confidence in the final outcome.

I cannot better express to the people of Canada the government's feelings at this moment than by giving to you the words of Gen. Crerar. The Canadian Army commander, as conveyed to the Canadian assault forces on the eve of their embarkation:

"I have," said Gen. Crerar, "complete confidence in our ability to meet the tasks which lie ahead. We are excellently trained and equipped. The quality of both the senior and junior leadership is of the highest. As Canadians, we inherit military characteristics which were feared by the enemy in the last Great War. They will be still more feared before this war terminates."

I should like to add this word: Let the hearts of all, in Canada today, be filled with silent prayer for the success of our own and Allied forces, and for the early liberation of the people of Europe.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

D 47377 R-901 v.4 2-550 v.1

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the establishment of
The Republic of Iceland, June 17, 1944

The formal establishment today of the Republic of Iceland will be of special interest to many homes in Canada.

More than seventy years ago a small group of Icelanders came to settle in Canada. They first took up land in Ontario. The largest settlement was made in Manitoba. The people of this hardy race are exemplary citizens. They have contributed substantially to the public and professional life of Canada. As a people schooled in an ancient heritage of free government, they have added to the cultural wealth of our national life. Free institutions of government have created a strong tie of friendship. Our friendship has been made the stronger by the exigencies of war. In the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army helped to guard this strategic link between the old world and the new.

In welcoming the final act which determines the international status of Iceland, we send to the citizens of Iceland every good wish for the future of the new Republic.

47378

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the Establishment of
The Republic of Iceland - June 17, 1944.

The formal establishment, today, of the Republic of Iceland is of special interest to many homes in Canada.

It is more than seventy years ~~ago~~ since a small group of Icelanders came to settle in ~~Canada~~. They first took up land in the old province of Ontario. The largest settlement was made in the newer province of Manitoba. ~~They are~~ of a hardy race. ~~They~~ have proved exemplary citizens. They have made important contributions to the public and professional life of Canada. Schooled in an ancient heritage of free government, they have added to the cultural wealth of Canada's national life.

Free institutions of government served to create a strong tie of friendship between Canada and Iceland. The war has strengthened this friendship. We are pleased to recall, ~~today,~~ that in the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army were in Iceland. They were there to help guard this vital link in the chain of freedom between the old world and the new.

.Canada welcomes the final act which today determines the international status of Iceland. On behalf of the citizens of Canada, I send to the citizens of Iceland every good wish for the future of the new Republic.

Final D 47380

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the Establishment of
The Republic of Iceland - June 17, 1944.

The formal establishment, today, of the Republic of Iceland is of special interest to many homes in Canada.

It is more than seventy years ~~ago~~ since a small group of Icelanders came to settle in Canada. They first took up land in the old province of Ontario. The largest settlement was made in the newer province of Manitoba. They were ~~are~~ of a hardy race. Their descendants ~~They~~ have proved exemplary citizens. They have made important contributions to the public and professional life of Canada. Schooled in an ancient heritage of free government, they have added to the cultural wealth of Canada's national life.

Free institutions of government served to create a strong tie of friendship between Canada and Iceland. The war has strengthened this friendship. We are pleased to recall, today, that in the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army were in Iceland. They were there to help guard this vital link in the chain of freedom between the old world and the new.

Canada welcomes the final act which today determines the international status of Iceland. On behalf of the citizens of Canada I send to the citizens of Iceland every good wish for the future of the new Republic.

Draft

J. A. G.
8.6.44

D 47381

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the establishment of
The Republic of Iceland, June 17, 1944

The formal establishment today of the Republic of Iceland ~~will be~~ is of special interest to many homes in Canada.

More than seventy years ago ~~a~~ some small group of Icelanders came to settle in Canada. They first took up land ~~in~~ in the old province of Ontario. The largest settlement was made in the province of Manitoba. ~~The people of this hardy race are~~ Many of the Icelanders in this country are a hardy race and exemplary citizens. They have ~~contributed substantially~~ made important contributions to the public and professional life of Canada. ~~As a people~~ Schooled in an ancient heritage of free government, they have added to the cultural wealth of ~~our~~ Canada's national life. ~~]~~ [Free institutions of government ~~have~~ served as created a strong tie of friendship between Canada and Iceland. ~~Our friendship has been made the stronger by the exigencies of war.~~ Now that the war has strengthened our friendship, we are pleased to recall, today, that in the early months of the present world-wide conflict, troops were stationed in Iceland. They were there to help units of Canada's army ~~helped to~~ guard this ~~strategic~~ vital link ~~between~~ in the chain of freedom between the old world and the new.

~~In welcoming~~ Canada welcomes today the final act which determines the international status of Iceland, ~~we send to~~ on behalf of the citizens of Canada I send to every good wish for the future of the new Republic.

J. A. G.
8.6.44

Draft

D 47382

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the establishment of
The Republic of Iceland, June 17, 1944.

The formal establishment today of the Republic of Iceland will ~~awaken~~ ~~in~~ many homes in Canada ~~feelings of interest and of pride~~. More than seventy years ago a group of ~~intrepid~~ Icelanders came to settle in Canada. ~~Alike in Ontario, where~~ they first took up land, ~~and in Manitoba~~, where the largest settlement ~~grew up~~, ~~these~~ hardy people ~~have become~~ citizens, ~~of the most exemplary industry and character~~. They have contributed substantially to the public and professional life of Canada, ~~and~~ to the growing ~~endowment~~ of our national ~~life with the cultural wealth of~~ peoples schooled in an ancient heritage of free government. ~~For the representative institutions of Iceland are older than our own British models by generations, if not indeed by centuries.~~

~~These~~ free institutions of government have created a strong tie of friendship ~~which~~ has been made the stronger by the exigencies of war. In the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army ~~stood guard in this island fastness of the Atlantic~~. In welcoming ~~this~~

Prime Minister

Re: broadcast for Iceland
Revised copy attached.

The Wrong has sent me a note (attached). The two drafts are now almost identical.

The CBC Studios (Chateau Laurier) will be ready to record this short speech at 1.30 p.m. Monday June 12

D 47383 Jay

10/6/44

D 47384

final act ~~in~~ which determining as the ~~political~~ international status of Iceland, ~~we welcome also the many and growing evidences of friendship between the people of Iceland and our own.~~ We send ~~them~~ to the citizens of the new Republic of Iceland every good wish for the prosperity ~~under Providence of their people.~~ of the future

D 47385 HW/AH

June 9,1944.

NOTE FOR MR. GIBSON

In reply to your memorandum of yesterday, I enclose a somewhat amended text of the short broadcast proposed to be made by the Prime Minister on June 17th in connection with the inauguration of the Republic of Iceland. Apart from the omission of the last sentence in the first paragraph of your draft the changes made are verbal. I think that historians could argue over the relative antiquity of Witanagemot and the Althing and it is better to leave out a positive statement.

Perhaps you should know that we recently received through Dr.Coleman an enquiry from the Lt.Governor of Manitoba on whether he should respond to an invitation to address a message of congratulations and good wishes on June 17th to the Regent of Iceland. We answered giving him the general gist of Dominions Office telegram D. 774 of May 25th and suggesting that if he wished to send greetings he should concentrate on good wishes for the future and avoid emphasis on the political significance of the creation of a Republic. The draft for Mr. King is quite in accordance with the advice we gave the Lt. Governor.

Ack

D 47386

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada on the occasion of the establishment of The Republic of Iceland, June 17,1944.

The formal establishment today of the Republic of Iceland will awaken in many homes in Canada feelings of interest and of pride. More than seventy years ago a group of intrepid Icelanders came to settle in Canada. Alike in Ontario, where they first took up land, and in Manitoba, where the largest settlement grew up, these hardy people have become citizens of exemplary industry and character. Canadians of Icelandic origin have contributed substantially to the public and professional life of Canada. They have enriched our nationality with the culture of a people endowed with an ancient heritage of free government.

This special kinship with Canada and our common devotion to free institutions of government have created a strong tie of friendship which has been made the stronger by the exigencies of war. In the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army stood guard in this island fastness of the Atlantic. In greeting this development in the political status of Iceland, we welcome also the many and growing evidences of friendship between Iceland and Canada. We send Iceland every good wish for the prosperity under Providence of its people.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date June 21/44

D 47387

Subject

UN PROBLEME NATIONAL

A l'occasion de la deuxième lecture du projet de loi tendant à créer un ministère fédéral qui s'occupera particulièrement des entreprises de reconstruction économique, le premier ministre, le très honorable Mackenzie King, a expliqué à la Chambre des Communes que si ce nouvel organisme est appelé à jouer un rôle administratif considérable, le succès des oeuvres restauratrices tiendra surtout à la coopération qu'Ottawa et les provinces établiront entre eux.

D'après les paroles du chef du gouvernement, il semble bien que l'hon. C.-D. Howe est l'homme sur lequel on compte pour diriger le travail de reconstruction. Sans cesser de remplir ses fonctions actuelles de ministre des Munitions, il s'abouchera avec les spécialistes dans les divers domaines de l'activité économique. Enfin il collaborera avec les membres d'un comité formé de membres du cabinet pour tracer des plans précis et veiller à leur exécution.

Cependant, si l'on veut que ces initiatives produisent des résultats complets, elles devront s'appuyer sur une étroite coopération entre les provinces et le pouvoir central. La période qui suivra immédiatement la fin de la guerre n'inspire pas trop de craintes à M. King; celle qu'il redoute c'est la période de transition qu'il faudra franchir lorsque les déficits de produits causés par le conflit auront été comblés. Alors une entente continuelle sera indispensable pour surmonter les difficultés. Personne n'a le droit de l'oublier.

Le premier ministre du Canada ne cache pas non plus que les nations, d'une manière générale, auront intérêt à adopter une politique à larges vues et à base d'entr'aide au lieu de chercher à s'isoler et à régler simplement leurs propres affaires, comme plusieurs le faisaient avant la guerre. La reconstruction économique est un problème national pour chaque peuple et le moyen le plus sûr de le résoudre est d'unir ses efforts à ceux que les autres peuples tenteront dans le même sens.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date June 21/44

D 47387

Subject

UN PROBLEME NATIONAL

A l'occasion de la deuxième lecture du projet de loi tendant à créer un ministère fédéral qui s'occupera particulièrement des entreprises de reconstruction économique, le premier ministre, le très honorable Mackenzie King, a expliqué à la Chambre des Communes que si ce nouvel organisme est appelé à jouer un rôle administratif considérable, le succès des oeuvres restauratrices tiendra surtout à la coopération qu'Ottawa et les provinces établiront entre eux.

D'après les paroles du chef du gouvernement, il semble bien que l'hon. C.-D. Howe est l'homme sur lequel on compte pour diriger le travail de reconstruction. Sans cesser de remplir ses fonctions actuelles de ministre des Munitions, il s'abouchera avec les spécialistes dans les divers domaines de l'activité économique. Enfin il collaborera avec les membres d'un comité formé de membres du cabinet pour tracer des plans précis et veiller à leur exécution.

Cependant, si l'on veut que ces initiatives produisent des résultats complets, elles devront s'appuyer sur une étroite coopération entre les provinces et le pouvoir central. La période qui suivra immédiatement la fin de la guerre n'inspire pas trop de craintes à M. King; celle qu'il redoute c'est la période de transition qu'il faudra franchir lorsque les déficits de produits causés par le conflit auront été comblés. Alors une entente continuelle sera indispensable pour surmonter les difficultés. Personne n'a le droit de l'oublier.

Le premier ministre du Canada ne cache pas non plus que les nations, d'une manière générale, auront intérêt à adopter une politique à larges vues et à base d'entr'aide au lieu de chercher à s'isoler et à régler simplement leurs propres affaires, comme plusieurs le faisaient avant la guerre. La reconstruction économique est un problème national pour chaque peuple et le moyen le plus sûr de le résoudre est d'unir ses efforts à ceux que les autres peuples tenteront dans le même sens.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date June 21/44

D 47388

New Department To Study Plans For Work To Avoid Post-War Unemployment

Danger of Depression After Post-War Period of Transition Seen by Mr. King

By J. H. FISHER
Telegram Staff Writer

Ottawa, June 21—Prime Minister King anticipates a period immediately following the war in which there will be full demand for labor to fill the civilian wants of domestic and foreign markets.

The danger of mass unemployment will follow the post-war full employment period and Mr. King believes the only way it can be met is by careful planning in the transition period and through co-operation between the provinces and the Dominion authorities and between Canada and other countries.

The Prime Minister also holds the opinion that with the benefit of careful research that has been carried on in all parts of the world as to the causes of depressions and the experience gained in them since the last war the Government will be able to prevent a recurrence of booms and depressions.

These views on the future were expounded in the House of Commons on Tuesday, when the Prime Minister asked for second reading on a bill to establish a department of reconstruction which will be responsible for co-ordinating projects of a work-giving nature undertaken by federal departments, provincial governments and municipal councils.

GOOD PROMISER

During the evening sitting the debate broadened out over the whole economic and industrial field and produced lively exchanges between C.C.F. and Liberal members. Paul Martin, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Labor, praised Mr. King as a reformer and delivered a lengthy speech on how the Government is prepared to experiment boldly. He also expounded his theories that management and labor must work more closely than in the past. Mr. Martin's remarks brought M. J. Coldwell to his feet with the statement that they reminded him of the first speech he had heard Mr. King deliver 25 years ago. Most of the promises Mr. King had made remained unfulfilled, the C.C.F. leader declared.

Mr. Coldwell said the plans for the reconstruction department do not go far enough. His complaint was that they leave industry in private hands rather than having it operated by the Government.

Whole-hearted support to the establishment of a department of reconstruction was offered by John R. MacNicol, of Toronto-Davenport, who more than any private member in the Commons in recent years has studied all sorts of projects for the betterment of the country. In his travels across the nation Mr. MacNicol has given special attention to flood control and irrigation to preserve and develop the natural resources. In yesterday's debate he emphasized the importance of these things, especially in Western Canada. Extension of irrigation in Southern Alberta would serve 9,500 new farms and mean an increase of 50,000 people in the province with corresponding wealth to the nation.

PRAISES DREW POLICIES

Mr. MacNicol congratulated the Ontario Government on its program of reforestation and public improvements, including flood control for the Thames River. He also mentioned the planning which is being undertaken in Toronto, by chambers of commerce and the construction industry. He saw no reason for unemployment if everyone puts their shoulder to the wheel after the war.

Mr. King revealed himself as a continuing believer in the efficacy of international trade as a factor in maintaining prosperity in Canada, but the markets this country obtains will depend largely on other nations recognizing that prosperity is indivisible. It has to be shared. He was expatiating on the work done by several committees on reconstruction when John Blackmore asked whether these committees have suggested the source from which money can be obtained without debt or taxes to pay for work projects. Mr. King replied that he is not worried about raising the money to carry on reconstruction works. In the war money was raised for destruction and can also be found when there is a big demand for necessities, conveniences and luxuries.

Depressions, Mr. King said, had mainly been caused by nations believing that one country's prosperity can be secured by lessening that of others.

IN WAR AND PEACE

An answer was offered by Mr. King to those who ask why so much more can be done in war than in peace. It was that in wartime nations are united and co-operate effectively; in time of peace they do not pull together so well. In wartime the government had powers under the Wartime Measures Act not available in peace.

Reconstruction he defined as the transformation of the nation from war economy to peaceful pursuits, including the physical development of the country and the rehabilitation of the soldiers and munition workers.

There is also the phase of economic reconstruction, meaning the turning of munition factories to producing civilian goods, and this will be one of the main concerns of new department of reconstruction. Mr. King said it is the intention to appoint one of the present ministers to head this work and although he did not announce his choice, it is understood the Hon. C. D. Howe has been picked for the job. Mr. Howe will also continue as Minister of Munitions and Supply.

The Minister of Reconstruction and his officials will not have administrative functions, but they will be responsible for seeing that reconstruction plans are formulated and carried through by other federal departments, provincial and municipal governments. The minister will keep himself informed on what is being done by these administrations and seek to combine them in the most effective way.

Answering criticism that there has been delay in setting up the reconstruction department, Mr. King said the need for it has not yet been felt. Production of war goods will continue until the Japanese are defeated and thereafter there will be a heavy demand for goods to supply domestic needs and those of stricken European countries. He recalled that following the last war there had been a boom, followed by an appalling depression, which must not be allowed to again occur. The minister, he said, will be responsible for seeing there are long range as well as short range plans. Mr. King also does not expect the reconstruction department to continue as a permanent agency, any more than the war departments and bureaux are permanent:

Another department to administer health insurance and social security measures will be known as the Department of National Health and Welfare.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date JUN 21 1944

Office of
The Prime Minister
47389

High Employment Level Key to Reconstruction, Premier King Declares

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, June 20 (Staff).—The success of postwar reconstruction will depend primarily upon a high level of employment and production which is secured upon an adequate provision for the health and welfare of the people and their insurance against social and economic hazard, Prime Minister King today stated in Parliament in opening debate on legislation designed to establish a Department of Reconstruction.

He contemplated no difficulty in obtaining the money which will be needed to carry out the programs, and expressed the hope the money could be obtained without increasing taxation or the public debt.

The Prime Minister indicated broadly the Government, when the election test came, would base its appeal to the electorate strongly on its nation-wide plan of social security, announced in the 1943 Throne Speech.

While declaring that the immediate problem of reconstruction related largely to economic reconstruction—the changeover of war industry to the production of peacetime goods—Mr. King implied that each item of the program, whether they related to veterans' re-establishment or health insurance, were related to the whole.

Floor Under Farm Prices.

On top of that, he definitely pledged that every measure suggested in either the 1943 or 1944 Throne Speeches would be implemented. He said it in this way: "Then, the promise was made in the Speech from the Throne—and it will be implemented, as all the other measures so promised are being implemented—for a floor under farm prices after the war."

Mr. King also coupled with the program the "vital task of working out co-operation with the Provinces, which, because they control natural resources, are naturally concerned with this field.

"By a further step we hope to ensure more effective co-operation between the Provinces and ourselves through holding, before long, we hope, a meeting of the Dominion-Provincial Conference."

Opposition Leader Graydon asked if it was the intention to wait until the session concluded before calling the conference.

Full Attendance.

Mr. King could not say. He did hope that, when it was held, it would be held under circumstances which would permit the attendance of all the Provinces.

(When the conference plans were developed first, late in the winter, several Legislatures were in session. The Quebec Legislature did not adjourn until early this month. Then the Saskatchewan election intervened. Tomorrow, it is stated, the Quebec Legislature will be prorogued and an election announced for the end of July. New Brunswick also, it is stated, will go to the Province soon.

(It is, incidentally, stated that Maurice Gingues (L., Sherbrooke) will be sworn into Quebec Cabinet in Premier Godbout's pre-election Cabinet shuffle.)

The Prime Minister said that, if there was a choice of conference time, as between waiting for a month for Parliament to adjourn or calling it immediately, he would prefer to wait.

"On the other hand," said Mr. King, "if Parliament is going to continue in session until December, I think we ought to have the conference some considerable time before that."

British Pattern.

The Prime Minister again emphasized that the department would be developed in the plan of the Reconstruction Branch in the United Kingdom Government. The work of its Minister would be largely a co-ordinator of the various programs. The work will be carried on almost entirely by existing departments of Federal and Provincial Administrations and of Municipal Governments.

"Then intention here is to appoint a Minister, one of the Ministers of the Crown who is in office at the present time and who is head of one of the departments of Government.

Mr. King has never indicated on whome the mantle will fall. But at the time he announced his intention of creating this new department, speculation centred largely on Munitions Minister Howe, whose department will, to use Mr. King's term today, "fade out" with the end of the war. It is presumed also that Mr. Howe, as one of the leading figures in Government activities on postwar international and domestic civil aviation, will assume that work, at least, if not all of transport.

Money For Destruction.

Mr. King said during the war the country has raised money through loans and taxation mainly for purposes of destruction of property, of community and national life, and of human lives.

"When the whole picture is reversed and it comes to a matter of carrying out constructive work, work for the rebuilding of communities, for the supplying of homes and the needs of homes, the necessities and conveniences and luxuries of life, there is going to be a demand for employment the like of which could not arise at any other time," said Mr. King.

"And where you get demands of this kind for labor, I do not think one need fear about the increase of the public debt or taxation to accomplish these things. If we can get a demand for labor and goods and commodities and things which are constructive, I believe the nation can go ahead with the great work of construction and reconstruction and at the same time reduce its taxation and reduce its debt."

National Health Department.

Mr. King said a bill for establishment of a National Health Department would be introduced shortly. The department originally was to have been called the Department of Social Welfare.

Mr. King said that during the period of transition immediately after the war there should be little difficulty in obtaining reasonably full employment. The danger would come in a later period and to avoid it careful planning was necessary.

Depressions were caused by the belief that one nation's prosperity could be secured by lessening in some way the prosperity of other nations.

"If that kind of thing is repeated in the world we are going to have those periods of depression again," he said. "But I hope that new ideas, liberal ideas, are gaining ground throughout the world, and that they will have their effect in helping to remove some of these impediments to progress which have been encuntered so far."

J. R. MacNicol (P.C., Toronto-Davenport) and Gray Turgeon (L., Cariboo) also expressed belief that full employment was possible.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 47390

Subject .....

Economy on Sound Basis.

Mr. Turgeon, chairman of the Commons Committee on Reconstruction, said it was essential to put Canadian economy on a sound basis for many years to come as soon as the war was over.

That position could not be achieved unless agriculture was given its proper place in Canadian prosperity. The intention of giving agriculture a fair share of national prosperity was evident in many pieces of legislation before the House. The Government's aid should be pursued with energy.

Mr. Turgeon said the people of Canada would no longer permit conflicts of various Governments, Provincial and Dominion, to interfere with their gaining a decent living. He was hopeful of more co-operation between Governments in the future than had prevailed in the past.

Pull Together.

Mr. MacNicol, a member of the Reconstruction Committee, said he was convinced there would be no unemployment if every one, if every Province and municipality, did the utmost to co-operate in carrying out postwar reconstruction works.

He reviewed the suggestions for postwar projects which the committee had received from the Provinces and some municipalities and other organizations. These bodies had indicated they were alive to their responsibility and were preparing for the postwar period.

Irrigation projects in Alberta would provide much employment in that Province, reforestation in all the Provinces would provide many jobs if a tree was planted for every one cut.

Wants Freer Trade.

Mr. King said he hoped the trade policies of all nations would be framed on broader lines and that trade would be freer and more conducive to prosperity.

"Prosperity is indivisible," said Mr. King. "It isn't something one nation can have to itself. It has to be shared."

If people could take this larger conception of human relations they would go far to obtain the fullest possible employment of the great mass of men and women.

It had often been remarked that things could be done in war which apparently could not be done in peace, he continued. One reason for that was that in war the Federal Government had power to carry out its policies.

It was able to direct the national energies into the common effort it desired and bring about whatever co-ordination might be desired. Mr. King said he was glad some Provincial Governments had already taken up plans for reconstruction. As a result of recent and proposed conferences and discussion with the Provinces he hoped it would be possible to work out more in the way of a common effort than had been possible before the war.

There was no assurance the war would be over soon. The bill did not mark the start of planning. That started almost as soon as the war, in 1939.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N.Y.Times

Date June 21/44

D 47391

Subject

MACKENZIE KING ASKS COOPERATION IN PEACE

Says All Nations Must Unite in Efforts for Prosperity

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, June 20—In the same way as they have worked together for victory, the nations of the world must work together for prosperity, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King told the House of Commons today.

He moved a resolution to set up a Ministry of Reconstruction. The war is being won, he said, only by the closest cooperation among nations and it cannot be won by any of them alone. The difficulty that must be faced is that that cooperation will tend to cease as soon as the danger is over, he warned, and, instead of nations working together toward the expansion of trade generally they will take the view that the way to obtain more trade will be to prevent some other country from having its people employed to the extent to which they should be.

"If, as a group of nations interested in having world peace, we can help to develop trade throughout all parts of the world," he said, "we shall perhaps be taking the most effective of all steps in the direction of bringing about those conditions which for Canada especially it will be necessary to establish if we are to have the development of our great primary industries carried to the extent it should be.

"Prosperity is indivisible. It is not something that any one nation can have and enjoy by itself. It is something that has to be shared and we shall have to come to this point of view that it is only by cooperation that the fullest employment of the great mass of people in this country and in every country can be secured."

It is expected that Munitions Minister C. D. Howe will be named Minister of Reconstruction as his present department begins to fade out.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date JUN 2 1 1944

D 47392

Mr. King Expects No Difficulty In Getting Money Needed After War

Prime Minister Mackenzie King yesterday told the Commons he contemplated no difficulty in obtaining the money which will be needed to carry out post-war reconstruction programs, and he expressed the hope the money could be obtained without increasing taxation or the public debt.

Mr. King said during the war the country has raised money through loans and taxation mainly for purposes of destruction of property, of community and national life, and of human lives.

"When the whole picture is reversed, and it comes to a matter of carrying out constructive work, work for the rebuilding of communities, for the supplying of homes and the needs of homes, the necessities and conveniences and luxuries of life, there is going to be a demand for employment the like of which could not arise at any other time," said Mr. King.

When Labor in Demand.

"And where you get demands of this kind for labor, I do not think one need fear about the increase of the public debt or taxation to accomplish these things. If we can get a demand for labor and goods and commodities and things which are constructive, I believe the nation can go ahead with the great work of construction and reconstruction and at the same time reduce its taxation and reduce its debt."

Mr. King spoke on moving second reading of a bill to set up a Department of Reconstruction, one of three new departments the government forecast in the Speech from the Throne. A bill for the establishment of a Veterans' Affairs Department was given third reading before the Prime Minister spoke. Mr. King said a bill for establishment of a National Health Department would be introduced shortly. The department originally was to have been called the Department of Social Welfare.

Careful Planning.

Mr. King, in a length statement on the reconstruction bill, said that during the period of transition immediately after the war there should be little difficulty in obtaining reasonably full employment. The danger would come in a later period and to avoid it careful planning was necessary.

The success of reconstruction will depend primarily upon a high level of employment and production, he said. But it would also depend on the co-operation among the federal government, the provinces, the municipalties and other countries.

Depressions were caused by the belief that one nation's prosperity could be secured by lessening in some way the prosperity of other nations.

New Ideas.

"If that kind of thing is repeated in the world we are going to have those periods of depression again," he said. "But I hope that new ideas, liberal ideas, are gaining ground throughout the world, and that they will have their effect in helping to remove some of these impediments to progress which have been encountered so far."

J. R. MacNicol (P.C., Toronto Davenport) and Gray Turgeon (L., Cariboo) also expressed belief that full employment was possible.

Mr. Turgeon, chairman of the Commons committee on reconstruction, said it was essential to put Canadian economy on a sound basis for many years to come as soon as the war was over.

That position could not be achieved, unless agriculture was given its proper place in Canadian prosperity. The intention of giving agriculture a fair share of national prosperity was evident in many pieces of legislation before the House. The government's aid should be pursued with energy.

Mr. Turgeon said the people of Canada would no longer permit conflicts of various governments, provincial and Dominion, to interfere with their gaining a decent living. He was hopeful of more co-operation between governments in the future than had prevailed in the past.

Mr. MacNicol, a member of the reconstruction committee, said he was convinced there would be no unemployment if everyone, if every province and municipality, did the utmost to co-operate in carrying out post-war reconstruction works.

In opening the debate, Mr. King said the government had decided to change the name of the proposed social welfare department. Since establishment of the department was forecast representations were received and it was decided the department would be known as "national health."

Mr. King said the task of reconstruction in Canada which had not suffered actual physical damage in the war was the conversion of national activities from war to peace. The proposed department would not carry on actual work of reconstruction under its own administration. The actual work would be carried on by existing departments and also by provincial departments.

"Prosperity Indivisible."

"Prosperity is indivisible," said Mr. King. "It isn't something one nation can have to itself. It has to be shared."

If people could take this larger conception of human relations they would go far to obtain the fullest possible employment of the great mass of men and women.

It had often been remarked that things could be done in war which apparently could not be done in peace, he continued. One reason for that was that in war the federal government had power to carry out its policies.

It was able to direct the national energies into the common effort it desired and bring about whatever co-ordination might be desired.

The government proposed to appoint one of the present ministers to the new department. He would head it as well as his present department. He would have the special duty of meeting with experts on reconstruction and meeting with other ministers on a committee dealing with reconstruction. It would be his special duty to keep himself informed on what was being planned and done by provinces and municipalities and to co-ordinate activities as far as possible.

Not Permanent Department.

As the minister would have to communicate and deal with provincial governments he would need a staff and deputy, not necessarily a large staff because it was not to be a permanent department.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 47393

Subject .....

During the transition period immediately after the war there should be little difficulty about reasonably full employment, continued Mr. King. There might be a boom. It might be some time before the war was over. The danger would come in a later period and to avoid it careful planning was necessary. One of the tasks of the head of the new department would be "to see that a long range view rather than a short range view is taken."

Mr. King said it had been suggested the step was too late. He did not agree. There was no assurance the war would be over soon. The bill did not mark the start of planning. That started almost as soon as the war, in 1939.

By Orthodox Financiers.

M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, said the government was surrounded by orthodox financiers who would not allow it to spend for peace as it had spent for war.

He said he was sick of reading propaganda in magazines which quoted servicemen in foxholes as saying they hoped to return to the life they knew in pre-war Canada.

"May God forbid," Mr. Coldwell said.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date June 22/44

D 47394

Subject

The "If" of Exports

PRIME MINISTER KING, in discussing post-war reconstruction in Canada, during debate on a bill to set up a federal department of reconstruction—to be known as the National Health Department—declared the necessary finances could be raised without new taxation or increasing the public debt "if we can get a demand for labor and goods and commodities." Mr. King puts his finger on the keystone of the whole arch of post-war prosperity. "If" is a little word with a tremendous meaning. If we can secure sufficient export markets after the war we shall obviously be able to find work for everyone and be able to pay reasonable wages. The problem of export markets is, however, so vast and contains so many imponderables that we should be extremely cautious about allowing ourselves to rejoice perhaps prematurely, over too grand a picture of "pie in the sky" after the war.

Mr. King gives us a hint of what is in his mind. He said, "In the past too often, nations have sought to create employment for their own people by taking employment away from peoples in other nations. . . . Prosperity is indivisible. It is not something one nation can have to itself. It has to be shared." He gave it as his opinion that the post-war danger period would come, not during the transition period immediately after the war, but at a later period when the first boom of supplying the war-time lag of civilian goods had passed. He hoped full co-operation between Ottawa and the provincial governments would permit more in the way of a common effort than had been possible before the war.

No single item in the post-war Canadian scene has brought forth more conjecture than the degree to which Canada will be able to secure increasing export trade. It is realized competition will be severe from both the United States and from Britain, where processing costs are apt to be lower than ours. Some of the export outlets which existed in 1939 will have been closed because such countries as South Africa, Australia and India have themselves become industrialized. For that matter India will become a nation exporting processed goods. The tremendous reconstructions needs of Europe and Asia will create an export market and South America offers new outlets. It is a challenge to Canadian industrialists and the greatest opportunity this Dominion has ever had.

Possibly Mr. King emphasized his "if" in order to show that the money for reconstruction, and all suggested social welfare legislation can only come by high taxation or exports. We agree on the necessity of finding new markets for our huge industrial set-up but we are afraid it will be some time before the nations of the world reach the understanding that "prosperity is indivisible" even though it may be completely true.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date June 21/44

D 47395

Mr. King and Others See Full Employment After War

By JOHN MARSHALL
Of The Star's Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA, June 21.—"If we can get a demand for labor and goods and things which are constructive, I believe the nation can go ahead with the great work of construction and reconstruction and at the same time reduce its taxation and reduce its debt," Prime Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King told the Commons yesterday afternoon.

BILL FOR DEPARTMENT

He made this statement when introducing a bill providing for the establishment of a department of reconstruction. "I do not contemplate difficulty in carrying on reconstruction work during the period of reconstruction on the score of being unable to raise money that is necessary for it," Mr. King declared.

Funds raised by taxation and loans during the war are raised for purposes of destruction, but after the war the picture will be reversed, he said.

"It then comes to a matter of carrying out constructive works, work for the rebuilding of communities, for the supplying of homes and the needs of homes, the necessaries and conveniences and luxuries of life—many of which have been absolutely prohibited in the period of war—there is going to be a demand for employment which could not arise at any other time."

COLDWELL URGES ACTION

M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, later expressed the fear that the new department is a "paper organization which won't do anything about it." While approving of having such a department, he asked for actual plans, not promises. "In spite of all the fine words, which we have heard before, we want to see some action rather than words. If there isn't action, we will face a period of great difficulty," he asserted.

"The kind of policy which the government has pursued in the past, and now, does not give much hope we will emerge into a period of peace within the country and of prosperity for the common man," said Mr. Coldwell.

The bill falls far short of what the public expected of the government, Mr. Coldwell said. The bill created a department that would co-ordinate post-war reconstruction plans, but the department would not supervise the development of the country's resources.

Development of the resources would be left to private enterprise. He said he could see no possibility for full employment if the country relied on the system of private enterprise.

Mr. Coldwell said he was sick of reading propaganda in magazines which quoted servicemen in foxholes as saying they hoped to return to the life they knew in pre-war Canada.

"May God forbid!

"Look across the country and see all that is waiting to be done," he said. "Yet the government has not one plan to develop resources."

MR. KING FOR PLANNING

Mr. King, in his statement on the reconstruction bill, said that during the period of transition immediately after the war there should be little difficulty in obtaining reasonably full employment. The danger would come in a later period and to avoid it careful planning was necessary.

The success of reconstruction will depend primarily upon a high level of employment and production, he said. But it would also depend on the co-operation among the federal government, the provinces, the municipalities and other countries.

Depressions were caused by the belief that one nation's prosperity could be secured by lessening in some way the prosperity of other nations.

"If that kind of thing is repeated in the world we are going to have those periods of depression again," he said.

J. R. MacNicol, Progressive Conservative, Toronto Davenport, and Gray Turgeon, Liberal, Cariboo, also expressed belief that full employment was possible.

MR. TURGEON

Mr. Turgeon, chairman of the Commons committee on reconstruction, said it was essential to put Canadian economy on a sound basis for many years to come as soon as the war was over.

That position could not be achieved unless agriculture was given its proper place in Canadian prosperity. The government's aid should be pursued with energy.

Mr. Turgeon said the people of Canada would no longer permit conflicts of various governments, provincial and Dominion, to interfere with their gaining a decent living.

MR. MacNICOL

Mr. MacNicol, a member of the reconstruction committee, said he was convinced there would be no unemployment if everyone, in every province and municipality, did their utmost to co-operate in carrying out post-war reconstruction works.

Reforestation in all provinces would provide many jobs if a tree was planted for every one cut.

DEPARTMENT'S NAME

In opening the debate, Mr. King said the government had decided to change the name of the proposed social welfare department. Since establishment of the department was forecast representations were received and it was decided the department would be known as "national health."

He said the task of reconstruction in Canada, which had not suffered actual physical damage in the war, was the conversion of national activities from war to peace. The proposed department would not carry on actual work of reconstruction under its own administration. The actual work would be carried on by existing departments and also by provincial departments.

Mr. King said he was glad some provincial governments had already taken up plans for reconstruction. He hoped it would be possible to work out more in the way of a common effort than had been possible before the war.

The government proposed to appoint one of the present ministers to the new department. He would head it as well as his present department. He would have the special duty of meeting with experts on reconstruction and meeting with other ministers on a committee dealing with reconstruction.

As the minister would have to communicate and deal with provincial governments he would need a staff and deputy, not necessarily a large staff because it was not to be a permanent department.

W. F. KUHL

W. F. Kuhl, Social Credit, Jasper-Edson, said that if the present government hoped to provide full employment after the war it would have to destroy practically everything which has been invented since the beginning of time.

Mr. Kuhl said to claim that the economic system existed simply to provide jobs for all was to repudiate everything inventors and scientists had done.

Were Prime Minister King sincere in his desire to provide full employment he would disconnect his telephone, throw out his typewriter and all other things which had been invented to save labor.

The prime minister would do away with living inventors and "dig up the bones of the dead ones and hang them in public places as a warning to others."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date June 21/44

D 47395

Mr. King and Others See Full Employment After War

By JOHN MARSHALL
Of The Star's Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA, June 21.—"If we can get a demand for labor and goods and things which are constructive, I believe the nation can go ahead with the great work of construction and reconstruction and at the same time reduce its taxation and reduce its debt," Prime Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King told the Commons yesterday afternoon.

BILL FOR DEPARTMENT

He made this statement when introducing a bill providing for the establishment of a department of reconstruction. "I do not contemplate difficulty in carrying on reconstruction work during the period of reconstruction on the score of being unable to raise money that is necessary for it," Mr. King declared.

Funds raised by taxation and loans during the war are raised for purposes of destruction, but after the war the picture will be reversed, he said.

"It then comes to a matter of carrying out constructive works, work for the rebuilding of communities, for the supplying of homes and the needs of homes, the necessaries and conveniences and luxuries of life—many of which have been absolutely prohibited in the period of war—there is going to be a demand for employment which could not arise at any other time."

COLDWELL URGES ACTION

M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, later expressed the fear that the new department is a "paper organization which won't do anything about it." While approving of having such a department, he asked for actual plans, not promises. "In spite of all the fine words, which we have heard before, we want to see some action rather than words. If there isn't action, we will face a period of great difficulty," he asserted.

"The kind of policy which the government has pursued in the past, and now, does not give much hope we will emerge into a period of peace within the country and of prosperity for the common man," said Mr. Coldwell.

The bill falls far short of what the public expected of the government, Mr. Coldwell said. The bill created a department that would co-ordinate post-war reconstruction plans, but the department would not supervise the development of the country's resources.

Development of the resources would be left to private enterprise. He said he could see no possibility for full employment if the country relied on the system of private enterprise.

Mr. Coldwell said he was sick of reading propaganda in magazines which quoted servicemen in foxholes as saying they hoped to return to the life they knew in pre-war Canada.

"May God forbid!

"Look across the country and see all that is waiting to be done," he said. "Yet the government has not one plan to develop resources."

MR. KING FOR PLANNING

Mr. King, in his statement on the reconstruction bill, said that during the period of transition immediately after the war there should be little difficulty in obtaining reasonably full employment. The danger would come in a later period and to avoid it careful planning was necessary.

The success of reconstruction will depend primarily upon a high level of employment and production, he said. But it would also depend on the co-operation among the federal government, the provinces, the municipalities and other countries.

Depressions were caused by the belief that one nation's prosperity could be secured by lessening in some way the prosperity of other nations.

"If that kind of thing is repeated in the world we are going to have those periods of depression again," he said.

J. R. MacNicol, Progressive Conservative, Toronto Davenport, and Gray Turgeon, Liberal, Cariboo, also expressed belief that full employment was possible.

MR. TURGEON

Mr. Turgeon, chairman of the Commons committee on reconstruction, said it was essential to put Canadian economy on a sound basis for many years to come as soon as the war was over.

That position could not be achieved unless agriculture was given its proper place in Canadian prosperity. The government's aid should be pursued with energy.

Mr. Turgeon said the people of Canada would no longer permit conflicts of various governments, provincial and Dominion, to interfere with their gaining a decent living.

MR. MacNICOL

Mr. MacNicol, a member of the reconstruction committee, said he was convinced there would be no unemployment if everyone, in every province and municipality, did their utmost to co-operate in carrying out post-war reconstruction works.

Reforestation in all provinces would provide many jobs if a tree was planted for every one cut.

DEPARTMENT'S NAME

In opening the debate, Mr. King said the government had decided to change the name of the proposed social welfare department. Since establishment of the department was forecast representations were received and it was decided the department would be known as "national health."

He said the task of reconstruction in Canada, which had not suffered actual physical damage in the war, was the conversion of national activities from war to peace. The proposed department would not carry on actual work of reconstruction under its own administration. The actual work would be carried on by existing departments and also by provincial departments.

Mr. King said he was glad some provincial governments had already taken up plans for reconstruction. He hoped it would be possible to work out more in the way of a common effort than had been possible before the war.

The government proposed to appoint one of the present ministers to the new department. He would head it as well as his present department. He would have the special duty of meeting with experts on reconstruction and meeting with other ministers on a committee dealing with reconstruction.

As the minister would have to communicate and deal with provincial governments he would need a staff and deputy, not necessarily a large staff because it was not to be a permanent department.

W. F. KUHL

W. F. Kuhl, Social Credit, Jasper-Edson, said that if the present government hoped to provide full employment after the war it would have to destroy practically everything which has been invented since the beginning of time.

Mr. Kuhl said to claim that the economic system existed simply to provide jobs for all was to repudiate everything inventors and scientists had done.

Were Prime Minister King sincere in his desire to provide full employment he would disconnect his telephone, throw out his typewriter and all other things which had been invented to save labor.

The prime minister would do away with living inventors and "dig up the bones of the dead ones and hang them in public places as a warning to others."

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 47396

Work was a punishment, not a gift. Labor saving machines were a gift from God in return for man's efforts. Proper use of the machines should be made. The post-war problem should not be one of employment, but one of distributing goods and leisure.

Statistics showed that if persons between 18 and 45 years of age worked four hours a day, four days a week they could produce sufficient goods for everyone in the country.

J. M. DECHÊNE

J. M. Dechene, Liberal, Athabaska, said post-war reconstruction projects should include the building of a highway and railway network through the northern sections of the western Canadian provinces.

CLARENCE GILLIS

Clarence Gillis, C.C.F., Cape Breton South, a member of the Commons committee on reconstruction, called for post-war co-operation and unity. If co-operation and unity were not achieved another war could be expected.

Mr. Gillis said he believed that when the war was over no outside power should be allowed to dictate Canada's internal policy.

Mr. Gillis said he supported the views of Premier MacMillan of Nova Scotia who said the outlook for the Maritime Provinces was not bright unless a decentralization of industry could be brought about.

Recent developments such as the closing of the Clark-Ruse aircraft plants at Moncton, N.B., and Dartmouth, N.S., the Acadia sugar refinery at Dartmouth and the shipyards at Pictou, N.S., indicated the present trend was in the other direction.

B. M. HILL

B. M. Hill, Liberal, Charlotte, said the reconstruction department should be set up immediately, because there was the possibility that Germany would collapse and the war would end quickly.

If the government was caught unprepared for the post-war "we would flounder around as we did at the outbreak of war."

G. E. WOOD

G. E. Wood, Liberal Brant, said that as a farmer he could not understand the Social Credit party's claim that the post-war problem would not be one of providing employment but one of distributing goods and leisure.

He said Mr. Kuhl had stated that by working four hours a day four days a week enough goods could be produced to supply all the needs of the Canadian people.

Mr. Wood said he wondered what kind of a cow Mr. Kuhl would invent which would need milking only four days a week.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date June 27/44

47397

Subject

For Post-war Prosperity

In speaking the other day of the reconstruction period after the war, Mr. King asked a question which must have occurred to many Canadians in these past few years. This: "Why is it that we are able to do in time of war, and to do so effectively, many of the things which it seems impossible for us to do in times of peace?" His answer was, in effect, the war has seen international and intranational co-operation. That is, there has been co-operation among the United Nations and within our own nation. He suggested that in the continuance of this co-operation lies the hope of post-war prosperity. Dealing with the international aspect of the case he said: "We shall do well, I believe, to bear in mind that prosperity is indivisible. It is not something which one nation can have and enjoy by itself; it is something that has to be shared. We shall have to come to see that we are members one of another and that no nation liveth unto itself. As we achieve this larger conception we shall be furthering the fundamental condition required to ensure the fullest employment for the great mass of the men and women in this country."

That is profoundly true. The trouble has been in the past that peace has only been peace in the sense that armed forces have not been engaged in battle. Nations have fought each other commercially with tariffs and embargoes which have operated to the disadvantage of humanity as a whole. Co-operation need not mean—we are sure it will not for the present mean—the disappearance of tariffs. But it should at least result in the lowering of tariff walls behind which artificial industries flourish by reason of a customs subsidy, and the complete disappearance of some import duties which can be dispensed with so as to promote international trade.

To be prosperous, Canada must have markets for her products when the ready-made market of war comes to an end. And in order to sell her products abroad, Canada must import other countries' products for use at home. As Mr. King puts it:

"If, as a group of nations interested in having world peace, we of the united nations can help develop trade throughout all parts of the world we shall perhaps be taking the most effective of all steps in the direction of bringing about those conditions which, for Canada particularly, it will be necessary to establish if we are to have the development of our great primary industries carried to the extent that they should be. What we can do in the way of agriculture, the mining, fishing and forestry industries in this country will depend on the markets we are able to obtain, and the markets we are able to obtain will depend on the extent to which the nations of the world come to a correct point of view as to what it is that makes most for the prosperity of all."

No single nation can cure what ails trade by lowering its own trade barriers. There must be co-operative action among the nations of goodwill. They have sunk their differences in making war. They should be able to do so in making trade.

The situation within the Dominion is also important. The provinces have yielded up to the federal government many of the rights they ordinarily enjoy in order that Canada may fight as a united nation. The resumption of their separate privileges after the war will mean that there will have to be individual provincial co-operation with the central government if the common good is to be served to the maximum extent.

For these reasons the government at Ottawa is to be strengthened by the establishment of a ministry of reconstruction under a minister "who shall be responsible for seeing that reconstruction plans and projects are prepared or formulated and co-ordinated, and that provision shall be made for carrying out such plans with the authorization of the governor in council." Mr. King told parliament that "in connection with any policy of reconstruction there will be matters that relate not only to trade but also to the development of industry and transportation, the development of aviation, of merchant shipping, of irrigation, the development of all our national resources, housing, and community planning, and also many other matters. Reconstruction is not concerned merely with public works and the carrying out of new undertakings of the kind. They will of

necessity constitute one phase of the work of reconstruction, and there will be great need for new developments as well as to make up for what has been postponed in that way during the past few years. But reconstruction, in the broad sense of the term, will involve not merely what one department of government is in a position to carry out but to a considerable extent what all departments of government can do in a variety of fields."

The minister (Mr. Howe?) will continue to administer the department of which he is now the head, but he will also have the special duty of meeting with experts on reconstruction, of meeting with a committee of the cabinet which will be composed of ministers who will also be expected to give their time and thought to the formulating of plans related to reconstruction, and to seeing that these plans are carried out. As part of his duty there will be also the obligation of keeping himself informed with respect to what has been and is being done by the provinces and municipalities, and of seeking to combine in the most effective way the work of reconstruction of the federal government and of the provincial governments and municipalities.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

June 23rd, 1944. D 47399

I promised that when further information was received I would make a statement to the House about the six R.C.A.F. officers who ~~kept~~ escaped ~~on~~ were shot after from a German prisoner of war camp - Stalag Luft III.

During the night of March 24th - 25th last, a number of British Commonwealth and other United Nations Air Force officers prepared to escape from German prisoner of war camp Stalag Luft III in which they were held. The escape was to take place by means of a tunnel 360 feet long and 23 feet deep. Seventy-six men ~~had~~ succeeded in gaining freedom, but the four men following them were discovered and arrested by the German guard.

The following day the Gestapo took control of the camp.

On April 6th, the Camp Leader, Group Capt. Massey, was advised as follows by the Camp Commandant:-

> "With reference to the recent escape from the north compound of Stalag Luft III, Sagan, I am commanded by the German High Command to state that forty-one of the escapees were shot whilst resisting re-arrest, or in their endeavour to escape again after having been re-arrested."

In response to Group Capt. Massey's request for further information the Commandant replied that he could not amplify the statement other than to say that all were killed,

D 47400

and none wounded.

The entire camp thereupon went into mourning. A request for the delivery of the bodies for burial in the camp cemetery was denied by the German authorities.

A few days later a number of the officers who had been re-captured were brought back to camp under heavy guard and placed in the camp cells under sentence of twenty-one days detention. According to their reports, they had been taken to the Gestapo prison at Gorlitz, approximately forty miles from Sagan.

During their stay at Gorlitz they were kept in shocking conditions with very little food. They were questioned by the Gestapo who uttered threats as follows:-

"We have got you here. Nobody knows you are here. To all intents and purposes you are civilians. You are wearing civilian clothes and we can do what we like with you. You can disappear."

A number of the officers were later removed by German officials and were seen being driven away from the prison handcuffed and guarded by Gestapo men with Tommy guns. The remaining officers were handed over to the Luftwaffe for return to Stalag Luft III.

Those so removed, including all the officers of European Allied nationality among those re-captured, were later reported to have been shot.

D 47401

Group Capt. Massey and a number of other prisoners of war from Stalag Luft III who were destined for repatriation due to wounds or ill health, were moved to the camp at Annaburg on April 11th.

On May 8th, a statement similar to that of the Commandant was posted up at Annaburg, the only change being the substitution of the figure forty-seven for the figure forty-one.

Despite the obligation of the German Government to report immediately the occurrence of deaths among prisoners of war, no information was transmitted to the United Nations Governments whose officers had lost their lives in this manner.

On April 17th, a representative of the Swiss Legation in Berlin, paying a routine visit to the camp, was advised of what had transpired. The Camp Commandant declared that he could add nothing to the statement issued by the German High Command.

Upon receipt of the representative's report, the Head of the Special Division of the Swiss Legation in Berlin personally approached the Head of the Legal Dvisiion of the German Foreign Office, emphasizing the necessity for a searching enquiry and expressing great surprise that so great a number should have resisted arrest and been killed. The Head of the Legal Division declined to express an opinion, but promised to reply.

The circumstances were reported on May 17th, to the

British Minister at Berne, who took immediate steps to see that the Governments of the Commonwealth were informed.

After consultation between them, the British Minister at Berne was instructed to make an urgent request of the Government of Switzerland, as Protecting Power, to demand from the German Government a full and immediate report of the circumstances in which these men met their death, and an explanation of its failure to report the facts at once.

D 47403

On June 6th the Secretary of State at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed to the Swiss Minister a note which stated that 37 British and 13 non-British prisoners of war, among the 80 officers who escaped from Stalag Luft III, were killed while offering resistance to the Military who were pursuing them or while attempting a new escape after re-capture. The note further stated that due to a number of mass escapes, severe measures of defence had been adopted and enquiries concerning particular cases were long and difficult. It was added that the ashes of 29 of the officers from this camp had been returned there for burial. Nineteen of the escapees had been brought back to camp.

The German allegation that the officers were killed in resisting arrest, or in seeking to escape a second time, should be judged in the light of the following facts:

(1) None were wounded. It is incredible that all fifty men should be killed outright in evading arrest.

(2) The men were instructed in advance not to offer resistance if they should be detected in the attempted escape.

(3) No shots were heard by the other prisoners at the

camp, other than a single shot fired by a guard who saw the last of the eighty men leaving the mouth of the tunnel.

(4) A number of the men subsequently reported killed were seen alive and manacled in a lorry, following their capture by German guards.

(5) The German authorities refused to return the bodies of the slain aviators to the camps, but brought back what they alleged to be the ashes of twenty-nine of these men. This is the first time on record that the Germans have reported cremation of the bodies of deceased prisoners of war.

(6) The official German statement contains no account of the circumstances which led to the death of any single officer.

From the facts as we have learned them, there is, I fear, only one possible conclusion. It is clear that none of these officers met his death in the course of making his escape from Stalag Luft III or, so far as can be ascertained, while resisting capture. The Gestapo's contention that the wearing of civilian clothes by an escaping prisoner of war deprives him of the protection of the Prisoner of War Convention is entirely

/without foundation in

International Law and practice. They were murdered after their removal from the Gestapo prison at Gorlitz. In these circumstances the Canadian Government desires to associate itself with the United Kingdom Government in their solemn protest against this cold blooded act of violence, and in giving notice of their firm resolve to ensure that those who have been responsible for this crime, whenever they may fall into Allied hands, are brought to trial and punished.

It is natural that men deprived of freedom should attempt to regain it. German prisoners of war in Canada occasionally escape from the camps in which they are held. Neither the Canadian Government nor the Canadian people are unduly perturbed by such occasional escapes, as reliance may be placed upon the military and police authorities to effect recapture and furthermore, there is scant likelihood of an escaped prisoner creating any serious trouble during his temporary freedom. Upon recapture, a German prisoner of war may be sentenced to confinement for a period of twenty-eight days, during which he continues to receive full rations and opportunities for exercise, reading, etc. This is the only penalty for attempted escape authorized by the International Convention which is binding upon the German Government and ourselves.

In giving the House this information I wish to state that we have no knowledge of any mass shooting of British prisoners of war, other than that which I have just reported in connection with Stalag Luft III. I make this statement in order to allay fears which may have been aroused by rumours which have been given some circulation recently.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

Unrevised Hansard
June 27, 1944
Page 4387

While I am on this subject I should like to say a word on a matter which arises out of it. This measure, being on the order paper, no hon. member of this house is by the rules permitted to discuss it. It cannot be discussed until it is brought before the house. Knowing this, and knowing that he must know the rules that govern in these matters, I was not a little surprised to read the other evening that the leader of the Progressive Conservative party, Mr. John Bracken, had come out in the public press with a statement that this important piece of social legislation constituted a national bribe, giving as his reason for that statement that the date on which the allowances are to commence has been fixed as from July 1 of next year. I wish Mr. Bracken were in this house. I would ask him to repeat that statement, though I am perfectly sure he would not; Mr. Bracken does not remain out of this house without reason. If he would repeat such a statement here I would appeal to His Honour the Speaker, and ask if any man, leader of a party or not, is entitled to use such an expression with respect to legislation before this house He would be obliged to withdraw the term, and he knows it. In what position are we placed? This is something I wish to emphasize to hon. members and to the people of this country. In what position is this parliament being placed before the people of Canada when the leader of a political party is granted licence to say what he pleases with respect to legislation before this parliament, and no one can call him to order if he violates the rules that have been laid down to safeguard debate and public discussion on great issues? There will be a reckoning one of these days in the matter of lawmaking, where those who are responsible because they are representatives of the people and have seats in parliament are bound to observe rules in the discussion of public questions and discussion is permitted to be carried on outside parliament with no regard or respect for rules by those who have been chosen as leaders of great parties and cannot be obliged to make good their assertions.

I did not intend to speak of that matter tonight; I shall have occasion to speak of it at another time. I wish to say, however, with respect to that particular measure, that I was responsible for fixing the date at July 1 of next year. I took that responsibility for this reason; I have told this house and this country that there will be an election either during the present year or next year, before the efflux of time of the present parliament, which means that this parliament will be dissolved before that measure can come into force. How then can it be said to constitute a bribe? I was seeing to it that it could not be made anything of the kind. I am not going to do what a former leader of the party opposite once did on the eve of an election. I remember an important election when money for wheat in storage was distributed throughout the whole of western Canada within a couple of days before the polling took place. I am going to take great care to see that no one can say that a great social measure of this kind is to have its prestige lowered by being introduced in any way which could be open to question.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Rt. Hon. J. Curtin, Ottawa, Country Club. Speeches in Parliament	31 May 1944	D 47351 - D 47352	
76		Introduction of Rt. Hon. J Curtin. Speeches in Parliament	1 June 1944	D 47353 - D 47372	
76		W.W. II, Normandy Invasion Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 47373 - D 47376	
76		Iceland, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 47377 - D 47386	
76		Post War Reconstruction. Speeches in Parliament	21 June 1944	D 47387 - D 47398	
76		Prisoners of War, Shooting of Canadian Officers. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1944	D 47399 - D 47406	
76		Mr. King, remarks re: Bracken and possible date of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	27 June 1944	D 47407	
76		Introduction of Hon. Peter Fraser. Speeches in Parliament	30 June 1944	D 47408 - D 47419	

per *

Visit of Prime Minister of N.Z
Address to both Houses, June 30th

- - - - -

D 47408

Pleasure of having Fraser as guest

Welcome on behalf of

1. people of Canada
2. All members of both Houses

Personal welcome

shared like responsibility

in war closely associated - meeting of Prime Ministers

Have looked forward to introducing to fellow parliamentarians

Churchill spoke at table, December 1941

Smuts visited Ottawa 1930
hope to be able to welcome him

Fraser's third visit to Canada
first time while Parliament in session

thanks for promise to address Houses

Interest redoubled by recent visit to battlefront in Italy

Say few words to Parliament and people of New Zealand

Visit of Prime Minister of N.Z.
Address to both Houses, June 30th
- - - - -

47409

Pleasure of having Fraser as guest

Welcome on behalf of

1. people of Canada
2. All members of both Houses

Personal welcome

shared like responsibility

in war closely associated - meeting of Prime Ministers

Have looked forward to introducing to fellow parliamentarians

Churchill spoke at table, December 1941

Smuts visited Ottawa 1930
hope to be able to welcome him

Fraser's third visit to Canada
first time while Parliament in session

thanks for promise to address Houses

Interest redoubled by recent visit to battlefront in Italy

Say few words to Parliament and people of New Zealand

Introduction by the Prime Minister of the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

We are delighted to have as a guest of Canada today the Right Honourable Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

I desire, Mr. Fraser, to extend to you the warmest of welcomes on behalf of the people of Canada; and, on this occasion, more particularly to welcome you on behalf of all the members of both Houses of Canada's Parliament.

I am sure I may also be allowed to express a word of personal welcome.

During the years of war, you and I have shared like responsibilities, and recently have been closely associated in the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. I have greatly looked forward to the honour of introducing you, as I did quite recently, Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia, to my fellow parliamentarians.

You will be interested in knowing that Mr. Churchill who presided over our meetings in London, also spoke from this table to members of our Parliament on a visit he paid to Ottawa in December 1941. Ottawa has also had the honour of a visit from Field Marshal Smuts. That, however, was as long ago as 1930. I regret it has not, thus far, been possible for the Prime Minister of South Africa to pay us another visit. We shall hope to welcome him some time in the near future.

The welcome will be all the greater should the defeat of our common enemies have been accomplished meanwhile.

D 47411

This is Mr. Fraser's third visit to Canada during the present war. It is, however, the first time he has been in Ottawa when our Parliament was in session. We are delighted that he has consented to address us this afternoon and I wish to thank him at once for his kindness in so doing. Our interest is redoubled by the knowledge that he has recently visited the battlefront in Italy where fighting men of New Zealand and Canada have been in action side by side.

Before I ask Mr. Fraser to speak to us, I should like to say a few words intended not only for the Prime Minister, but equally for the Parliament and people of New Zealand.

When Mr. Fraser visited Canada in the late summer of 1941, the war might well have seemed to his countrymen remote and distant. In miles, no country was farther from the battlefronts than New Zealand. Yet no country had entered more whole-heartedly into the struggle. Early in the war, naval forces of New Zealand had taken a brilliant part in the battle of the River Plate, in which an end was put to the Graf Spee. Soldiers from New Zealand had already covered themselves with honour in the Western Desert, in Greece and in Crete. The young airmen of New Zealand - many of whom had been trained in our midst - had already distinguished themselves in the unending battles in the skies. It will ever be remembered that New Zealand did not wait for the forces of tyranny to approach her shores; that she recognized that freedom threatened anywhere, meant freedom threatened everywhere. From the outset, the young men of New Zealand went forth to uphold freedom wherever it was assailed.

When, a year later, Mr. Fraser visited us a second time, the war, in terms of geography, was, for New Zealand, no longer distant and remote. While to Australia the threat of invasion by Japan was more immediate, to New Zealand, it was also perilously close. Despite their great anxiety, the people never faltered. The fighting men of New Zealand - those who were not already serving in European and African theatres - took their place beside their comrades from Australia, who were resisting the invader. Together they held him at bay till American forces were also in the firing line. In turning back the Japanese tide, the New Zealanders have played a valiant part.

We are indeed proud today to recall that armed forces of Canada and armed forces of New Zealand have, throughout the war, fought side by side in many parts of the globe. I wish, this afternoon, to give you, Mr. Fraser, the assurance that this comradeship in arms will continue till, in both hemispheres, the defeat of our common enemies is accomplished. Thereafter the comradeship between our peoples at a time of war will become a partnership, closer than ever, in all that pertains to the arts of peace. Meanwhile, as a further evidence of the community of interest which exists between Canada and New Zealand, there will be tabled today, in your Parliament and in ours, copies of a Mutual Aid Agreement between Canada and New Zealand which was signed at Ottawa on the eve of your arrival in our country.

May I add how pleased we are that on your present visit you are accompanied by Mrs. Fraser and General Puttick, the Chief of the General Staff, New Zealand Forces. To Mrs. Fraser and to General Puttick I would al so extend a very cordial welcome. We wish you all, and all of your party, a pleasant sojourn in our Capital and a safe return to your homeland. We wish your stay in Canada might have been a little longer. We would ask you to take with you to the people of New Zealand an expression of the admiration of the people of Canada for their outstanding contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. We would like you to tell them of the pride Canada feels in the deepened friendship of our two countries. And, we would be pleased if you would convey to the members of the armed forces and to all the people of New Zealand our best of wishes for the success of their great endeavours.

I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the House of Commons, to join me in the welcome ~~which~~ we extend today, on behalf of all members of the Parliament of Canada to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Houses of Parliament - June 30, 1944 Final

Introduction by the Prime Minister of the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

D 47414

Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

We are delighted to have as a guest of Canada today the Right Honourable Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

I desire, Mr. Fraser, to extend to you the warmest of welcomes on behalf of the people of Canada; and, on this occasion, more particularly to welcome you on behalf of all the members of both Houses of Canada's Parliament.

I am sure I may also be allowed to express a word of personal welcome.

During the years of war, you and I have shared like responsibilities, and recently have been closely associated in the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. I have greatly looked forward to the honour of introducing you, as I did quite recently, Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia, to my fellow parliamentarians.

You will be interested in knowing that Mr. Churchill who presided over our meetings in London, also spoke from this table to members of our Parliament on a visit he paid to Ottawa in December 1941. Ottawa has also had the honour of a visit from Field Marshal Smuts. That, however, was as long ago as 1930. I regret it has not, thus far, been possible for the Prime Minister of South Africa to pay us another visit. We shall hope to welcome him some time in the near future.

The welcome will be all the greater should the defeat of our common enemies have been accomplished meanwhile.

D 47415

This is Mr. Fraser's third visit to Canada during the present war. It is, however, the first time he has been in Ottawa when our Parliament was in session. We are delighted that he has consented to address us this afternoon and I wish to thank him at once for his kindness in so doing. Our interest is redoubled by the knowledge that he has recently visited the battlefront in Italy where fighting men of New Zealand and Canada have been in action side by side.

Before I ask Mr. Fraser to speak to us, I should like to say a few words intended not only for the Prime Minister, but equally for the Parliament and people of New Zealahd.

When Mr. Fraser visited Canada in the late summer of 1941, the war might well have seemed to his countrymen remote and distant. In miles, no country was farther from the battlefronts than New Zealand. Yet no country had entered more whole-heartedly into the struggle. Early in the war, naval forces of New Zealand had taken a brilliant part in the battle of the River Plate, in which an end was put to the Graf Spee. Soldiers from New Zealand had already covered themselves with honour in the Western Desert, in Greece and in Crete. The young airmen of New Zealand - many of whom had been trained in our midst - had already distinguished themselves in the unending battles in the skies. I cannot tell you, Mr Fraser, how favourable is the impression which the young airmen from New Zealand have made upon all in the course of their sojourn in Canada. It will ever be remembered that New Zealand did not wait for the forces of tyranny to approach her shores, that she recognised that freedom threatened anywhere, meant freedom threatened everywhere. From the outset, the young men of New

Zealand went forth to uphold freedom wherever it was assailed.

D 47416

When, a year later, Mr. Fraser visited us a second time, the war, in terms of geography, was, for New Zealand, no longer distant and remote. While to Australia the threat of invasion by Japan was more immediate, to New Zealand, it was also perilously close. Despite their great anxiety, the people never faltered. The fighting men of New Zealand - those who were not already serving in European and African theatres - took their place beside their comrades from Australia, who were resisting the invader. Together they held him at bay till American forces were also in the firing line. In turning back the Japanese tide, the New Zealanders have played a valiant part.

We are indeed proud today to recall that armed forces of Canada and armed forces of New Zealand have, throughout the war, fought side by side in many parts of the globe. I wish, this afternoon, to give you, Mr. Fraser, the assurance that this comradeship in arms will continue till, in both hemispheres, the defeat of our common enemies is accomplished. Thereafter the comradeship between our peoples at a time of war will become a partnership, closer than ever, in all that pertains to the arts of peace. Meanwhile, as a further evidence of the community of interest which exists between Canada and New Zealand, there will be tabled today, in your Parliament and in ours, copies of a Mutual Aid Agreement between Canada and New Zealand which was signed at Ottawa on the eve of your arrival in our country.

D 47417

May I add how pleased we are that on your present visit you are accompanied by Mrs. Fraser and General Puttick, the Chief of the General Staff, New Zealand Forces. To Mrs. Fraser and to General Puttick I would also extend a very cordial welcome. We wish you all, and all of your party, a pleasant sojourn in our Capital and a safe return to your homeland. We wish your stay in Canada might have been a little longer. We would ask you to take with you to the people of New Zealand an expression of the admiration of the people of Canada for their outstanding contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. We would like you to tell them of the pride Canada feels in the deepened friendship of our two countries. And, we would be pleased if you would convey to the members of the armed forces and to all the people of New Zealand our best of wishes for the success of their great endeavours.

I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the House of Commons, to join me in the welcome which we extend today, on behalf of all members of the Parliament of Canada to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

final p. 4

D 47418

May I add how pleased we are that on your present visit you are accompanied by Mrs. Fraser and General Puttick, the Chief of the General Staff, New Zealand Forces. To Mrs. Fraser and to General Puttick I would also extend a very cordial welcome. We wish you all, and all of your party, a pleasant sojourn in our Capital and a safe return to your homeland. We wish your stay in Canada might have been a little longer. We would ask you to take with you to the people of New Zealand an expression of the admiration of the people of Canada for their outstanding contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. We would like you to tell them of the pride Canada feels in the deepened friendship of our two countries. And, we would be pleased if you would convey to the members of the armed forces and to all the people of New Zealand our best of wishes for the success of their great endeavours.

I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the House of Commons, to join me in the welcome which we extend today, on behalf of all members of the Parliament of Canada to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

May I add how pleased we are that on your present visit you are accompanied by Mrs. Fraser and General Puttick, the Chief of the General Staff, New Zealand Forces. To Mrs. Fraser and to General Puttick I would al so extend a very cordial welcome. We wish you all, and all of your party, a pleasant sojourn in our Capital and a safe return to your homeland. We wish your stay in Canada might have been a little longer. We would ask you to take with you to the people of New Zealand an expression of the admiration of the people of Canada for their outstanding contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. We would like you to tell them of the pride Canada feels in the deepened friendship of our two countries. And, we would be pleased if you would convey to the members of the armed forces and to all the people of New Zealand our best of wishes for the success of their great endeavours.

I shall ask Mr. Graydon, the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the House of Commons, to join me in the welcome which we extend today, on behalf of all members of the Parliament of Canada to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

Government Dinner - Country Club
July 1, 1944

D 47420

Dominion Day - New Zealand - Canada

77th anniversary.

Welcome - government and people:

Mr. and Mrs. Fraser
Gen. Puttick and staff.

Looked forward since March.

His Excellency
H.R.H.
Princess Juliana

Old friend - third visit - Sept. 1942

as P. M. of New Zealand.

For himself personally.

Elected Parliament 1918

17 years in Opposition.

Leader Labour Party 40 year

N. Z. since 1910.

social security
human welfare
high standards

D 47421

New Zealand entry into war - 1939.

Part in many theatres: Greece
Crete
Egypt

Came from battle fronts of Italy

Visit brings back history of war

period before Pearl Harbour.

Visits from others from New Zealand:

Walter Nash - Wilson

High Commissioner - David Wilson
Mr. and Mrs. Firth

Air men - close bonds.

Long friendship - two Dominions

all drawn closer gogether -
elimination of distance.

Thanks for visit.

" " speech before both Houses

" " spirit of brotherhood

Reconstruction - mutual aid.

D 47422

Personal:

Member Independent Party, London

New Zealand since 1910 - 34 years

Wellington City Council

10 years: 1935-40 - Minister Education, Health, Marine, Poli

P.M. after death of Hon. Michael Savage-

Minister of External Affairs.

At conference - addresses at meetings.

Freedom London
" Edinburgh
LL.D. Cambridge.

Assurances re war in Pacific - Japan.

D 47423

Leaving for Norway

Leave for Norway

Leave forfeited

Common Day - N.Z. Com.

77th anniversary

Rod° Lodge

Old Front

3rd visit, Sept '42

as PRO of N.Z.

Elected Member Somerset 1911 17 years Member

Dei kennely

interlocutor

N.Z. since 1910

personnel

Scout Secretary for a century past

Int'l - atmosphere

human welfare

Legal Standards

New Zealand, early Feb. 1938 —

first to leave

Overseas

Visits from other N.Z. -

Wallis Rose

Wilson

Capt Cornish

Lord Wilson

Lord Birkett

Air Com - Lord Londonderry

Long Prudential - 2 Directors

Thanks for Visit

Speech Copy sent from

Farewell Party

" for Sporting Hostesses

Sent reconstituted Council etc

(all Overseas Members Eligible

Elimination of Barriers

relations abroad: N.Z.

Personnel: Number Individual Local Leaders

New Zealand Since 1910 = 3432

Messages by Cable

(Individual contacts with

Secretaries Overseas by

Many 1000s 35-40. Immediate colonies Health, Overseas Personnel, after Council of Scouts,

Secretaries

Addresses of writers

London Headquarters

" Edinburgh

400 Councils

Letters from fellow Scouts

Under 21

All Countries

Letters of Greetings

Messages re War & Peace 1939-

Scout

JAG/DR
3.6.44

D 47424

Notes for Government Dinner

Rt.Hon. Peter Fraser
Prime Minister of New Zealand

Third occasion on which Canada has had honour of welcoming Mr. Fraser as P.M. of New Zealand (last occasion Sept. 1942)

changes since that date in global war against Axis tyranny

New Zealand vitally concerned in strategy of Pacific war - participation in Pacific Council, Washington

New Zealand Minister in Washington, Hon. Walter Nash -- one of the warmest friends of Canada - always delighted to see him in Ottawa

-- part of the global war

New Zealand second division fighting with great tenacity and gallantry in Italy during present year, helping to drive enemy backward towards his own fortress

-- a very brave and resolute part in the world's fight for freedom

-- a very vivid demonstration of the truth that no nation liveth to itself that we are all members one of another

Mr. Fraser head of a government which has attracted world-wide attention and interest because of attention to social security

and progress in many measures of human welfare

D 47425

-- a country justly proud of its standards of

public health
physical fitness
high standard of living generally

Recall official contacts with New Zealand Government:

1940 First Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand appointed

(Dr. W. A. Riddell, one of the most senior members of the Canadian external service -- many years at Geneva and Washington)

1944 Pleasure of welcoming to Ottawa as High Commissioner for New Zealand

Hon. David Wilson, M.L.C.

-- he has already had opportunity to travel across Canada

D 47426

Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser (P.C., 1940)

born in Scotland, 1884 (= 60)

joined Independent Labour Party in London in 1908

moved to New Zealand in 1910

- - - -

held various positions in Labour Movement of New Zealand, and was

1919-23) 1933-36) member of Wellington City Council

1918 first elected to House of Representat (Wellington Central)

1935-40 Minister of Education, Health, Marine, Police

1940 Prime Minister (after death of Rt. Hon. Michael Savage)

(1943) additionally, Minister of Externa Affairs and Minister to the Islan Territories

- - - - - -

(In England 1941; in U.S.A. 1942)

D 47426

Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser (P.C., 1940)

born in Scotland, 1884 (= 60)

joined Independent Labour Party in London in 1908

moved to New Zealand in 1910

- - - -

held various positions in Labour Movement of New Zealand, and was

1919-23)
1933-36) member of Wellington City Council

1918 first elected to House of Representat (Wellington Central)

1935-40 Minister of Education, Health, Marine, Police

1940 Prime Minister (after death of Rt. Hon. Michael Savage)

(1943) additionally, Minister of Externa Affairs and Minister to the Islan Territories

- - - - - -

(In England 1941; in U.S.A. 1942)

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

de Gaulle

NAR/SR
7.7.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

D 47427

Herewith are some paragraphs for your speech introducing General de Gaulle on Tuesday. They are mainly the work of Mr. R.G. Riddell.

I spoke to Mr. St. Laurent about the arrangements for the reception on Tuesday morning and the speeches at the Government dinner that evening. Mr. St. Laurent is leaving for Quebec this afternoon, and will not be back until Monday night. He has asked us if we could give him a translation on Monday evening of the remarks you propose to make in introducing General de Gaulle.

Either at the dinner or in your speech on the Hill, you might think of quoting some lines from "France, 1870". I have marked a passage on page 503 in the Library of Parliament's volume of Meredith's poetical works, which seems to me apposite. The whole poem is very fine and contains many passages which have an extraordinarily prophetic ring when you think that it was written more than seventy years ago.

Mack

Prime Minister

I attach some extra notes which I have drafted / Jan.

JAG/Z
8-7-44

D 47428

Government Dinner - General de Gaulle

July 11, 1944.

Welcome to General de Gaulle

as foremost figure in the resistance of France against Nazi tyranny and domination;

as a symbol of resistance inside France today

where spirit of freedom which for generations animated the people of France still fights on;

as an organizer of victory for the forces of France who have served on many fronts:

Central Africa	Tunisia
Western Desert	Sicily
(Madagascar)	Italy
North Africa	

most of all as a man who was not afraid to resist at a moment when the picture looked blackest.

Welcome to members of General's party who have accompanied him from Algiers.

D 47429

Canada's effort and the liberation of France.

I. Canadian Corps fought in France in Great War

a part of Vimy Ridge consecrated forever as part of Canadian soil (surrounding Canadian War Memorial

2. Canadian troops (part of Ist Division) actually in France in 1940 before collapse of government.

3. Canadian Second Division formed largest part of reconnaisance in Force at Dieppe (August 19, 1942).

4. Troops of 3rd Canadian Division in spearhead of great Allied offensive landing in Normany, June 6, 1944.

5. When General de Gaulle himself landed in Normany a few weeks ago, first troops he met were Canadians.

Apart from fighting fronts

6. Canada's interest also expressed in part through

D 47430

Mutual Aid Agreement

signed at Ottawa April 14, 1944

is providing substantial volume of supplies for Fighing French Army Navy and for essential civilian requirements.

7. Canadian officers in training to share in tank- of re-establishing civil government in France.

(Some areas of Normandy already liberated from enemy occupation).

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

D 47431

We are met this morning to extend to General Charles de Gaulle a hearty welcome to Canada.

To you, General de Gaulle, as a French soldier and as a leader in the fight for world freedom, and as representing the inconquerable spirit of France, I am proud to offer this welcome in the name of the government and people of Canada.

Here, in the presence of the representative of the Crown, are assembled before you the representatives in Parliament of the Canadian people. Here also are assembled residents of our Capital City. All are proud to honour the man who, in the darkest days of the war, rallied the forces of Free France, and who today is the symbol of the determination of the French nation to restore its freedom and greatness.

In welcoming General de Gaulle to our country, I can speak for the whole of Canada. In no country has the sympathy for France in her agony been deeper than in our own; in none have the prayers for her liberation been more fervent; in none has the growth of French resistance been watched with greater pride and admiration.

D 47432

For the visit to Canada of General de Gaulle, the hour could not have been more happily chosen. At this moment, French and Canadian soldiers are fighting side by side in Italy. On the battle fields of Normandy, Canadian fighting men form part of the great Allied striking force. Amidst these scenes of conflict and triumph, there has been a proud renewal of the historic association between the peoples of France and Canada. General de Gaulle comes to us fresh from his visit to Normandy.

What emotion he must have felt as he set foot once more on the soil of France! What a thrill of pride was felt in many Canadian homes when we learned that the first troops he met in Normandy were men of Canada's army. It was from Normandy that the first Canadians came to make a new home and found a new nation in the new world. We rejoice that Canada's fighting men are helping today to free the ancestral home of so many of our people.

France is not only the ancestral home of many Canadians; in France are many shrines sacred to all Canadians. The Somme, Arras, Cambrai, Vimy and a host of scenes of battle a generation ago are names that will live forever in our history. In fighting for the liberation of France, Canada is fighting for what is truly a part of herself.

D 47433

Within France, a living spirit of resistance has revealed itself in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice. Behind the enemy's lines, the French resistance has been undermining German power. Since the landings in Normandy, underground forces have been quick to strike at the enemy. On all sides there is evidence of the determination of the French people to hasten the day of victory.

In the revival of French military power inside and outside France, General de Gaulle's role has been of incomparable importance.

In these years of war, we in Canada have sought to do our part to keep alive the flame of French civilisation. We have continued to cherish our admiration for France and all she has meant to Freedom. We have never lost our faith that the greatness of France would be restored. The people of Canada are proud to have their part in the memorable events in which the liberation of France is being accomplished.

We ask General de Gaulle to take back with him an assurance to the people of France. Tell them, General de Gaulle, that all Canada is united in support of the determination of the Allied Nations to drive the enemy from the soil of France, to destroy the power of Germany to terrorise Europe; and to end once and for all her capacity to disturb the peace of the world.

— an assurance that the day is drawing near when we of Canada will be here with them in their home land

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Assure them that the day is rapidly drawing near that we shall be with them at the hour of triumph

D 47434

JAG/C
7.7.44

VISIT OF GENERAL DEGAULLE

I.

D 47435

There is, I believe, one reason above all others for welcoming General deGaulle to the capital of Canada today. General deGaulle has been a soldier all his life. When the Government of his native France wavered and collapsed in the black and anxious days of 1940, it was he who first rallied the forces of France still able to fight against the enemy. From London, from Brazzaville, from Algiers, he has been tireless in the unremitting task of organizing the efforts of the Fighting French to hasten the day of allied victory and the liberation of his homeland. It required courage of a superlative kind, four years ago, to uphold the battered name of France. For General deGaulle there was no surrender; neither was there then, or will there ever be, for the brave men he gathered about him to wage war against the Nazi invaders of France.

The fighting men of the Cross of Lorraine have now fought on many Allied battlefronts. We recall today, with pride in our hearts, the unquenchable spirit of those French soldiers who, under a valiant general, marched from Lake Chad across much of Africa to join in the battles of the Western Desert. We recall the valour of French arms in subsequent campaigns: in North Africa, in Tunisia, in Sicily, and, at this very day, in the battle for the liberation of Italy.

D 47436

As the man who organized this resistance, as the man who kept bright and alive the spirit of the splendor of France as a free nation, we salute General deGaulle today.

D47437

II.

The spirit of France has come alive on Parliament Hill today. More than three hundred years ago, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of New France, passed within sight of this place on the broad waters of the Ottawa River. In his train came other intrepid Frenchmen, penetrating far into the wilderness of a then-unknown land. Along the newly dissovered waterways came priests of the Roman Catholic faith - devout men who were explorers as well as teachers of Christianity. New France became British North America, and British North America was expanded into the Canada of today, stretching from sea to sea. But its broad expanse still bears the impress of the life of many a saintly figure, many a chivalrous spirit, not a few women of character and devotion, who raised up in the New World a new nation.

In our country of two official languages and of many racial stocks, we welcome today with full hearts and with a revived sense of the history of our nation, a stalwart man who speaks to us of France - the Fighting France of today.

JAG/Z
8-7-44

D 47438

IV

Visit of General de Gaulle

Note re Canadian Mutual Aid to French Committee of National Liberation. *

Agreement signed at Ottawa April 14, 1944.

(discussions began in July, 1943)

Naval Requirements (already provided or to be provided)

include:
- anti-aircraft guns
- Bren guns
- Sten guns
- Rifles and mortars, all with ammunition
- Clothing, signal equipment
- Machinery. machine tools and stores for establishment and operation of naval workshops.

Army Requirements (larger than Navy)

- clothing,
- blankets,
- hospital equipment
- motor cycles,
- trucks,
- hand tools, cutting tools, guages and workshop equipment.

Civilian Requirements

presently under study.

* Source: Report of Canadian Mutual Aid Board, 1944, pp. 24-25.

D 47439

Canada is proud of her membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But that partnership is not an exclusive association. Canada cherishes her close friendship with the United States. That friendship, too, is one in which other free nations may share. The foundation of our association with Britain and the other British Nations; the cement of our friendship with the United States, is a common love of freedom and a common sense of justice. The same love of freedom and sense of justice have joined Canada and France in two great wars in one generation. For both Canada and France, our common ideals are more significant even than our historic bonds, because they point the way to co-operation between our two peoples and all free peoples in the future.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, ...

To ..... Mrs. Gibbon .....

Please called for

FOR INFORMATION

D 47440

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM Ottawa M. Citizen, July 6, 1944

'Fourth Republic' Said Proclaimed By French Forces

IRUN, Spain, July 6.—(AP)—French patriots, seizing almost complete control in 11 departments of France, have "proclaimed the fourth republic," a dispatch from the Bordeaux newspaper Petite Gironde said today.

SHAEF Communique

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS, Allied Expeditionary Force, July 6. —(CP)—A special communique issued today on the underground said that five districts of France had been liberated, vital enemy troop lines south of Normandy choked off and whole enemy divisions engaged.

The special communique said the Maquis and other organized groups in France were far surpassing mere guerilla sniping and raids and were engaged in full battles into which the Germans in some places had thrown tanks and airplanes. The Germans lost 150 dead and 15 captured in one such fight.

Districts liberated were Vercors, southwest of the Swiss border; part of the department of Gers between Bordeaux and Toulouse in southern France; the department of Doubs, just west of the Swiss frontier; the department of Ain, northwest of the Swiss frontier; and the department of Ardeche on the west side of the Rhone valley in southern France.

D47441

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1944

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Visit of General de Gaulle

You may be interested to see the attached account of occasions on which Fighting French Forces in Italy have fought in the same sector as Canadian troops.

This statement was obtained from the Secretary of the Chiefs of Staffs Committee and has been cleared for security.

(What this statement calls "Free French" Forces should, I think, be called "Fighting French" Forces.)

Also appended is a brief note about Fighting French Naval Forces.

J.A.G.

D 47442

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

1) address for General de Gaulle
few words in French
PM to read

2 find out what flag was carried into France when Gen de Gaulle visited Normandy

3 ask Comm to open Country Club

4) Dinner by Gov Gen at GH
then luncheon by PM at Country Club

D 47443

JAG/Z
8-7-44

Government Dinner - General de Gaulle

July 11, 1944.

Welcome to General de Gaulle

as foremost figure in the resistance of France against Nazi tyranny and domination;

as a symbol of resistance inside France today

where spirit of freedom which for generations animated the people of France still fights on;

as an organizer of victory for the forces of France who have served on many fronts:

Central Africa	Tunisia
Western Desert	Sicily
(Madagascar)	Italy
North Africa	

most of all as a man who was not afraid to resist at a moment when the picture looked blackest.

Welcome to members of General's party who have accompanied him from Algiers.

D 47444

Canada's effort and the liberation of France.

I. Canadian Corps fought in France in Great War

a part of Vimy Ridge consecrated forever as part of Canadian soil (surrounding Canadian War Memorial

2. Canadian troops (part of Ist Division) actually in France in 1940 before collapse of government.

3. Canadian Second Division formed largest part of reconnaisance in Force at Dieppe (August 19, 1942).

4. Troops of 3rd Canadian Division in spearhead of great Allied offensive landing in Normany, June 6, 1944.

5. When General de Gaulle himself landed in Normany a few weeks ago, first troops he met were Canadians.

Apart from fighting fronts

6. Canada's interest also expressed in part through

D 47445

Mutual Aid Agreement

signed at Ottawa April 14, 1944

is providing substantial volume of supplies for Fighing French Army Navy and for essential civilian requirements.

7. Canadian officers in training to share in tasks of re-establishing civil government in France.

(Some areas of Normandy already liberated from enemy occupation).

D 47446

Within France, a living spirit of resistance has revealed itself in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice. Behind the enemy's lines, the French resistance has been undermining German power. Since the landings in Normandy, underground forces have been quick to strike at the enemy. On all sides there is evidence of the determination of the French people to hasten the day of contribute to victory.

In the revival of French military power inside and outside France, General de Gaulle's role has been of incomparable importance.

In these years of war, we in Canada have sought to do our part to keep alive the flame of French civilization. We have continued to cherish our admiration for France and all she has meant to Freedom. We have never lost our faith that the greatness of France would be restored. The people of Canada are proud to have their part in the ~~great~~ memorable events in which the liberation of France is being accomplished.

~~I ask~~ ~~We ask~~ General de Gaulle to take back with him all + told them, General de Gaulle assurance to the people of France ~~the assurance~~ that all Canada is united in support of the ~~Allied Nations~~ of the Allied nations determination to drive the enemy from the soil of France, to destroy the power of Germany to terrorize Europe, and to end once and for all her capacity to disturb the peace of the world.

JAG/Z
8-7-44

D 47448

IV

Visit of General de Gaulle

Note re Canadian Mutual Aid to French Committee of National Liberation. *

Agreement signed at Ottawa April 14, 1944.

(discussions began in July, 1943)

Naval Requirements (already provided or to be provided)

include: anti-aircraft guns
Bren guns
Sten guns
Rifles and mortars, all with ammunition
Clothing, signal equipment
Machinery. machine tools and stores for establishment and operation of naval workshops.

Army Requirements (larger than Navy)

clothing,
blankets,
hospital equipment
motor cycles,
trucks,
hand tools, cutting tools, guages and workshop equipment.

Civilian Requirements

presently under study.

* Source: Report of Canadian Mutual Aid Board, 1944, pp. 24-25.

D 47449

WELCOME TO GENERAL DE GAULLE

In welcoming General de Gaulle to our country, I can speak for the whole of Canada. In the tragic days of 1940 when all seemed lost, General de Gaulle became the symbol of the France which is free and eternal. In no country has the sympathy for France in her agony been deeper than in Canada; in none have the prayers for her liberation been more fervent; in none has the growth of French resistance been watched with greater pride and admiration.

No hour could have been more happily chosen for the visit of General de Gaulle. He comes to us fresh from his visit to Normandy. Normandy is the cradle of Canada from which the first Canadians came to make a new home and found a new nation in the new world. All Canada rejoices that our fighting men are sharing today in the great task of freeing the ancestral home of so many of our people. We are proud that General de Gaulle has seen the armed forces of Canada in action in his native land. We are confident that another bond of friendship is being formed between Canada and France.

France is not only the ancestral home of many Canadians; ~~is also filled with~~ are many shrines ~~which are~~ sacred to ~~all~~ all Canadians ~~of all races~~. The Somme, Arras, Cambrai, Vimy and a host of scenes of battle a generation ago are

D 47450

names that will live forever in our history ~~of Canada.~~

In fighting for the liberation of France, Canada is fighting for what is truly a part of herself. We are proud to be associated with the gallant forces of resistance who, all over France today, are striking at the enemy and helping to open the way for the forces of freedom. The Canadian people are deeply conscious of their debt to those thousands of Frenchmen who, at the risk of their own lives, have rescued Canadian airmen and helped them to escape from the enemy, who have cared for the wounded among them, and reverently buried the dead. In many Canadian homes, there is a deep and abiding personal obligation to France which will never be forgotten.

In Canada, we like to believe that our country has served as a link between the British Commonwealth and the United States. We believe the harmony between them we have been able to foster has been of value to the whole free world. By history, geography and, I believe, by the inclination of her people, Canada is no less fitted to serve as a link between the English and French speaking peoples of the world. In these years of war, we have sought in Canada to do our part to keep alive the flame of French civilization. We have cherished the admiration for France and all she has meant to freedom and civilization. We ardently wish for the

D 47451

restoration of the greatness of France.

Through the years of war, General de Gaulle and the movement he has led have become the symbol of the hopes of France. We welcome General de Gaulle as a soldier, as a statesman, but, above all, as a Frenchman who embodies the eternal spirit of France.

July 7, 1944. D 47452

We are happy to welcome to Canada today a French soldier and leader of great distinction, General Charles de Gaulle. At a moment of great peril both to his own country and to the civilized world, General de Gaulle had the courage and the faith to raise in exile the standard of resistance which the enemy had battered down in France. Through this decision, taken by him and his companions in an hour of terrible crisis, Frenchmen were able, under the Cross of Lorraine, to continue as partners in the great enterprise which they had undertaken in common with their Allies in 1939. The new beginning, made in the Call to Fight issued by General de Gaulle to Frenchmen on June 18th, 1940, was small in scale. Since that time the size and strength of French forces engaged against the enemy have grown steadily and impressively. Today, the great traditions of French military power are once again being upheld and strengthened in actions by land, by sea and in the air, and in the secret armies which strike at the enemy even within his most formidable strongholds.

In the revival of French military power, General de Gaulle has played a role of incomparable importance. In the years since 1940 his persistence and his devotion to the cause of France have made him both a symbol of the determination of the

French nation to live once more, and an active leader through whom the French might bring their aid to the common effort.

The weight of renewed French military strength has long since begun to count in the balance of forces which is posed against the enemy. At Bir Hacheim a gallant band of French defenders helped to stem the tide of German military power at a moment of great danger in North Africa. Since that time, in the victorious surge which has carried the Allied Armies across Africa and Sicily and into the heart of Italy, French forces have played a courageous part.

~~Meanwhile~~, within France ~~herself~~, a living spirit of resistance has been revealed in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice. Throughout the ~~whole of the~~ struggle the ~~gradually increasing strength of the~~ French resistance movement has been undermining German power behind the enemy's own lines. ~~Long~~ Since the landings on the beaches of Normandy ~~and careful preparations for even greater actions have been made by those underground forces.~~ (underground forces) They have been quick to ~~seize the opportunity to~~ strike at the enemy, ~~created by the allied landings on the beaches of Normandy. Organized and disciplined action, initiated by the resistance movement within France, has~~ been of inestimable aid to the allied armies as they penetrated the Norman peninsula. On every hand there ~~has been~~ is evidence of the determination of the French people ~~as a whole~~ to make ~~this~~ their

full contribution to the cause of victory.

The people of Canada are proud to have their part in the great events in which the revival of France is being revealed, and to share with the soldiers and the people of France the sufferings which attend the struggle for freedom. Through the Mutual Aid Agreement which has been concluded between the French authorities in Algiers and the Canadian Government, supplies of vital war materials manufactured in Canada are being made available for the immediate use of the French Armies. At this moment French and Canadian soldiers are fighting side by side in the Italian Peninsula. On the battlefields of Normandy, Canadian forces form part of the great striking force which is there engaged in battle. Amidst these scenes of conflict and triumph, there has taken place a proud renewal of the long and honourable associations which have existed between the peoples of France and Canada. As we welcome General de Gaulle, we are confident that the partnership between French and Canadian soldiers, in the mighty coalition of force which has been ranged against the enemy, will be strengthened by continued victory. We are hopeful too, that this companionship in arms will be the prelude to long years of fruitful cooperation between our two nations.

D 47455

Canada is proud of her membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But that partnership is not an exclusive association. Canada cherishes her close friendship with the United States. That friendship, too, is one in which other free nations may share. The foundation of our association with Britain and the other British Nations; the cement of our friendship with the United States, is a comon love of freedom and a common sense of justice. The same love of freedom and sense of justice have joined Canada and France in two great wars in one generation. For both Canada and France, our common ideals are more significant even than our historic bonds, because they point the way to co-operation between our two peoples and all free peoples in the future.

D 47456

France and Canada alike belong to the small group of nations who went to war in 1939 of their own free will in a determination to put an end to Nazi aggression. Since 1940, the resistance of France has been carried on by brave men in exile from their homeland and by resolute men and women within France. The men and women of the resistance, inside and outside France, have risked not only their own lives but their homes and families in carrying on the fight for freedom. Their sacrifice is incomparably greater than any which the peoples who have not been overrun, have been called upon to make.

After the long years of preparation, the forces of freedom from the outside are joining with the forces of resistance on the inside in the struggle to drive the enemy from the soil of France and to destroy forever his capacity for aggression.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER de G

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1944

D 47457

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Visit of General de Gaulle

You may be interested to see the attached account of occasions on which Fighting French Forces in Italy have fought in the same sector as Canadian troops.

This statement was obtained from the Secretary of the Chiefs of Staffs Committee and has been cleared for security.

(What this statement calls "Free French" Forces should, I think, be called "Fighting French" Forces.)

Also appended is a brief note about Fighting French Naval Forces.

J.A.G.
J.A.G.

D 47458

General statement of activities of Free French Forces in Italy with particular regard to occasions on which they fought in the same sector as Canadian Troops.

Since the start of the present Allied offensive in Italy on 11th May 1944, Free French forces have operated under command of the U.S. Fifth Army.

Throughout the drive on Rome, they fought in the mountainous country to the west of the Liri and Sacco valleys. They played a major role in the drive which cracked the "Gustav" line southwest of Cassino.

Canadian Armoured forces were the only Canadian troops used in the "Gustav" line assault. The major part of the Canadian Corps was not committed until 17th May, when they became the left flank of the British Eighth Army and, as such, fought side by side with the Free French who formed the right flank of the U.S. Fifth Army.

Free French troops captured Ausonia, Pico and then outflanked Pontecorvo, a strong point of the "Hitler" line. The Canadians outflanked Pontecorvo on the east, therefore this strong point of the "Hitler" line fell to a combined Free French and Canadian operation.

In the subsequent drive up the Sacco River country, the Free French took Ceccano, Carpineto, Morolo, Supino, Segni and Gavignano in the mountains, while the Canadians took Pofi, Ceprano, Ferentino, Frosinone and Anagni in the Sacco valley.

After the junction of the Free French, Canadian and American troops at Anangni about 4th June, the Canadian forces went into the British Eighth Army reserve except some Canadian Armoured troops who continued under command of a British Corps.

At the present time, in the Central Italian front, the Free French continue to fight on the right flank of the U.S. Fifth Army while the 13th British Corps (including the Canadian Armoured troops) fight on the left flank of the British Eighth Army. Therefore, in a general sense, it can be said that the Free French and the Canadians are fighting side by side; the Free French 20 miles south of Florence and the Canadians in the area south of Arezzo.

<u>Naval</u>:

Corvettes manned by personnel of the Fighting French Navy have been on convoy duty in the North Atlantic for nearly three years.

Patrol vessels loaned from the Royal Canadian Navy, but manned by Fighting French crews, are based at St. Pierre.

Fighting French vessels in the North Atlantic have given a good account of themselves.

JAG/C
7.7.44

VISIT OF GENERAL DEGAULLE

D 47459

I.

There is, I believe, one reason above all others for welcoming General deGaulle to the capital of Canada today. General deGaulle has been a soldier all his life. When the Government of his native France wavered and collapsed in the black and anxious days of 1940, it was he who first rallied the forces of France still able to fight against the enemy. From London, from Brazzaville, from Algiers, he has been tireless in the unremitting task of organizing the efforts of the Fighting French to hasten the day of allied victory and the liberation of his homeland. It required courage of a superlative kind, four years ago, to uphold the battered name of France. For General deGaulle there was no surrender; neither was there then, or will there ever be, for the brave men he gathered about him to wage war against the Nazi invaders of France.

The fighting men of the Cross of Lorraine have now fought on many Allied battlefronts. We recall today, with pride in our hearts, the unquenchable spirit of those French soldiers who, under a valiant general, marched from Lake Chad across much of Africa to join in the battles of the Western Desert. We recall the valour of French arms in subsequent campaigns: in North Africa, in Tunisia, in Sicily, and, at this very day, in the battle for the liberation of Italy.

As the man who organized this resistance, as the man who kept bright and alive the spirit of the splendor of France as a free nation, we salute General deGaulle today.

D 47461

II.

The spirit of France has come alive on Parliament Hill today. More than three hundred years ago, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of New France, passed within sight of this place on the broad waters of the Ottawa River. In his train came other intrepid Frenchmen, penetrating far into the wilderness of a then-unknown land. Along the newly dissovered waterways came priests of the Roman Catholic faith - devout men who were explorers as well as teachers of Christianity. New France became British North America, and British North America was expanded into the Canada of today, stretching from sea to sea. But its broad expanse still bears the impress of the life of many a saintly figure, many a chivalrous spirit, not a few women of character and devotion, who raised up in the New World a new nation.

In our country of two official languages and of many racial stocks, we welcome today with full hearts and with a revived sense of the history of our nation, a stalwart man who speaks to us of France - the Fighting France of today.

D 47462

III.

What a thrill of pride was evoked in many Canadian homes when it was announced, not many days since, that General deGaulle had made a visit to Normandy! How great was that pride when it was learned that the first Allied troops which General deGaulle had met were men of Canada's Army. I should not like to let this occasion pass without saying to General deGaulle that the people of Canada appreciated the significance of this meeting; nor do I doubt that the Canadians who had this opportunity to meet General deGaulle on French soil would be cheered and inspried for whatever tasks might lie ahead of them. It is not necessary for me to remind General deGaulle ~~with~~ what feelings of interest and attachment the people of Canada have entertained for the liberation of France. On that day honour was done to Canada's fighting men; on this day when we here in Ottawa honour General deGaulle and his associates, our wishes for liberation are combined with hopes for a restoration of France to a position of respect, and may I say, of affection, among all the free nations of the world.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date July 26/44

D 47463

Subject

Mr. King's "Personal Fervor"

A dispatch in a Conservative newspaper says that Mr. King, in his splendid address supporting the children's allowances bill, "made an appeal that was weighted with personal fervor." The writer goes on to say: "By reasonable interpretation, the prime minister by his speech led the Liberal government far to the left—far farther to the left than it has ever been before—and even farther than many reluctant Liberal steps normally would wish to go." But "while there have been definite admissions among Liberal members of coolness to the measure, on the ground that it was too great a first step in this line of social welfare, the repeated applause from government benches left no doubt that the following was swung into line."

The fact is—and it has long been known—that Mr. King, while leading a party which contains reactionary as well as reform elements, is himself a reformer; that he is well out in front in the matter of social service reform, and that a measure like children's allowances is one which accords with his own warm sympathies for those who are struggling along under burdens which are sometimes hard to bear. If that is being "on the left," Mr. King is indeed a leftist. He believes in the practice as well as the advocacy of reform. He said yesterday:

"There is a changing order that is taking place in the world, as a consequence of the war, but when we talk about a new order of things we either mean what we say or we do not. If we mean what we say, we will see that the new order places its new emphasis on life rather than wealth. This new order will place its emphasis on human well-being rather than on material possessions. The new order seeks to shift the emphasis from the sacredness of possession to the sacredness of life, to weigh against each other the relative values of personality and its rights and property and its rights, to compare standards of living with standards of truth, and to contrast human resources with material resources. It seeks to recognize industry as a public service and to divert attention from individual self-interest to community well-being."

How true all that is! And how essentially Christian it is. Human well-being is the goal towards which Canada and indeed the whole world must move. The well-being of Canada's children is vital to the well-being of the nation as a whole. It is no wonder that the prime minister regards the Children's Allowances Act as one of the crowning achievements of his career.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date July 26/44

Subject

47463

Mr. King's "Personal Fervor"

A dispatch in a Conservative newspaper says that Mr. King, in his splendid address supporting the children's allowances bill, "made an appeal that was weighted with personal fervor." The writer goes on to say: "By reasonable interpretation, the prime minister by his speech led the Liberal government far to the left—far farther to the left than it has ever been before—and even farther than many reluctant Liberal steps normally would wish to go." But "while there have been definite admissions among Liberal members of coolness to the measure, on the ground that it was too great a first step in this line of social welfare, the repeated applause from government benches left no doubt that the following was swung into line."

The fact is—and it has long been known—that Mr. King, while leading a party which contains reactionary as well as reform elements, is himself a reformer; that he is well out in front in the matter of social service reform, and that a measure like children's allowances is one which accords with his own warm sympathies for those who are struggling along under burdens which are sometimes hard to bear. If that is being "on the left," Mr. King is indeed a leftist. He believes in the practice as well as the advocacy of reform. He said yesterday:

"There is a changing order that is taking place in the world, as a consequence of the war, but when we talk about a new order of things we either mean what we say or we do not. If we mean what we say, we will see that the new order places its new emphasis on life rather than wealth. This new order will place its emphasis on human well-being rather than on material possessions. The new order seeks to shift the emphasis from the sacredness of possession to the sacredness of life, to weigh against each other the relative values of personality and its rights and property and its rights, to compare standards of living with standards of truth, and to contrast human resources with material resources. It seeks to recognize industry as a public service and to divert attention from individual self-interest to community well-being."

How true all that is! And how essentially Christian it is. Human well-being is the goal towards which Canada and indeed the whole world must move. The well-being of Canada's children is vital to the well-being of the nation as a whole. It is no wonder that the prime minister regards the Children's Allowances Act as one of the crowning achievements of his career.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date July AUG 26 1944

Subject

D 47464

Uphold Principle Of Family Allowances As Debate Launched

Mr. King Hurls Social Legislation at Opponents As Challenge in Forceful Speech. Prog. Con. Appeal on Amendment Is Defeated 127 to 30

To a House taut with the long drag of a weary session, tense in a pre-election atmosphere almost tangible, Prime Minister King yesterday afternoon introduced the most spectacular social measure of his long career—family allowances for Canadians.

In a speech that ranged from political rough and tumble to sentimental reminiscences of his early political life, the Prime Minister hurled his family allowance legislation at the opposition as a challenge.

Financial support from the state for the families of the nation received the approval, in principle, of spokesmen for three parties as debate on the bill began.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, 69-year-old bachelor leader of the Liberal party, held forth the scheme as a means of ensuring freedom from want, of establishing greater equality of opportunity among the people of the nation, as an instrument to bring the aid of the strong to the weak, as a force for stabilizing the national economy in the post-war years and assuring a greater demand for commodities.

Says Bill Unconstitutional.

For the Progressive Conservative party, Gordon Graydon, House leader, endorsed the principle and objective of adjusting the extra burdens borne by parents of families, but he called the bill unconstitutional, inadequate for the purpose and "illusory, hastily prepared and untenable."

For the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, M. J. Coldwell, the leader of that group, said he welcomed the measure as "a belated recognition of human rights." His only regret was that it did not form part of a comprehensive social security program.

Strong support for the measure was expressed in later discussion by Mrs. Cora Casselman (L., Edmonton East), J. A. Blanchette (L., Compton), and Frederic Dorion (Ind., Charlevoix-Saguenay).

From Dr. Herbert Bruce (P.C., Toronto Parkdale) came the first sharp opposition. He suggested the government was rushing the measure in order to help win the Quebec election for the Liberal party and objected to the taxing of hard-working people in order to subsidize the lazy and the shiftless.

Almost a full attendance of members, the largest seen for some time, heard the start of what was regarded as one of the important debates of the session. Mr. King drew rounds of applause from his Liberal supporters as he wound up on a personal note with a reference to his life-long advocacy of social reforms.

Ruled Out on Vote.

Mr. Graydon challenged the constitutionality of the bill in an amendment to the motion for second reading. In the amendment, ruled out of order, he asked that the bill be sent to the social security committee for redrafting after consultation with the provinces so that it could be made into a joint Dominion-provincial scheme.

His appeal from the Speaker's ruling was voted down by 127 to 30.

All Liberals, C.C.F. members, Social Crediters, Mrs. Dorise Nielsen (Unity, North Battleford), Fred Dorion (Ind., Charlevoix-Saguenay) and Fred Rose (Lab.-Prog., Montreal-Cartier) voted in support of the ruling.

All Progressive Conservatives and A. W. Neill (Ind., Comox-Alberni) voted against the ruling.

Later Justice Minister St. Laurent cited the decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council on the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1935 as authority for the contention that the bill was constitutional.

The family allowances bill provides for payments to parents of $5 per month for children up to six years, $6 for children between six and 10 years, $7 each for children 10 to 13 years and $8 for those 13 to 16 years with deductions in larger families. Along with the institution of the allowances exemptions from income tax payments for children will be discontinued.

"We support the purpose and principle of a living standard of family life among the masses of our people, but we do not believe this bill will adequately or effectively carry that out," said Mr. Graydon.

Formulates Objections.

He formulated his objections in five points:

(1) It is unconstitutional and invades the jurisdiction of the provinces.

(2) It seriously endangers the setting up of minimum wage standards in Canada. It may be accepted in many instances as a substitute for better wage levels.

(3) It adds a further strain on national unity. Quebec was the only province which had retained the large family of pioneer times and its contributions to national revenue would be out of proportion to the payments it would receive.

(4) It disregards the whole question of need in family life and child welfare. It is a direct threat to a more comprehensive social program where cash grants to those in need and adequate health, educational, housing and general welfare provisions would have their place.

(5) It foreshadows the building of a giant peacetime bureaucracy with its inevitable controls, offices, inspectors and machinery.

Sees Challenge Coming.

Mr. Coldwell said he regretted Mr. Graydon raised the constitutional issue and took the fact as an indication the bill would be challenged by the one province in which "his friends" are in power, Ontario. If there was any constitutional doubt it should have been removed sooner.

Mr. Coldwell said he questioned the wisdom of reducing the amount of the allowance per child in large families and thought this was discrimination and not likely to work well. He added he was opposed to too much supervision or interference in family affairs and thought that, if possible, the allowance should be made payable to the mother. He put these forward, he said, as construc-

tive suggestions and not with a view to opposing the bill.

Forceful Speech.

In one of the most forceful speeches he has delivered in the House in years, Mr. King called on Parliament to do something about removing fear of want if it was in earnest about the freedoms and the new order being discussed for the post-war period.

The most terrible fear of all was the fear of parents in homes where there was not enough to provide for children.

Mr. King argued that 84 per cent of the children of Canada were maintained by 19 per cent of the gainfully employed people. Next to fighting for the defence of the nation the greatest national task was rearing the nation's children. The financial burden should be shared by all.

Ending up on a personal note Mr. King said he resented very strongly Progressive Conservative Leader John Bracken's description of the measure as a "bribe." For him it was another step in a lifelong fight for better conditions for the people.

Mr. Graydon declared Mr. King had no monopoly on interest in the poor and added it was a good thing Mr. Bracken was not in the House. Mr. King's blood pressure went up every time he thought of Mr. Bracken and if the party leader was present Mr. King probably would collapse.

A larger attendance of members than usual heard Mr. King explain the provisions of the bill which was forecast in the speech from the throne last January.

Mr. King said it was obvious the expenses of maintaining a child increased with the age of the child. Hence, the allowances were larger for older children. It also was obvious that in larger families some expenses were recurrent. Clothing, school books and some other articles could serve all the children. Hence the allowances per child in large families were lower.

No Personal Experience

"I can't say very much about such things from personal experience," said the bachelor Prime Minister. "But I can recall my own childhood days and that some of these things were important."

"You are a young man yet," remarked John R. MacNicol (P.C., Toronto Davenport).

The principle of family allowances was not new, said Mr. King. It had been recognized in the Income Tax Act since 1918 in exemptions allowed for dependent children. Pre-war relief arrangements also recognized that special arrangements should be made for families with children.

(The government's family allowances scheme provides allowances of from $5 a month to children of less than six years to $8 for children from 13 to 16 years.)

Mr. King said that persons in income tax brackets now were granted an exemption of $108 for each child. Family allowance would extend this benefit to persons outside the income tax brackets.

Duty of State

It was the duty of the state to aid in the bringing up of children, but up to the present that obligation had only been recognized in the cases of income tax payers with children. Where the need was the least the principle of the state aiding in the upbringing of children had been recognized. Family allowances would extend the aid to where it was needed most. Those who would benefit most from the allowances would be married persons with income of less than $1,200 a year, or with incomes not exceeding $1,200 by more than the $108 tax benefit granted for one child.

The amount families outside income brackets would receive would be less than $108 per child, he said.

Additional Security.

Family allowances would give an additional security to servicemen with children. On discharge they would continue to receive allowances to which they had become accustomed although on a smaller scale.

Pensions generally fell into the income group to which allowances were payable if they had no outside income. If they had outside income they, in effect, now receive two allowances, tax exemption and pension.

The allowances accordingly would benefit pensioners only to the extent they were not offset by income tax.

Latest statistics indicated there were 3,500,000 children under 16 years of age in Canada. These children were in about 1,500,000 families. More than half of these families in whole or in part benefited from income tax exemption. The families with the lowest incomes did not benefit.

About one-third of the families, of 500,000, received the full benefit of tax exemption. Another 500,000 received a partial benefit. The next 500,000 received no benefit. It was in this group that the need was greatest. There were probably more children in the lowest income group of families than in the middle group and more in the middle than in the upper.

Mr. King then gave a statistical breakdown of the proportions of the total number of gainfully employed persons in Canada who were single and without children. These, he said, showed that 84 per cent. of the children of Canada were dependent on 19 per cent. of the gainfully employed people. The burden of supporting children fell on less than one-fifth of those with incomes.

Raising the children of the nation was, next to defending the country against enemies, the greatest service which could be performed.

All Should Share Burden.

"It is only fair that the financial burden of this great national service should be shared by all," he said.

Reformers all down through the ages had striven to provide more in the way of equality of opportunity for all people.

The figures he cited, Mr. King said, showed that as between the working population of Canada there was nothing approaching equality of opportunity in the battle of life for either parents or children. In the past people had come to take differences of opportunity between classes for granted.

"But," he said, "the new order of things is going to take very little for granted."

Children born in humble circumstances had little opportunity now as compared to those born to families better off. It was "part of the business of the state to try to remove some of these differences."

It might be argued that many great men had become great only by reason of their struggle against circumstances. That argument took no account of the thousands who perished or were handicapped for life by malnutrition, lack of education, lack of medical attention.

To Remove Injustice.

"The purpose of this measure," said Mr. King, "is to remove that injustice insofar as the state is justified in acting. . . . It is a measure in the general interest rather than in the interest of any particular class."

A country could not have one portion of the nation ill-clothed and ill-fed and not expect the rest of the nation to suffer as a result.

Human resources were more im-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 47466

portant than natural resources. But it was only recently that the world seemed to awaken to the fact that the human resources were most important.

What a nation needed to maintain itself was a healthy, vigorous population, not a population which was half nourished and half clothed.

The payment of family allowances was part of the government's post-war policy, said Mr. King.

The legislation would be welcomed by returning service personnel. The money spent on family allowances would provide additional buying power. This power would create a demand for labor. The demand for labor would mean employment. One of the government's post-war plans was to provide full employment, and to see that there was maximum production and large revenues.

Change Developing.

Mr. King said a change in world order was developing as a result of the war. Care should be taken to see that the new order put emphasis on life rather than on wealth.

Some had asked why the allowances legislation was not brought down before this year. The world situation had changed in the last 100, 50 and 25 years. Distances between continents had shrunk and people of different countries were brought into direct competition. This brought about the need for social reforms.

Capital could protect itself from emergencies by shifting investments. Labor could not.

"We have got to fortify the position of the industrial classes through the agency of the state by such measures as this if we are going to avoid the degradation of the standards of life," said Mr. King.

Members talked about slum clearance. Slums arose because men with low incomes crowded where rent was cheapest. There was little use in cleaning slums if men could not make enough money from their earnings to maintain their families in decency.

It would be argued that the money would go to those who would waste it on pleasure. The same test should apply to all classes of society. He said he resented such a suggestion on behalf of the "humble poor."

"Oh, oh," said a Progressive Conservative member.

"My friends may laugh," said Mr. King.

"Why don't you bring it in now and not wait for a year?" asked Robert McGregor (P.C., York South).

"I answered that question before but my friend was asleep," said Mr. King. "Gentlemen opposite only wake up and start to hoot when I mention the humble poor."

Would Spend Money Better.

Mr. King said he would rely on the people with low incomes anytime to spend money to better advantage for their children than on those with large incomes who received tax exemption and who spent more on liquor and pleasure.

"I believe no instinct is stronger in man or beast than the parental instinct," he said. "Nothing is truer than that parents think first of their children."

It would be argued that instead of providing money the state should do things for families. That was paternalism and was not in accord with new ideas. What was to be done should be done as a matter of right and not as a matter of charity.

Existing economic and social conditions tended to make those who had wealth wealthier and to take away from those who had little. They condemned large numbers of people to penury.

Much was heard of the Atlantic Charter and about removing fear of want. Mr. King asked if the House was serious about that.

"If we are in earnest about getting rid of the fear of want," he said, "we will have to look where want is and if we find that want is brought about through no fault of those who suffer we will see that the state does something about removing that fear."

Not Substitute for Wages.

There was an argument that family allowances would affect wages. They were never intended as a substitute for higher wages. If they had any effect on wages at all they would increase wages because they would create a demand for commodities, a greater demand for labor which would send wages up.

The family allowances measure was an application of the principle of mutual aid to domestic affairs. Mutual aid was the helping of others with a view to helping all. It was important to assure that the weak should not become weaker. The strong should share the burdens of the weak.

Mr. King said he doubted if the cost of the bill would exceed the cost of the war for a single day. If it was going to help tide over the period of readjustment, to avoid some of the unrest that was certain to develop otherwise to produce a healthier and stronger people.

The cost of $200,000,000 would be redeemed and recovered in more buoyant revenues resulting from increased employment.

Mr. Graydon said the measure was unconstitutional and invaded the jurisdiction of the provinces and "it is as powerless as a day-old kitten to accomplish what it sets out to do."

He said it also endangered the setting up of minimum wage scales and it brought about a further strain on national unity.

In elaborating on the last point he said it was well known that one province stood to profit by the bill more than any other by virtue of the well-known fact it had the biggest birthrate in Canada.

(It was assumed he was referring to Quebec).

Says Plan Constitutional.

Mr. St. Laurent said he could find nothing in Privy Council or Supreme Court of Canada decisions to indicate that the government's family allowances plan was unconstitutional.

The allowances legislation did not impose any obligation on anyone. No contractual right was interfered with and no family right was affected.

"This is merely a declaration by the Canadian government, authorized by the Canadian Parliament, that the Canadian people wish to contribute so much per month for the upkeep of each child, provided the money be used for that purpose," he said.

There was a moral obligation on the people of the country to aid in bringing up the nation's children. Some said they did not mind paying taxes, but they did not like to see the money spent to bring up their neighbors' children. This was not the right attitude to take.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

47467

Mr. St. Laurent said that of the 443,000 families in Quebec, 215,000 of them had only one or two children.

The decision to reduce the allowances for the fifth and subsequent children couldn't raise any serious objection. It was known that the cost of bringing up children did not increase proportionately as the family increased.

Mrs. Cora Casselman (L., Edmonton East) said she was "thoroughly in favor of this measure." She hoped the House would pass it and make it "one of the pillars of income security in this country."

"I don't think we can afford not to pay allowances," said Mrs. Casselman. "All the costs of not paying them are not money costs. They are costs in sickness, and suffering as well as costs in money in maintaining hospitals and asylums."

Dr. Herbert Bruce (P.C., Toronto Parkdale) said family allowances would not help to do away with slums. They were not large enough to enable a man to pay an economic rent.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date July 26/44

D 47468

Subject

TODAY IN OTTAWA

By John Marshall

OTTAWA, July 26.—Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King put on his mantle of a great reformer yesterday in the Commons and was at his very best. He moved the Liberal Party to the left and laid a basis for it as advocate of priority of human welfare over material wealth.

His address in favor of his family allowance scheme was a powerful utterance, sincere in regard to the humanitarian objectives the legislation seeks to achieve. While he denied political motives, there can be little doubt his speech may have political results.

In effect his effort was to leave the Progressive Conservative Party over on the right, while the Liberal Party vied with the C.C.F. on the left for support from those who believe in reforms. Actually, except that he did not mention socialism, his words were so down the C.C.F. line that M. J. Coldwell, leader of that party, and his followers, were smiling broadly.

Sounds Like Father of Dozen Children

TALKING like a father of 12 children, instead of a mere bachelor, the prime minister told of the benefits family allowances are designed to give. Eighty-four percent of Canadian children are dependent upon only 19 percent of the gainfully employed.

Children are the principal asset of a nation, and the nation should share responsibility for seeing to their welfare. Children are entitled to something approaching equality of opportunity, which they have not had. While it is true many born in the homes of the poor have struggled upward to great success, many thousands have died in early life from malnutrition, poor housing, insufficient clothing and other causes.

There is a new order coming, and those who talk about it either mean what they say or they don't. Those who do mean it will place more emphasis on human life rather than on wealth

As to the $200,000,000 net annual cost, Mr. King sees in it an economic asset rather than liability. It will put purchasing power into the hands of those who need it most and it will be spent on consumer goods, made in Canada. In fact he went so far as to suggest that if such a system had been in vogue during the terrible thirties, the depression could not have plumbed the depths it did.

Bracken Suggestion Deeply Resented

MR. KING resented very much the suggestion of John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, that family allowances are "legal bribery." The prime minister pulled out a copy of his book, written years ago, "Industry and Humanity," and read excerpts to show he has always favored improving standards of living. He also gave a resume of his efforts to bring these about. Now, in his 70th year, he would not resort to bribery, and deprecated aspersions on his honesty of purpose.

This led to an interchange as Gordon Graydon, Progressive Conservative House leader, rose to reply. Mr. Graydon recalled Mr. King on several occasions had brought up the fact Mr. Bracken is not in the House. The question, however, is not where Mr. Bracken can get a seat but whether Mr. King can retain the one he now has.

Mr. King replied the Progressive Conservative House leader had no business referring to Saskatchewan, where the prime minister's constituency of Prince Albert is located.

This interchange gave rise to one of the bon mots of the session, when Vincent Dupuis, Liberal, Chambly-Rouville, interjected that Mr. Bracken "is a political Zombie."

The implication was the Progressive Conservative leader was afraid to volunteer for political active service in the Commons.

Graydon Unable To Delay Scheme

MR. GRAYDON moved an amendment which, if it had not been ruled out of order and had carried, would have given a hoist to the family allowance plan and delayed it indefinitely. He wanted the bill to be referred to the social security committee and only brought back after collaboration with the provinces, and as a joint undertaking.

His main objection was that the bill is unconstitutional as it interferes with provincial jurisdiction. It will be challenged by certain provinces, Mr. Graydon intimated, and in confusion would be worse than no measure at all, as it might delay adequate legislation.

He also considered the bill immature and not a part of a proper comprehensive plan of social security. Without mentioning Quebec by name, he said one province, because of its unduly large families, will benefit more than others, and others will have to contribute disproportionately.

Mr. Graydon made it plain his party stands for improvement of the lot of the people. It should be achieved by raising standards so that no bread winner will receive less than $1,200 a year. But, he considered the present measure will not attain the ends desired. Further, it will tend to make political footballs out of 3,500,000 children. Mr. Speaker J. A. Glen ruled the amendment out of order.

Coldwell Says King Talks C.C.F. Language

M. J. COLDWELL, C.C.F. leader, endorsed the legislation, and wondered why something like this had not been done before, especially during the depression when it was badly needed, but he, like Mr. Graydon, thought the age limit for allowances should be raised to 18 instead of 16.

Mr. King, he suggested, is now talking C.C.F. language, which has long been production for use instead of profit. Time was when the C.C.F. was ridiculed for such sentiments. He agreed with the prime minister that human values must be placed higher than material things.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

47469

St. Laurent Denies Plan Unconstitutional

HON. LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, minister of justice, termed family allowances an "epochal proposal for the betterment of conditions." He denied there is anything unconstitutional about the plan.

Mrs. Cora T. Casselman, Liberal, Edmonton East, said the measure will become one of the pillars of economic security in Canada.

When Dr. H. A. Bruce, Progressive Conservative, Toronto-Parkdale, complained about the measure being submitted in the last days of a dying Parliament, Mr. King intervened to say the life of Parliament does not expire until after April 17 next. It is quite possible to have another session, he said, continuing the war of nerves as to when an election will be called. Dr. Bruce suggested the bill might have something to do with the election in Quebec.

J. A. Blanchette, Liberal, Compton, father of nine children, said no other measure could offer so many corrections to economic ills and establish such a beacon of light on the path of social progress. Frederic Dorion, Independent, Charlevoix - Saguenay, complained that many Ontario members are spreading disunity in Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUL 29 1944

D 47470

Subject

King States Election Coming Before April

Family allowances received the unanimous approval of the House of Commons yesterday.

When the government forced a vote on second reading, not a single member rose to vote against it while 139 voted for the bill which will provide a cash grant to every family in Canada with a child or children under the age of 16.

Winding up the debate, Mr. King served notice that a general election will be held before the end of the war, if the war does not end soon, and lashed out at government critics who, he said, sought to stir up prejudice as between the rest of Canada and the province of Quebec.

The Prime Minister smiled when the vote was taken and, answering criticism from C.C.F. leader Coldwell to the effect earlier action should have been taken, declared it would not have been possible to get such an endorsation before.

" have indicated, Mr. King said, "that it is not my intention if I can possibly prevent it, and I think I may be able to do so, to deny to the people the right which they have of an election every five years."

"Ths parliament is not going to be permitted to continue, whether the war is continuing or not, beyond the five years of its term."

(The five-year term runs out next April.)

Mr. King said he was sure the people of Canada had a moral sense and opponents who took advantage of the government's preoccupation with war duties would find the voters would not be indifferent to their activities.

Opposition suggestions that family allowances were introduced to assist in winning the Quebec election were unworthy and absurb, said Mr. King. The allowances were announced last January in the Speech from the Throne, long before the date of the Quebec election was known.

"At a time when young men from the province of Quebec are giving their lives along with their comrades from other provinces in the defence of this country and in the defence of freedom it ill suits any member of this House to seek to raise, in their absence, prejudice against the province from which they come", he said.

"There is no greater disservice that any member can render than to seek to raise in this country, any form of prejudice, racial prejudice, religious prejudice, class prejudice."

Progressive Conservative House Leader Graydon drew a cheer from Liberal members as he rose to vote for the bill.

"That goes for John Bracken, too", said Mr. Graydon.

After the bill received second reading John Blackmore, Social Credit leader, said he was thrilled to see members who had ridiculed the $25-a-month national dividend proposal of the late Premier Aberhart of Alberta voting for the allowances bill.

He welcomed the measure but warned the method of financing was wrong and would lead to disappointment.

Mr. King held the bill out as a measure for the establishment of social justice.

Natural resources had not been given to individuals but to all the people, he said. A system of private property had grown up. It should not be lightly tossed aside but it was not sacred. It was justified only so far as it served the well-being of all.

The wage system took no account of families. One third of the children of the nation received no benefit from the exemptions allowed on income tax and one-third only partial benefit.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUL 29 1944

D 47470

Subject

King States Election Coming Before April

Family allowances received the unanimous approval of the House of Commons yesterday.

When the government forced a vote on second reading, not a single member rose to vote against it while 139 voted for the bill which will provide a cash grant to every family in Canada with a child or children under the age of 16.

Winding up the debate, Mr. King served notice that a general election will be held before the end of the war, if the war does not end soon, and lashed out at government critics who, he said, sought to stir up prejudice as between the rest of Canada and the province of Quebec.

The Prime Minister smiled when the vote was taken and, answering criticism from C.C.F. leader Coldwell to the effect earlier action should have been taken, declared it would not have been possible to get such an endorsation before.

" have indicated, Mr. King said, "that it is not my intention if I can possibly prevent it, and I think I may be able to do so, to deny to the people the right which they have of an election every five years."

"Ths parliament is not going to be permitted to continue, whether the war is continuing or not, beyond the five years of its term."

(The five-year term runs out next April.)

Mr. King said he was sure the people of Canada had a moral sense and opponents who took advantage of the government's preoccupation with war duties would find the voters would not be indifferent to their activities.

Opposition suggestions that family allowances were introduced to assist in winning the Quebec election were unworthy and absurb, said Mr. King. The allowances were announced last January in the Speech from the Throne, long before the date of the Quebec election was known.

"At a time when young men from the province of Quebec are giving their lives along with their comrades from other provinces in the defence of this country and in the defence of freedom it ill suits any member of this House to seek to raise, in their absence, prejudice against the province from which they come", he said.

"There is no greater disservice that any member can render than to seek to raise in this country, any form of prejudice, racial prejudice, religious prejudice, class prejudice."

Progressive Conservative House Leader Graydon drew a cheer from Liberal members as he rose to vote for the bill.

"That goes for John Bracken, too", said Mr. Graydon.

After the bill received second reading John Blackmore, Social Credit leader, said he was thrilled to see members who had ridiculed the $25-a-month national dividend proposal of the late Premier Aberhart of Alberta voting for the allowances bill.

He welcomed the measure but warned the method of financing was wrong and would lead to disappointment.

Mr. King held the bill out as a measure for the establishment of social justice.

Natural resources had not been given to individuals but to all the people, he said. A system of private property had grown up. It should not be lightly tossed aside but it was not sacred. It was justified only so far as it served the well-being of all.

The wage system took no account of families. One third of the children of the nation received no benefit from the exemptions allowed on income tax and one-third only partial benefit.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

KD 47471

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE) AND THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

War conditions, and the need to meet post-war conditions in the field of international trade have made it necessary to re-examine the relations between the Canadian offices established abroad by the Department of External Affairs and the Commercial Intelligence Service of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Similar problems have arisen in the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Commonwealth and in the United States, and there is a tendency, elsewhere, towards consolidation of commercial and diplomatic services.

The Government, more than a year ago, established a special committee from the two departments to study the question and to submit recommendations designed to promote closer co-operation between the services. This committee made a report, after studying the experiences of the governments of the other members of the British Commonwealth and of the United States of America, as well as programs for reforms which are being considered abroad. As a result of the information thus brought to the attention of the Government, a special administrative committee has been set up including three representatives from the Department of External Affairs and three from the Department of Trade and Commerce, with the deputy heads of the two departments as additional ex officio members.
The special committee is charged with responsibility for working out practical measures for co-operation between the two services. It is not intended to provide for immediate consolidation or amalgamation, but it is expected that the measures which are now being adopted will make a substantial contribution to the promotion and protection of Canadian trade interests abroad and will at the same time make our diplomatic services more effective.

The types of problems, which emerge and are dealt with by the committee, vary in different parts of the world. We may have a High Commissioner and Trade Commissioner's offices in the same country. In some cases the Trade Commissioner's offices may be situated in the capital and may occupy the same premises as the High Commissioner's office. In others, they may be separated. In other countries there may be a Canadian Embassy

or Legation, with Trade Commissioner's offices either in the same place or in commercial centres in other parts of the country. In other places there may be Canadian Consular offices established or under consideration. The committee is concerned with working out the instructions, which are issued to the heads of missions by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and to the Trade Commissioners' offices by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. These are designed to avoid overlapping and to promote consultation and co-operation. It is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between the work of the Commercial Intelligence Service and the work of the Canadian Diplomatic Service. Both services gain, where there are frequent consultations and where there is close co-operation in dealing with practical problems. Where the offices are in different places, arrangements are made for periodic meetings. Where they are in the same place, every effort is being made to bring them under the same roof and to provide for close association in the work in which they are engaged.

At the same time, the departments are working together in recruiting personnel from our armed forces. There are many young Canadians, in the Navy Army or Air Force, who, by education, experience and ability, are well suited for the work of these two departments. Some of them would be immediately available upon discharge, and others will require additional education under the arrangements for rehabilitation and re-education which have been established by the Department of Pensions and National Health. It is expected that the expanding needs of the Commercial Intelligence Service and of the External Affairs Service will be largely met by personnel obtained under this common recruiting policy.

As the young men come into the services, their work is being planned in such a manner, through interchange of personnel, as to insure that they will have experience on both the diplomatic and the commercial intelligence side, and it is hoped that in the course of time there will be a large number of persons in both services suitable for senior posts for the diplomatic, consular and commercial services.

The development of a Consular Service and its special relationship with the Commercial Intelligence Service will be a matter of serious concern during the ensuing years. A Consulate General has been established in New York and the arrangements there are working in a satisfactory manner. The Consulate General combines the Trade Commissioner's office and the Consular

Service proper, and all Trade Commissioners in the office have been given consular rank and perform consular functions in addition to their usual duties. It is expected that the experience gained in New York will be of value, in the event that it is decided to open up consular offices at other points. Further, the experience which is being gained by the personnel of both departments under the arrangement for close co-operation, which have been in effect for some time, will mean that there will be a substantial number of personnel in the two departments sufficiently familiar with both Commercial Intelligence and consular work to facilitate the organization and establishment of other consulates.

June 23, 1944.

D 47474

For the Prime Minister:

Re Main Estimates, Department of External Affairs

Enclosed with this note are the following draft statements which have been prepared in the Department for possible use in connection with the External Affairs estimates. These include:

A - Introductory statement - (general) - (Mr. Gibson)

B - Draft statement re world organization of security (Mr. Wrong).

C - Position of Japanese in Canada (Mr. Robertson)

D - Refugees

E - Shipment of Food through the Blockade

F - Canadian Nationals in Enemy Hands (Mr. Rive)

G - British White Paper on Palestine (Mr. R.G. Robertson)

H - Canada and the Pan-American Union (Mr. Robertson)

J - Canadian Flag (Mr. R.G. Robertson)

K - Relations with Department of Trade & Commerce

L - Development of Canadian Representation Abroad.

August 2, 1944

J.A.G.

I think item J [Canadian Flag] should perhaps be omitted; though if questions are asked in the House the material here set out would be helpful. / J.A.G.

D 47474-1

Canada as a world Power

The growing stature of Canada in the war effort of the United Nations has been attested on many fighting fronts by the skill and valour of Canada's fighting men. It has been reflected in other ways abroad -- through the operation of Canadian Mutual Aid, through our share in the joint and combined planning agencies for war and for the post-hostilities period, through the extension of our diplomatic representation among the United Nations and through the elevation to embassies of several of our missions.

In August of last year, as has now become apparent, important decisions about the war in the Pacific area were taken at the Quebec Conference. It is a memorable reminder of the emergence of Canada as a world power that in this ancient capital of Quebec there should meet together the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the foreign secretaries of both nations together with the foreign minister of China. On the day following the Conference proceedings President Roosevelt made an official visit to Ottawa. This first visit to the Capital of Canada by a President in office was the occasion for a very genuine demonstration of enthusiasm and regard.

D 47475

fighting for the liberation of the ancestral homeland of a considerable part of the population of Canada. As all hon. members can testify who heard General de Gaulle's moving address on Parliament Hill on June 11, this visit has strengthened anew the ties linking Canada at war with the future of France; and perhaps the revived sense of our own history as a nation aroused by General de Gaulle's presence, even briefly, in our midst, will give us cause with renewed vigour and purpose in the tremendous tasks of relief and rehabilitation which are even now apparent. Canadian officers, indeed, are already in training for tasks of civil affairs administration which may in time take them to France.

D 47476 (A)

DRAFT

JAG/LAB
July 30th, 1944

Introduction to Statement by Prime Minister on External Affairs Estimates

re — the progress of the war of liberation and the development of planning machinery for the peace settlement.

It is now over a year since I made my extended statement in this House on the progress of the war of liberation and the development of planning machinery for the peace settlement. It may be useful, therefore, to make today a somewhat fuller statement than the rapidly-changing picture of war developments has permitted amid the day to day demands of public business.

It is now almost two years since the first major offensive by forces of the United Nations began a phase of operations which carried the allied war effort ~~past~~ across the ~~crest of the ridge dividing~~ great divide of uncertainty on the one side ~~from the~~ to the certainty of victory on the other. ~~As we survey events of the past year, all of us must be profoundly grateful that~~ The initiative then seized -- in the Solomons, in the Western Desert, then in North Africa -- has never been relaxed. Rather has it been maintained and greatly extended.

The war of liberation, ~~eight weeks~~ two months ago, was carried ~~back~~ to one of the many parts of Europe which had

been in Hitler's hands for nearly four years. While the northwestern wall of his Nazi-controlled fortress was being breached, and the breach held, the gigantic summer offensive of the armies of the Soviet Union has hurled back the enemy on a scale never dreamed of in modern warfare. With the exception of a limited area in the Baltic republics, the Soviet forces have recovered nearly all of their own territory which was occupied by Nazi forces following the treacherous invasion launched on June 22, 1941. ~~There can be no doubt that~~ this tremendous ~~push will be~~ carried across Polish soil ~~and~~ into Germany itself.

~~Meanwhile another part of~~ the great struggle for liberation is being fought out in Normandy by combined United States, British and Canadian forces. The next few days may witness battles which ~~for~~ the fate of a German stronghold now beset ~~from West and East together~~, ~~may be far more decisive than we can guess~~.

~~Meanwhile~~, the first object of our external policy must be to win the war, and to win it at the earliest possible day. It is more true than ever, more urgent than ever, that we in Canada should bend all our efforts to the

supreme task of winning victory at the earliest possible moment. We have now been fighting, on a scale of increasing magnitude and intensity, for more than four years. Of the people of Canada as a whole, I think it can be said that we have never mistaken nor doubted the real issue in the world-wide struggle. For this reason the planning which has shaped the war effort of Canada since 1939 has been constantly aligned with the changing needs of war. This planning has been directed towards victory for the United Nations. It has also been concerned with the responsibilities which will fall to Canada on the morrow of victory, and with the tasks of Canada as an emerging world power in the society of free nations.

Of these responsibilities, and of the tasks which will fall to Canada during the remainder of this eventful year, I shall have something to add in a few moments.

---

reviewed the progress of the war

When I spoke last July, it was on the very eve of Canadian landings at Pachino, in Sicily, at the beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Following a campaign of 38 days, which saw the complete defeat of German forces in that Island, Canadian forces were in the

van of Allied landings on the mainland, ~~shortly before~~ the unconditional surrender of Italy ~~removed~~ nearly after this unhappy partner from the Axis alignment. In the heavy fighting which pushed the Nazi forces steadily northward, Canadian troops have had an important part. At the beginning of 1944 the First Canadian Division was supplemented by other units, and by the establishment of headquarters of a Canadian Corps in the field. Since May this Canadian Corps has been fighting at full strength, and up until the eve of the liberation of Rome it took part in many important actions. It was, and is, a part of the British Eighth Army, which was moved secretly from the Adriatic front, to engage the enemy with decisive results. In the landings both in Sicily and Italy and in many subsequent operations, squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force and ships and men of the Royal Canadian Navy have co-operated fully and effectively. Co-operated fully and effectively in the invasion of Europe from the West Wherever they serve, from now until the day of final victory, we may be sure that all the armed forces of Canada, rigorously trained and superbly equipped, will continue to strike telling and relentless blows in the cause of the world's freedom.

The spectacular progress of the Red Armies in pushing back the German enemy and the initial successes of Allied armies in Normandy and Italy should not obscure the importance of Allied offensives elsewhere. In the Battle of the Atlantic, increased air coverage over vital routes, and new methods of combat have made possible a greater concentration of weapons against the U-boat menace than ever before. The bridge of ships upon which victory depends has been kept intact. The menace of the U-boat may never entirely disappear during wartime, but it is significant that over several recent months more U-boats have been sunk by the combined resources of escort vessels, carrier-based aircraft and land-based planes than the number of merchant ships lost by enemy action. ~~Hon. members will have learned with interest, and with pride, a few days ago, of the award, posthumously to an officer of the R.C.A.F., of the Victoria Cross, for great gallantry in pressing home a successful attack on an enemy submarine.~~

In the Western Pacific Japanese forces are being steadily hemmed in and driven back from the fringes of a vast area of sea and islands. It is of interest that ~~in~~ an area ~~where~~ ~~what~~ was at first a war of survival and

D 47481

for many months a war of attrition, has now become in part a war of liberation. In a part of Netherlands New Guinea, for example, Netherlands civil affairs officers are already at work in the first sizeable area of Dutch soil to be wrested back from the Japanese. United States task forces have been reducing Japanese outposts by occupation of strategic islands, of which Saipan, Guam and Tinian are recent examples.

The air war against Japan has been pursued actively from land as well as from the sea. From lately-constructed bases in China, new Superfortresses of the United States XXth Air Force have rained destruction on some of the most important industrial areas under Japanese control. On land, also, on the Indo-Burmese front, dogged efforts are being made to whittle down the Japanese lines and to keep open the supply routes to China on which her own military effort against Japan now so largely depends.

As might be expected, the weight of Allied bombing over Europe, the relentless patrolling of European seaways, and now the actual fighting on land, have aroused

D 47482

the resistance movements kept alive through underground channels in many European nations whose governments are in exile. It is known, for example, that full-scale fighting by underground warriors in some parts of France has contained large numbers of Nazi troops who might otherwise be serving elsewhere. In Yugoslavia the so-called "partisan" forces serving under Marshal Tito have taken control of extensive areas, and at least one constituent assembly has met in the midst of a country still outwardly under Nazi domination. In still other countries, always at great personal risks, organized sabotage of transportation and communication facilities has slowed down the enemy's plans. Underground forces have played a vital part throughout the war in hampering the enemy, and the war of liberation now entered upon in earnest, they will continue their efforts ever more strongly for victory.

Recent events in Finland and Turkey are significant of the crumbling of the German position all over the Eastern front.

Behind the bare recital of offensive successes and operational gains lies a fascinating story of planning the strategic needs of total war. A year ago, I spoke of the then-public achievements of the latest meetings at Casablanca and at Washington between Mr. Churchill and

D 47483

President Roosevelt, Last August there was the historic conference at Quebec, and between August and the end of the year, there followed meetings at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, about the outcome of which I should now like to speak briefly.

It has been said that Casablanca and Quebec were primarily "councils of war", where strategic decisions of the highest importance were taken involving, in the one case, the war in Europe and, in the second, the war in the Far East. It was the war still at the planning stage, but all of the combined declarations of 1943 were calculated to impress the neutral nations of Europe and even more the satellite states of Hitler's Germany with the determination of the Allied powers to stop at nothing short of victory over the Axis.

The organization of total war for victory always had had some contemplation for the period following the end of hostilities, and this necessity is reflected in the Communiqués issued following the Cairo and Teheran meetings, where for the first time in this war the Generalissimo of China and the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were brought into direct

conference with Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The Cairo meeting made it clear that Japan would be fought and defeated and that those possessions which were added by force of arms to the Empire of Japan over the past half-century would be taken away. The meeting at Teheran envisaged the early prospect of frontal attacks upon the Nazi stronghold in Germany -- attacks from the east and south and west. The United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. did not go so far as to specify what territorial losses a defeated Germany was to suffer. But some guidance on this point had been given by the meeting in Moscow,

9 at the end of October, of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. Dealing with the case of Fascist Italy, then already but a glimmering remnant of Mussolini's once-pompous empire, Mr. Molotov, Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden stated that

> "Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed, and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles."

D 47485

The Moscow Conference gave many leads for the future organization of a peaceful world order. In particular, in a four-power declaration to which China also was a party, these nations pledged their joint efforts to bring about the unconditional surrender and disarmament of their common enemy, and to take all necessary measures to provide against the violation of terms imposed upon that enemy.

They likewise agreed not to use their military forces after the war in other states except after joint consultation, and to confer with each other and other
10 United Nations on the regulation of post-war armaments.

To carry on co-operation in wartime as collaboration in peacetime, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. further expressed their "unanimous recognition... ..that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interest of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted."

D 47486

With this objective in mind they set up two continuing bodies, representing the three powers on behalf of all the United Nations, to which have been given important functions. A European Advisory Commission has been established in London to make joint recommendations to the three governments regarding armistice terms and the nature of the post-war supervision to apply to Germany.

An Advisory Council for Italy with headquarters in the liberated zone has already been set up. Provision was made for representation of the French Committee of National Liberation and the Governments of Yugoslavia and Greece.

Perhaps of greatest continuing interest was the so-called Moscow Declaration on General Security. In outlining a part of the pattern of post-war international society, the three nations envisaged the necessity of establishing a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintaining of peace and security.

D 47487

On the strength of these several conferences, there is hope that the United Nations will carry into the post-hostilities period the machinery of military, political and economic collaboration which has been so extensively developed under stress of war. ~~There is also, in the Moscow~~ declaration, the prospect that the four major powers ~~intend~~ intend a sense of responsibility towards the world community as a whole. ~~It takes the will of the people to give the reality of action to even the best-imagined intentions.~~ Every political issue which arises in the future conduct of the war will gauge and test the sincerity and vision of the United Nations. The power that has been harnessed for the organization of victory over the Axis, if it is power with responsibility for its future use assigned and established, will be a tremendous agency for ensuring freedom and peace.

The peaceful ordering of the world of the future will evidently be a tremendous task. The Government of Canada has followed all of these recent decisions with the closest attention, and ~~whatever~~ such action may be necessary by Canada to give effect to any of them touching Canadian interests ~~will be~~ being made the subject of the most careful study by the Government. The steps taken by Canada to

extend its diplomatic representations abroad have proved, as in the case of the Moscow Conference, to be of great benefit in ensuring that reports to the Government of developments affecting Canada can be made fully and promptly.

follow this with Document B

to the Privy Council

B

B

Draft Statement ~~For Possible Use~~ By Prime Minister D 47489
as part of ~~speech~~ in House of Commons on
External Affairs.

Introduction.

We are rapidly approaching, ~~if we have not already~~ reached, the military climax of the war against Germany. We are at or near the peak of our effort, when the courage and resolution of every serviceman and every civilian is put to the severest test. The Canadian Navy and the R.C.A.F. have long been heavily engaged against the enemy, but never before in such numbers at the same time. ~~Many~~ formations of the Canadian Army are now in action in Italy and in France; ~~the~~ rest of our overseas forces will soon be in the midst of the ordeal for which they have prepared themselves so patiently and so well.

At times like these it is hard to look beyond the immediate fortunes of the fields of battle and consider with a detached mind the problems which we must solve after military victory is won. The price paid for victory has indeed been high during the five long years of war. It will be still higher before fighting stops. We must see that what we get for that terrific price is not a bitter fruit. We must spare no effort to secure a result which will bring peace and prosperity in our time, and in the time of those who succeed us. We must turn our minds, even in

D47490

On several occasions ~~Honourable Members from~~ British Columbia ~~have expressed~~ the view that the rest of Canada does not appreciate the Japanese problem and that it has been left as virtually the sole responsibility of their province. The fact that in 1942, 22,096 of the 23,149 persons of Japanese race in Canada lived in British Columbia, undoubtedly made the people of that province particularly aware of the problem. ~~It will, I believe, be agreed~~ that during the war the Government of Canada has ~~not~~ left the question on the doorstep of British Columbia. It has taken primary responsibility ~~And I wish to say, at the outset~~, that the government recognizes that the problem is one to be faced and dealt with by the whole country not merely by British Columbia. The provinces have their particular spheres of responsibility, but what I ~~wish~~ to make clear is that the government does recognize that the problem is one to be faced by the whole of Canada as a Canadian problem. It is on this basis that the matter has been approached.

The government has had certain basic principles before it in formulating the policy which I wish to present today. In the first place, it recognizes the concern felt

D 47491

by British Columbia at the possibility of once again having within its borders virtually the entire Japanese population of Canada. That situation has in the past led to acrimony and bitterness. That the feeling is general in British Columbia has been made evident not only by the remarks of Honourable Members from the province, but also through representations received from many west-coast organizations and individuals. In view of the concern, it is felt that it must be accepted as a basic factor that it would be unwise and undesirable, not only from the point of view of the people of British Columbia, but also from that of persons of Japanese origin themselves, to allow the Japanese population to be concentrated in that province after the war.

Secondly, ~~the government has noted that for the~~ most part the people of Japanese race in the country have remained loyal and have refrained from acts of sabotage and obstruction during the war. For the future protection of those who have remained loyal as well as to eliminate those who have shown that their true allegiance is not to Canada but to Japan, the government is of the view that persons of Japanese race, whether Japanese nationals or British subjects by naturalization or birth, who have shown disloyalty to Canada during the war should not have the privilege

D 47492

of remaining ~~here~~ in Canada after the struggle is terminated. That is ~~the~~ a second principle that is considered to be fundamental.

Thirdly, the government is of the view that, having regard to the strong feeling that has been aroused against the Japanese during the war and to the extreme difficulty of assimilating Japanese persons in Canada, no immigration of Japanese into this country should be allowed after the war. It is realized, of course, that no declaration of this type can or should be attempted which would be binding indefinitely into the future. Nevertheless, as a guiding principle in the years after the war, it is felt that the exclusion of Japanese immigrants is clearly indicated.

Finally, the government considers that while there are disloyal persons to be removed, and while immigration in future is undesirable, and while problems of assimilation undoubtedly do present themselves with respect even to the loyal Japanese in Canada, nevertheless they are persons who have been admitted here to settle and become citizens, or who have been born into this free country of ours, and, ~~if we are true to the principles for which we are fighting,~~ we cannot do less than treat ~~them~~ such persons fairly and justly.

The interests of ~~Canada~~ must be paramount and ~~they~~ will be protected as the first duty of the government. It has not, however, ~~been demonstrated~~ at any stage of the war that the presence of a few thousand persons of Japanese race, who have been guilty of no act of sabotage and who have manifested no disloyalty, even during periods of utmost trial, constitute a menace to a nation of almost twelve million people. Those who are disloyal must be removed. That ~~has been made~~ is clear. ~~The rest are guilty of no crime, nor even of any ill intention,~~ and the government ~~is determined to~~ will deal justly with ~~them~~. ~~It would~~ be an acceptance of the standards of our enemies and the negation of the purposes for which we are fighting ~~to do otherwise~~.

These are the principles that have seemed worthy of acceptance as the basis for a reasonable and equitable policy in disposing of ~~the~~ this vexatious problem. ~~Obviously~~ the exigencies of the future may dictate modifications or alterations. ~~Moreover~~, we shall attempt, in so far as it seems desirable, to maintain a policy that can, in a sense, be considered as part of a "continental policy" in handling the Japanese problem. ~~The situation in the~~

D 47494

United States is in all essentials the same as our own and, to the extent that it seems desirable, we shall endeavour to ensure that our policy takes account of the policies which are being applied south of the border. There is no need for an identity of policy, but I believe there is merit in maintaining a substantial consistency of treatment in the two countries.

~~Perhaps~~ I might now indicate the tentative measures which it is proposed to put into effect in order to carry out a policy based on the principles I have indicated.

The first and, in a sense, the fundamental task is to determine the loyal and the disloyal persons of Japanese race in Canada. The entire policy depends on this being done. To some extent, of course, the task has been carried out through the examination and internment of suspicious or dangerous persons. However, it cannot be assumed that all those who have been interned are disloyal. Some may merely have misunderstood their dispossession from their property in the protected zones, and may have striven to protest and retain what they considered to be rightfully theirs, as peaceful and honest Canadian citizens. Undoubtedly some of these cases exist. Misunderstanding is not the same as traitorous intent, and a stubborn defence of one's own

D 47495

property is not necessarily disloyalty. On the other hand, there may be persons who have committed no act to justify their internment but who are in fact disloyal. What is clearly indicated is the establishment of a quasi-judicial commission to examine the background, loyalties and attitudes of all persons of Japanese race in Canada to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here.

The commission I have referred to should, I think, be established in the fairly near future in order that it may begin what will be a large and important task. The result of the Commission's work would be to establish a list of disloyal Japanese persons - some of whom will be Japanese nationals, some British subjects by naturalization, and some British subjects by birth. It would be our intention that these persons should be deported to Japan as soon as that is physically possible. Prior to deportation, British subjects, would be stripped of their status as such. By the terms of the peace, Japan can be compelled, whether she wishes it or not, to accept these persons whose first loyalty is to her. There may also be some persons who will voluntarily indicate a desire to proceed to Japan. For these, no further examination would be necessary.

D 47496

Whatever their national status, they would be allowed and encouraged to go as soon as they can.

Once the examination has been carried out, there will be established a list of Japanese persons who are loyal to Canada. Those persons, if they have been properly admitted to this country and wish to remain here, should be allowed to do so. However, as I have said, they should not be allowed once more to concentrate in British Columbia. To prevent such concentration, measures of two types can be taken - on the one hand, a maximum can be set on the number of persons of Japanese race to be allowed to return to British Columbia. On the other hand, persons of Japanese race can be given encouragement to move and remain elsewhere. It would be most undesirable, I believe, to establish a permanent barrier to the movement within Canada of persons who have been lawfully admitted to Canada or who are nationals of Canada. That would raise the possibility of discrimination and restrictions on movement to and from provinces which might have most unfortunate consequences in the future. Even the establishment of a temporary limitation would be undesirable in principle, but as a practical question of policy it may well be inescapable.

D 47497

To encourage Japanese persons already in Canada to settle elsewhere in Canada, it will have to be established that they can remain in ~~such~~ other provinces, ~~acquire property~~, and have the prospect of achieving a settled ~~and happy~~ life. ~~Discussion with the various provinces will probably be desirable.~~ necessary ~~The desirability of removing present restrictions on the acquisition of real property, possibly on the basis of designated areas, will have to be examined.~~ ~~In any event~~, there is ~~no~~ little doubt that, with co-operation, on the part of the provinces it can be made possible to settle the Japanese more or less evenly throughout Canada, ~~in such a manner that, on~~ they must be settled in such a way that on the one hand, they ~~are~~ must be able to pursue the settled lives to which they are entitled, and, ~~on~~ the other hand, ~~they~~ they do not present themselves as an unassimilable bloc or colony which might give rise again to distrust, fear and dislike. It is the fact of concentration that has given rise to the problem. ~~In terms of numbers, the Japanese~~

The sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese Canadians themselves is to distribute their numbers as widely as possible throughout the country where they will not create feelings of racial hospility.

It is not my intention at this time to enlarge further on this matter. There are questions of detail ~~which have not yet been and which must~~ that should be considered. There may also be modifications of policy which further investigation will show to be necessary. However, ~~in general,~~ the lines of development to which the government will endeavour to adhere will be ^ those which I have outlined. Our aim is to resolve a difficult problem which has given rise to some bitterness, in such a manner as to protect the people of British Columbia and ^ the interests of ~~our~~ the country as a whole, while at the same time preserving ^ principles of ^ justice ~~and fair dealing.~~ We must not permit in Canada the hateful doctrine of racialism which is the basis of the Nazi system everywhere.

D 47499

Resolution re Introduction of War Service Grants Act.

The final measure implementing the policies set forth in the Speech from the Throne.

Other measures foreshadowed in Speech from the Throne which have been presented and dealt with include -

"Canadian participation in the establishment of an international organization to further national security through international co-operation."

Industrial development bank to provide additional credit facilities for the conversion of war plants and development of small and medium scale industrial enterprises.

Export credits.

~~Expansion of research activities.~~

D 47500

Tax modifications to encourage industrial transition from war to peace.

The new National Housing Act.

Family Allowances.

Creation of three new Departments -

(1) Veterans' Affairs

(2) Reconstruction

(3) National Health and Welfare

A price floor for staple farm products -- and fisheries (although not mentioned in Speech from the Throne).

The revision of the Bank Act; and the provision of facilities for the exercise of their franchise by men and women serving in the Armed Forces.

The Speech from the Throne foreshadowed War Service Gratuities and also measures to supplement the existing rehabilitation programme.

D 47501

Illustrations

Purchase of a home under the National Housing Act;

Purchase of a business;

Purchase of tools and implements of trade;

Any other purpose soundly recommended as practical and contributing to re-establishment may be approved by the Minister.

This is the crowning measure of Canada's rehabilitation programme.

On the basis of the service already rendered by members of the armed forces to this date, it represents an outlay estimated at $752,000,000.

D 47502

Many of the foregoing economic measures contribute to rehabilitation.

There has also been the Veterans' Insurance Act.

Nothing affords greater pride than the opportunity of introducing the present measure of national gratitude to the members of our fighting forces who have saved Canada.

The measure provides cash, and credit which may be converted into cash, for approved rehabilitative purposes.

It is an advance over former gratuity and bonus legislation in that, while it gives to the veterans a nucleus of funds which they may use according to their own best judgment without official restraint, it also provides an equal amount to be used directly in rehabilitation.

D 47503

The Bill is the work of five Departments, namely -

1. 3 Defence Departments
2. Finance Department
3. Dept. of Pensions and National Health.

It is fitting, therefore, in view of its great significance, that it should be introduced and personally sponsored by the Head of the Government.

Further explanation will be given by the Ministers of National Defence, and the Minister of Pensions and National Health.

Caution:

The Speech from the Throne said -

"War Service gratuities for all who served in the armed forces".

D 47504

This Bill is limited to those who have served voluntarility, and to Mobilization Act recruits who have been or may be ordered to serve outside the Western Hemisphere..

D 47505

The growing stature of Canada among the United Nations has been reflected in many ways: through the extension of our diplomatic representation among the United Nations; through the elevation to embassies of several of our missions; through our share in the joint and combined planning agencies for war and for the post-hostilities period; through the operation of Canadian Mutual Aid; but, above all, by the skill and valour of Canada's fighting men on many fighting fronts.

In addition to our concern to bring about victory at the earliest possible day, we must do everything we can to see that a just and enduring peace is created and maintained. It is only thereby that the furtherance of social justice in our domestic and foreign relations, and in fostering the growth of international understanding, co-operation and goodwill, can be more effectively achieved.

To help in bringing into being a new world order, whole nations will have to be liberated; entire civilian populations given food and clothing and the means of re-establishing themselves in useful occupations. Behind these great tasks of liberation and reconstruction ~~there lies a sober realization which has now passed into both the language and the ideals of our external policy.~~ And all that is involved in a new world order has its realization there.

D 47506

It is to those valiant men and women who have carried the battle into the enemy's camp and to all who have accorded them the needed support that we owe the preservation of those freedoms which it is the genius of our nation to cherish and enhance. It is because of their courage, their privations and their sacrifices that our nation has been sustained and the very lives of our people protected. It is for them above all others that we must endeavour so to shape our policies for the future that they may have abundant opportunity, security in mind and body, and with both the fullest measure of well-being and worthy achievement that our concept of a New Order can afford.

~~We have said that nothing less than an utmost effort will bring about victory. We must see that for the building of peace we hazard as much and even venture more. To this at least our fighting men are entitled, and they will be content with nothing less.~~

D 47507

I N D E X

Air Bases: U.S. Bases in Canada	Washington	5
Alaska Highway, policy re	Washington	4
Australia, High Commissioner for Canada in	High Commr	2
Avenol, Joseph: resignation of	Appendix	A
Brussels, Canadian Legation at	Brussels	1
Burma Road, closing of	Tokyo	4
Canada House, London	High Commr	1
Canadian Ministers, abroad	Ministers	1
Canadian Minister to Japan, appointment of	Tokyo	1
Canberra, High Commissioner at	High Commr	2
Copper, exports of	Tokyo	3
Dublin, High Commissioner at	High Commr	2
Eire, definition of; usage re;	High Commr	3(b)
Estimates, reduction in	Gen Policy	1
Ethiopia, Italian sovereignty over	Ethiopia	
France, Legation of in Canada	Paris	3
Garland, E.J., appointment of (Dublin)	High Commr	3(c)
Greenland, Canadian action respecting	Greenland	
Havana, Conference at (July 1940)	Havana Conf	
Income Tax, application to salaries of members of legations	Income Tax	
Ireland, High Commissioner for Canada in	High Commr	2
Ireland, question of neutrality in	High Commr	3(a)
Japan, Canadian Minister to, appointment	Tokyo	1
Lead, export of	Tokyo	3
League of Nations		

(see next page)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 47508

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister:

re: External Affairs Estimates

1) Explanatory notes for the three items appearing under War Appropriations 1944-45 are set out at pages 13a, 13b, and 13c PINK FLAG

2) Mr. Robertson asks me to direct your attention to the explanatory note to Vote 36 at the front of the book, which explains that while the vote under War Appropriations has been decreased, the Main Department Estimates have been substantially increased. GREEN FLAG

It is evident that the volume of work of the Department will never return to the purely 1939 level, and all expenditures of a continuing nature have, therefore, been included in the Departmental Estimates.

J. A. G.

April 18, 1944

K. Rox

Ottawa, November 27th, 1943.

D 47509

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Privy Council Estimates; War Appropriation

Treasury Board have asked for all War Appropriation Estimates to be in not later than November 30th. Attached for your signature, if approved, are the following, with explanatory notes in each case, coming under the heading of Privy Council Office:

1. Statutory Orders and Regulations Division, $40.665.24.

The substantial increase of $18,057.44 is accounted for by the cost of printing the weekly publication.

2. Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada, $11,748.28.

This is a very modest figure.

3. Food Requirements Committee $3,500.

The Secretary of this Committee, being attached to this Office, this amount provides for the Committee's small stenographic and other expenses.

Estimates for the Wartime Information Board are not yet in final form. I have arranged for a draft copy only, to be filed with Treasury Board pending a meeting of W.I.B. to deal with the question, following which the final budget will be submitted for your signature.

A. D. P. H.

47511

L 47510

Prime Minister's Statements
on External Affairs matters
Session 1944:

Subject	Hansard Page	Date
Cartels - Inquiry as to dealings between British, Americans and Germans	2144	Apr. 17
Conferences and Visitors -	1216	Mar. 6
-- Quebec Conference, 1943 - question by Mr. Raymond		
-- Cairo and Teheran Conferences	1445	Mar. 15
-- Visiting Prime Ministers - Curtin and Fraser	1557	Mar. 16
-- Conference of Prime Ministers in London	2295	Apr. 21
-- " " re consultation with leaders of Canadian political parties	2348	Apr. 24
-- Welcome to P.M. on return to House from Conference	3181 et seq	May 22
-- Visit to Canada of PMs of Australia and N.Z.	3188	May 22
-- Inquiry as to report of proceedings in London	3188-9	May 22
-- " " " visit of Gen. De Gaulle to Canada	4267	June 26
Diplomatic Service -		
-- Embassies - Chile and Peru (Legations to Embassies)	3291	May 25
-- Soviet Russia - Question of representation between 16 new republics	265	Feb. 8
-- Exchange of missions with Mexico	1548	Mar. 16
External Affairs -		
-- Inquiry as to discussions between officials of Canada and other countries	147	Feb. 3
-- Commonwealth relations - re: press report of Bracken	2187	Apr. 18
-- Departmental administration and passport office	3679-80	June 6
-- Post War International Security - estimates	4041	June 19
Flag - National -		
-- Mr. Church - question re	1145	Mar. 3
-- Mr. LaCroix - questions re	954	Feb. 28
Foreign Countries - relations with:		
-- Inter-American Development - Commission meeting in New York	3821	June 12
-- Arctic Affairs - U.S.-Russia-Canada	4747	July 10
-- Argentine Republic - recognition of new government	1305	Mar. 7
-- " " - Canada's position re "	1329	Mar. 9
-- France - liberated areas; relations with Gen. DeGaulle	3822	June 12
-- France - agreement with French Com.; visit of "	4744	July 10
-- Greece - aid to; message of thanks from P.M.	3667	June 6
-- Italy - recognition by Allied Govts.	1145	Mar. 3
-- " - Rome, bombing of	1800	Mar. 23
-- Spain - exports to	1331	Mar. 9
-- United States - Hyde Park Agreement	2142	Apr. 17

Subject	Hansard Page	Date
Foreign Exchange - post-war dollar gold-based stabilisation fund	1689	Mar. 20
Granby Mining Corporation	1387	" 10
-- replying to suggestion by Coldwell	1380-81	" 9
-- Japanese interests		
-- inquiry as to completeness of return, Mar.6	1302-3	" 7
Immigration - Refugees		
-- Chinese - treaty for reciprocal admission	2126	Apr. 17
-- " - request by Mr. Neil for copy of treaty	2344	" 24
-- Question by Mr. Dorion	1911	Mar. 27
-- Refugees - External Affairs - supply	2053 et seq	Mar.30
International Agreements, Treaties, Notes		
-- Canada-U.S. and Canada-U.K.	7 and 8	Jan. 28
-- Canada-U.S. fur seals of Bering Sea and North Pacific	699	Feb. 21
-- Australia-New Zealand - request for printing in "Votes and Proceedings"	386-7	Feb. 11
-- Extradition Treaty with U.S.	385-6	Feb. 11
-- " " " " enquiry re position of	338	Feb. 10
-- Canada-U.S. Alaska Highway flight strips	335	Feb. 10
-- Canada-Newfoundland - landing of salt and fish	3943	June 15
-- Canada-Brazil - cultural relations	3943	June 15
-- Canada-U.S. avoidance of double taxation	3715	June 8,
-- Canada-Brazil - cultural relations	3616	June 5
-- International Law - Canadian claims against U.S. govt.	2292	Apr. 21
-- Canada-Newfoundland; Canada-Mexico; Canada-U.S.	2237-8	Apr.20
-- Canada-China - extraterritorial rights	2125-6	Apr. 17
-- Canada-U.S. - Juneau-Alaska Air Service	1613	Mar. 17
-- Australia-N.Z. - copies for members	1548	Mar. 16
-- Columbia River Basin - re joint commission	1332	Mar. 9
-- Pan-American Highways Conference, Peru	1087	Mar. 12
-- International Monetary Fund	2291-2	Apr. 21
League of Nations - Canada's contributions	841	Feb. 24
Mutual Aid -		
-- Canada-China - war supplies	1849	Mar. 24
-- Tabling of Agreement with French Committee of National Liberation	2125	Apr. 17
-- Canada-U.S. U.S.S.R and Australia	1584	Mar. 16
-- " " " "	1559	Mar. 16
Post-War Aviation Conference - question by Mr. Knowles re	840	Feb. 24
-- question by Mr. Gregson re discussion of, at P.M's meeting	2101	Mar. 31
Prisoners of War -		
-- Killing of Allied Airmen in Germany	4904	July 13
-- re threatened execution of Allied Airmen in Japan	5013	July 17
-- Arrangements for food, clothing and medical supplies	4173-4	June 22
-- Shooting of Canadian officers	4219	June 23
-- Inquiry re shooting of Britons and Canadians in Germany	3668	June 6
-- Representations to Russia by Gr.Britain re prisoners in Japan	3618	June 5
-- Question by Mr. Church re shackling	1216	Mar. 6
-- Canadians in Japan and Japanese nations in Canada	5 and 6	Jan. 26
United Nations		
-- Relief and Rehabilitation Administration	2305	Apr. 21
-- " " implementation of agreement Nov.9,1943	2191	Apr. 18
-- " " " " "	2177	Apr. 17
-- " " proposed meeting in Montreal	2101	Mar. 31
-- " " inquiry re date of meeting of Council	1850	Mar. 24
-- " " agreement of Nov.9, 1943	1687	Mar. 20

D 47512

Subject		Hansard Page	Date
The War	- Invasion of Western Europe	3663	June 6
	-- Canadian participation in "	3715	June 8

Ext Affrs
Extracts 44

RGR/LF
17.7.44.

Prime Minister

D47513

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TURNBULL:

Mr. Robertson suggests that the words "falling within this class" should be inserted in the statement on Japanese after the words "British subjects" in the sentence "Prior to deportation, British subjects would be stripped of their status as such". This sentence occurs on Page 7 of the original draft in the second paragraph of the enunciation of measures proposed to institute the policy with regard to the treatment of Japanese persons.

RGR

Cf Berus Statement re Family allowances
IC 3 Oct

D 47514

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re External Affairs Estimates (A)

I attach a draft statement, part or all of which you may wish to consider using as an introduction to the more detailed material prepared in the Department. It is purposely general, but I have tried to give some proper attention to the strategic picture of the war as a global war; also to the change in the emphasis of United Nations' planning reflected by the Cairo, Teheran and Moscow Conferences of 1943.

J. A. G.

July 30th, 1944.

JAG/LAB

The sections on Canada and France / Canada as a World Power (at end) are merely suggestions. Both could be extended as desired. J.G.

NAR/ET

D 47515 22 July, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

B

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Herewith is a draft statement prepared by Wrong for your use on the External Affairs Estimates. You may not wish to use it as a prepared statement to be read in the House, but you might embody some of the points made. I think that it would be useful at this moment to place on the record especially the following points:

1. The need for establishing a selective principle in the world organization of security between states other than the Great Powers (pages 6-7).

2. Something along the lines of the section headed "Security is not enough" on pages 7-8.

3. A reiteration in the light of the London meeting of the impossibility of "the single voice" idea in the Commonwealth (pages 9-11).

I feel that it might have a useful effect for you to speak on these lines shortly before the discussions on world security between the Great Powers begin in Washington. I think that also the first and third points would help our representations against the proposed form of the German armistice. A strong statement on point 3 is needed perhaps more for education abroad than at home, especially in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R and also in the United Kingdom.

x The Government of Canada has already conveyed a general expression of its views to the United Kingdom Government through the Dominions Office; and three or four U.K. representatives who will shortly leave for conversations in Washington will come to Ottawa later on.

The Department attaches a good deal of importance to point 3, above / Ed.

D 47516

Broad Political Survey

Re: Progress of the war of liberation and the development of planning machinery for the peace settlement.

It is now almost two years since the first major offensive by forces of the United Nations began a new phase of operations ~~which~~ that carried the allied war effort across the Great Divide from uncertainty of Victory on the one side to certainty of Victory on the other. The initiative then seized - in the Solomons, in the Western Desert, then in North Africa - has never been relaxed. Rather has it been maintained and greatly extended.

Two months ago, the war of liberation was carried to one of the many parts of Europe which had been under Hitler's control for nearly four years. While the north-western wall of ~~his~~ the Nazi-controlled fortress was being breached, and the breach held, the gigantic summer offensive of the armies of the Soviet Union has hurled back the enemy on a scale never dreamed of in modern warfare. With the exception of a decidedly limited area in the Baltic republics, the Soviet forces have recovered nearly all of their own territory which was occupied by Nazi forces following the treacherous invasion launched on June 22, 1941. This tremendous drive is now being carried across Polish soil into Germany itself.

D 47517

~~Now~~, In Normandy, the great struggle for liberation is being fought out by combined United States, British and Canadian forces. The next few weeks, if not days, may witness battles which will go far to decide the fate of the German stronghold now beset from East and West.

When I reviewed the progress of the war last July, it was on the very eve of Canadian landings at Pachino, in Sicily, at the beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Following a campaign of 38 days, which saw the complete defeat of German forces in that Island, Canadian forces were in the van of Allied landings on the mainland. The unconditional surrender of Italy ~~a~~shortly after removed this unhappy partner from the Axis alignment. In the heavy fighting which pushed the Nazi forces steadily northward, Canadian troops have had an important part. At the beginning of 1944, the First Canadian Division was supplemented by other units, and by the establishment of headquarters of a Canadian Corps in the field. Since May, this Canadian Corps has been fighting at full strength, and up until the eve of the liberation of Rome, it took part in many important actions.

~~It~~ The Canadian Corps was, and is, a part of the British Eighth Army, ~~which~~ 26 was moved secretly from the Adriatic front, to engage the enemy, ~~with~~ to more good decisive results. In the landings both in Sicily and Italy and in many subsequent operations, squadrons

of the Royal Canadian Air Force and ships and men of the Royal Canadian Navy have co-operated fully and effectively. In like measure the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Royal Canadian Navy have co-operated fully and effectively in the invasion of Europe from the North. Wherever they serve, from now until the day of final victory, we may be sure that all the armed forces of Canada, rigorously trained and superbly equipped, will continue to strike telling and relentless blows in the cause of the world's freedom. We may continue to count upon a like heroic and far-reaching service on the part of Canada's merchant navy, which throughout has played a vital role in the war.

The spectacular progress of the Red Armies in pushing back the German enemy, and the initial successes of Allied armies in Normandy and Italy, should not obscure the importance of Allied offensives elsewhere. In the Battle of the Atlantic, increased air coverage over vital routes, and new methods of combat have made possible a greater concentration of weapons against the U-boat menace than ever before. The bridge of ships upon which victory depends has been kept intact. The menace of the U-boat may never entirely disappear during wartime, ~~but it is significant that over~~ since the beginning of this year ~~several recent months~~ more than four times as many U-boats have been sunk in the North Atlantic by the combined resources of escort vessels, carrier-based aircraft and land-based planes as the number of merchant ships lost by enemy action.

D 47519

In the Western Pacific, Japanese forces are being steadily hemmed in and driven back from the fringes of a vast area of sea and islands. It is of interest that in an area where what was at first a war of survival and, for many months, a war of attrition, has now become in part a war of liberation. In a part of Netherlands New Guinea, for example, Netherlands civil affairs officers are already at work in the first sizeable area of Dutch soil to be wrested back from the Japanese. United States task forces have been reducing Japanese outposts by occupation of strategic islands, of which Saipan, Guam and Tinian are recent examples.

The air war against Japan has been pursued actively from land as well as from sea. From lately-constructed bases in China, new Super fortresses of the United States XXth Air Force have rained destruction on some of the most important industrial areas under Japanese control. On land, also, on the Indo-Burmese front, dogged efforts are being made to whittle down the Japanese lines and to keep open the supply routes to China on which her own military effort against Japan now so largely depends.

D47520

As might be expected, the weight of Allied bombing over Europe, the relentless patrolling of European seaways, and now the actual fighting on land, have aroused ~~the~~ resistance movements (these governments have been kept alive through underground channels in many European nations whose governments are in exile. It is known, for example, that full-scale fighting by underground warriors in some parts of France has ~~contained~~ engaged large numbers of Nazi troops who might otherwise be serving elsewhere. In Yugoslavia the so-called "partisan" forces serving under Marshal Tito have taken control of extensive areas, and at least one constituent assembly has met in the midst of a country still outwardly under Nazi domination. In still other countries, always at great personal risks, organized sabotage of transportation and communication facilities has slowed down the enemy's plans. Underground forces have played a vital part throughout the war in hampering the enemy, and in the war of liberation now entered upon in earnest, they will continue their efforts ever more strongly for victory.

Recent events in Finland and Turkey are significant of the crumbling of the German position at both ends of the Eastern front.

D 47521

Behind the bare recital of offensive successes and operational gains lies a ~~fascinating~~ meritorious story of realistic planning for the strategic needs of total war. A year ago, I spoke of the then-public achievements of the latest meetings at Casablanca and at Washington between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. Last August, there was the historic conference at Quebec, and between August and the end of the year, there followed meetings at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, ~~about~~ the outcome of ~~which~~ those meetings I should now like to speak briefly.

It has been said that Casablanca and Quebec were primarily "councils of war", where strategic decisions of the highest importance were taken involving, ~~in the one case~~, the war in Europe and, ~~in the second~~, the war in the Far East. It was the war still at the planning stage, but all of the combined declarations of 1943 were calculated to impress the neutral nations of Europe and, even more, the German satellite states ~~of Hitlerite Germany~~, with the determination of the Allied powers to stop at nothing short of victory over the Axis.

The organization of total war for victory always ~~had~~ had some contemplation for the period following the end of hostilities, ~~and~~ this necessity is reflected in the Communiques issued following the Cairo and Teheran meetings,

where for the first time in this war the Generalissimo of China and the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were brought into direct conference with Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The Cairo meeting made it clear that Japan would be fought and defeated, and that those possessions which were added by force of arms to the Empire of Japan over the past half-century would be taken from her. The meeting at Teheran envisaged the early prospect of frontal attacks upon the Nazi stronghold in Germany - attacks from the east and south and west. The United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. did not go so far as to specify what territorial losses a defeated Germany was to suffer. But some guidance on this point had been given by the meeting in Moscow, at the end of October, of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. Dealing with the case of Fascist Italy, then already but a glimmering remnant of Mussolini's once pompous empire, Mr. Molotov, Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden stated that

> "Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed, and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles."

D 47523

The Moscow Conference gave many leads for the future organization of a peaceful world order. In particular, in a four-power declaration to which China also was a party, these nations pledged their joint efforts to bring about the unconditional surrender and disarmament of their common enemy, and to take all necessary measures to provide against the violation of terms imposed upon that enemy.

They likewise agreed not to use their military forces after the war in other states except after joint consultation, and to confer with each other and other United Nations on the regulation of post-war armaments.

To carry on co-operation in wartime as collaboration in peacetime, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. further expressed their "unanimous recognition.... ...that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interest of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted."

With this objective in mind they set up two continuing bodies, representing the three powers on behalf of all the United Nations, to which have been given important

D 47524

functions. A European Advisory Commission has been established in London to make joint recommendations to the three governments regarding armistice terms and the nature of the post-war supervision to apply to Germany.

An Advisory Council for Italy with headquarters in the liberated zone has already been set up. Provision was made for representation on the Council of the French Committee of National Liberation and the Governments of Yugoslavia and Greece.

Perhaps of greatest continuing interest was the so-called Moscow Declaration on General Security. In outlining a part of the pattern of post-war international society, the three nations envisaged the necessity of establishing a general international organization, based ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF ALL PEACE-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintaining of peace and security.

On the strength of these several conferences, there is hope that the United Nations will carry into the post-hostilities period the machinery of military, political and economic collaboration which has been so extensively developed under stress of war.

D 47525

The first object of our external policy must continue to be to win the war, and to win it at the earliest possible day. It is more true than ever, more urgent than ever, that we in Canada should bend all our efforts to the supreme task of winning victory at the earliest possible moment. We have now been fighting, on a scale of increasing magnitude and intensity, for more than four years. Of the people of Canada as a whole, I think it can be said that we have never mistaken nor doubted the real issue in the world-wide struggle. For this reason the planning which has shaped the war effort of Canada since 1939 has been constantly aligned with the changing needs of war. This planning has been directed towards victory for the United Nations. It has also been concerned with the responsibilities which will fall to Canada on the morrow of victory, and with the tasks of Canada as an emerging world power in the society of free nations.

B

D 47526

Re Post-War World Organization

We are rapidly approaching, if we have not already reached, the military climax of the war against Germany. We are at or near the peak of our effort, when the courage and resolution of every serviceman and every civilian is being put to the severest test. The Canadian Navy and the R.C.A.F. have long been heavily engaged against the enemy, but never before in such numbers at the same time. ~~Practically all~~ Most formations of the Canadian Army are now in action in Italy and in France in the midst of the ordeal for which they have prepared themselves so patiently and so well.

At times like these it is hard to look beyond the immediate fortunes of the fields of battle and consider with a detached mind the problems which we must solve after military victory is won. The price paid for victory has indeed been high during the five long years of war. It will be still higher before fighting stops. We must see that what we get for that terrific price is not the bitter fruit of disillusionment. We must spare no effort to secure a result which will bring peace and prosperity in our time, and in the time of those who succeed us. We must turn our minds, even in

D 47527

these days of military climax, to the organization of peace with the same sort of vigour and determination that have been devoted so successfully to the organization of war.

~~World Security.~~

The organization of peace was one of the chief subjects which was discussed at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May. Mr. Churchill on May 24th gave to the British House of Commons an outline of the views which had been considered at that meeting. President Roosevelt in a statement of June 15th indicated that he had a similar conception of the means which should be adopted to give effect to the fourth paragraph of the Moscow Declaration of last autumn. A lot of hard thinking is being given to these problems in Moscow, in London, in Washington, in Ottawa, and in the other capitals of the United Nations. Mr. Cordell Hull has announced that they will be discussed in Washington next month by representatives of the four largest powers.

I said in the House of Commons last January that it was indeed true beyond question "that the peace of the world depends on preserving on the side of peace a large superiority of power so that those who wish to disturb the peace can have no chance of success". In recent weeks the Germans have added to their armoury of weapons a new instrument of blind destruction, the

use of which may serve to underline the thought which I then expressed. The "flying bomb" of today is a weapon in its infancy. If it is developed with all the resources and ingenuity of modern science, we may find in a few years that it has become an engine of war which could be used to destroy from afar peaceful countries without warning ~~in a single day~~. The weapon which the Germans are using so indiscriminately against southern England may be as crude in performance in comparison with its successors as was the tank first used in battle on the Somme in September,1916, in comparison with the latest tanks now in production.

We must indeed preserve a large superiority of power on the side of peace. We shall have that power among the United Nations from the hour of victory. We must keep it in the first place to disarm our enemies and prevent a revival of barbaric militarism in their countries. We must keep it also not only to meet dangers from other quarters which might arise, but to further constructive solutions of the problems which give rise to such dangers.

Canadians should, I think, approach these great questions of the organization of security with two main objects in mind: first, that the methods adopted should be as effective as can be contrived; and, secondly, that they should safeguard the interests

D 47529

of Canada and commend themselves to the Canadian people so that they can secure steady public support.

There is no constitutional cure for the diseases of international society. Indeed, perhaps one of the errors into which many people fell between the two wars was to feel that the establishment of the League of Nations had somehow itself removed the danger of war. The League was an institution which provided a method and occasion for international cooperation. Without the will to cooperate through the League machinery on the part of countries possessing a large superiority of power the League could not succeed. It used to be said, in the language current at Geneva, that what was the matter with the League was its lack of universality. This did not mean that a League to which some states did not belong was ineffective; it did mean, however, that unless all or nearly all the most powerful states belonged to the League and accepted its basic principles the League machinery was inadequate to prevent the possibility of war.

The Organization of Power.

We should be able to make a better start now. The four greatest states among the United Nations have joined in the Moscow Declaration and there can be no doubt that the rest of the United Nations fully endorse its terms. In the organization of power it is for the most powerful states to take the lead. This is a correct application of the functional idea of international organization.

The outlines of the plan which are now emerging involve a constitution generally similar to that of the League of Nations, including an Assembly in which all Member States would be equally represented and a Council consisting of representatives of the greatest powers, together with a few other members. Great emphasis is being placed on the authority of the Council as the central agency for watching over the peace of the world and initiating action to remove threats of war and other causes of serious disagreement or dissension.

Composition of World Council.

If the Council is given these large powers - and I do not question the need for making it an effective centre for initiating action - its composition becomes a question of great importance. The suggestions made by President Roosevelt and Mr.Churchill, which are indeed implicit in the Moscow Declaration, are that China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States should always be represented on the Council. In the function of maintaining world security the part of these countries is so vital that one must unhesitatingly agree. It is also suggested that there should be added, by a process of election or selection yet to be worked out, a number of representatives of other states who would have temporary membership on the Council and it is to this question that I wish to direct attention.

The cooperation of the greatest powers is necessary to main-

tain peace. They must cooperate not only with each other but also with other states of lesser power. Especially among our European allies the memory of the Munich Agreement of the autumn of 1938 is still vivid. In the circumstances which prevailed then, the Munich Agreement may have been the best means of postponing war with Germany. In it, however, two great powers bought from Hitler and his Italian partner, at the expense of a small country, time to prepare themselves for war. Unless the smaller countries can play their due part in the new international system, there will be ever present the fear that great powers may settle their differences at the expense of the smaller countries. The mere existence of such a fear would in time prejudice the whole scheme.

What then should the due part of the lesser countries be, especially in connection with this question of the composition of the new World Council? The simple division of the world between Great Powers and the rest is unreal and even dangerous. The Great Powers are called by that name simply because they possess great power. The other states of the world possess power - and, therefore, the capacity to use it for the maintenance of peace - in varying degrees ranging from almost zero in the case of the smallest and weakest states up to a military potential not very far behind that of the Great Powers.

D47532

In determining what states should be represented on the Council with the Great Powers, it is, I believe, necessary to apply the functional idea. Those countries which have most to contribute to the maintenance of the peace of the world should be most frequently selected. The military contribution actually made during this war by the members of the United Nations provides one good working basis for a selective principle of choice.

Security is not enough.

I have emphasized the necessity of basing world security on the maintenance of a large superiority of power. Between the two wars too many people in too many countries placed too much faith in general promises like those in the Kellogg Treaty, in expressions of goodwill, in constitutional mechanisms. The world has been disillusioned, but the reaction in the other direction can go too far. If the new world system is conceived in terms of power alone, peace may be kept for a time, but not for long. If it is to last and broaden out from precedent to precedent it must embody a dynamic idea and ideal. The concentration on security, and on the need to marshal overwhelming force to meet threats to security, is not enough. Security from war is indeed essential, but real security requires international action and organization in many other fields - in social welfare, in trade, in technical progress, in transportation and in economic development. The

D 47533

general aim must be to lower the temperature of nationalism, while preserving its good features, and thus to diminish national rivalries and reduce the importance of frontiers. This requires that there should be a wide and fruitful area of collaboration, including the continuance of part of the elaborate system of war-time cooperation which we have built up among the Allies under stress of danger.

It is perhaps natural that after so many weary years of war some people, looking back perhaps to the high hopes of 25 years ago and recalling their disenchantment, should take a gloomy view of what can be accomplished. We must not fear the future. Canadians have every right to be proud not only of what their country has achieved but of what it can achieve. We must not on the other hand think that everything will be simple, that in facing the issues both at home and abroad we can slip into easy ways, and postpone decisions or leave the decisions to other and more powerful states. The opportunity is great, perhaps the greatest that has ever faced mankind. So too will the effort be great which is required to take advantage of the opportunity. Men in all countries will need to make that effort if success is to be attained.

Place of the Commonwealth - the "Single Voice".

We and ~~our sister~~ the other nations of the Commonwealth already have with the United States what Mr.Churchill has called a "fraternal

D 47534

association". Inside the Commonwealth we already have between its members the type of international relations which we hope to see in wider fields. Many times in recent months, though not too often, there has been described and praised the intimate system of collaboration which prevails within the Commonwealth. There is little that I should add today.

On one point however, I have ~~noted~~ heard since my return from London, a tendency in certain quarters in Canada to revive controversy over an issue which has been settled. This is the issue whether the British Commonwealth should seek always to speak with a single voice and should be permanently represented as such on the new world Council. ~~My friend~~ Mr.Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, was questioned on this by the press when he was recently in Ottawa. He answered: "There is no question about any of our Prime Ministers or countries delegating to the United Kingdom or any other Dominion the right to speak for our respective countries. That is fundamental ..... Co-operation, solidarity, help in peace and war, Yes, but not subordinating any opinions that our respective Governments arrive at". In response to a further question about the possibility that the Commonwealth should act as a unit in the world security organization he said: "I think that would destroy the whole idea of world organization. I may say this, that there is no British leader I have ever heard who has put that point".

D 47535

I should like to add to what Mr.Fraser said a few observations of my own. Inside the Commonwealth we can and do manage as a rule to reach agreement on the general lines of policy which our Governments should pursue in dealing with major issues. We find it possible to agree because we have the will to agree and cherish similar international ideals and purposes. If, however, the countries of the Commonwealth had to reach agreement by some political process yet to be devised, so that all were bound to carry out a single policy, there would be a very different story. The World Council is to be an executive body. It must be capable of prompt and single minded action. The United Kingdom, which is indisputably a great power, will sit on the Council in its own right, and its influence there will be enhanced by its special relationship with the countries of the Commonwealth. The United Kingdom representative will, however, be responsible to London and will take his instructions from London alone.

Supposing we were to change this so that he would become a representative of the British Commonwealth, should he have to withhold action until he has received instructions from half a dozen Governments? What should he do if these instructions were in conflict? Should he follow the majority opinion even if it is violently opposed by the Government, Parliament and people in one or more Commonwealth countries? At the very best, action would

D 47536

be delayed and decisions blurred. At the worst we would run the risk of rendering the Commonwealth impotent in international affairs and perhaps of disrupting it.

I say to the few in Canada who have advocated such a change that the prestige abroad of the British Commonwealth was never higher than it is today. The prestige is based upon a belief that in the British Commonwealth there has been evolved a unique alliance of a peculiarly tough and enduring kind whose members act together not because they are under any strict obligation to do so but because they have the will to act together. Our friends abroad, furthermore, have discovered that the primary objects for which the members of the Commonwealth act together are objects which can be shared by other countries of goodwill. They realize that the Commonwealth is not a power bloc exploiting its own interests but a group of likeminded nations whose close association has in the past formed, and should form in the future, a most reliable element within the framework of the world order.

(John in draft was sent
in address to Cork meeting

p. 167

C

NAR/SP
28.6.44

CANADA AND THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

D 47537

During the debate on the estimates for this Department last July, and since then from time to time in public discussion, there has been reference made to the Pan American Union and in some cases the opinion has been expressed in favour of Canadian membership in the Pan-American Union. ~~As Members of the House are aware,~~ The constitution of the Pan-American Union confines membership to the twenty-one American Republics. Some alteration would therefore be necessary in the present terms of membership before Canada could be admitted. A prerequisite to any action by Canada would, of course, be the reception of an invitation from the present members inviting Canada to join the Union.

Quite apart from these technical and formal aspects of the situation, I am convinced that Canadian participation in such an organization could only be based upon a wide general appreciation in this country of the purposes and responsibilities of the Pan-American Union. I am not convinced that such an appreciation now exists. A recent sampling of public opinion on the subject of Canadian membership revealed that very many of those questioned did not know what the Pan-American Union was. It might perhaps be suggested that those who favour our participation might best serve their cause by helping to create a wider understanding of the various aspects of this subject among the people of Canada.

In the meantime the matter is not being overlooked by the government. In this connection it may be recalled that no formal meeting of the Pan-American Union has been held since 1938, the 9th Conference which was to have assembled in 1943 being postponed because of the war. If our hemispheric neighbours find it advisable to postpone such conferences in wartime, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Canada should delay an active consideration of this topic until the world conflict has ended. At that time, moreover, we can take whatever action may seem appropriate in the light of postwar developments in the realm of international organization.

It should not be thought, however, that we are unaware of the value of increasing cooperation and friendship with the other governments of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, we are steadily developing our contacts with them on every

D 47538

and the Foreign Minister of Mexico

appropriate occasion and in a variety of ways. Last autumn, for instance, we had the pleasure of entertaining such distinguished political leaders of Latin American states as the Foreign Minister of Chile and the President of Haiti. At various times in recent months members of the Brazilian Section of the United States - Brazil Joint Defence Board, scientists, members of parliament and business men have also visited Canada. Such visits are most helpful in furthering friendly relations, ~~and~~ I regret that war-time conditions make it impossible for members of this government to accept many of the invitations for return visits which have been so cordially extended to them.

The fact that we have elevated our Missions in Brazil and Chile to the rank of Embassies, that we have established this year an Embassy in Mexico and arranged for the exchange of Ambassadors between Canada and Peru, is further proof of our appreciation of the importance of progressively increasing and strengthening our political relationships in the Western Hemisphere. Our trade commissioner service is being maintained at a high state of efficiency in the Latin American countries. The government also looks with favour upon the presence of Canadian officials and experts at technical and scientific conferences of a Pan-American character. Canada has been represented in Mexico City at a conference on Demography, in New York at a Conference on Cartography, and in Santiago at a Conference on Criminal Jurisprudence. It will likewise be represented at the Fifth Pan-American Highway Congress to be held in Lima, Peru, in the near future. ~~Last month,~~ At the invitation of the government of the United States, Canada sent an observer to the First Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development.

These contacts, modest and limited though they necessarily must be, have all helped to bring about a better knowledge of Canada in the countries of Latin America and of those countries among our own people. The new and closer relations with the American countries which have been stimulated and encouraged by our association in the war against the Axis powers will, I believe, continue to develop to our mutual advantage in many fruitful ways.

D

AVR/CL
~~23.6.44.~~

D 47539

~~STATEMENT REGARDING~~ CANADIAN NATIONALS IN ENEMY HANDS

During the debate on the Immigration estimates on June 5th, a number of questions were asked by ~~members~~ Hon. about the arrangements for the protection and relief of distressed Canadian nationals in enemy hands. The fact that the item for reimbursing the Swiss Government for these relief payments appeared in the estimates of the Immigration Branch, rather than in the estimates of External Affairs, may have been the cause of some misunderstanding.

The Department of External Affairs, through the Protecting Power, endeavours to keep in touch with Canadian nationals in enemy hands and authorizes, where necessary, the payment of relief by the representatives of the Protecting Power. Such relief is made in the form of a loan and is subject to repayment from assets or income which the individual beneficiary may have in Canada. Frequently, when they are able to do so, the family in Canada of a person receiving relief is ready to reimburse the Government. The vote for relief of the distressed nationals abroad has been for many years in the estimates of the Immigration Branch. This procedure goes back to the days when our Immigration representation abroad was much more extended than that of the Department of External Affairs. It has been convenient to leave it there, as the Immigration Branch have an organization in Canada which has proved useful for keeping the individual accounts and making collections.

It appeared in the discussion on the Immigration estimates, that some members thought that the payment of relief to distressed nationals was handled by the International Red Cross. This is not so. It is the Protecting Power alone which represents us in enemy territories and which acts on our behalf for the relief of our nationals. The International Red Cross is essentially a neutral body concerned mainly with the welfare of prisoners of war and internees, collectively rather than individually, and regardless of nationality.

I should also like to answer a little more fully questions which were then asked as to the number of Canadian nationals in enemy hands.

E U R O P E

The Minister of Mines and Resources gave the figure of 800 persons receiving assistance in Europe. This is the number of separate accounts received from the Swiss up to August 1943 for relief paid to persons or families in Europe. Many of these accounts are for the relief of two or more persons. In addition, there are many Canadians who are not receiving relief and others who are, but for whom accounts have not been received. It is not always clear on our records how many married couples or families are shown as one person, and of course we cannot say how many Canadians have managed to carry on without appealing to the Protecting Power for assistance.

It is impossible to give any close estimate of the actual number of Canadian nationals in enemy hands, even in Europe. If members of families of Canadian nationals are counted singly, the figure for France, Germany and the Low Countries may approach 3,000. (This figure does not, of course, include prisoners of war or merchant seamen). These are the countries on which we receive a good deal of information from the Protecting Power. Our information about Canadians in Norway, Denmark, the countries between Germany and Russia, and the Balkans, is more uncertain.

Altogether there may be some 3,000 to 4,000 Canadians in enemy occupied Europe, the figure depending to a great extent on how we define "Canadian". A figure of 4,000 would probably include all British subjects whose connection with Canada is closer than with any other part of the Commonwealth.

Some 300 Canadians were reported by the Swiss as interned in August 1943. They were then, and still are, at two or three well-known camps. This figure does not take account of a good number of persons previously at liberty on the coastal areas of France who have been evacuated to the interior. It is understood that many of these are now living in small towns and that their movements are restricted, but very little information about this evacuation, and no lists of persons moved, have so far been received.

The rates of relief paid by the Protecting Power to Canadian nationals at liberty in Europe are based on the standard considered necessary for a reasonable subsistence. Special payments are authorized in case of emergency, for sickness, for provisions for winter clothing, etc. in accordance

D 47541

with needs. The rates are established in consultation with the other Governments of the Commonwealth and are the same for all British subjects. In Europe they work out at approximately $66.00 per month for an unmarried person, $100.00 per month for husband and wife living together, plus $13.20 additional for each child up to a family maximum of $132.00. Payments above these rates are authorized in certain districts where the Protecting Power has informed us that they are inadequate.

An allowance of $6.00 to $10.00 each, per month, depending on the camp in which they are interned, is also paid to Canadian civilian internees.

F A R E A S T

If the information about Canadians in Europe appears scanty, the information about Canadian civilians in Japanese hands is even less adequate. Some 1,200 Canadians have been reported by the Protecting Power in Japan and Japanese occupied areas of China and the Philippines. There are almost no reports on Canadians in Malaya.

We have received reports on the internment of some 200 Canadians by the Japanese, but from information received from other sources it is believed that very few persons of European descent remain at liberty in Japan or in territories under Japanese control. The restrictions on their movement appear to vary from place to place but, in general, their situation differs little from that of internment, although in some places it is believed they are allowed a certain amount of freedom of movement within a restricted area.

As to the total number of Canadians in Japanese hands, estimated on the same basis as for Europe, we can regard a figure of between 2,000 - 2,500 as a probability. (Again this does not include prisoners of war).

One of the difficulties of affording assistance and protection to our nationals in Japanese hands is that the Japanese Government has so far not permitted the Protecting Power to place representatives in charge of our interests except in Japan proper and the Shanghai area. In Japan and Shanghai the representatives of the Protecting Power have been authorized to make relief payments on a scale approximately the same as in

D 47542

Europe. The Swiss have not so far been able to present any accounts for these payments. It is known that the Japanese have made some difficulties from time to time, but it is believed, or perhaps I should say hoped, that relief is again reaching these Canadians.

In areas where the Swiss have not been permitted by the Japanese to exercise the functions of Protecting Power, some relief is understood to have reached our civilians through the International Red Cross, through representatives of the Vatican and through an arrangement made by the Swiss with the Japanese Government. No information is available as to the amount, or regularity of payments.

In conclusion, I should like again to remind the House of the debt of gratitude we owe to the Swiss. They have taken seriously their responsibility as Protecting Power for our interests and their representatives of all ranks in enemy territories have worked untiringly, sometimes amid great difficulties, to protect our interests and to care for our nationals.

D 47543 E

Japanese Nationals

May I now speak of ~~Canadian nationals~~ persons of Japanese origin in Canada.

On several occasions the view has been expressed by residents of British Columbia that the rest of Canada does not appreciate the Japanese problem, and that it has been left as virtually the sole responsibility of their province. The fact that in 1942, 22,096 of the 23,149 persons of Japanese race in Canada lived in British Columbia, undoubtedly made the people of that province particularly aware of the problem.

It cannot be said that during the war the Government of Canada has left the question on the doorstep of British Columbia. It has taken primary responsibility. I should like now to say, and to emphasize the statement, that the government recognizes that the problem is one to be faced and dealt with, not merely by British Columbia, but by the whole country. The provinces have their particular spheres of responsibility, ~~but what~~ I wish to make clear ~~is~~ that the government does recognize that the problem is one to be faced by the whole of Canada as a Canadian problem. It is on this basis that the matter has been approached.

D 47544

The government has had certain basic principles before it in formulating the policy which I wish to present today. In the first place, it recognizes the concern felt by British Columbia at the possibility of once again having within its borders virtually the entire Japanese population of Canada. That situation has in the past led to acrimony and bitterness. That the feeling is general in British Columbia has been made evident not only by the remarks of Honourable Members from the province, but also through representations received from many west coast organizations and individuals. In view of the concern, it is felt that it must be accepted as a basic factor that it would be unwise and undesirable, not only from the point of view of the people of British Columbia, but also from that of persons of Japanese origin themselves, to allow the Japanese population to be concentrated in that province after the war.

Secondly, account should be taken of the fact that for the most part, the people of Japanese race in the country have remained loyal, and have refrained from acts of sabotage and obstruction during the war. For the future protection of those who have remained loyal as well as to eliminate those who have shown that their true allegiance is not to Canada but to Japan, the government is of the view that

persons of Japanese race, whether Japanese nationals or British subjects by naturalization or birth, who have shown disloyalty to Canada during the war should not have the privilege of remaining in Canada after the struggle is terminated. That is a second principle that is considered to be fundamental.

Thirdly, the government is of the view that, having regard to the strong feeling that has been aroused against the Japanese during the war and to the extreme difficulty of assimilating Japanese persons in Canada, no immigration of Japanese into this country should be allowed after the war. It is realized, of course, that no declaration of this type can or should be attempted which would be binding indefinitely into the future. Nevertheless, as a guiding principle in the years after the war, it is felt that the exclusion of Japanese immigrants is clearly indicated.

Finally, the government considers that while there are disloyal persons to be removed, and while immigration in future is undesirable, and while problems of assimilation undoubtedly do present themselves with respect even to the loyal Japanese in Canada, nevertheless they are persons who have been admitted here to settle and become citizens, or

D 47546

who have been born into this free country of ours, and that we cannot do less than treat such persons fairly and justly. The interests of ~~the Canadian people~~ Canada must be paramount and ~~their~~ interests will be protected as the first duty of the government. It has not, however, at any stage of the war, been shown that the presence of a few thousand persons of Japanese race, who have been guilty of no act of sabotage and who have manifested no disloyalty, even during periods of utmost trial, constitute a menace to a nation of almost twelve million people. Those who are disloyal must be removed. That is clear. It is, however, surely not to be expected that the government will do other than deal justly with those who are guilty of no crime, or even of any ill intention. For the government to act otherwise would be an acceptance of the standards of our enemies and the negation of the purposes for which we are fighting.

These are the principles that have seemed to the government worthy of acceptance as the basis for a reasonable and equitable policy in disposing of this vexatious problem. The exigencies of the future may dictate modifications or alterations.

I should add that, in handling the Japanese problem, we shall attempt, in so far as it seems desirable, to maintain

a policy that can, in a sense, be considered as part of a "continential policy". The situation in the United States is in all essentials the same as our own and, to the extent that it seems desirable, we shall endeavour to ensure that our policy takes account of the policies which are being applied south of the border. There is no need for an identity of policy, but I believe there is merit in maintaining a substantial consistency of treatment in the two countries.

I might now ~~indicate~~ mention the tentative measures which it is proposed to put into effect in order to carry out a policy based on the principles I have indicated.

The first and, in a sense, the fundamental task is to determine the loyal and the disloyal persons of Japanese race in Canada. The entire policy depends on this being done. To some extent, of course, the task has been carried out through the examination and internment of suspicious or dangerous persons. It cannot, however, be assumed that all those who have been interned are disloyal. Some may merely have misunderstood their dispossession from their property in the protected zones, and may, as peaceful and honest Canadian citizens, have striven to protect and retain what they considered to be rightfully theirs. Undoubtedly some of these cases exist. Misunderstanding is not the same as traitorous intent, and a stubborn defence of one's own property is not

necessarily disloyalty. On the other hand, there may be persons who have committed no act to justify their internment but who are in fact disloyal. What is clearly ~~indicated~~ is the establishment of a quasi-judicial commission to examine the background, loyalties and attitudes of all persons of Japanese race in Canada to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here.

The commission I have referred to should, I think, be established in the fairly near future in order that it may begin what will be a large and important task. The result of the Commission's work would be to establish a list of disloyal Japanese persons - some of whom will be Japanese nationals, some British subjects by naturalization, and some British subjects by birth. ~~It would be our~~ intention ~~that~~ these persons ~~should be~~ deported to Japan as soon as that is physically possible. Prior to deportation, British subjects, falling within this class, would be stripped of their status as such. By the terms of the peace, Japan can be compelled, whether she wishes it or not, to accept these persons, ~~whose first loyalty is to her~~. There may also be some persons who will voluntarily indicate a desire to proceed to Japan. For these, no further examination would be necessary. Whatever their national status, they would be allowed and encouraged to go as soon as they can.

Once the examination has been carried out, there will be established a list of Japanese persons who are loyal to Canada. Those persons, if they have been properly admitted to this country, and wish to remain here, should be allowed to do so. However, as I have said, they should not be allowed once more to concentrate in British Columbia. To prevent such concentration, measures of two types can be taken - ~~on the one hand,~~ a maximum can be set on the number of persons of Japanese race to be allowed to return to British Columbia, ~~On the other hand,~~ and persons of Japanese race can be given encouragement to move and remain elsewhere. It would be most undesirable, I believe, to establish a permanent barrier to the movement within Canada of persons who have been lawfully admitted to Canada or who are nationals of Canada. That would raise the possibility of discrimination and restrictions on movement to and from provinces which might have most unfortunate consequences in the future. Even the establishment of a temporary limitation would be undesirable in principle, but as a practical question of policy it may well be inescapable.

~~To encourage Japanese persons already in Canada to settle elsewhere in Canada than in British Columbia, it will have to be established that they can remain in other provinces, and have the prospect of achieving a settled life.~~ There is

D 47550

little doubt that, with co-operation on the part of the provinces, it can be made possible to settle the Japanese more or less evenly throughout Canada. They will have to settle in such a way that ~~on the one hand,~~ they must be able to pursue the settled lives to which they are entitled, and, ~~on the other hand,~~ that they do not present themselves as an unassimilable bloc or colony which might again give rise to distrust, fear and dislike. It is the fact of concentration that has given rise to the problem.

The sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese Canadians themselves is to distribute their numbers as widely as possible throughout the country where they will not create feelings of racial hostility.

It is not my intention at this time to enlarge further on this matter. There are questions of detail still to be considered. There may also be modifications of policy which further investigation will show to be necessary. However, the lines of development to which the government will endeavour to adhere will be in general those which I have outlined. We must not permit in Canada the hateful doctrine of racialism which is the basis of the Nazi system everywhere. Our aim is to resolve a difficult problem ~~which has given rise to some bitterness,~~ in a manner which will protect the people of British Columbia and the interests of the country as a whole, at the same time preserving in whatever we do, principles of fairness and justice.

36

D 47551

~~24.6.44~~

STATEMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

From time to time announcements have been made in the House as to the opening of new diplomatic posts, the elevation of legations to embassies, and the accrediting of new heads of mission. Perhaps it would be helpful to give a brief summary of the past year's developments.

Since my statement of last July, diplomatic missions have been established in Ottawa by four countries: Sweden, Turkey, Mexico, and Peru. We have exchanged ambassadors with Mexico; Sweden and Turkey have established legations, with the understanding that Canada is not likely to be able to reciprocate until after the war; Peru is represented by a chargé d'affaires pending the arrival of an ambassador, ~~and it is hoped that we may shortly be able~~ an Ambassador has already been designated. to open an embassy in Lima.

Another development has been the elevation of several Canadian posts abroad, and of corresponding foreign posts in Ottawa, from the rank of legation to that of embassy. Our first exchange of embassies was, appropriately, with the United States. That change in status occurred last November. Since then we have raised to the same rank our posts in China, Brazil, ~~and~~ the Soviet Union, ~~and our Legation in Chile will become an embassy almost immediately~~. In return, there are now in Ottawa ambassadors from those countries and also one from Belgium. Our representative in Algiers carries the personal rank of ambassador.

While this development toward the accrediting of ambassadors rather than ministers has importance, I do not think it should be over-emphasized. The functions of ambassadors and ministers are the same and any real differences in their position that may have existed historically have now practically disappeared. The secondary rank hitherto held by our representatives has, however, I think, sometimes led to misunderstanding in foreign countries. Canadian representatives abroad will now hold a rank which is in accord with the international position of Canada.

The change is in line with the policy in other diplomatic services. There has been an international trend toward removing the distinction between embassies and legations by doing away with the latter. In 1938

the United Kingdom had 31 legations and 13 embassies; today they have only 19 legations, but 25 embassies. The United States in 1938 had 32 legations and only 13 embassies; today those figures are almost reversed - 16 legations and 33 embassies. Canada will soon have 7 embassies and 9 legations, instead of the 14 legations we had a year ago. It is apparent that the development of our diplomatic corps is in keeping with a general tendency.

I might add that, in my own view, the trend toward the elimination of differences in formal rank and ancient gradations is a desirable one. Just as government in general has to deal more and more with detailed and intricate problems that did not present themselves a few decades ago, so diplomatic representatives have increasingly to handle matters that are complex and often technical. The impression that the diplomatic function is essentially that of balancing a teacup or making the appropriate bow at the prescribed time is archaic. The diplomat has an important job of work to do, and I think it is to the advantage of all to restrict the niceties obscuring this fact, which hark back to an era of formality not in keeping with modern needs.

D 47553

The growing stature of Canada among the United Nations has been reflected in many ways: through the extension of our diplomatic representation among the United Nations; through the elevation to embassies of several of our missions; through our share in the joint and combined planning agencies for war and for the post-hostilities period; through the operation of Canadian Mutual Aid; but, above all, it has been reflected by the skill and valour of Canada's fighting men on many fighting fronts.

In addition to our concern to bring about victory at the earliest possible day, we must do everything we can to see that a just and enduring peace is created and maintained. In no way can this be more effectively achieved than by the furtherance of social justice in our domestic and foreign relations, and in fostering to the utmost international understanding, co-operation and good-will.

To help in bringing into being a new world order, whole nations will have to be liberated; entire civilian populations given food and clothing and the means of re-establishing themselves in useful occupations.

Behind these great tasks of liberation and reconstruction and all that is involved in the new world order lies ~~in~~ the realization that it is to those valiant men and women who have carried the battle into the enemy's camp and to all who have accorded to them the needed support that we owe the preservation of those freedoms which it is the genius of our nation to cherish and enhance. It is because of their courage, their privations and their sacrifices that our nation has been sustained and the very lives of our people protected. It is for them above all others that we must endeavour so to shape our policies for the future that ~~they~~ all who have served and witnessed Sacrifice in their name may have abundant opportunity, security in mind and body, and, with both, the fullest measure of well-being and worthy achievement that our concept of a New Order can afford.

D 47555

DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Memorandum for Mr. Gibson:

I am enclosing a short memorandum for the Prime Minister concerning the only supplementary estimate to be presented before Parliament on behalf of the Department of External Affairs.

W. D.

Ottawa, 1st March, 1944.
WDM/JEB

D 47556

DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Memorandum for Mr. Gibson:

I am enclosing a short memorandum for the Prime Minister concerning the only supplementary estimate to be presented before Parliament on behalf of the Department of External Affairs.

Ottawa, 1st March, 1944.
WDM/JEB

D 47557

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

It is anticipated that the Supplementary Estimates for the current fiscal year 1943-44 will be shortly placed before the House, therefore, it seemed advisable to forward to you a note of explanation regarding the only Supplementary Estimate that has been submitted by External Affairs.

The amount of £1,295.0.0 or $5,788.65 Canadian, which has been submitted, covers the cost of administrative expenses of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

No contribution has been made to this Committee for several years but it is contemplated that activities will be resumed, and that the estimated administrative expenses will be:

(a) September 1, 1943, to December 31, 1943 - £ 5,000
(b) for the Calender 1944 - £21,000

The Committee has asked for payment at once of our contribution covering both periods.

The scale for sharing expenses follows the scale adopted by the League for contributions by its members. On this basis the total number of "units" of expense is expected to be about 888, assuming that all the countries to whom invitations to join the Intergovernmental Committee accept those invitations. To provide a margin of safety the Committee is calculating shares on the basis of a total of 700 units. Any excess of payment as a result of too great a margin of safety will be placed against next year's expenditures.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

D 47558

CANADA AND THE WAR

Proceedings on the Occasion of

AN ADDRESS

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The Members of Both Houses of

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Addresses by

The Right Honourable WINSTON CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

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

The Right Honourable VISCOUNT SIMON, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.
Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom

The Right Honourable CLIFTON BROWN, M.P.
Speaker of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom

WESTMINSTER, LONDON, ENGLAND

MAY 11, 1944

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1944

D 47559

AN ADDRESS

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

TO THE

MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

WESTMINSTER, LONDON, ENGLAND

May 11, 1944

Introduction by Right Honourable Winston Churchill Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, My Lords, ladies and gentlemen:

We are met here to-day to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. We have known him a long time, and the longer we have known him the more we have loved him. He comes here from Canada to attend our gathering of Empire leaders; he comes here as one who has played an unrivalled part in the forward march of Canada.

Like most of us here, he is a party politician. Well, there is nothing to be ashamed of in that! But I say without hesitation that there was no other man, and perhaps there was no other career which any man could have followed, which would have enabled our honoured guest of this afternoon to lead Canada united into the heart of this world-shaking struggle.

8867—1½

He has brought Canada to the greatest development of her power. It is extraordinary to think what Canada has done in this war. The unending crash of events, one scene of drama succeeding and overlapping another, the intense absorption of people of every age, sect and class in the war effort, hardly enabling them to draw breath —all this makes us incapable of appreciating a tithe of what is going on, what has been going on in Canada, under its Government headed by one who has been twenty-five years the leader of a party and eighteen years Prime Minister of the Dominion. With all that is being done there, we may well ask to be excused if we have not followed it all in the detail it deserves.

Canada, with her eleven million people, has guarded the heart and citadel of the Empire during the most perilous months in its history. There was a time when the Canadian Corps stood as our principal method of defence between the enemy's gathering invasion hordes and this vast City of London. And Canadians have become a naval people. They have gone to sea. Not only do they build ships, both of peace and war, but they man them, and fight them, and have contributed in a notable degree to the destruction of the U-boat menace.

As for the air, Canada is the home of the British Empire and Commonwealth in central organization. Her geographical and other conditions have facilitated this, and from the fields of Canada have come a race of airmen who have not only gathered unsurpassed honour, but will continue to be an asset for the greater unity which underlies all written or legal constitutions for the British Empire.

My friend, Mr. Mackenzie King, I have known for well over forty years, first in politics and then in personal friendship, and I know well the many steps he has always taken throughout that period leading up to this great climax of the development and demonstration of the power of Canada. Canada has a future which none can measure. The representative of this magnificent people will give us to-day a conception not only of the general participation of Canada in the Empire, but of the particular character of her contribution which, in our vast and varied organization, is always to be welcomed.

Canada is the link which joins together the old world and the new; which links the vast American people with whom, I trust, we shall ourselves develop a fraternal association. Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country, and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of this benignant, unfearing, glorious British Empire together into one homogeneous mass which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty.

I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

8867—2

D 47562

Address by Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kind a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

As to my part in Canada's entry into the war, it was but the discharge of the responsibility which was mine to give expression, in a decisive hour, to the will and spirit of the Canadian people, and to serve their highest interests.

Four years have now passed since you, Prime Minister, accepted the leadership of the people of Britain and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

D 47563

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords to us all not only exceptional opportunities of conference with the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues, but of making clear to the world the oneness of the nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has

8867—2½

D 47564

depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The Strength of Britain

Britain has also been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of its relation with other nations in the building of a new world order.

D 47565

In speaking of Canada's war effort it is not my intention to describe our contributions to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that our effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

D 47566

In those days few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized by inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An All-out Effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half the financial

D 47567

cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which, as I have said, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been

supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A World-wide Effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. To-day our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian pepole, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A National Effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

Identity of Effort Throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time and from place to place the waters having their origin in some secret source reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

D 47570

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own preeminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit, we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

The Strength and Unity of the British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We . . . who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame to-day is not surpassed in any part of the world if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown and increasing hope to mankind.

D 47571

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream—are they not being realized, at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

Means of Consultation and Co-operation

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success?

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern.

When decisions are taken they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside

D 47572

the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

The Hope of the Future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth, as well, the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation. "Let us," he said, " . . . seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an *inclusive* and not an *exclusive* character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain our unity is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

D 47573

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity like Security, Indivisible

It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Canada and the United States

You, Prime Minister, have referred to the importance of strengthening the fraternal association that now exists between the British Commonwealth and the United States.

Over many years Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the

D 47574

path of co-operation. We like to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives, are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind.

The assurance of unfailing support to our sailors, soldiers and airmen is the supreme objective of the present meetings of Prime Ministers. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

D 47575

The support of our fighting men and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives; to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

A More Abundant Life

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war we must create a more fitting memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of Time this world-encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of Mankind are one and that the claims of Humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new

meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Mr. Churchill:

My Lords and gentlemen, I call upon the Lord Chancellor to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured guest.

The Lord Chancellor (Right Hon. Viscount Simon):

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker and I have been asked to express in a few sentences the gratitude which we both feel to the Prime Minister of Canada for his presence and speech. The demonstration which followed the close of his address shows that, indeed, no long argument is needed. We are very grateful to Mr. Mackenzie King for saying, with so much eloquence and vigour, many wise and stimulating and hopeful things. I think we are especially grateful to him for the account which he gave—the brilliant account which he gave—both of the spirit of Canada and of the truly stupendous contribution which that Dominion is making to the common effort. I think Mr. Speaker will join with me if I venture to say to Mr. Mackenzie King, on behalf of this great company, that we do most sincerely express our admiration for all the efforts which this great Dominion is making, and we rejoice to think that we have amongst us the leader of that great people.

It wasn't so many years ago that, when any of us brought visitors into this part of the Palace of Westminster, we were considerably puzzled how to reply to the question, "What is this room for?" The most hopeful answer, I think, was that this large and splendid hall was built in order to find room for two quite enormous pictures which otherwise couldn't be accommodated. That was an injustice to the architect who designed this great hall one hundred years ago. He must have anticipated what would happen. For, thanks now to the way in which Mr. Mackenzie King can leave his country one evening and arrive here the next morning, and other astonishing excursions by other Dominion Premiers, this great hall, lying as it were between

the House of Commons and the House of Lords, has become on great occasions such as these a piece of common ground where Members of the two Houses may safely meet and where they can listen to an address without any breach of the ancient and precisely preserved privileges of either Chamber.

We are greatly rejoiced that Mr. Mackenzie King has now been added to the list of those who have thus addressed us. And with all our hearts we thank him for his speech, and wish to express to him in the warmest terms our feeling that that speech and the spirit behind it are all contributing to the unity and the comradeship of the British Empire, which is the surest guarantee of ultimate victory and the best hope of a peaceful world in the future.

Mr. Churchill:

My Lords and gentlemen: It has been my experience over a great many years to await the call of Mr. Speaker, and I am now fully conscious that the tables are turned, and I mean to avail myself of this advantage to the full.

Mr. Speaker (Col. the Right Hon. D. Clifton Brown):

On this occasion, although it may be slightly out of order, I am pleased indeed to obey the call of the Prime Minister.

Now I second this vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King with great warmth indeed. I am only going to utter two sentences to you. In one I want to echo the warm appreciation we have of all that our fellow Britishers have done in the Dominion of Canada, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King. We stand lost in admiration of the effort which they have put forward in this war. That's my first sentence. My second is this: That I believe Canada is building up something even greater than action in this war. I speak now, if I may, for Members of the House of Commons, and I believe for the Members of the House of Lords too,—we are lost in admiration, it has struck our imagination, the Air Training scheme which Canada has set up. Therein you have the cream of all young men, not merely from Canada but from all the rest of the Dominions and from the free nations of the world, meeting together, training

D 47578

together, forming bonds and links which I think the Prime Minister of New Zealand described the other day as "invisible, yet stronger than steel." Those, I believe, are the links which are going to bind our Empire together in the future—of incalculable strength and incalculable value to the British Empire.

For all that work the Canadians and Mr. Mackenzie King are doing on our behalf, I thank him most warmly and for the speech which he has given to us, which I beg to second.

Mr. Churchill:

All in favour of the vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King, say Aye.

Aye!

Mr. Mackenzie King:

Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:

I thank you warmly for the exceedingly kind words which you have just spoken. May I thank you again, Prime Minister, for words that touched my heart very deeply, and which I believe will meet with warm response in the heart of Canada.

I again thank the Members of the House of Lords and the Members of the House of Commons for their great courtesy in being present this afternoon in such numbers. May I thank you especially for the "Aye" which I heard when the Prime Minister put the resolution to this gathering. "Ayes" are always pleasant to the ears of Government.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

D 47579

Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P.
Thursday, May 11, 1944

Mr. Eden's work at Foreign Office is making his name a symbol of good faith and co-operation in international relations.

Happy recollections of Mr. Eden's visits to Canada.

At Ottawa conferred with War Committee of Cabinet and addressed members of Parliament.

At Quebec: arrival by flying boat in St. Lawrence; contribution to co-operation between British Commonwealth and United States.

Appreciation of valuable information gathered throughout the world by British Foreign Service.

Generously shared with other nations of Commonwealth.

Close co-operation in other countries of British diplomatic service with embassies and legations of other Commonwealth countries.

Tribute to contribution of Foreign Office to success of present Conference of Prime Ministers.

Close association of Foreign Office and Dominions Office - a valuable factor in maintenance of smooth Commonwealth relations.

D 47580

Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P., Thursday, May 11, 1944

Mr. Eden's work at Foreign Office is making his name a symbol of good faith and co-operation in international relations.

Happy recollections of Mr. Eden's visits to Canada.

At Ottawa conferred with War Committee of Cabinet and addressed members of Parliament.

At Quebec: arrival by flying boat in St. Lawrence; contribution to co-operation between British Commonwealth and United States.

Appreciation of valuable information gathered throughout the world by British Foreign Service.

Generously shared with other nations of Commonwealth.

Close co-operation in other countries of British diplomatic service with embassies and legations of other Commonwealth countries.

Tribute to contribution of Foreign Office to success of present Conference of Prime Ministers.

Close association of Foreign Office and Dominions Office - a valuable factor in maintenance of smooth Commonwealth relations.

K-box

W.L.M.K. March 18, 1944

Re: Speech for England.

C D 47581

I have been thinking I might prepare with great care, at Easter, a careful speech for delivery overseas on "The Empire and the World".

I suggested an outline to J.W.P. yesterday which would bring out more strongly than ever what we feel we owe to Britain as the defender of liberty; the war drawing us closer in that connection and contrasting that bond with any formal institutional fashioning of the Empire - making this speech one that I might possibly deliver to the British Parliament, as Smuts had done, and having it as the concluding one to my book "Canada's Fight for Freedom".

Indeed, as I dictate this, I am inclined to think that might be an excellent topic for the address itself. I could bring in references to our methods of adjusting international differences, etc.

..... It might well work in our policy with respect to world organization re international civil aviation.

W.L.M.K. March 25, 1944

D 47582

Re: Speech for England.

Bring in a paragraph on my attitude toward difficult questions which have arisen in time of war. To make it as little difficult for any one as possible and to see that the Canadian people get credit for understanding the situation, e.g., not having pressed for our rights in this connection and that. Also attitude vis-a-vis other nations of the Commonwealth.

W.L.M.K. March 18, 1944

Re: Speech for England.

D 47583

I have been thinking I might prepare with great care, at Easter, a careful speech for delivery overseas on "The Empire and the World".

I suggested an outline to J.W.P. yesterday which would bring out more strongly than ever what we feel we owe to Britain as the defender of liberty; the war drawing us closer in that connection and contrasting that bond with any formal institutional fashioning of the Empire - making this speech one that I might possibly deliver to the British Parliament, as Smuts had done, and having it as the concluding one to my book "Canada's Fight for Freedom".

Indeed, as I dictate this, I am inclined to think that might be an excellent topic for the address itself. I could bring in references to our methods of adjusting international differences, etc.

..... It might well work in our policy with respect to world organization re international civil aviation.

W.L.M.K. March 25, 1944

D 47584

Re: Speech for England.

Bring in a paragraph on my attitude toward difficult questions which have arisen in time of war. To make it as little difficult for any one as possible and to see that the Canadian people get credit for understanding the situation, e.g., not having pressed for our rights in this connection and that. Also attitude vis-a-vis other nations of the Commonwealth.

Secret

HOLD

D47585

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Attached is an outline of a possible speech on the British Commonwealth and the United Nations.

The underlying conception is the necessity of showing that the Commonwealth is not a unified, centralized power pursuing selfish British interests, but an association of nations each and all of whom are free to co-operate fully with the other United Nations. The idea is to picture the Commonwealth as the pattern of a wider association of free nations united to serve the common interests of humanity.

This idea, it seems to me, should be combined with considerable stress on the particular place of Canada in the Commonwealth and in the world and on those unique national qualities of Canada which make this country a model of the wider co-operation of mankind in general.

Although the outline does not do so, it might be argued that logically a speech of this kind should go on to indicate some conception of the responsibilities and probable organization of the United Nations and the vital importance of working out that organization while the war is in progress - some development, in other words, of your speech on the External Affairs Estimates. This is a theme on which I would hope Mr. Wrong would go on to develop his ideas.

J W R

October 28, 1943.

Left [illegible] Prof
27/XI/43

D 47586

The British Commonwealth and the United Nations

1. Best illustrated by its opposite: Nazi Germany.

2. What does Nazi Germany stand for:

   (1) Racism;

   (2) Aggression;

   (3) Domination;

   (4) Slavery;

   (5) Exaltation of Evil.

3. The British Commonwealth based on

   (1) Equality of races;

   (2) Respect for rights of other peoples;

   (3) Partnership;

   (4) Freedom;

   (5) The Common Good of Mankind.

4. Marks an evolution from domination to partnership; from central control to freedom.

5. Danger of attempts to reverse the historic trend.

D 47587

6. Co-operation of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

   (1) Danger of arousing the fear of English-speaking domination;

   (2) Value as nucleus or core of a wider co-operation of free peoples -

   (See speech to Pilgrims)

7. Special contribution of Canada and South Africa - not exclusively English-speaking - more intimate understanding of attitude of other nations.

8. Canada's special place in the Commonwealth.

9. Canada's place among the United Nations:

   (1) In the Commonwealth;

   (2) Neighbour of U.S.A.;

   (3) In the New World;

   (4) Both an Atlantic and a Pacific power;

   (5) Like Russia and the U.S.A. - an Arctic power;

   (6) A small nation.

   (7) Racial composition and regional problems calling for qualities of tolerance and co-operation - a pattern for international relations.

D 47588

10. Canada's attitude to partnership in the Commonwealth.

11. Canada's conception of inter-Commonwealth relations.

12. The Commonwealth not an exclusive association, but a pattern for a wider association of United Nations.

D 47589

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

An expression of the Spirit of the Canadian people.

The call - freedom vs. tyranny.

(1)

That spirit came down from British Isles -

British institutions of government.

Manifested in early struggles in Canada -

the pioneering qualities.

(Seeley's "Expansion of England" thought).

Growing pride in individuality - nationality.

(2)

Spirit manifested in visit of King and Queen.

Free Parliament (French and English).

Entered the war own free will.

(3)

(Keep note running through)..

D47590

Canada's effort an immediate effort - no coercion.

"The Response" (last war and this).

(4) National War Memorial - freedom and peace.

Canada's effort a voluntary effort.

Carefully planned.

(5) What we started out to do.

Canada's effort an all out effort.

(I) Men in forces : Army
Navy
Air

(6) Munitions
Food
Money - pay for war.

Workers on farms, in factories, etc.

Victory Loans.

Canada's effort a Christian effort.

Mutual Aid to Britain,

(7) to other countries.

Opposed to force - mutual aid.

Secret of co-operation -

the binding power of helpfulness.

D 47591

Canada's effort full of vision - looking to the future.

No nation liveth to itself - all members one of another.

Now U.N.R.R.A. - same spirit.

(meeting in Canada)

What it will mean.

(Over all nations is humanity).

(Let all this lead up to the form world organization is to take.)

British Commonwealth same spirit of freedom and co-operation - a model for world co-operation.

Institutions the expression of the spirit - spirit not the expression of the institution: the one vital - the other material.

Difference between Naziism and democracy - regimentation, etc.

D 47592

(10)

Canada's effort a world effort:

Commonwealth Air Training -
fliers to all part of world.

Navy to all parts of world.

(Size of Navy with British).

Air Force.

Munitions.

Aid to Russia,
China,
French Committee of National Liberation.

(Get picture of this northern country).

Population of 11,000,000.

Not fearing to venture anywhere in world

or any form of fighting: in sea,
over ice regions, etc.,
fight in Italy and Sicily.

Note: fight on Pacific and expenditures re Kiska expedition

to manage our own affairs -
and to do anything in any line as well as a Group

D 47593

Canada's effort based on Good Neighbours:

Nations are brothers keepers.

Policy - belief in men, etc.

Note:

International Commission -

settlement of disputes.

Ogdensburg Agreement -

defence.

Note:

Reciprocity in trade
" " defence, etc.

Note development of routes:

Northwest staging routes,

the flying routes -

U. S. coming into Canada.

D47594

D 47595

Canada's effort a pioneering effort - Strategy in terms of price control and stabilization

looks to present.

Price and wage stability

followed by U. S. policy.

Canada's effort looks to the future:

(I) in domestic affairs

re troops, etc., - rehabilitation;

Bills re Reconstruction,

Veterans Affairs,

Social Security and Human Welfare

(family allowances).

A country of larger opportunity.

(distribution of wealth.)

D 47596

(2)

Lesson

Dear Vivian, I must apologize for, it not must alone, evident, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even approximate. They convey their authority from a most higher source, they ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ things - were I to go to a source than which I could be supposed in any case of this nature, it could at best be supposed as any thing in the nature of hearsay. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of England, which ~~were~~ of his Government in 1907, and which ~~have been~~ on many occasions ~~[illegible]~~ down the years, may ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ in reference to ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Richard Crossman, and in ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Have I ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

D 47597

Lead up to (under heading)

Canada's effort looks to future.

The form of world organization:

Ultimate recognition of all Nations

under Tennysons rule of universal law.

Note re freedom indivisible - also peace and trade.

Why we hold so tenaciously to ideal of British Commonwealth.

We have come to where we are in virtue of growth of freedom.

Status recognized in Statute of Westminster.

We see world freedom will evolve in same way -

Secured within Nations of British Commonwealth - can be secured within nations of world by methods that invite and inspire co-operation.

Not institutional - cannot create an institution ~~yet~~ out of the world.

Don't begin by attempting this with British Empire.

Can create a great spiritual entity (not these words, but this idea).

Freedom not visible - indivisible - liberty, etc.

D 47598

(d)

(c)

(b)

to illustrate attempting to distinguish between the British Empire and the British Commonwealth, and of the various meanings of distinguishing between the two

to illustrate attempting to distinguish at the moment of distinguishing between the British Empire and the British Commonwealth must always refer to the common sense of both, may I for a go the views of those who

the evolution of their political institutions

to the evolution of their political institutions, and to their

by the character, and

on the one hand to the strength and on the other hand

and the views I entertain on the future: there

it is a few words: — we — who have formed an

Col in page 3 *

E

— are some day known"

D 47599

In reorganization, etc., great and small -

(12)

develop functional idea as determining idea.

Re: foreign policy -

Not basis of ~~reconciliation of within Empire~~.

reconciliation of within Empire

(1) (c) 47600

It has been said that the British Commonwealth has sometimes been likened to a league, but it is more than a league. It is a society of nations which has grown out of the British Empire. It is able to show much all the virtues that attach to the highest form of human association.

It is said that the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength are to be found in any formal Structure, but in an Spirit of co-operation.

The Commonwealth is not an institution. It is a free association of independent States bound together by their allegiance to the Crown, but freely co-operating for the benefit of themselves and mankind.

The Commonwealth is something that includes different races, colours and creeds. It is a fellowship of nations which, in the course of history, have come from many parts of the world. Each of them has its own customs and traditions, its own way of life, but all have learned to live together in friendship and understanding.

It is said that the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength are to be found in any formal Structure, but in an Spirit of co-operation.

In remaking the world after the war, the British Commonwealth has something unique to offer. It is not merely a new form of political organisation, but a way of life which has shown that it is possible for men of many races and traditions to live and work together in harmony and friendship.

The Commonwealth is not an institution. It is a free association of independent States bound together by their allegiance to the Crown, but freely co-operating for the benefit of themselves and mankind.

The common action of the nations of the Commonwealth in time of war has been much closer than the British Commonwealth as the core of a much wider association of nations which has something unique to offer, something which it is free to impart to other nations, something which is open to share with all nations. The spirit and the essence of goodwill

Canadian War Effort:

Here entire war effort - must be the over-riding consideration in [illegible] organized

(1) a Defence effort - entirely of Canadian Citizens

(2) an armament effort

2½ a [illegible] effort

(3) ~~3/4~~ an air effort

a [illegible] effort

(4) a navy effort

(5) a [illegible] effort

[illegible] Canada [illegible]

(6) a conscription effort

(6) a conscription effort

a military effort

(7) ~~2 3/4~~ a [illegible] effort

(8) an [illegible] effort

(9) an [illegible] effort

Canada, because [illegible] has [illegible] war effort [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

C

D 47602

Note ↓

Canada's fight for freedom ~~a fight of the finish~~
~~a fight for freedom~~ in all its aspects

(1) to Japan

aspects of the war (2) to post-war problems: - Canada's part in shaping

(3) a) in relation to domestic problems - better conditions (see notes)

In Short of opinion

(b) in relation to world problems

on war relations after war

with eye on international - can it be developed with Soviet Union?

Nationality, cannot
be more than close,
world organization - Dumbarton
, why - what to
focus, the
declaration to
contain pro.
Problem - close

Soviet views from
Dumbarton views from Canadian

fight a unity problem, will Canada's
representation Chiefs of Staff. Canada - seen in all
lines of communication - where wars
economic of freedom - self sufficient
raising

Unity of Commonwealth to an individual
Country strength in all fields
(and own freedom

Effect of war in under lines accentuated
to each other of Dumbarton in
America)

Canada closer to Europe or more
a sense of values
in Japan war in Eastern Seas
but post war economic centres of
Dumbarton

Note →

other wise security lies
more than in self sufficient-
relations with U.S.

Note - methods of adopting different methods
Judicial Joint Commission

diffs between all in country - to ensure difference in personnel
Joint Boards
+ objectives of an all dominating Air Force

47603

D

Nov

13/ The Spirit's work

It began a work as if the strength of the Communist
like the Spirit of a nation is something that defies definition,
[illegible]

strength is to
a Communist [illegible]

a true Spirit is to
a Nation

D 47604

D 47605

Notes

Race hatred a single source. freedom – (Eng) Sp[illegible]
like a spring of water flowing thro' two cups.

Reasons why the freedom. Britain must not pass
for the future – over the problems of the Commonwealth
or the problems of the world
Britain must be over by the statesmen chosen by her own people (to act with
the Nations of the Brit. Commonwealth would be more dificult

four nations – all of them thousands of miles from any
immediate source of conflict – ranged themselves at the side
of Britain & France. The voluntary decision of Canada, of
Australia, of New Zealand, of South Africa were an important
underlining of the underlying force of freedom among the
Commonwealth.

Union of South
Union of Zambesi } in between

D 47606

(James Russell Lowell)

Extract from an address delivered in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, November 8, 1886, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Harvard University.

- - - - - - -

I am saddened when I see our success as a nation measured by the number of acres under tillage or of bushels of wheat exported; for the real value of a country must be weighed in scales more delicate than the Balance of Trade. The garners of Sicily are empty now, but the bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden-plot of Theocritus. On a map of the world you may cover Judea with your thumb, Athens with a finger-tip, and neither of them figures in the Prices Current; but they still lord it in the thought and action of every civilized man. Did not Dante cover with his hood all that was Italy six hundred years ago? And, if we go back a century, where was Germany outside of Weimar? Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary of better things. The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation, of mankind. There is no other, let our candidates flatter us as they may. We still make a confusion between huge and great. I know that I am repeating truisms, but they are truisms that need to be repeated in season and out of season.

D 47606

(James Russell Lowell)

Extract from an address delivered in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, November 8, 1886, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Harvard University.

- - - - - - -

I am saddened when I see our success as a nation measured by the number of acres under tillage or of bushels of wheat exported; for the real value of a country must be weighed in scales more delicate than the Balance of Trade. The garners of Sicily are empty now, but the bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden-plot of Theocritus. On a map of the world you may cover Judea with your thumb, Athens with a finger-tip, and neither of them figures in the Prices Current; but they still lord it in the thought and action of every civilized man. Did not Dante cover with his hood all that was Italy six hundred years ago? And, if we go back a century, where was Germany outside of Weimar? Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary of better things. The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation, of mankind. There is no other, let our candidates flatter us as they may. We still make a confusion between huge and great. I know that I am repeating truisms, but they are truisms that need to be repeated in season and out of season.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47607

I doubt if any description of the British Commonwealth of Nations could portray more accurately than Mr. Churchill's vision, the real character of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the spirit which gives it cohesion and strength.

COPY

Re. Speech by Gen. Smuts

The P.M. to see

EXTRACTS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIAL NEWS TELEGRAM D 47608
20th March, 1944

Smuts said there were two extreme tendencies. One was to regard Commonwealth ties as too strong and to work for their relaxation which in Eire and the Union meant a Republic. The other was to view the ties as too loose and to attempt to strengthen them by the conception of a federal superstate of the British Empire. He was opposed to both: To relaxation, because South Africa had the fullest authority and sovereignty, as things were, and isolation spelt danger for a country with great resources and small manpower; to federation because the present basis of consultation and co-operation had been developed "not by thinkers, philosophers or jurists but by experience" and it had been proved that the better course was away from binding themselves. Pointing out that South Africa is the only Commonwealth country which has incorporated the Statute of Westminster in law, he said "I stand firm by our rights as set out in our status Acts and the Statute of Westminster. Nothing I do will ever be to the detriment of that position and any course either to the right or to the left that touches the present position will meet with my strongest opposition."

Rising again later in debate Smuts said that he was going to the Imperial Conference in London with a feeling of profound responsibility and he would like to go with the

D 47609

good-will, in a large sense, of all sections of the South African people under whose political byplay there was growing a deep sense of national unity. He did not feel only for South Africa, but for "our Continent" which he believed was entering a new phase and was facing problems as great as any other Continent. Much was wrong with the Colonial setup which had grown haphazardly, and anomalies such as the protectorates sandwiched in the Union were broadcast all over Africa. He did not think justice would be done Africa unless they looked at this anomalous setup where money was being wasted and there was constant overlapping. The way Africa had tried to do its duty in war under most difficult circumstances entitled it to something.

Replying to questions, Smuts said he was all for South Africa's own Foreign policy "But I am most anxious in this dangerous world in which we live to shape my policy in a way which will harmonise to some extent with the interests of our friends" in the Empire and out.

Later he said "Naturally we place South Africa first. Let there be no mistake about that. Our interests and the interests of our closest neighbours in Southern Africa must rank first". He hoped however by interchange of opinions and sincere good-will at the Imperial Conference it would be possible to fit policies together so that general lines of action would be agreed on. As one difficulty he cited Canada's exceptional position between Britain and America.

D 47610

House of Commons

D 47611

House of Commons
Canada

Hall NOT - "In any Province
but Newfoundland
have Canada (in, of the
Commonwealth (equivalent) is an attempt
to draw them together".

Depositions

Ks Bs Empire

a constellation of Nations

Combat Sea

D 47612

D 47613

D 47614

Henry Paragraphs

Hamlet for translation

Hamlet & Claudius

Queen Gertrude - Ophelia - Polonius

King and Queen - Laertes & Hamlet

(in background - Horatio

the Ghost)

Prince Hamlet -

Strut his hour upon the stage and then is heard no more

Words, words, words (All Hamlet)

(allusion to Ophelia)

A Tragedy of Errors

Hamlet must remain the play

and be the story, etc.

Influence of Troyes Chronicle

Henry Paragraphs - Ophelia in both

See Page 207

work.

(See Page 210 - Comedy of Errors &c

D 47615

Examined closely enough, it will be seen to disclose the secret of the more widely extended co-operative effort by which the nations united today in the cause of freedom may bring into being a new world order that will be the guarantee of social progress and enduring peace.

LONDON

Premier Churchill has announced in the House of Commons to-day figures covering British Empire casualties. Total for the first four years of the war for the British Empire is 667,159. Canada's totals are - killed 9209, missing 2745, wounded 3383, prisoners of war 4360. The total casualties for Canada being 19,697.

U.U.44

Canada's totals are relatively lower than that of the other Dominions which are given in round figures as follows:- Australia 74,000, New Zealand 25,000, South Africa 23,000, India 109,000, and the Colonies 25,000.

(B.B.C. News and Press Releases, 4.4.44)

Ottawa, Ontario.

D.M.I., M.I.1,
General Staff.

D 47616

See Job for King in Britain

47617

Opportunity at Conference to Explain Canadian Viewpoint

Kenneth R. Wilson, Ottawa correspondent of The Financial Post, is just back from Britain, where he completed a six weeks tour with a group of Canadian editors, at the invitation of the British Ministry of Information. Below is the fourth of a series of articles on his observations.

It is to be hoped Prime Minister King says something arresting and epochal on Canada's behalf when he visits Britain shortly for the premiers' meeting.



—*Photo by Karsh.*

K. R. WILSON

Britishers, I am sure, were never more ready for a clear-cut, informative view of Canada's hopes, ideas and aspirations. Their appreciation of Canada in most matters is unbounded and literally embarrassing. Yet there is little understanding of our views, our problems, our hopes and plans.

Since returning to Canada it is disturbing to learn (unofficially) that Mr. King is not over-enthusiastic about the meeting shortly to take place in London. Were this true, it would be most unfortunate, for there can be no denying the unquestioned interest and eagerness on the part of Britishers to learn more about Canada.

Britons Interested

Mr. King's pronouncements and actions during his visit will be followed with the greatest interest, especially if he explains to Britishers two things:

1. The reasons for Canada's enthusiam for a multilateral or global trade agreement to include, at least, Britain, United States and Commonwealth countries.

2. Canada's attitude toward "power" politics and our advocacy of smaller nations representation in the management of world affairs, as evidenced when UNRRA was being blueprinted.

It now seems clear that Britain's interest and enthusiasm for a "global" trade agreement has cooled considerably since last year. The London meeting is an exceptional opportunity for Mr. King to explain and emphasize the Canadian view, not only to the other prime ministers, but to the ordinary folk of Britain. These good friends of ours know little, I suspect, about our understandable preference for global or multilateral trade arrangements as opposed to the narrower Empire preferential system.

They have little knowledge of the pull of North American geography and economics on Canada; little understanding of how desperate becomes our plight if our political and sentimental ties (which lie closely with Britain) are not pulling in the same direction as the strong trade and "physical" pull from our huge and close-lying neighbor, the United States.

Divergent Views

Just now, Britain seems prepared, if not actually preparing, to fall back on relatively narrow "group" or bilateral trade arrangements in order to protect her critical capital position and restore her trade equilibrium. Partly this is because of concern about the U. S. position; partly because of strongly differing views within her own govenment. Canada undoubtedly will oppose this with all possible strength, in part because we believe in a multilateral approach to trade problems and partly because our position will be extraordinarily difficult if not indeed impossible, if there is not the closest possible relationships in trade and other matters between Britain and the United States.

To Canada, Empire preferences are only second best compared with reduced tariff walls and trade restrictions between ourselves, Britain and U. S. A. True, it was the U. S. tariff barriers which flung the Empire together, tariff-wise in 1932, but with Canada the larger goal is always something broader and more inclusive than the Empire preferential system. It is not, for Canada, a matter of "scuttling" the Commonwealth ship but rather a matter of moving ourselves, Britain, the United States and other Commonwealth units onto a much larger, better and more useful "trade" vessel.

This is the sort of viewpoint which Mr. King might help explain to Britishers, if he were so disposed. For Britons, I found, were sympathetic and very appreciative of this Canadian approach, once they understood our point of view.

The Halifax Speech

During our stay in Britain, it was the Halifax speech rather than trade or economic policy which was mostly

(Continued on page 4, col. 4)

See Big Job For Mr. King When He Goes To Britain

(Continued from page 1)

under discussion. To many Britishers, the Halifax approach for a closer integration of the Commonwealth seemed logical and reasonable. Here, it was felt, was a practical, realistic point of view, looking toward a strengthening of the British voice in the difficult days that lie ahead. Yet, as is the case in Canada, I found no great thought had been given to the difficulties and dangers of putting the Commonwealth into a constitutional straitjacket so far as a "common voice" policy was concerned.

Some Britishers with whom I talked thought it unfortunate that Lord Halifax had tied his comments so closely to "power" politics. The views he expressed, would, it was thought, have been much more acceptable to Canadians had they merely argued the basic point which so many Britishers believe, namely the virtue of working toward a larger world comity from the tested ground of a Commonwealth system of government which has proven practical, flexible and effective through the years.

Would Strengthen "Bloc"

I found in Britain many people of considerable influence and intelligence who were quite willing to admit the strength of Canada's "internationalism" arguments but who put forward very strongly the view that it might be in our own and in everyone's interest for Canada during the next three or four critical years to waive these aspirations momentarily, and concentrate on strengthening the Commonwealth "bloc." This, they thought, might be wise and politic as a sort of "interim" peace table policy, or at least until a permanent working World Council was successfully operating.

Admittedly, prior to the war Canada had only the vaguest sort of "foreign" policy. We took little or no responsibility, made few or no "commitments." Unknown to most Britons, that situation has changed considerably in the last four and a half years. It has changed in a way which Britishers are only dimly beginning to understand.

For instance, in 1939, when Britain declared war on Germany, history, in effect, repeated itself and Canada, after due deliberation by Parliament, made a similar declaration. To most Britishers, this had the appearance of Canada again rallying round the Empire. It tended to confuse the fact that while politics and sentiment still bind us to Britain we had in the intervening years been groping toward what has recently been described as a "parallel internationalism"—an internationalism which, while not precluding consultation and co-operation within the Commonwealth, recognizes as well that our trade and other interests are world-wide and that, more particularly, the pull of economics and geography are increasingly toward United States.

(Even since 1939, the creation of the U. S.-Canada Permanent Joint Defense Board, the Ogdensburg Agreement and Canada's representation on a number of very important Canada-U. S. bodies has materially changed our position vis-a-vis the United States. It is a matter for argument whether in the event of another war involving Britain, Canada would so easily move two years ahead of the United States, as was the case in 1939.)

True, there has been in British papers and elsewhere from time to time, discussion of the details of some of Canada's new international plans such as her proposals for post-war aviation; her international currency stabilization plan and so forth. But there is but meagre understanding of what these mean in so far as Canada's general position or her position within the Commonwealth are concerned; little realization that our recent actions in world affairs are not only idealistic in that we abhor "power" politics and want a place for ourselves and other smaller nations around the council tables of the world, but that they are built on practical common sense so far as our own political and economic position is concerned.

Little was known in Britain of the very important stand taken by Canada in regard to UNRRA. In this case, rather than be represented by Britain around the exclusive "Big Four" central council table, Canada argued on behalf of herself and other small nations, for what was described as the principle of "functional representation." We said, in effect, that "power politics" shouldn't and needn't be the only or dominating influence in UNRRA; that it had a better chance of success if smaller nations, such as ourselves, which had a direct stake in its supply and other problems, were represented. As a result Canada got considerable support from Netherlands and other countries like-minded with ourselves, and important modifications were made in the original plans.

Followed Canadian Plan

Curiously, when we were in Britain, we were told on the very highest authority that something like the mechanism which Canada had argued for UNRRA, was contemplated in the setting up of a new world security organization. The plan as outlined was for a central 12-seat council which would include not only Britain, United States, Russia and China, but elective and rotating representatives from smaller nations. These latter representatives would fill the remaining eight seats of the council and would ensure permanent representation for, say two representatives of other European nations; for two representatives from South America; two possibly of the Commonwealth nations, and so on.

One very pertinent comment I heard in Britain was that if Canada was going to make headway with her new-found international viewpoints (we have already submitted international programs for solving currency stabilization and air transport problems) she must be prepared to be equally forward-looking in regard to her immigration policy.

It is regarded as quite inconsistent that Canada should be preparing for an important place around international council tables and not at the same time be taking imaginative steps to increase her population beyond the present meagre 12 million mark. Britishers were most anxious to know Canada's plans in this direction and insisted that it was up to us to indicate what our position would be and whether or not they and others from the "old world" would or would not be welcomed to Canadian shores.

D 47618

It is easier to say what the Commonwealth is not than what, in reality, it is. The Commonwealth is not a nation. It is composed of nations, as free and as sovereign as any other nations on earth. For the same reason, it is not a federation. In the historical evolution of the Commonwealth, the trend has been away from central authority toward national self-government. Except for the traditional use of the name, the Commonwealth is not an Empire. All its member nations are equal in status. None rules or dominates any of the others. The Commonwealth is certainly not a racial union. It is not even a linguistic union. Two of its members - Canada and South Africa - have two official languages. Nor is the Commonwealth a permanent military alliance. The common action of the nations of the Commonwealth in the present war is based upon the individual decision of each, and not upon any prior commitments.

In searching for definitions, we quickly discover that the British Commonwealth is something that eludes definition. We have been seeking an institution, where we should have been seeing a free association. We have been thinking more of appearances and outward forms than of realities and the living spirit. To me the strength of the

D 47619

Commonwealth lies in the fact that it is beyond definition. Definition, I believe, would limit its potential strength and restrict its possibilities.

D 47620 W.L.M.K.
April 5/44

Some years ago, at the time of its publication I was much attracted by a book entitled: "The Greek Genius and its meaning to us." The theme of the book has been frequently in my mind. What has happened since the book was written has leant emphasis to the truth it discloses.

Thinking of what might be appropriate for me to say on this occasion, I have felt that I should like, so far as I may be able to do so, to say something of the spirit of Canada and its meaning in the present world-wide fight for freedom.

D 47621

A Tribute to the People of Britain

I have been thinking how I might best express the feelings of the people of Canada for the people of Britain. I have decided not to say anything new on this occasion, but rather to repeat a few phrases from the New Year message I addressed to the Canadian people at the beginning of 1941. The fact that these words were not originally intended to be addressed to the people of this island is the greater evidence of their deep sincerity.

May I repeat my words:

"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."

In 1940 and 1941 the nations of the Commonwealth knew what the rest of the world was only coming to see; that the maintenance of human freedom depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. For one whole year we were proud to stand with you alone in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. Today a great array of United Nations

D 47622

has joined with the nations of the British Commonwealth in the march toward victory. The world can never forget that it was indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

U.K. Speech

D 47623

The British Commonwealth is not an Institution

The nations of the British Commonwealth, by combining their strength in the terrible year between June 1940 and June 1941, saved the world's freedom. That combination of strength was the spontaneous response to the call of freedom. The spirit of freedom cannot be embodied in institutions. Any attempt to give institutional form to the unity of the Commonwealth might well destroy its spirit. When I hear of plans and projects for the improvement of our arrangements for consultation and co-operation within the Commonwealth, I keep asking myself the question: What more complete co-operation could be achieved among nations than the free co-operation of the British nations in the present war. In this connection, I am reminded of an old Italian epitaph which reads: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am." There is, I believe, a lesson in these words for the peoples of the British Commonwealth, and particularly for those who seek to place the Commonwealth in an institutional strait-jacket. I cannot believe that the road to unity and strength within the Commonwealth is to be found in turning back the hands of the clock, and setting limits to the freedom of its member nations.

I do not mean to suggest that there should be no formal relationships or definite agreements or fixed commitments between nations of the Commonwealth. It is perfectly clear that, where the interests of the British nations coincide, there is every reason why that identity of interest should be recognized, as it was recognized recently in the agreement between Australia and New Zealand. The menace to the free spirit of the Commonwealth comes rather from those who would force upon it an artifical unity and a single identity which would mark it off and separate it from the rest of the world.

The Commonwealth can best serve mankind - and in doing so best serve the interests of its member nations - by seeking always to extend the frontiers of freedom, and by the readiness of its members to co-operate with all nations who seek the maintenance of freedom and the achievement of enduring peace.

The history of two great wars has shown that the British Commonwealth is an entente of a particularly tough and enduring character. Let us beware lest by attempting to turn understanding into an institution, understanding itself should disappear.

U.K. Speech

D 47625

Attitude to the Soviet Union

The people of Canada, like all the peoples of the United Nations, have been filled with admiration for the military achievements of the Soviet Union. We can see today that, without the Russian resistance and without the Russian victories, there would have been little hope, in our generation, of defeating Nazi Germany. For the opportunity of a brighter future for mankind, all the world owes a tremendous debt to the Soviet armies and people who are winning that opportunity by their heroism and their sacrifices.

To attain that better future which is the dream of all peace-loving peoples, it will not be enough to destroy the power of Hitlerism. The free nations of the West must completely bridge the gulf of suspicion and misunderstanding which, for a quarter of a century, separated Soviet Russia from the West, and the West from Soviet Russia. To no nation is that objective closer than it is to Canada. Russia is our northern neighbour, lying just across the pole from our own northland. The new geography of the air has placed our country midway between the two most powerful nations on earth. The Geography alone dictates to our people the need for good-will, understanding and co-operation with the Soviet Union.

U.K. Speech

D 47626

The Position of France

Geography makes understanding and co-operation with Soviet Russia a paramount interest of Canada. History and sentiment alike dictate Canada's interest in the recovery of France. In her splendid past, France has survived many tribulations. None has been more severe than the experience of the past four years. Her metropolitan territory lies prostrate under German domination. But we know, from a thousand signs, that her people are filled with a fierce spirit of resistance. A nation which for centuries has been one of the world's first powers; a nation to which freedom and civilization owes so much; such a nation cannot and will not lose her high place in the world. We in Canada look forward with conviction to the early restoration of France. Canadians, regardless of race, are eager to aid in the liberation of the French people to whom our own country is bound by the strongest ties of history and association.

U.K. Speech

D 47627

The European Allies

The people of Canada trace their origins to every race and every land in Nazi-dominated Europe. The liberation of the martyred peoples will be specially welcomed by their kinsfolk in our country. But Canadians of all origins look forward to the restoration of Czechoslovakia and Poland, of Norway and Denmark, of Holland and Belgium, of Yugoslavia and Greece, to their rightful place among the free peoples of the world.

This war has proved to all nations, great and small, that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth. It is now clear that the security of one nation is bound up in the security of all. In making the peace, our goal must be the achievement of an international organization in which each nation, according to its strength, may contribute to the common security.

D 47628

Commonwealth Co-operation

From time to time, in one or another of the nations of the Commonwealth, it has been suggested that the establishment of an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. I do not wish to consider the pros and cons of that suggestion at any length. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. Before the last war the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Their status and responsibilities were not defined. There was, moreover, not the same development of the means, and, what is equally important, of the habits of constant communication and consultation which now exist among the nations of the Commonwealth. I am sure that Mr. Churchill will agree - and I am no less sure that the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa will agree - that nothing could have exceeded the completeness or the harmony of our co-operation during the present war. Yet we have had no formal or visible Imperial War Cabinet, and this is the first time in more than four years of war that the Prime Ministers of all the nations of the Commonwealth engaged in this war have found it possible to meet together.

D 47629

How then has that co-operation been achieved? The first and most important answer is that there has been an identity of spirit and of interest among us all. We have all been menaced by the same danger to our common freedom. We have all reacted to that danger in much the same way. But, also, to give practical effect to our co-operation, we have, through the various recognized channels of communication - which I shall not describe - what amounts to a real but invisible Commonwealth War Council in constant session. Each member of that invisible Council is the whole government of the nation, not merely its Prime Minister. Far greater authority attaches, therefore, to the decisions reached, and decisions can be reached with astonishing rapidity.

In saying this I am not disparaging the importance of/an occasional meeting of Prime Ministers such as we are having at the present time. They have their place, and it is a very high place in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain-top; But is is not on the mountain-top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us must work hard and unremittingly in his own particular field.

I confess I have never thought very highly of various external devices which have been suggested to improve Commonwealth relations. Naturally, we should always be on the look-out for means of improving consultation and furthering co-operation. But we want to be sure that any device we adopt will have that result as well as that purpose. I was much impressed by a phrase Mr. Churchill used in his recent speech to the House of Commons on this very subject. You will remember he said: "I have never thought that/the Empire needed tying together with bits of string." I agree with him. I have never thought so either. And I reflect as well that one does not begin to tie things together with bits of string until they begin to fall apart. That is a reflection it is worth considering.

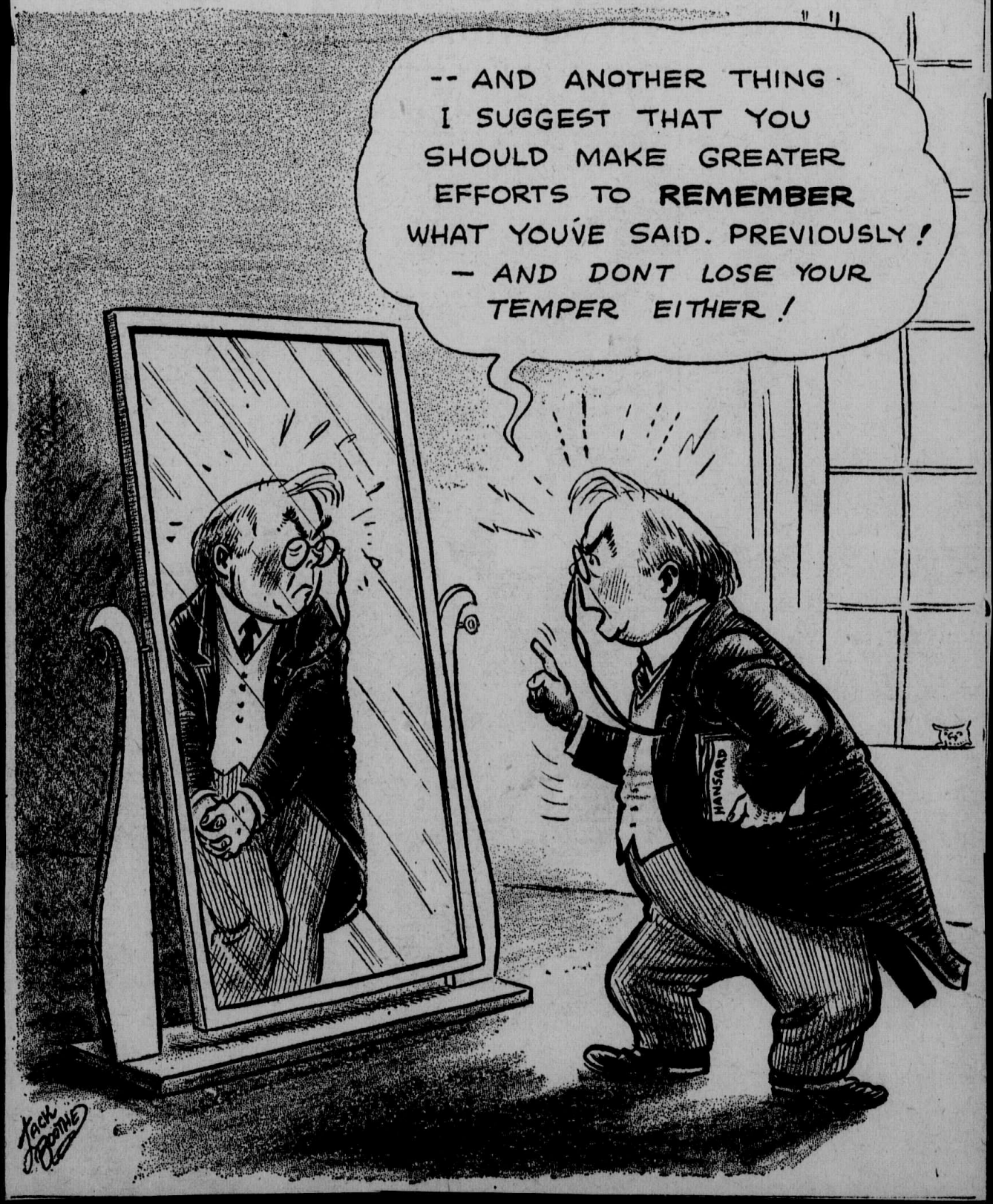
D 47631

FRANCE

History, kinship and association link Canada intimately with France. We welcome the growing evidences of unity among the forces of resistance inside and outside France. We look forward to the day when a liberated France will again take her rightful place in the front rank of a fraternal association of the free peoples of the world.

D 47632

Says the Prime Minister to the Minister for External Affairs:



47633

D

Press Release

N.B. Not to be released before Broadcast
at 9.15 p.m. E.D.S.T. June 22nd, 1943.

CANADIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP RALLY
TORONTO - June 22nd, 1943.

Introduction of Honourable Joseph E. Davies
by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Two years ago today, the world learned with amazement of the invasion of Russia by Germany. No one needs to be told how terribly the Russian people have suffered in these past two years, or what qualities of heroism and endurance they have displayed. What needs to be stressed is the effective part which Russian resistance has had in the frustration of Germany's aims of world conquest.

In this global war, we of the United Nations are all debtors one of another. The resistance of allied nations on the continent of Europe, the prolonged resistance of Britain, supported by Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth, gained for Russia two precious years in which to strengthen her defences. In turn, the marvellous resistance of the Russians relieved Britain of the weight of the Nazi attack. It also gave time to the nations

of the British Commonwealth, and to the United States, to prepare for offensive action against the enemy. Indeed, the importance of Russia's resistance has been so great that we hardly dare ask ourselves what might have happened if, instead of standing firm, the Russians had yielded, or had been overborne. Hitler and his Nazi legions, rich in oil and conquered territories, would then have been free to work their evil will in the West, at the very time the treacherous Japanese were making their attacks in the Pacific. Without doubt, this was what the Axis powers believed they would accomplish. Their plans were made accordingly.

Because we, on this continent, have been spared the horrors of invasion, it is difficult for us to envisage the sufferings and losses of the Russian people. The story of their sacrifices does not begin to be told by their losses on the field of battle, staggering as the figures are. It is estimated that Russia's dead in this war - soldiers and civilians - men, ~~and~~ women and children - total over ten millions. It is almost as if the whole of Canada's population had been wiped out in the past two years. Between three and four times that number were obliged to flee from their homes, leaving behind them all they had built through years of toil and hardship. In addition to those who have died and the homeless ones who have trekked to distant parts of the Soviet Union, there are about twenty million

people still suffering under the Nazi occupation. From the occupied districts, the Nazis have deported over two millions to perform slave labour in Germany. For many of those who remain, existence is worse than death. They are being systematically overworked starved and tortured.

A recognition of the debt owed to Russia by all the allied nations, combined with sympathy for the Russian people in their sufferings, led to the organization in Canada some months ago, of the Aid-to-Russia campaign.

The splendid response to this campaign revealed how deep had become the feelings of sympathy and admiration of the people of Canada for the Russian people. The men and women who organized and administered that campaign have been inspired by the response to their efforts to undertake the foundation of a Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship. Like the "Aid to Russia" campaign, the new venture has no official character. Its underlying purpose - the promoting of understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries - has, however, the warm support of the government. The Council is being organized and will be supported by Canadians who are united by a spirit of human brotherhood and an admiration for human fortitude.

D 47636

It is particularly appropriate that the Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship should be established on the second anniversary of the attack on Russia by Nazi Germany. In a moment, I shall tell you why it is especially fitting that the speaker at this meeting should be the Honourable Joseph E. Davies, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship is not being established only for the duration of the war. It aims at building up and maintaining lasting good-will and friendship between the people of Canada and the people of Soviet Russia. Apart altogether from our comradeship in arms, there are many reasons why friendship between our two countries should be particularly close.

A combination of geography and aviation has made Canada and Russia near neighbours. We have only to look at the top of the globe - or at the new aerial maps - to see that Russia and Canada are ~~the two~~ Arctic powers. Our frontiers meet at the North Pole. Our two countries, moreover, are vast in space. In many ways, they are similar in climate and in resources. We have like problems of transport, of development and of adaptation to new northern environments. On scientific and technical levels, we have much to learn from each other. We can greatly help each other in the solution of many problems.

through its possession of Alaska the United States is also an Arctic power & a link between Canada & the Soviet Union.

D 47637

Canada and the Soviet Union are also alike in being countries of many races. Both of us have made great progress in the development of communities in which peoples of diverse racial origins have found the way to live together in harmony. I doubt if a greater contribution can be made to the cause of enduring peace than by the development, throughout the world, of a spirit of harmony among peoples of different racial origins. Canada and the Soviet Union are both helping to achieve that spirit. By our mutual friendship, we can contribute to its diffusion throughout the world. Ignorance and prejudice are the worst of all foes. They are responsible for most of the enmities between classes and races, and of the hatreds between individuals and nations. The hope of the future for men of all races lies in a universal recognition of our common humanity.

Speaking here in the Maple Leaf Gardens in March, 1941, I said that if the new world order was not already on its way before the war was over, we might look for it in vain. In the promotion of understanding and friendship between nations, which organizations such as the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council are intended to foster, we surely see the beginnings of the world order. It is an order which seeks, not to divide and to destroy, but which,

by mutual co-operation between nations in the common defence of freedom and human rights, cannot fail to effect a new world unity.

The Nazi attack on Soviet Russia and the Japanese attack on the United States have shown that even the greatest powers cannot, by their own efforts, ensure their national security. Among nations in the world of today, security against aggression is indivisible.

Not only is the security of nations indivisible, their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought prosperity in economic isolation from its neighbours. In so doing, the prosperity of all nations was destroyed. Depression and war were the result. Now is the time for the entire world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own security, so no nation or group of nations in isolation can create its own prosperity. We shall have found the key to a new post-war order when the nations of the world come to base their policies on the truth that prosperity, like security, is indivisible; that no nation liveth unti itself; that we are members one of another. This is the only basis of a sound foreigh policy.

Canada, tonight, is highly honoured by the presence at this great meeting of The Honourable Joseph E. Davies, ~~who has recently returned~~ So soon after his return from a second mission to Moscow. At great personal inconvenience and some risk to his health, he has come to Toronto to assist in the establishment of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council. On your behalf I should like at once to extend to Mr. Davies a very warm welcome to our country. I should like as well, to welcome him on behalf of the government and people of Canada. We welcome him as a distinguished and public spirited citizen of the United States, as one who shares an intimate confidence and friendship with President Roosevelt, and as one who has been a life long exponent of the principles of freedom and of the rule of law in international relations.

I doubt if anyone on this continent has done more to promote an understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in the world than Mr. Davies. As United States Ambassador in Moscow in the critical years of 1937 and 1938, Mr. Davies, as is the duty of a good ambassador, made remarkable use of his eyes and ears. We have since learned with what skill he used his fine gift of cool and objective judgment. To his

Canada, tonight, is highly honoured by the presence at this great meeting of The Honourable Joseph E. Davies, ~~who has recently returned~~ So soon after his return from a second mission to Moscow. At great personal inconvenience and some risk to his health, he has come to Toronto to assist in the establishment of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council. On your behalf I should like at once to extend to Mr. Davies a very warm welcome to our country. I should like as well, to welcome him on behalf of the government and people of Canada. We welcome him as a distinguished and public spirited citizen of the United States, as one who shares an intimate confidence and friendship with President Roosevelt, and as one who has been a life long exponent of the principles of freedom and of the rule of law in international relations.

I doubt if anyone on this continent has done more to promote an understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in the world than Mr. Davies. As United States Ambassador in Moscow in the critical years of 1937 and 1938, Mr. Davies, as is the duty of a good ambassador, made remarkable use of his eyes and ears. We have since learned with what skill he used his fine gift of cool and objective judgment. To his

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47640

keen observations, he added a rare insight into the real significance of events in the Soviet Union in those years.

The whole English-speaking world owes a debt of gratitude to President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull for their wise decision in permitting the publication of Ambassador Davies' confidential despatches and reports. "Mission to Moscow" is a major contribution to a true understanding of modern Russia. Since lasting friendship can be founded only on genuine understanding, Mr. Davies' book is a vital contribution to the development of friendship between all English-speaking countries and the Soviet Union.

In his book and in all his speeches, Mr. Davies has stressed the fact that he is definitely not a Communist, that he is a believer in the system of private enterprise, that he is proud to be called an individualist, and not ashamed to be designated as a capitalist. He is a strong advocate of individual freedom in thought and opportunity. When in Russia, Mr. Davies made it clear that while he recognized that the Soviet system aimed to improve the lot of the common man, he believed that a fairer distribution of wealth and greater equality of opportunity for the underprivileged would be assured by the liberal and progressive methods applied in his own country.

D 47641

As one whose convictions are founded upon Christian teachings and his Christian faith, Mr. Davies has repeatedly said that he is heart and soul in the endeavour that we on this continent should become close working companions with the Soviet Union.

From the day, two years ago, when Hitler ordered the German armies to attack Russia, Mr. Davies has travelled through the United States speaking to great gatherings, like this one tonight, about the Soviet Union. Fortunately for us, his addresses have not been confined to his own country. He has made more than one visit to Canada. Since his last visit, he has circled the globe on a momentous second "Mission to Moscow". For his generosity in again sharing his experience and knowledge with us, we are indeed most grateful.

Within the past two years, Canada has had visits from distinguished representatives of most of the United Nations. In the same period, we have greatly extended the circle of diplomatic representation. We have received as Minister from the Soviet Union, Mr. Feodor Gousev whom we are delighted to have present on this platform tonight. We have sent to Russia, as our first Minister to that country, Mr. Dana Wilgress, one of the ablest of our public servants. Already this exchange of missions has resulted in a noticeable increase in understanding and good-will.

D 47641

..But as ~~As~~ one whose convictions are founded upon Christian teachings and his Christian faith, Mr. Davies has repeatedly said that he is heart and soul in the endeavour that we on this continent should become close working companions with the Soviet Union.

From the day, two years ago, when Hitler ordered the German armies to attack Russia, Mr. Davies has travelled through the United States speaking to great gatherings, like this one tonight, about the Soviet Union. Fortunately for us, his addresses have not been confined to his own country. He has made more than one visit to Canada. Since his last visit, he has circled the globe on a momentous second "Mission to Moscow". For his generosity in again sharing his experiences and knowledge with us, we are indeed most grateful.

Within the past two years, Canada has had visits from distinguished representatives of most of the United Nations. In the same period, we have greatly extended the circle of diplomatic representation. We have received as Minister from the Soviet Union, Mr. Feodor Gousev who we are delighted to have present on this platform tonight. We have sent to Russia, as our first Minister to that country, Mr. Dana Wilgress, one of the ablest of our public servants. Already this exchange of missions has resulted in a noticeable increase in understanding and good-will.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Most recent among Canada's distinguished visitors were Dr. Edouard Benes, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of the Generalissimo of China.

Like Madame Chiang, Mr. Davies has been an interpreter between two civilizations which, on the surface, have many apparent differences to divide them, but which beneath the surface, have similarities more vital, which unite for a community of interests.

Madame Chiang has acted as interpreter of the western world to China, and of China to the western world. Mr. Davies has helped Russia to understand the western democracies, and has contributed vastly to our understanding of the aspirations and the achievements of the Russia of today.

Like President Benes, Mr. Davies has shown a remarkable insight into the trend of world events. Not all public men have been so fortunate as Dr. Benes and Mr. Davies in having their prophecies on record, and what is more, in living to see them fulfilled.

In 1938, Dr. Benes forecast the outbreak and probable trend of the present war. He publicly stated his belief that war would come within a year; that it would strike, first Poland then France; that Hitler would attack all Europe, in the west and even in Russia; and that, in the end, the United States would be involved.

Most recent among Canada's distinguished visitors were Dr. Edouard Benes, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of the Generalissimo of China.

Like Madame Chiang, Mr. Davies has been an interpreter between two civilizations which, on the surface, have many apparent differences to divide them, but which beneath the surface, have similarities more vital, which make for a community of interests.

Madame Chiang has acted as interpreter of the western world to China, and of China to the western world. Mr. Davies has helped Russia to understand the western democracies, and has contributed vastly to our understanding of the aspirations and the achievements of the Russia of today.

Like President Benes, Mr. Davies has shown a remarkable insight into the trend of world events. Not all public men have been so fortunate as Dr. Benes and Mr. Davies in having their prophecies on record, and what is more, in living to see them fulfilled.

In 1938, Dr. Benes forecast the outbreak and probable trend of the present war. He publicly stated his belief that war would come within a year; that it would strike, first Poland then France; that Hitler would attack all Europe, in the west and even in Russia; and that, in the end, the United States would be involved.

REPEAT
REPETITION

In the same year that Dr. Benes made this remarkable forecast, Mr. Davies committed himself equally explicitly as to the inherent strength of the defensive position of the Soviet Union.

At that time, when so many military experts were misjudging Russia's strength, Mr. Davies, a civilian, wrote:

> "It is probable that the Soviet Union could defensively maintain its entity against any combination of two hostile powers. If confronted by a hostile alliance of more than two such powers, some territory of the Soviet Union might be occupied, but it is probable that the present military forces would prevent decisive defeat, and it is unlikely that permanent gains would accrue to the invading armies."

Mr. Davies saw in Russia much more than a titanic military power. He saw a country which under (to use his own words) "the resolute, bold and able leadership of Stalin", had developed amazingly in its industrial and economic life, and in the education and emancipation of the masses. He saw a country whose progress was certain to make it an important factor in world affairs. What is more, he saw in the Soviet Union, a sincere advocate of world peace.

D47643

In the same year that Dr. Benes made this remarkable forecast, Mr. Davies committed himself equally explicitly as to the inherent strength of the defensive position of the Soviet Union.

At that time, when so many military experts were misjudging Russia's strength, Mr. Davies, a civilian, wrote:

> "It is probable that the Soviet Union could defensively maintain its entity against any combination of two hostile powers. If confronted by a hostile alliance of more than two such powers, some territory of the Soviet Union might be occupied, but it is probable that the present military forces would prevent decisive defeat, and it is unlikely that permanent gains would accrue to the invading armies."

Mr. Davies saw in Russia much more than a titanic military power. He saw a country which under (to use his own words) "the resolute, bold and able leadership of Stalin", had developed amazingly in its industrial and economic life, and in the education and emancipation of the masses. He saw a country whose progress was certain to make it an important factor in world affairs. What is more, he saw in the Soviet Union, a sincere advocate of world peace.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Ladies and Gentlemen: You will agree, I am sure, that the sponsors of this meeting could have found no one more entitled than Mr. Davies to speak with authority on the relations of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world. You will also agree that no one is better qualified to promote the sense of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of North America. It is now my privilege to introduce to you the speaker of the evening, the Honourable Joseph E. Davies.

Ladies and Gentlemen: You will agree, I am sure, that the sponsors of this meeting could have found no one more entitled than Mr. Davies to speak with authority on the relations of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world. You will also agree that no one is better qualified to promote the cause of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of North America. It is now my privilege to introduce to you the speaker of the evening, the Honourable Joseph E. Davies.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Suggested insert middle p.3 - Unity of the Commonwealth

(based on Mackintosh and Deutsch)

D47645

.....its own prosperity.

Periodically in the history of the British peoples there has been a recurrence of a conception of their economic relationshops which, to my mind, has always been in opposition to the lasting well-being and prosperity both of our family of nations and of the human family in general. It is an old idea which had much to do with the downfall of the first British Empire, ~~and the long schism of the English speaking peoples which we must all hope this war is finally healing forever.~~ It is a concept which envisages an economic bloc sharing a restricted market and using its united strength to drive hard bargains with the rest of the world. That concept has never contributed unity or prosperity to the British nations. For my part I believe profoundly that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth will depend in the future as in the past upon their capacity to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which are in the interest of the world as a whole and which the other nations of the world will realise are in the interests of their people.

D 47646

By natural endowment and historical development, the nations of the Commonwealth can find genuine prosperity only in a larger circulation of trade than can be provided within the Commonwealth. Exclusive arrangements for trade within the Commonwealth will contribute little to our common prosperity and nothing to ~~peaceful~~ friendly relations with other countries.

There is an alternative policy in which the enduring interests of all members of the Commonwealth can be harmonised with the interests of the other United Nations. That policy involves turning our backs on what Mr. Churchill has called the shabby inter-war years and seeking our prosperity and our unity in a bold effort to achieve liberal trade arrangements and ecomomic relationships with all nations who are ready to pursue reciprocal policies. In accepting the principle of seeking the general advantage lies, I am convinced, the best hope of maintaining and strengthening harmony in our own internal and external relations throughout the Commonwealth.

I have always believed that the ultimate test, etc.....

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 47647

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Tentative arrangements have been made by W.I.B. for a limited number of press men to witness departure; story subject to agreed release at later date.

I think this preferable than any attempt at evasion, which will only create hard feelings and will not provide additional security.

W.J.T.

April 25, 1944

D 47648

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

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

D 47649

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 47650

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 47651

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 47652

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 47653

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.

D 47654

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

D 47655

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 47656

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 47657

"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!"

47658
D

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

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

D 47659

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.

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.

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 47662

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 47663

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

D47666

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 47667

"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!"

D 47668

RAMBLING THOUGHTS OF A ROVING CANADIAN

1. Now that the addresses of Field Marshall Smuts and Lord Halifax are being discussed in so many quarters it does seem that it would not be out of the way to refer to an address delivered by the famous Norwegian author, Bjornstjerne Bjornson on June 5, 1906. The address was delivered before a large audience at Samlingsbakken , a place in Denmark close to the German border. Bjornson was advocating some sort of an alliance or confederacy with Great Britain. Here are two somewhat freely translated excerpts from the address, as reported in "Isafold" a paper published in Iceland.

"The darkness of war is creeping over the skies and the Great Powers will yet plunge the world into a catastrophic war in which no consideration will be given the small nations. The only course open to the Scandinavian countries and the other small states in Northern Europe (Holland, Belgium, Switzerland) is to enter into an alliance with one of the Great Powers - one which could be trusted to protect their freedom. Which of the Great Powers should the small nations join ? German? Britain? The latter is selected because the Germans oppress the small nations, forbid them the use of their mother tongues and treat them with contempt."

The paper draws the inference that the opinion expressed by Bjornson, which was general in Norway, was behind the decision reached by the Norwegian people to establish a limited monarchy rather than a republic and select a Danish prince for their king, who was related to the Royal Family in Britain.

D 47669

Bjornson reaches this conclusion.

" By selecting a Danish King Norway became related to one of the strongest Powers in the world, Britain, which always has acknowledged and encouraged the freedom and self-determination of the small nations.".

.....

fa 9.

D 47670

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

An expression of the Spirit of the Canadian people.

The call - freedom vs. tyranny.

That spirit came down from British Isles -
British institutions of government.

Manifested in early struggles in Canada -
the pioneering qualities.

(Seeley's "Expansion of England" thought).

Growing pride in individuality - nationality.

Spirit manifested in visit of King and Queen.

Free Parliament (French and English).

Entered the war own free will.
(Keep note running through).

D 47671

Canada's effort an immediate effort - no coercion.

"The Response" (last war and this). ragerness

National War Memorial - freedom and peace. See speech 1939

Canada's effort a voluntary effort.

Carefully planned.

What we started out to do.

also more men available to load o/s than there were ships to carry them.

Canada's effort an all out effort.

(I) Men in forces : Army
Navy
Air
Munitions
Food
Money - pay for war.

Workers on farms, in factories, etc.

Victory Loans.

Canada's effort a Christian effort. humanitarian *

Mutual Aid to Britain,

to other countries.

Opposed to force - mutual aid.

Secret of co-operation -

the binding power of helpfulness.

* Butchers: The Great Genius
beauty
directness
many-sidedness

a long-range effort
a far-reaching view

Canada's effort full of vision -

looking to the future.

No nation liveth to itself - ~~all~~ we are **members one of another.**

Now U.N.R.R.A. - same spirit.

(meeting in Canada)

What it will mean.

(Over all nations is humanity).

(Let all this lead up to the form world organization is to take.)

British Commonwealth same spirit of freedom and co-operation -

a model for world co-operation.

look at dangers of institutionalization

Institutions the expression of the spirit -

spirit not the expression of the institution:

the one vital - the other material.

Difference between Nazism and democracy -

regimentation, etc.

D 47673

Canada's effort a world effort:

Commonwealth Air Training -
fliers to all part of world.

Navy to all parts of world.

(Size of Navy with British).

Air Force.

Munitions.

Aid to Russia, United Kingdom
China, Australia
French Committee of National Liberation.

(Get picture of this northern country).

Population of 11,000,000.

Not fearing to venture anywhere in world

or any form of fighting: in sea, Hong Kong
over ice regions, etc.,
fight in Italy and Sicily.

Note: fight on Pacific and expenditures re Kiska expedition

teaching the thing anywhere to manage our own affairs — a damn sight better

"we know just as much about foreign policy as they do in England"

D 47674

Canada's effort based on Good Neighbours:

Nations are brothers keepers.

Policy - belief in men, etc.

Canada-U.S. models

Note:

International Commission -

settlement of disputes.

Ogdensburg Agreement - Hyde Park Declaration

defence. Combined Boards

Joint Committees

Note:

Reciprocity in trade
" " defence, etc.

} Canada showing the way

Montreal UL Speech

Note development of routes:

Northwest staging routes,

the flying routes -

U. S. coming into Canada.

Where any other example

Canada's effort a co-operative effort.

A friendly effort -

a good-will effort -

a concentrated effort.

Attitude towards asserting authority, etc.

Recognition of leadership of Churchill and Roosevelt -

Chiefs of Staff,

Representation on Boards.

Self-effacing - recognition of position of other Dominions.

Canada's fight for freedom a fight to the finish.

Japanese.

What already done.

D 47676

Canada's effort a pioneering effort

anti-inflation policy

looks to present. looks to the future

Price and wage stability

followed by U. S. policy. manpower re-training

Canada's effort looks to the future:

(I) in domestic affairs

re troops, etc., - rehabilitation;

Bills re Reconstruction,

Veterans Affairs,

Social Security and Human Welfare

(family allowances).

A country of larger opportunity.

(distribution of wealth.)

D 47677

Lead up to (under heading)

Canada's effort looks to future.

The form of world organization:

Ultimate recognition of all Nations

under Tennysons rule of universal law.

Note re freedom indivisible - also peace and trade.

Why we hold so tenaciously to ideal of British Commonwealth.

We have come to where we are in virtue of growth of freedom.

I was well I wanted to be better Here I am x

Status recognized in Statute of Westminster.

We see world freedom will evolve in same way - up to that point the model that worked x

Secured within Nations of British Commonwealth -

can be secured within nations of world by methods that invite and inspire co-operation.

Not institutional - cannot create an institution out of the world. we can't do it for the whole world

Don't begin by attempting this with British Empire.

Can create a great spiritual entity (not these words, but this idea).

Freedom not visible - indivisible - liberty, etc.

D 47678

In reorganization, etc., great and small -

develop functional idea as determining idea.

Re: foreign policy -

Note? basis of reconciliation of foreign policy within Empire.

as part must have its own FP
how will we reconcile them x

RE: CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM
Supplementary Note

D 47679

(I) Decentralization

freedom in ever wider circles.

(2) Britain established that spirit.

(3) A world form of organization.

(4) Shaping of British institutions to Canadian needs.

(5) Freedom has been basic in Canada's political development.

(6) Voluntary effort: Men - Army, Navy, Air Force;
Munitions;
Work on the farms;
Not compulson or coercion.

(7) Maintaining the spirit as distinct from the letter of the law.

(8) Wisdom of keeping British Commonwealth of Nations as model for world organization.

(9) Importance of taxation -

if you institutionalize you will have to tax;

countries will be free to make a contribution if they really believe in a world organization -

if they do not pay they will be left out;

they may not submit to compulsion or institutionalizing.

(10) Long-term implications.

Copy for Lawrence
House - Mr Gibson
to see

D 47680

Canada's Fight For Freedom

1. A Voluntary Effort

Canada, like the other nations of the British Commonwealth, went to war in 1939 by the deliberate choice of her own people. Four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the immediate source or conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain and France. Theirs was not a response to the call of blood or race, or to an automatic bond of Empire; it was a response to our deepest political instinct - the call of freedom. The voluntary decisions by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand and by South Africa were the supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom within the Commonwealth.

Canada's decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free Parliament. It was the most solemn act of sovereignty - an act which set the final seal upon our status as a free nation.

Not only was our national decision to go to war a voluntary decision, but the effort of our people in carrying on the war has likewise been voluntary. In Canada as in other countries at war we have, of course, been compelled to resort to controls and to impose irksome restrictions in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But, at every stage, the measures required to carry on the war

D 47681

have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people. We in Canada are particularly proud of the fact that every fighting man serving across the seas from our own country, on the seas and in the air, is a volunteer. We can say in truth that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

D 47682

2. An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. Late in August of 1939, when the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if war came in defence of freedom, the Canadian government would ask Parliament to place our country at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation in Canada. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In 1939, for the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination over the world. When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like the other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that freedom and peace had been assured to mankind for many generations. That hope and that faith were symbolized in our national war memorial. But we knew that, as the two symbols of Freedom and Peace were joined in stone, so peace and freedom were themselves inseparably linked. Peace without freedom would be a living death. It was because our people believed that life without freedom would lose its significance that they were ready at once to resume the fight for freedom.

Canada's declaration of war was no empty gesture. We began at once to plan and organize our resources to take our full part in a long war. While many months of preparation

D 47683

were needed before our contribution began to be felt in the combat areas, ours, in fighting men, in munitions and supplies of war, was an immediate response and an immediate effort.

D 47684

3. A Pioneering Effort

Canada was the first nation of the western hemisphere to enter this war. For more than two years, our country alone in the Americas was at war. Our contribution to the prosecution of the war had obviously to be governed by our geographical location and our resources. We could not blindly follow the policies suited to countries, like Britain, which were in the combat zone. In planning and organizing for the utmost contribution to total war we had no appropriate pattern to follow. It has been a source of particular pride to Canada that our methods of meeting the problems of war have in many fields served as models for our great neighbour, the United States. Canada's effort in this war we like to feel has been a pioneering effort.

D 47685

4. A Neighbourly Effort

The magnitude of Canada's contribution to the present war is greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The capacity of both countries to defend our own continent and to fight abroad was increased by agreements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources. So intimate has been the sense of good neighbourhood between us that Canada did not hesitate to permit the United States to build a military highway across our Northwest, as an integral part of its military transport system to Alaska and the Far East. Without the sense of security which has come from the attitude of our great neighbour, Canada could not, while the United States stood neutral, have made a great effort in this war beyond our own borders. Ours is surely the supreme example of a small country living side by side with a very powerful one in the fullest security and harmony.

D 47686

5. A Co-operative Effort

Canada's strength in war has been increased by our neighbourly relations with the United States. It has, I believe, been vastly increased by our readiness to plan, organize and prosecute our war effort in close co-operation with Britain, with the Commonwealth and with the other United Nations. Our great resources and our comparatively small population made it inevitable that we should be able to produce more of the materials of war than Canada's armed forces could themselves employ.

By our system of mutual aid we have made it possible for our partners in war to use our great production to prosecute the common struggle. Canada is supplying mutual aid to Britain, to Australia, to the Soviet Union, to the French National Committee and to China.

We have tried to balance our war effort so that we can co-operate to the utmost with other free nations. We have recognized that all the United Nations cannot have an equal voice in the supreme direction of the war, and we have sought, without sacrificing any of our rights as a sovereign people, to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war. Believing that co-operation among nations is essential alike to win the war and to consolidate the peace, we have tried to make Canada's war effort a co-operative effort.

D 47687

6. An all-out Effort

From the outbreak of war in 1939, Canada's effort was planned and organized so that we might reach as rapidly as possible the maximum effort which could be sustained during a long war. In planning an all-out effort, we determined also to have a balanced effort,- an effort which would be balanced between the armed forces and war production and dovetailed into the efforts of our allies.

We expanded our navy as fast as we could build the ships and train the men; we expanded the army to the highest point we believed could be sustained over a long period of warfare; in air training and aerial warfare we have achieved the most intimate collaboration with other nations of the Commonwealth, which has vastly increased our joint power in the air.

We expanded our industrial capacity far beyond the needs of our own forces for weapons and munitions of war. Despite the loss of hundreds of thousands of young men from our farms, our food production has been greatly enlarged. By heavy taxation, loans and war savings we have distributed fairly the vast financial burdens of war and thereby increased our national capacity to bear them. Our objective has been a total effort for total war and we believe that objective has been attained.

D 47688

7. A World-wide Effort

Canadian sailors have served on all the seas; our airmen have fought in the skies over battle fronts round the world; our soldiers have served in Iceland, in Britain, at Dieppe, in Africa, in Sicily, and in Italy; at Hong Kong, in Alaska and the Aleutians.

Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used by all the allies round the globe. In the present war, Canada's effort has truly been a world-wide effort.

D 47689

8. An Enduring Effort

Canada is in this war to the end. For our people it will be a fight to the finish. In 1939, our country answered the call of freedom menaced in Europe. In 1941, we answered the same call from the Far East. Although Japan had not attacked Canada, it was clear to our people that this war was all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of our own choice, our people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

D 47690

9. A Long-range effort

In everything we have done to prosecute the war, we in Canada have sought to look beyond the war. To sustain them in their efforts, our people need a vision of a brighter future, and the assurance that its attainment is being sought with sincerity and with vigour.

We have learned in this war that freedom and peace are indivisible; that no nation liveth unto itself; that we are members one of another. By understanding, by mutual aid, by co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory in war. Those same qualities will be needed no less in the making and the keeping of peace. While our primary aim has been to contribute to military victory, we have sought as well to make Canada's effort a long-range effort which will contribute to a future for humanity in which men may enjoy freedom and peaceful progress.

COPY

re Summit Meeting. France : Allies

HW/AH
April 4th, 1944.

D 47691

NOTE FOR MR. PICKERSGILL

I return your draft for the Prime Minister's speech in London which is an admirable beginning. If it is to be his chief public speech in England, I think that he ought to include references to three or four matters which are not covered in the draft. These are as follows:

1. I am sure that he should say something about relations with the Soviet Union. This need not, of course, be more than 2 or 3 sentences as it is appropriate that he should devote much more space to relations with the United States.

2. He should also say something about France especially because of the anger caused to Frenchmen by Smuts' November speech. I attach a passage which was given to Mr. King for possible use in the debate on the Address but which he did not employ. Something on these lines might be worked in.

3. A Canadian Prime Minister speaking in London must say something about the monarchy. It is hard to say anything new.

4. Unless arrangements are made for a broadcast speech to Europe 2 or 3 sentences should be inserted, I think, about the European Allies in very general terms.

I should like to see somewhere in this speech a passage or two on Commonwealth relations which would be likely to be widely quoted because of its new phraseology. Perhaps you might work in a description of the Commonwealth as an entente cordiale. You will find some ideas on pages 8-10 of the second annex which is a draft also given to Mr. King for possible use in the debate on the Address.

(no) ?

U.K. Speech

D 47692

Attitude to the Soviet Union

The people of Canada, like all the peoples of the United Nations, have been filled with admiration for the military achievements of the Soviet Union. We can see today that, without the Russian resistance and without the Russian victories, there would have been little hope, in our generation, of defeating Nazi Germany. For the opportunity of a brighter future for mankind, all the world owes a tremendous debt to the Soviet armies and people who are winning that opportunity by their heroism and their sacrifices.

To attain that better future which is the dream of all peace-loving peoples, it will not be enough to destroy the power of Hitlerism. The free nations of the West must completely bridge the gulf of suspicion and misunderstanding which, for a quarter of a century, separated Soviet Russia from the West, and the West from Soviet Russia. To no nation is that objective closer than it is to Canada. Russia is our northern neighbour, lying just across the pole from our own northland. The new geography of the air has placed our country midway between the two most powerful nations on earth. Geography alone dictates to our people the need for good-will, understanding and co-operation with the Soviet Union.

U.K. Speech

D 47693

The Position of France

Geography makes understanding and co-operation with Soviet Russia a paramount interest of Canada. History and sentiment alike dictate Canada's interest in the recovery of France. In her splendid past, France has survived many tribulations. None has been more severe than the experience of the past four years. Her metropolitan territory lies prostrate under German domination. But we know, from a thousand signs, that her people are filled with a fierce spirit of resistance. A nation which for centuries has been one of the world's first powers; a nation to which freedom and civilization owes so much; such a nation cannot and will not lose her high place in the world. We in Canada look forward with conviction to the early restoration of France. Canadians, regardless of race, are eager to aid in the liberation of the French people to whom our own country is bound by the strongest ties of history and association.

U.K. Speech

D 47693

The Position of France

Geography makes understanding and co-operation with Soviet Russia a paramount interest of Canada. History and sentiment alike dictate Canada's interest in the recovery of France. In her splendid past, France has survived many tribulations. None has been more severe than the experience of the past four years. Her metropolitan territory lies prostrate under German domination. But we know, from a thousand signs, that her people are filled with a fierce spirit of resistance. A nation which for centuries has been one of the world's first powers; a nation to which freedom and civilization owes so much; such a nation cannot and will not lose her high place in the world. We in Canada look forward with conviction to the early restoration of France. Canadians, regardless of race, are eager to aid in the liberation of the French people to whom our own country is bound by the strongest ties of history and association.

REPEAT
REPETITION

U.K. Speech

D 47694

The European Allies

The people of Canada trace their origins to every race and every land in Nazi-dominated Europe. The liberation of the martyred peoples will be specially welcomed by their kinsfolk in our country. But Canadians of all origins look forward to the restoration of Czechoslovakia and Poland, of Norway and Denmark, of Holland and Belgium, of Yugoslavia and Greece, to their rightful place among the free peoples of the world.

This war has proved to all nations, great and small, that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth. It is now clear that the security of one nation is bound up in the security of all. In making the peace, our goal must be the achievement of an international organization in which each nation, according to its strength, may contribute to the common security.

JAG/Z
6.4.44

D 47695

Draft

More than a hundred years ago, Robert Baldwin exclaimed to Lord Durham: "It is the genius of the British races in both hemispheres to be concerned with the government of themselves." The working out of this idea of self-government has occupied the attention of the best minds of that community of self-governing peoples which we know today as the British Commonwealth of Nations. In this working-out of self-government, it has become clear that the things which count for most in the Commonwealth relationship have been based upon what I might call a progressive decentralization of function.

It is this progressive decentralization which has made possible an equality of status, which is today a mark both of the character and the strength of the British Commonwealth. But the evolution of the Commonwealth idea, from Responsible Government through Federation, from Federation into autonomous nationhood, and from autonomous nationhood to the stature, as in Canada's case, of a world power of major rank, seems to me to suggest that anything resembling a rigid permanent organization within the Commonwealth would have very great limitations. It would, I believe, defeat many of the things - real and intangible

D 47696

together - for which the Commonwealth stands. The freedom which springs from equality of status and decentralization of function is like the ripple on a pool, which spread in ever-widening circles.

This kind of freedom has been basic in the growth of the nationhood of Canada. It has found its best expression in the shaping of British institutions - the basic idea of the British heritage of freedom before the law - to Canadian needs. This process of constitutional development is not something whose good effects to Canada alone, for it has extended in some measure to the whole neighbourhood of Canada. In the tremendous tasks of rebuilding and readjustment, which will follow after the end of armed conflict, we must expect that the expression of this freedom - freedom in spirit as well as in action - will contribute much to the achievement of these tasks.

Private and Confidential DRAFT/JAC

D 47697

My dear Redfern:

I thank you for your letter of March 23 and for your courtesy in sending to me a copy of your memorandum dated February 4, 1944. I have now read it with care and, I need scarcely say, with unusual interest.

I think it is quite clear that, from a Canadian point of view, there are distinct limitations to the usefulness of any kind of rigid permanent organization within the Commonwealth. Indeed, the strength of everything for which the Commonwealth stands, in peace no less than in war, has been based upon a progressive decentralization of function. If the history of the past century means anything at all, I think it proves beyond peradventure that equality of status has been made possible by this progressive decentralization, extending in sequence from Responsible Government, through Federation, from Federation into autonomous nationhood, and from autonomous nationhood to the stature of a world power of major rank.

You call attention, very properly, I think, to the way in which in the highest strategic direction of the war Canada has as of course deferred to the action of Great Britain, the United States, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff organization. The word "unreservedly" doubtless applies in this context, but it does not, as you remark, extend to post-war organization or to the principle of functional

D 47698

representation already enunicated as a part of Canadian policy.

You call attention also to certain inequalities in the existing relationships between the United Kingdom and the other nations of the Commonwealth, and you suggest that they are inequalities which should be removed in any event. I am not at all sure that even the removal of these equalities would be likely to create any sort of predisposition on Canada's party to fit into a "plan" which might enable Great Britain "to deal with Russia, the United States and China on equal terms". Nor am I sure that it is of the nature of the Commonwealth relationship that each of the other partners would claim or would wish to deal with these same nations - the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and China - on "equal" terms. That would be a matter for each of them to work out in its own way, as Canada is already doing in part through her own embassies at Moscow, Washington and Chungking.

I do not overlook the situation in which it has been thought that the United Kingdom was placed, that it had to shoulder the responsibility of deciding upon a policy of wider application than to the United Kingdom alone, but in which Canada or Australia or New Zealand or South Africa might or might not share. I incline to think there may have been a period when this was more true than it is today; but my answer would be, now more than ever, that instead of thinking in terms of a balance of strength among three or four great powers, we must aim at attaining the necessary

superiority of power by creating an effective international system within which the co-operation of all peace-loving countries is fully sought and given. Or, in other words, we cannot envisage such a formulation of foreign policy as which, based on anything less than universal security, would run counter to the establishment of effective world security and thereby be opposed to the real interests of the Commonwealth itself.

As to the particular "inequalities", I think the amendment of the British North America Act might be entrusted to some form of constitutional convention specially summoned for the purpose. We would, I believe, have to take care that the Supreme Court of Canada did not, as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has seemed to do, usurp a legislative function which does not belong to it in addition to the judicial supremacy which it properly possesses.

I would see no difficulty about an eventual merging of the Dominions Office with the Foreign Office in the United Kingdom.

About the position of the King, I question whether the supposed "inequality" of His Majesty not being in Canada really enters the mind of the people of Canada as a whole, and perhaps least of all ~~by~~ the mind of those who regard the person of the King as a symbol of the common allegiance which links the nations of the Commonwealth. I question also whether the presence of His

D 47700

Majesty within Canada for short periods at more or less regular intervals would be regarded, through Canadian eyes, as removing an "inequality", since I suppose that no articulate part of the Canadian population has ever thought of the absence of the King, or, more correctly, his ordinarily continual residence within the United Kingdom, as constituting an inequality which ought to be removed.

Let me thank you again for sending me this interesting and careful memorandum.

Yours sincerely,

D 47701

Commonwealth Co-operation

From time to time, in one or another of the nations of the Commonwealth, it has been suggested that the establishment of an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. I do not wish to consider the pros and cons of that suggestion at any length. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. Before the last war the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Their status and responsibilities were not defined. There was, moreover, not the same development of the means, and, what is equally important, of the habits of constant communication and consultation which now exist among the nations of the Commonwealth. I am sure that Mr. Churchill will agree - and I am no less sure that the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa will agree - that nothing could have exceeded the completeness or the harmony of our co-operation during the present war. Yet we have had no formal or visible Imperial War Cabinet, and this is the first time in more than four years of war that the Prime Ministers of all the nations of the Commonwealth engaged in this war have found it possible to meet together.

D 47702

How then has that co-operation been achieved? The first and most important answer is that there has been an identity of spirit and of interest among us all. We have all been menaced by the same danger to our common freedom. We have all reacted to that danger in much the same way. But, also, to give practical effect to our co-operation, we have, through the various recognized channels of communication - which I shall not describe - what amounts to a real but invisible Commonwealth War Council in constant session. Each member of that invisible Council is the whole government of the nation, not merely its Prime Minister. Far greater authority attaches, therefore, to the decisions reached, and decisions can be reached with astonishing rapidity.

In saying this I am not disparaging the importance of/an occasional meeting of Prime Ministers such as we are having at the present time. They have their place, and it is a very high place in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain-top. But it is not on the mountain-top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us must work hard and unremittingly in his own particular field.

I confess I have never thought very highly of various external devices which have been suggested to improve Commonwealth relations. Naturally, we should always be on the look-out for means of improving consultation and furthering co-operation. But we want to be sure that any device we adopt will have that result as well as that purpose. I was much impressed by a phrase Mr. Churchill used in his recent speech to the House of Commons on this very subject. You will remember he said: "I have never thought that the Empire needed tying together with bits of string." I agree with him. I have never thought so either. And I reflect as well that one does not begin to tie things together with bits of string until they begin to fall apart. That is a reflection it is worth considering.

W. L. M. K.
April 8/44

D 47704

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as it is exemplified in Canada's war effort.

A nation's spirit is not easily defined. It more or less defies definition. It is not like an institution which can be seen or described. Rather is it something known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of ~~nature~~ waters which lies hidden beneath the earth's surface and which, from time to time and from place to place, manifests ~~itself~~ themselves as rivers, or streams, or springs, all alike having their origin in some secret source. A nation's spirit reveals itself in many ways. It manifests itself most clearly in the collective acts of the people. Collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

It is not my purpose to describe Canada's contribution to the present world conflict, in terms of men and materials. What Canada has done and is doing is, I believe, well known in Britain. What I should like to ~~disclose~~ refer to are certain aspects of ~~Canada's~~ our contribution which, taken as a whole, reveal the spirit which underlies the war effort of the Canadian people. A like spirit will, I believe, be found to underlie the ~~war effort of~~ contributions which the several nations of the British Commonwealth are making to the prosecution of this war. I should like to interpret the significance of that spirit, as I see it, in relation to the present world-wide fight for freedom. Still more, ~~were I able to do so~~, would I wish to interpret its meaning to all of us who owe a common allegiance to the Crown in our relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

for Mr Gibson

W.L.M.K.
April 7/44

D 47705

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as it is exemplified in Canada's war effort. The expression of a people's spirit is inevitably quickened and heightened at a time of war.

A nation's spirit is not easily defined. It more or less defies definition. Rather is it revealed as its qualities manifest themselves in the collective acts of its people.

It is not my purpose to describe Canada's contribution, to the present world conflict, in men and materials. What Canada has done and is doing is, I believe, well known in Britain. ~~What~~ But I should like to ~~set forth are~~ speak of certain aspects of our war effort which, taken as a whole, reveal the spirit in which the Canadian people are waging war. A I like spirit, I believe, ~~will be found to~~ underlies the war effort of the several nations of the British Commonwealth. I should like to interpret ~~its~~ the significance, as I see it, not only in the present world-wide fight for freedom, but in its meaning to all of us who owe a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like also to examine that spirit in our relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

D 47706

A Voluntary Effort

~~Let me mention, first of all,~~ The aspect which I regard as the most important of all ~~that~~ Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth which are at war today, Canada entered the war of her own free will. Ours was not ~~a~~ primarily a response to the call of blood or race ~~or~~ a manifestation of ~~be~~ any automatic bond of Empire; it was ~~a response to~~ the outcome of our deepest political instinct - the ~~call~~ love of freedom and a sense of justice.

Not only was our decision to go to war a voluntary decision, but the effort of our people in carrying on the war has, likewise, been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries at war, we have, ~~of course, been compelled~~ had to resort to controls ~~and to impose irksome~~ restrictions in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But, ~~at every stage~~, the measures required to carry on the war have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

A

A From the very beginning of the war we have been in the position where we had available, at any given time, more men who had volunteered to serve in overseas theatres of war than there were ships to carry them. Similarly, the munitions and materials of war produced in Canada have flowed in such a mounting stream that they have exceeded the available tonnage of shipping to carry them abroad.

D 47706

A Voluntary Effort

~~Let me mention, first of all,~~ The aspect which I regard as the most important of all ~~that~~ Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth which are at war today, Canada entered the war of her own free will. Ours was not ~~a~~ primarily a response to the call of blood or race ~~or~~ a manifestation of ~~any~~ automatic bond of Empire; it was ~~a response to~~ the outcome of a ~~deep~~ love of freedom and a sense of justice deepest political instinct - the call of freedom.

Not only was our decision to go to war a voluntary decision, but the effort of our people in carrying on the war has, likewise, been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries at war, we have, ~~of course, been compelled~~ had to resort to controls ~~and to impose irksome~~ restrictions in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But, ~~at every stage~~, the measures required to carry on the war have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

A

A/ From the very beginning of the war we have been in the position where we had available, at any given time, more men who had volunteered to serve in overseas theatres of war than there were ships to carry them. Similarly, the munitions and materials of war produced in Canada have flowed in such a mounting stream that they have exceeded the available resources of shipping to carry them abroad.

REPEAT
REPETITION

B/

The extent to which it is a voluntary effort is worthy of notice because, at the outbreak of war in Europe, our own shores were not in danger of immediate attack. But at no time since the autumn of 1939, and least of all through the months of setbacks and disappointments, has there been any slackening of an effort whose brightest shield is to be found in the <u>voluntary</u> and willing exertions of the Canadian people.

47707

Canada has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from ~~our country~~ Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. It was moreover a decision made by ~~her~~ our own Parliament. Late in August of 1939, when the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that if war came ~~being defended by arms~~ because freedom was in the defence of freedom, the ~~Canadian~~ Government would ask Parliament to place ~~our country~~ Canada at Britain's side. When war came there was no hesitation in any part of Canada. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war ~~against the German Reich~~.

In those days, as I have said, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. ~~What the people of Canada did grasp the issue which was at stake,~~ What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that ~~what had begun was a struggle~~ had begun a bitter struggle between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly ~~rapidly~~ spread. ~~rapidly and triumphantly~~ All our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive ~~only in a free world. exist~~ in a world that was not free. no longer

down to p4

In 1939, for the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent ~~their~~ tyranny ~~in~~ Germany from extending ~~pressing~~ its ~~domination to other~~ parts of the ~~world.~~ When the last war ~~over the widening~~ Globe

C/ Planning for a long war requires that there should be the best possible use of strategic resources and a minimum of wasted energy. Judged by this standard, D 47709

D 47710

ended, the people of Canada, like ~~the~~ other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that freedom and peace ~~had been~~ might be assured to mankind for many generations. That hope and that faith ~~belief~~ ~~were~~ were symbolized in our National War Memorial. But we knew that just as the ~~two~~ bronze symbols of Freedom and Peace surmounting our triumphal arch ~~were~~ are inseparably ~~joined~~ interlocked, so ~~were~~ Peace and Freedom ~~were~~ are themselves inseparably ~~linked~~ joined. Peace without Freedom would be impossible. ~~It was~~ Because our people believed that life without freedom would ~~be a living death~~ also be impossible, ~~that~~ they were ready at once to resume the fight for freedom. ~~Our effort~~ To fight, our effort like our decision was an immediate effort.

insert page 3

An All-Out Effort

~~A Planned Effort~~ ~~An all-out effort~~ ~~From the first that the decision was an immediate response, and that our effort was a total war effort,~~ Canada's declaration of war was no empty gesture. The experience of the past war had taught us and many nations that freedom is bought at a great price. We believed that the present war would be long and relentless, and we saw that it was necessary to plan accordingly.

insert page 6

We began at once ~~so~~ to plan our effort, and ~~so~~ to organize our resources ~~as to take~~ so that we could take our full part in a long and cruel war. ~~While~~ Many months of preparation were needed before our contribution began to be felt in the combat areas, ~~ours~~ But in fighting men, in munitions and supplies of war, in foodstuffs ~~was~~ ~~an immediate response and an immediate effort.~~ I think I may say with truth that our

+ PM

C

D 47711

D/ This was a battle which had to be ordered on the home front even while our soldiers, sailors and airmen were sharing in battles abroad. I think I may say that the result of this battle was a balanced effort.

D 47712

war effort has ~~also~~ been a planned effort, and an effort that time has shown was well planned.

~~A Balanced Effort~~ Start at original + pencil

In planning an all-out effort we determined ~~also to have~~ it should be a balanced effort - ~~an effort which would be balanced between the armed forces and war production and dovetailed into~~ the efforts of our allies. We would, for example, have to balance the needs of the armed forces which we would train on our own soil with the continuing needs of our Allies in the common struggle. We would have to consider the progress in removal from production for civil non-essential civilian needs to the insperative demands of war. We expanded our navy as fast as we could build the ships and train the men. We expanded the army to the ~~highest~~ strength ~~point~~ which we believed could be ~~sustained~~ maintained over a long period of warfare. We expanded our Air Force to the limit ~~of air training capacity for personnel~~ of an immense organization and our ability to manufacture or ~~secure~~ otherwise procure the needed equipment. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, ~~which had begun operations before the end of 1939, and was~~ inaugurated in was in operation months ahead of schedule and has been expanded beyond all ~~expectations. It~~ Far has vastly increased the joint ~~power~~ strength of ~~all allied powers~~ the United Nations in the air. In air training and aerial warfare we have achieved the most intimate collaboration with other nations of the Commonwealth.

We have expanded our industrial capacity far beyond the needs of our own armed forces, ~~for weapons and munitions of war.~~ Despite the loss of hundreds of thousands of young men from ~~our~~ the farms, and fisheries our food production has been greatly ~~enlarged~~ increased. By

6A

D 47713

Revise of first paragraph - page 6.

Notwithstanding that Canada has a comparatively sparse population spread over a great area and that a relatively high proportion of our total national energies must be used to maintain transport and other essential services, we have ~~nevertheless,~~ succeeded in devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. ~~Canada has paid~~ We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenues from taxation. All our national borrowing for war purposes has been done in Canada. Through Victory Loans and war savings, nearly every family ~~in Canada~~ has helped to finance the war. The cost of living has been rigidly controlled. By these means etc.,

D 47714

(6A)

~~taxation, by war savings~~ and by loans ~~raised in Canada we have not our domestic obligations, and to the extent of 60% paid for our cost of the war out of current revenues.~~ By ~~these means, we have also~~ distributed fairly the vast financial burdens of war ~~and~~ thereby increased our national capacity to bear them. ~~Our war effort has been a balanced effort.~~

~~An All-out Effort~~

From the outbreak of war in 1939, Canada's effort was planned and organized so that we might reach as rapidly as possible the maximum effort which ~~would be~~ sustained during a long war. In fighting men, in weapons and munitions of war, in finance, we have ~~made our~~ utmost contribution to the world's fight for freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war and we believe that objective ~~has been~~ attained.

A Pioneering Effort

~~There is in Canada a tendency not to realize how we pioneering effort.~~ Ours, ~~too,~~ was a pioneering effort. Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to enter this war. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war, the first to defend the frontiers of ~~freedom alike on the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific.~~ Our contribution

D 47715

E/ From the outset we have been guided by the general strategic rule that our forces and our material assistance should be used wherever they could make the best contribution to the winning of the war. When Canada began to wage war the United States had not entered the struggle. When the United States became a belligerent, we had many problems of war on the home front. In meeting these problems, Canadian practice and Canadian example frequently served as the pattern. While no accident, this example has been a source of particular pride to Canadians.

to the prosecution of ~~the~~ a world-wide war had obviously to be governed by our geographical location and our resources. ~~We could not blindly follow the policies suited to countries like Britain, which were in the combat zone.~~ The strategy governing the military operations of nations in the combat zone did not automatically apply to Canada, even though, in the general strategic direction of the war, we have differed in most matters to the combined judgment of Britain and the United States. In planning ~~and organization for the utmost contribution to total war~~ our war effort, we had no ~~appropriate~~ predetermined pattern to follow. It has been a source of ~~particular~~ pride ~~to Canadians~~ that ~~once the United States also was at war~~ our methods of meeting the problems of war have served on more occasions than one as patterns ~~to our great neighbour~~ for the United States. Canada's effort in this war, we like to feel, has in many essentials been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

~~In fact,~~ ~~The magnitude of~~ Canada's contribution to the present war ~~is~~ has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which ~~exist~~ between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The capacity of both ~~countries~~ Canada and the United States the North American to defend ~~our own~~ continent and to fight abroad ~~has~~ has been greatly increased by ~~agreements~~ arrangements for joint defence, and ~~by~~ by the pooling of resources. ~~Without~~ The sense of security which ~~has come~~ came from the attitude of ~~our great neighbour~~ the United States ~~while~~ before Canada could not, ~~while~~ because the United States ~~stood neutral~~ was not at war, have made ~~a~~ the overseas effort we did ~~great effort in this war beyond our own borders.~~ ~~So intimate has been~~ the sense of good neighbourhood between us ~~that since~~ ~~border has felt not friendly.~~

F

D 47717

The United States has also had full use of a chain of strategic airports ~~largely but~~ built with Canadian funds and largely by Canadian labour. Over thousands of miles of air routes and staging routes United States aircraft have been carrying men and materials across Canadian territory to distant fronts. Canada has now undertaken the capital costs of all permanent installations, and at the conclusion of hostilities they will pass to Canadian ownership and control. Co-operation in the air, as well as on land and at sea, has helped to speed the victory across vast spaces of the North American continent. It provides the example for undiminished co-operation in the future, when the urgent tasks of rebuilding and readjustment have replaced the imperious needs of war.

~~Because of this certainty of good neighbourhood,~~ ~~her entry into war~~ Canada has not hesitated to permit the United States to build a military highway across a thousand miles of ~~our~~ Northwest as an integral part of its military transport system to Alaska and the Far East. ~~We similarly permitted~~ the construction by ~~the~~ United States ~~construction forces~~ of ~~airports~~ and ~~the use by the U.S.~~ of air routes over ~~additional~~ thousands of miles of widely separated areas. ~~These we have by purchase acquired now as our own.~~ Ours is surely the supreme example of a small country living side by side with a very powerful one in the fullest security and harmony.

~~Just as Canada's strength in war has been so vastly increased by~~ Our neighbourly relations with the United States, ~~so, I believe,~~ has ~~it~~ been ~~vastly increased~~ by our readiness to plan, organize and prosecute our war effort in close co-operation with Britain, with the other Nations of the Commonwealth, and with the ~~other~~ United Nations. Our great resources and our comparatively small population made it inevitable that we should be able to produce more of the materials of war than Canada's armed forces could themselves employ. ~~By our policy of mutual aid we have made~~ it possible for our partners in war, ~~as a part of our war effort,~~ to use our great production to prosecute the common struggle. ~~Canada is supplying mutual aid~~ to Britain, to Australia, to the Soviet

D47718

Union, to China, and to the French ~~National~~ Committee. ~~In our last fiscal~~ two years the parliament of Canada appropriated ~~the sum~~ of one billion dollars for munitions of war ~~and~~ to be supplied to Britain, and through Britain to certain of our allies, ~~in the form of aid to help win the war.~~ This year parliament is being asked to vote a sum of $800 million ~~to be contributed under~~ for mutual aid ~~to Britain and other of our allies in the form of war supplies~~ and ~~as supplies to aid in the~~ relief and rehabilitation of ~~devastated~~ liberated countries. ~~We have tried so to balance our war effort that we can co-operate to the utmost with all other free nations.~~

~~We believe that co-operation among nations is essential alike to win the war and to consolidate the peace.~~ We have sought to make Canada's war effort, ~~in all its aspects,~~ a co-operative effort.

Item from P. 11

A National Effort

To ~~view~~ Canada's war effort in its true light and to ~~appreciate~~ understand its ~~full~~ import, ~~it~~ must be ~~seen~~ looked at as a national effort. Canada's decision in 1939 ~~was more than~~ proclaimed the free choice of a free parliament. It was ~~the most~~ a solemn act of ~~sovereignty, public~~ ~~It placed the final seal upon our status as a free nation.~~ Because our war effort has appealed to our national pride, We have ~~sought~~ tried to make it worthy of Canada as a nation. ~~The Nations, we believe, some~~ There are among our own people, and

D 47719

~~some~~ among ~~those who belong to~~ other parts of the Commonwealth and ~~other of~~ the United Nations who ~~assert~~ that as a nation ~~we~~ should have asserted more strongly ~~our~~ sovereign rights, that we should have demanded a large share in ~~the~~ direction of the war ~~and~~ the determination of strategy. I like to believe that Canadians, as a people, seek ~~rather~~ to remove ~~than to create~~ difficulties. That ~~certainly~~ has been ~~the~~ attitude ~~of our government~~ in the present struggle. It is a part of our policy of making ~~the~~ Canada's war effort a co-operative effort. ~~We have recognized that all the nations cannot have an equal voice in the supreme direction of the war.~~ Without sacrificing any of our rights ~~as a sovereign people,~~ we have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ endeavoured to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war.

The people, no less than ~~the~~ government ~~of Canada~~, have recognized that in directing the military operations of ~~working partnership with another~~ a grand alliance ~~of some~~ thirty nations, all of those nations, large and small, cannot have an equal voice. I would be less than honest were I to pretend that our people or our government have always been satisfied with every decision, or with the voice we have had in reaching ~~every~~ decision. But we have tried to take a practical, common-sense view. It is perfectly clear that the conduct of the war would be hopelessly impeded if each of the United Nations insisted on endless debate before decisions could be taken.

G/

D47720

⟨ Query: insert a note about
functional representation? ⟩

~~So far as Canada is concerned, we have sought no easy or cheap notoriety by trying to build up seeking to create for our country what in politics is called a "nuisance value".~~ The fact that ~~Canada~~ we have recognized the limitations of ~~her~~ our strength and population; ~~the fact that we have not sought influence dispropertionate to the weight of our national contribution to the struggle; the fact that we~~ have preferred to exert our influence quietly, ~~these facts~~ do not mean that we have ~~not~~ failed to exercised due vigilance in making our views known and in protecting our national rights and interests. ~~or that we have sacrificed one atom of our sovereignty.~~ Much less does it mean that in ~~all~~ matters of paramount interest to Canada, ~~our own people,~~ ~~the people of Canada~~ we do not intend, as occasion may demand, to speak with ~~their~~ our own ~~particular~~ voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth.

We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if we ~~failed at all times to remember that~~ were not always mindful It is not the great powers only that are needed to preserve freedom, ~~but~~ departed to extend and to that freedom is one and indivisible and that, great or small, ~~we are all~~ all nations are members one of another. ~~In all its bearings, Canada's effort is a national effort.~~

G

up to p 9

A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, Canada's effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian sailors have served on all the seas; our airmen have fought in the skies over battlefronts

xx to p 12

D 47722

round the ~~world;~~ globe our soldiers have served ~~in Iceland,~~ in Britain, at Dieppe, in Africa, in Sicily, and in Italy; at Hong Kong, in Alaska and the Aleutians. They await today the word of command to join their comrades from other lands in the invasion of Europe. ~~To~~morrow will see Canadian forces allied with others in a final assault upon Japan.

Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used by all the allies round the globe. ~~In the present war,~~ Canada's effort has truly been a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that Canada is in this war to the end. For our people, Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. In 1939, our country answered the call of freedom menaced in Europe. In 1941, we answered the same call from the Far East. Although Japan had not attacked Canada, the issue again was plain. It was clear to our people ~~who placed themselves on the right side, in the pledge they gave to the United States,~~ that this war was all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of ~~our own choice~~ their own free will, our people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-range Effort

D 47723

~~Finally, May I say that in everything we have done to prosecute the war,~~ ~~We~~ In Canada have sought to look beyond the war, to make our effort a long-range effort. Our people, no less than those who have been ~~more~~ so hard ~~hard~~ pressed, need a vision of a brighter future to sustain them in their efforts. They need the assurance, as do those whose sacrifices have been so ~~much greater,~~ great that ~~the attainment of~~ a new world order is being sought with sincerity and with vigour.

~~We~~ All nations have learned ~~in this war~~ from this war that freedom and peace are indivisible; that no nation liveth until itself; that we are members one of another. By ~~understanding~~ co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by co-operation in as many directions as possible, the United Nations are achieving military victory. ~~Those same qualities~~ The widest practice of co-operation will be needed ~~no less~~ in the making and the keeping of peace. While ~~our~~ Canada's primary aim has been to contribute to military victory, we ~~have sought as~~ are seeking as well to contribute to a future for humanity in which peace may be linked with progress, and freedom with faith in the future well-being of mankind. Canada's effort is a long-range effort.

~~Hon p 12 EE~~

Hon p 9 E NE

There is not one of the several aspects of Canada's war effort which with due allowance ~~made~~ for varying conditions has not been paralleled in the war effort of each of the other ~~self-governing~~ nations ~~parts~~ of the Commonwealth. When war came, four nations all of them thousands of miles from the immediate scene of the conflict ranged themselves at the side of Britain and France. In the case of each, the ~~call was clear and~~ issue was plain; the response voluntary and immediate. ~~In the case of each, the many-sided obligations of war were wisely planned and carefully balanced.~~ Each has sought ~~was prepared~~ to do its utmost. The contributions of all alike ~~states~~ bear the self-reliant characteristics of the pioneer. Close co-operation ~~with Britain, with the other parts of the Empire, and with the other United Nations has existed~~ their course throughout. The war effort of each ~~has been a national effort and~~ is a long-range effort. ~~Each~~ and will prove to be an enduring effort. The pride of each is that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The defence, the preservation and the extension of freedom - these are the incentives which have compelled ~~of common~~ our action. Each owes its inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom which ~~through the centuries has~~ has been cherished through generations and the sense of justice and fostered love

D 47725

in Britain, as no where else in the world. The spirit of freedom has been Britain's ~~gift to the nations that have sprung from her loins~~ peculiar contribution to civilization. So long as she continues to share that spirit with ~~them - to defend, to preserve and to extend freedom - so long as she continues to impart that spirit to other nations, to live and to strive~~ her sister-nations, she need never fear for the strength ~~or~~ or unity of the British Commonwealth ~~and Empire or~~ her own pre-eminence throughout the world. The voluntary decision by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by NewZealand and by South Africa are the supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom ~~within the Commonwealth.~~

The terrible events of 1940 revealed to all the world with burning clarity the menace to freedom. So long as freedom lasts, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay.

Confidential Ottawa, April 19th, 1944. D47726

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re U.S. in Canada

Pickersgill has shown me the paragraph in your draft London speech referring to the Alaska Highway and the airfields constructed in Canada as joint defence projects with the United States.

It seems to me that because of the difficulties which have already been encountered with the United States in respect of these and other joint defence works, even more of the graver difficulties which are to be anticipated in respect of their postwar status, it would be preferable to omit reference to these undertakings.

The maintenance and possibly use of the Alaska Highway is quite likely to prove an embarrassment to the government after the war, despite the specific nature of our agreement with the United States under which it is to become "an integral part of the Canadian highway system". So far reference to the Highway has been able to be avoided in discussions with the U. S. authorities.

The position of the airfields, notably those of the Northwest Staging Route is one which has already caused considerable difficulty. With the specific object of avoiding U.S. claims to postwar use of this Route, based upon their large expenditures in construction and operation, we have recently undertaken to pay the whole cost involved, and negotiations as to the extent of this obligation are still under way.

I would be afraid that any reference, such as that proposed in the draft paragraph which I have been shown, might be taken, in some quarters, as an encouragement to the very postwar claims which the government have been seeking to avoid.

D 47727

It is true that the whole joint defence construction programme in Canada has been an outstanding example of international co-operation. In the circumstances, however, I would think the specific reference suggested might better be omitted.

If some general reference were desired, a sentence along the following line might be substituted:

"The ~~large~~ supreme military works undertaken in Canada in ~~co-operation~~ conjunction with the United States, ~~notably in the matter of communications and transportation,~~ have provided a remarkable example of close and friendly co-operation, ~~between Canada and the United States~~. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation ~~country~~ living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one."

7a

A. D. P. H.

P.S. Mr. Robertson has seen and agreed with the opinion expressed in this note.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Clerk of the Privy Council

Ottawa, April 19th, 1944.

D47728

For Mr. Pickersgill:

This is a draft Mr. Heeney dictated before going to lunch. Will you please look it over and he would like you to show it to Mr. Robertson? He would like to have your comments before sending it on.

M.R.

D 47729

Confidential Ottawa, April 19th, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Pickersgill has shown me the paragraph in your draft London speech referring to the Alaska Highway and the airfields constructed in Canada as joint defence projects with the United States.

It seems to me that because of the difficulties which have already been encountered with the United States in respect of these and other joint defence works, even more of the graver difficulties which are to be anticipated in respect of their postwar status, it would be preferable to omit reference to these undertakings.

The maintenance and possibly use of the Alaska Highway is quite likely to prove an embarrassment to the government after the war, despite the specific nature of our agreement with the United States under which it is to become "an integral part of the Canadian highway system". So far reference to the Highway has been able to be avoided in discussions with the U. S. authorities.

The position of the airfields, notably those of the Northwest Staging Route is one which has already caused considerable difficulty. With the specific object of avoiding U.S. claims to postwar use of this Route, based upon their large expenditures in construction and operation, we have recently undertaken to pay the whole cost involved, and negotiations as to the extent of this obligation are still under way.

I would be afraid that any reference, such as that proposed in the draft paragraph which I have been shown, might be taken, in some quarters, as an encouragement to the very postwar claims which the government have been seeking to avoid.

It is true that the whole joint defence construction programme in Canada has been an outstanding example of international co-operation. In the circumstances, however, I would think the specific reference suggested might better be omitted.

If some general reference were desired, a sentence along the following line might be substituted:

> "The large military works undertaken in Canada in co-operation with the United States, notably in the matter of communications and transportation, have provided a remarkable example of close and friendly co-operation between Canada and the United States. Ours is surely the supreme example of a small country living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one."

A. D. P. H.

P.S. Mr. Robertson has seen and agreed with the opinion expressed in this note.

While reserving all her sovereign rights, Canada has not hesitated to permit the United States to build, as an integral part of its military transport system to Alaska and the Far East, a military highway across a thousand miles of Canadian territory. We have similarly permitted the United States to construct airfields over thousands of miles of widely separated areas. Ours is surely the supreme example of a small country living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

D 47732

Canada's Fight For Freedom

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as exemplified in Canada's war effort, and of what the spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and the world.

The spirit of a nation defies definition. It reveals itself in the character and achievements of the people. A nation's spirit may be likened to the waters hidden beneath the surface of the earth and revealing their presence, from time to time, and from place to place, as springs or streams or rivers. So does the spirit of a nation ~~well up~~ from time to time in a clear spring of ~~collective action by the people, or in a steady stream of sustained endeavour. At a time of war such collective action is quickened and heightened.~~

JA to p 1

A heightening and quickening of our national spirit has manifested itself in our national achievement in the prosecution of the war. A like quickening of spirit has, I believe, been experienced by all of our sisterhood of free nations, owing a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to interpret the significance, as I feel it, of that spirit in relation to our world-wide fight for freedom and to the building, in association with other freedom-loving nations, of a new world order.

W.L.M.K.
4/8/44

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as it is exemplified in Canada's war effort.

~~A nation's spirit is not easily defined. It more or less defies definition. It is not an institution which can be seen or described. Rather is it something known only as it is revealed.~~ It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface, ~~and which~~, from time to time, and from place to place, ~~manifest~~ themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers, ~~not always having~~ their origin in some secret source. ~~A nation's spirit reveals itself in many ways. It manifests itself most clearly in the collective acts of the people.~~ Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war. In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my ~~purpose~~ intention to describe ~~Canada's~~ her contribution to the present world conflict, in terms of men and materials. ~~What Canada has done and is doing is, I believe, well known in Britain.~~ What I should like to refer to are certain aspects of our contribution which, ~~taken as a whole~~, reveal the spirit ~~which underlies the war effort~~ of the Canadian people. ~~A like spirit will, I believe, be found to underlie the contributions which the several nations of the British Commonwealth are making to the prosecution of the war.~~

I should like to interpret the significance, ~~as I see it,~~ of that spirit in relation to the present world-wide fight

D 47733

W.L.M.K. D 47734
19.IV.44

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as exemplified in Canada's war effort. A like spirit, I believe, animates the war efforts of all the nations ~~which~~ united in ~~owe~~ a common allegiance to the Crown. I shd like to speak as well of what that spirit right is for the future of the British Commonwealth and Empire and of our relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

The spirit of a nation ~~defies definition. It is not like an institution which can be~~ (is not) readily defined. ~~A nation's spirit~~ (It is known as it) is revealed ~~only by its manifestations~~. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also from time to time, ~~does the spirit of~~ a nation (spirit) well up from its source and manifest itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The spirit underlying Canada's war effort

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict (primarily) in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects of our ~~contribution~~ (war effort) which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

for freedom. Still more, ~~would I~~ wish to examine ~~its~~ meaning, which it has To all of us who owe a common allegiance to the Crown, ~~it has a special meaning.~~ I should like to ~~examine~~ consider ~~the bearing of~~ that meaning in terms of ~~on~~ our relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

A Voluntary Effort

I ~~To me mention first~~ the aspect of ~~Canada's war effort which~~ I regard as ~~the~~ most ~~important of all~~, Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth ~~which came~~ at war today, ~~Canada~~ entered the war of ~~her~~ our own free will. Ours was not primarily a response to ~~the~~ a call of blood, or race. Much less was it ~~a manifestation of~~ due to an automatic bond of Empire. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

~~Not only was~~ Our decision ~~to go to war~~ was a voluntary decision, ~~but~~ so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has, ~~likewise,~~ been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries ~~at war, we have had, of course to resort to controls.~~ ~~We have imposed irksome~~ controls and have been imposed restrictions in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But, at every stage, the measures ~~required to carry on the war~~ have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Table in 2A

At no time, since early in the war, has adequate tonnage been available to carry to Britain, and to other parts

Since early in the war there has never been, at any given time, adequate tonnage available to carry to Britain and to other parts

D 47736

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. ~~This great military drain on our manpower resources~~ The military demand on our manpower, however, has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome and a shipyard of freedom. So great has been our output of munitions, foodstuffs and other supplies of war that at no time, since early in the war, has adequate shipping been assigned to carry overseas to Britain and to other theatres of war all the war materials Canada was ready to send. Nor at any time have enough ships been available to transport ~~across~~ over the seas all our men who have offered to serve in any theatre of war. Our country has become ~~- etc.~~

D 47737

of the world all the munitions and other supplies of war which we in Canada have manufactured or produced for use overseas. At no time have ships been available in numbers sufficient to transport all the men who have volunteered to serve in Britain, in European or other theatres of war. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. It was, moreover, a decision made by our own Parliament. Late in August of 1939, when the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that in the defence of freedom, war came, the Government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came there was no hesitation in any part of Canada. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread.

In 1939, for the second time in a generation,

Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe. When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that freedom and peace had been assured to mankind for many generations. That hope and that faith were symbolized in our National War Memorial. ~~But we knew that just as the bronze symbols of Freedom and Peace surmounting our triumphal arch are inseparably joined, so Peace and Freedom are themselves inseparably linked. Peace without Freedom would be impossible.~~ But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free. Because our people believed that ~~life~~ peace without freedom would be a living death, they were ready to resume at once the fight for freedom. Like our decision to fight, our effort was an immediate effort.

An All-Out Effort

From the outbreak of war in 1939, our effort was so planned and organized that we might reach as rapidly as possible the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

In planning an all-out effort, we determined it should be a balanced effort - an effort which would be balanced between the armed forces and war production, and which would dovetail into the efforts of our allies.

Many months of preparation were needed, before

D 47739

our contribution began to be felt in the combat areas. In the end, our contribution in fighting men/munitions and other supplies of war has been many times greater because of the careful planning of every phase.

We expanded our navy as fast as we could build or buy or borrow the ships, and train the men; we expanded the army to the strength ~~which~~ we believed was the highest ~~that~~ could ~~be~~ maintained over a long period of warfare. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of ~~the~~ our capacity to train personnel and secure the needed equipment.

~~In air training and aerial warfare, we have achieved the most intimate co-operation with other nations of the Commonwealth.~~

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, ~~inaugurated in 1939, was in operation months ahead of schedule, and has been~~ was expedited, developed and expanded beyond all anticipations. ~~It~~ has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations. This co-operative training in Canada ~~is~~ has been extended to include the training of the hundredth fighting airman. Training was industrialized.

We have expanded our ~~industrial capacity~~ far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Our ~~food~~ production ~~has been~~ we have greatly enlarged ~~despite the loss of hundreds of thousands of young men from the farms and the fisheries.~~ by tools, stuffs and raw materials.

~~Notwithstanding that Canada has a comparatively sparse population spread over a great area and that a relatively high proportion of our total national energies must be used to maintain transport and other essential services, we have succeeded~~ we are in devoting about half our total production directly to the waging

of war. We are paying, out of current revenue from taxation, about half of the financial cost of our war effort. ~~All our national borrowing for war purposes has been done in Canada.~~ Through Victory Loans and war savings, nearly every family has helped to finance the war. ~~The cost of living has been rigidly controlled. By these means, we have distributed fairly the vast financial burdens of war and thereby increased our national capacity to bear them.~~

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions of war, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people, to make our utmost contribution to the ~~world's~~ fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

~~In many respects, ours has been a pioneering effort.~~ Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to enter this war. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. ~~Our contribution to the prosecution of the war had obviously to be governed by our geographical location and our resources. In planning our war effort we had no pre-determined pattern to follow.~~ It has been to us a source of pride that our methods

D47741

of meeting the problems of war have ~~been~~ served, ~~on more occasions than one~~, as patterns in the war effort of the United States. ~~In many essentials~~, Canada's effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the sense of security which came from the attitude of our powerful neighbour, Canada could not, before the United States became a belligerent, have made the overseas effort we did. The ~~capacity~~ of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. ~~While reserving all her sovereign rights~~, Canada has not hesitated to permit the United States to build, as an integral part of its military transport system, a military highway across a thousand miles of Canadian territory. We have similarly permitted the United States to construct airfields over thousands of ~~miles of widely separated areas~~. Ours is surely the supreme example of a small ~~country~~ nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

substitute from 8A

D47742

Our great resources and our comparatively small population made it certain from the outset inevitable that we should be able to produce more of the materials of war than Canada's armed forces could themselves use employ. As a part of our war effort we have made it possible for us to share our great production with our partners in war in prosecuting the common struggle. This has been done by our policy of mutual aid under which war supplies are furnished to these partners ~~them~~, without payment, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is supplying mutual aid to Britain, to Australia, to the Soviet Union, to China, and to the French National Committee. Two years ago the parliament of Canada appropriated a sum of nearly £225,000,000 the sum of one billion dollars to pay for Canadian munitions of war and foodstuffs to be supplied to Britain, and through Britain to certain of our allies, for the common prosecution of the war. Last year a further sum of approximately £225,000,000 billion dollars was provided by parliament for war supplies to be distributed to our allies by our Canadian Mutual Aid Board. This year approximately £180,000,000 parliament is being asked to vote a sum of $800 million for mutual aid and for the relief and rehabilitation of liberated countries. We have sought to make Canada's war effort, in all its aspects, a co-operative effort.

£224,719,101

£179,730,337

A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, Canada's effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and

D47743

Alternative to p. 8

As part of our war policy Canada is sharing with other of the United Nations ~~in the provision of~~ the machines, weapons and supplies of war which ~~we produce~~ as a result of our all-out effort and our great resources we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. We regard the sharing of our war production as an essential part of our own war effort. Since the war began, Canada has supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth some four thousand million dollars.

Almost half of these supplies have been contributed without payment. Under ~~for~~ our system of mutual aid, war materials are supplied without payment in accordance with the principle of mutual aid; Canada is now supplying ~~war materials and foodstuffs on a basis of strategic need~~ to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French National Committee.

United Nations / Mackenzie Neill

and munitions of war have been used all the globe. Canadian sailors have served on all the seas; our airmen have fought in the skies round the globe; our soldiers have served in Britain, at Dieppe, in Africa, in Sicily, and in Italy; at Hong Kong, in Alaska and the Aleutians. Today they await the word of command to join their comrades from this and other lands in the invasion of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces, allied with others, in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that Canada is in this war to the end. For our people, Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. In 1939, our country answered the call of freedom menaced in Europe. In 1941, we answered the same call from the Far East. Although Japan had not attacked Canada, the issue was plain. It was clear to our people that this war was all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, our people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than those of Britain who have been so great, need the vision of a brighter future, to sustain them in their efforts. They need the assurance, as do those whose sacrifices have been so great, that a new world order is being sought with sincerity and with vigour.

All nations have learned from this war that freedom and peace are indivisible; that no nation liveth unto itself; that [illegible]. By coordinated action, by mutual aid, by co-operation in as many directions as possible, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While Canada's primary aim has been to contribute to military victory, we are seeking to contribute to a future for humanity, in which peace may be linked with progress, and freedom with faith in the well-being of mankind. Canada's effort is a long-range effort.

A National Effort

To be seen in its true light, and to understand its full import, Canada's war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Canada's decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free

nation. Our war effort ~~has~~ appealed to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada as a nation. ~~Some~~ there are who hold that ~~as a nation~~ Canada should have ~~asserted more vigorously her sovereign rights.~~ It has been urged that we should have demanded a larger share in the determination of strategy and in the direction of the war. I like to believe that Canadians, as a people, seek rather to remove than to create difficulties. In the present struggle, that has been our attitude. ~~It~~ That is a part of our policy of making Canada's war effort, a co-operative effort. Without sacrificing ~~any of our rights~~ our national identity we have endeavoured to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war.

~~The people, no less than the government of Canada,~~ We have recognized that in directing the military operations of some thirty nations, all of ~~these nations~~ them, large and small, cannot have an equal voice. I would be less than honest were I to pretend that ~~our people or our government~~ we have ~~always~~ completely been satisfied with every decision, or with the voice we have had in reaching every decision. But we have tried to take a practical, common-sense view. It is ~~perfectly~~ clear that the conduct of the war would be hopelessly impeded if ~~each of the United Nations insisted on~~ there were to be endless debate before decisions could be taken.

I should be equally lacking in candour, if I did not say that ~~at~~ there have been times when we have marvelled at the ~~efficiency~~ speed with which we have been

~~kept~~ informed of sudden new developments ~~essential matters.~~ We have ~~[illegible]~~ been impressed ~~with~~ by the ~~degree~~ extent of the consultation which, often, in the most difficult ~~[illegible]~~ circumstances, has been ~~[illegible]~~ possible.

The fact that we have ~~recognised the limitations of our strength and population and have~~ however preferred to exert our influence quietly does not mean that we have failed to exercise due vigilance in ~~making our views known and~~ protecting ~~our national~~ Canada's rights ~~and interests.~~ Much less does it mean that in matters of paramount interest to Canada, we do not intend, as occasion may demand, to speak with our own voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth. It is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time we fail[ed] to remember that ~~freedom is one and indivisible;~~ no nation lives unto itself and that ~~all~~ nations great ~~or~~ and small are members one of another.

~~In all its bearings, Canada's effort is a national effort.~~ Identity of Effort throughout the Commonwealth ~~of the several aspects of Canada's war effort there is not one which, with due allowance for varying conditions, has not been paralleled in the~~ war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the immediate scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain and France. To each ~~In the case of each,~~ the issue was plain; the response, voluntary and ~~immediate~~. Each ~~has sought~~ is seeking to ~~do~~ put forth its utmost. The contributions Effort in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa

Having spoken in the way I have of the war effort of my own country, I say again that a like spirit of unity with due allowance for varying conditions the several aspects of Canada's war effort has been paralleled

D 47748

of all ~~alike~~ bear/ ~~the self-reliant characteristics~~ the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Close co-operation has marked their course throughout. The war effort of each is a long-range effort and will prove to be an enduring effort. The pride of each is that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The defence of freedom, the preservation of freedom and the extension of freedom - these ~~are the incentives which~~ have ~~compelled~~ evoked our/ action. ~~Each owes its~~ Our efforts owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been/ cherished nurtured and ~~and fostered~~ in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The spirit of freedom has been Britain's peculiar contribution to civilization. So long as ~~she~~ Britain continues to impart ~~that~~ the spirit of freedom to other nations she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as she continues to share that spirit with her sister nations she need never fear for the strength or unity of the British Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

para

The terrible events of 1940 revealed ~~with burning clarity~~ to all ~~the world~~ countries how great could was the menace to freedom, and how speedily its light might be extinguished / So long as freedom ~~lasts~~ endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay.

D 47748

of all ~~alike~~ bear/ ~~the self-reliant characteristics~~ the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Close co-operation has marked their course throughout. The war effort of each is a long-range effort and will prove to be an enduring effort. The pride of each is that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The defence of freedom, the preservation of freedom and the extension of freedom - these ~~are the incentives which~~ have ~~compelled~~ evoked our/ action. ~~Each owes its~~ Our efforts owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been/ nurtured and cherished ~~and fostered~~ in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The spirit of freedom has been Britain's peculiar contribution to civilization. So long as ~~she~~ Britain continues to impart ~~that~~ the spirit of freedom to other nations she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as she continues to share that spirit with her sister nations she need never fear for the strength or unity of the British Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed ~~with burning clarity~~ to all ~~the world~~ countries how great could war be/ the menace to freedom, and how speedily its light might be extinguished/ So long as freedom ~~lasts~~ endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay.

REPEAT REPETITION

D 47749

Examined closely enough, it will be seen to disclose the secret of the more widely extended co-operative effort by which the nations united today in the cause of freedom may bring into being a new world order that will be the guarantee of social progress and enduring peace.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth ~~of Nations. Examined closely enough, it will be seen to disclose~~ within that common effort lies the secret of the more widely extended co-operative effort by which the nations united today in the cause of freedom may bring into being a new world order — that will be the guarantee of social progress and enduring peace. No one who has witnessed the British Commonwealth in action in this long and bitter conflict can doubt that this community of nations ~~which has yet to define~~ is joined together by the strongest of bonds. ~~What the Commonwealth itself is and what the bonds really are which have made our Commonwealth one have not at any time been very clear.~~ It is not easy to define the Commonwealth because it is unlike any other political organization which exists now or ever has existed.

It is easier to say what the Commonwealth is not than what, in reality, it is. ~~The strength of the Commonwealth is more readily revealed than it is defined.~~ It may well be that in our search for definition we may be led to discover the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength. ~~I might perhaps be permitted to say what is my opinion as to what I wish I knew to give my view as to what~~ the bonds really are that have made our Commonwealth one

~~A word then as to what the Commonwealth is not.~~

The Commonwealth is not a nation. It is composed of nations, ~~[of nations quite as]~~ as free, [as] and as fully sovereign ~~and self-governing~~ as any other nations on earth. It is ~~[certainly]~~ for the same reason not a federation, ~~because it lacks any organ of central authority~~. [The whole trend] of ~~its~~ the historical ~~development~~ trend has been away from central authority toward national self-government. Except for the traditional use of the name, ~~it~~ the Commonwealth is not an Empire. All its member nations are equal in status. None rules or dominates any of the others. ~~It~~ The Commonwealth is certainly not a racial union. It is not even a linguistic union. Two of its ~~governing nations~~ members - Canada and South Africa - have two official languages. Nor is ~~it~~ the Commonwealth a permanent military alliance. The common action of the nations of the Commonwealth in the present war ~~was~~ is based upon the individual decision of each and not upon any prior commitments.

In searching for definitions ~~it begins to look as if we had mistaken the nature of the phenomena with which we should be primarily concerned. That the spirit of the Commonwealth, no less than the spirit of the nations of which it is composed, is not easily defined.~~ ~~It~~ is something that ~~defies~~ eludes definition. ~~In seeking to institutionalize the Commonwealth, we have been wrong in our emphasis.~~ We have been seeking ~~to find an~~ using a free association. ~~institution where~~ We have been thinking less of appearances and outward forms than of realities and the living spirit. To me the strength of the Commonwealth lies in the fact

D47752

that it is beyond definition. Definition, ~~at best, can but serve to~~ limit its potential strength and possibilities. I believe would restrict its

(It is not an institution that can be seen and described, but like the spirit of a nation is much larger and stronger.)

~~Nevertheless,~~ for those who cannot share the typically British capacity to take for granted the growth and evolution of ~~free institutions,~~ political freedom I have, however, sought to find a description, or, as I prefer to express it, a vision of the British Commonwealth.

That vision I have found admirably described in a statement made thirty-seven years ago by a young man who has since become famous throughout the world. The term "Commonwealth" had not then come into use, but its spirit lives in these words from a speech in 1907 by Mr. Winston Churchill:

"Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an inclusive and not an exclusive character. We..... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful cooperation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become. "

D 47753

I doubt if any description of the British Commonwealth of Nations could portray more accurately than Mr. Churchill's vision, the real character of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the spirit which gives it cohesion and strength.

D 47754

NOTE:

Here develop the thought that the place of the Commonwealth in the world is to keep the ~~[illegible]~~ before nations/the necessity of being inclusive rather than exclusive in fashioning the new world order and in seeking to meet future world problems. In this connection stress the assistance that the smaller nations can be to the greater in the solution of world problems just as smaller nations of the Commonwealth have surrounded Britain; also the necessity of fostering a right spirit as the basis of all co-operation, that spirit being one of freedom. Also remove the fear of powerful nations dominating the less powerful by the example of the United States and Canada. In this connection mention might be made of the means by which peace and good-will have been fostered, as, for example the Rush-Bagot Agreement and the substitution throughout of reason rather than force; the international Joint Commission, also the policies of Mutual Aid, mutual defence, reciprocal trade, etc.

in all quarters of the globe

?

This is a wrong emphasis

What I should like to bring out is that the real test of the wisdom of an institution is whether it can be carried on indefinitely e.g. war cannot for it means total destruction; peace can because of it being the most favourable atmosphere to human existence.

Perhaps bring in the idea of the guarantee of

D 47755

freedom and complete self-governing government to inferior peoples - India and others.

What I want to combat without ~~xxxxx~~ doing so too emphatically in words is the balance of power idea against a world co-operative commonwealth. And come back at the end to the British spirit of freedom and justice being the ideal of all nations and the basis on which they alone can unite.

April 21/44

D 47756

CANADA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

I should like to speak to you today of the spirit of Canada as exemplified in Canada's war effort. A like spirit, I believe, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak as well of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of our relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

D 47757

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects of our war effort which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. Much less was it due to an automatic bond of Empire. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries,

D47758

controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. So great has been our output of munitions, foodstuffs and other supplies of war that at no time, since early in the war, has adequate shipping been assigned to carry overseas to Britain and to other theatres of war all the war materials Canada was ready to send. Nor at any time have enough ships been available to transport overseas all our men who have offered to serve in any theatre of war. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

D 47759

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, late in August of 1939, I announced that if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation in any part of Canada. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed Canada stood in immediate danger of attack. What se sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread.

In 1939, for the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for many generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized in the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our

D 47760

political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free. Because our people believed that peace without freedom would be a living death, they were ready to resume at once the fight for freedom. Like our decision to fight, our effort was an immediate effort.

An All-Out Effort

From the outbreak of war in 1939, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build, or buy, or borrow the ships, and train the men; we expanded the Army to the strength we believed was the highest we could maintain over a long period of warfare. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity, to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundredth thousand fighting air man has just completed his training. This co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength, in the air, of the United Nations.

D 47761

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the loss of hundreds of thousands of young men from the farms and the fisheries, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family has helped to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions of war, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to enter this war. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world.

D 47762

It has been to us a source of pride that our methods of meeting some of the problems of war have served as patterns in the war effort of the United States. Canada's effort, in many ways, had been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the sense of security which came from the attitude of our powerful neighbour, Canada could not, before the United States became a belligerent, have made the overseas effort we did. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause.

The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable example of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation

living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy Canada is sharing with other of the United Nations the machines, weapons and supplies of war which as a result of our all-out effort and our great resources, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, Canada has supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent a direct contribution for which no payment has been asked. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation. We have sought to make Canada's war effort not only an all-out effort but, wherever possible, a co-operative effort.

<u>A World-Wide Effort</u>

As the war has progressed, Canada's effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made

machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans; our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe; our soldiers have helped to guard this island citadel of freedom from the early days of the war. They have seen active service in the Pacific area as well as at Dieppe and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces joining in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that Canada is in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

D 47765

machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans; our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe; our soldiers have served in Britain, at Dieppe, in Africa, and in Sicily, and in Italy; at Hong Kong, in Alaska and the Aleutians. Today they await the word of command to join their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces joining in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort.

D 47766

A Long Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the vision of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the assurance of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. All nations have learned from this war that Peace and Freedom are indivisible; [redacted]. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind. Canada's effort is a long-range effort.

A National Effort

Our war effort, for its true significance to be seen, must be viewed as a national effort. Canada's decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada as a nation.

D 47767

There are some who hold that Canada should have been more outspoken in the assertion of her national rights. It has been urged that we should have demanded a larger share in the determination of strategy, and in the direction of the war. I like to believe that Canadians, as a people, seek to remove rather than to create difficulties. In the present struggle, that at least has been our attitude. Without sacrificing our national identity, we have endeavoured to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war. That is a part of our policy of making Canada's war effort a co-operative effort.

We have recognized that in directing the military operations of some thirty nations, large and small, all of them cannot have an equal voice. I would be less than honest were I to pretend that we have been completely satisfied with every decision, or with the voice we have had in reaching every decision. But, we have tried to take a practical, common-sense view. It is clear that the conduct of the war would be hopelessly impeded if, before decisions could be taken, there were to be endless debate between the United Nations. I should be equally lacking in candour if I did not say that there have been times when we marvelled at the speed with which we have been informed of sudden new developments.

D47768

We have been impressed by the extent of the consultation which, often in most difficult circumstances, has been possible.

Nations great and small

The fact, however, that we have preferred to exert our influence quietly, does not mean that we have failed to exercise due vigilance in protecting Canada's rights. Much less does it mean that, in matters of paramount interest to Canada, we do not intend, as occasion may demand, to speak with our own voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth. It is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the frqedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Identity of Effort throughout the Commonwealth.

Having spoken in the way I have of the war effort of my own country, may I say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been parallelled

in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the immediate scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain and France. To each, the issue was plain; the response, voluntary and immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. The closest kind of co-operation has marked their course throughout. The war effort of each is a long-range effort, and will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The defence of freedom, the preservation of freedom, and the extension of freedom - these have evoked our common action. Our war efforts owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The spirit of freedom has been Britain's peculiar contribution fo civilization.

D 47770

The terrible events of 1940 revealed to all countries how great was the menace to freedom and how speedily its light might be extinguished. So long as Britain continues to impart the spirit of freedom to other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as she continues to share that spirit with her sister nations, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the British Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth. No one who has witnessed the British Commonwealth in action in this long and butter conflict can doubt that this community of nations is joined together by the strongest of bonds. I might perhaps be permitted to say what in my opinion the bonds really are which have made our Commonwealth one. It is not easy to define the Commonwealth itself because it is unlike any other political organization which exists now or ever has existed. But, it may well be that in a search for definition we may be led to discover the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength.

D 47771

It is easier to say what the Commonwealth is not than what, in reality, it is. The Commonwealth is not a nation. It is composed of nations, as free and as sovereign as any other nations on earth. For the same reason, it is not a federation. In the historical evolution of the Commonwealth, the trend has been away from central authority toward national self-government. Except for the traditional use of the name, the Commonwealth is not an Empire. All its member nations are equal in status. None rules or dominates any of the others. The Commonwealth is certainly not a racial union. It is not even a linguistic union. Two of its members - Canada and South Africa - have two official languages. Nor is the Commonwealth a permanent military alliance. The common action of the nations of the Commonwealth in the present war is based upon the individual decision of each, and not upon any prior commitments.

In searching for definitions, we quickly discover that the British Commonwealth is something that eludes definition. We have been seeking an institution, where we should have been seeing a free association. We have been thinking more of appearances and outward forms than of realities and the living spirit. To me the strength of the

D47772

Commonwealth lies in the fact that it is beyond definition. Definition, I believe, would limit its potential strength and restrict its possibilities.

W.L.M.K.
24-IV-44

D 47773

Prime Minister,

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom at a special gathering, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge the thought of so high an honour. How deeply moved I feel at this moment, I leave it to you and to all here assembled to imagine.

Your kindness, Mr. Churchill, in presiding on this occasion, what you have just said of our friendship in years of peace, and ourccompanionship in years of war, the consciousness of the associations and traditions of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons, do not lightenmmy sense of obligation. I am aware of all it means to be the guest of the people of Britain in this fifth year of war, and to be speaking to them and to others from the heart of the world's citadel of freedom at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. It would be impossible for me to make a fitting acknowledgment of so high a distinction.

D 47774

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to the representative of Canada at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and also, through my association with Field Marshal Smuts, Mr. Fraser, and Mrs Curtin, a welcome equally heartfelt and generous to the representatives of South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. For this compliment to Canada, and to the other nations of the Commonwealth, I should like to express deepest pride and gratitude.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada. No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit to Canada of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, and throughout the Commonwealth and Empire, the years of war which have since intervened, have heightened the admiration and deepened the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their unfailing courage and unremitting devotion in sharing, amid scenes of cruel devastation, the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

W.L.M.K.
24.IV.44

D 47775

Prime Minister,

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

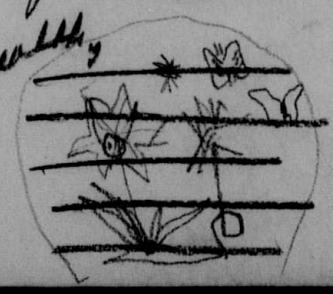
When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address at special a gathering ~~composed of~~ members of both the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain ~~the United Kingdom~~, I found myself ~~wholly without~~ at a loss for words ~~wherewith~~ to which to acknowledge the thought of so high an ~~honour.~~ honour. How ~~much more difficult it is~~ deeply moved I feel ~~for me to express my feelings~~ at this moment, I ~~must~~ leave it to you and to all here assembled to imagine.

Your kindness, Mr. Churchill, in ~~personally~~ presiding on this occasion, what you have just said of our friendship in years of peace, and our companionship in years of war, the associations and traditions of Westminster which are upheld by the and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons, ~~fill me with a sense of deepest gratitude.~~ do not lighten my sense of obligation. ~~Particularly, as~~ I am aware ~~conscious~~ of all it means to be the guest of the ~~honour~~ people of Britain in this fifth year of war, and to be speaking to them and to others from the heart of the world's citadel of freedom at this ~~the~~ moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. ~~All this, and much more,~~ ~~cause me to realize how impossible~~ It would be impossible for me ~~even~~ to attempt to make a fitting acknowledgment of so high a distinction. ~~Humbly~~ I recognize that in this occasion, ~~a desire~~ ~~at this meeting~~ is attended designed for me

D 47776

~~to~~ welcome ~~in the person of~~ ~~their~~ representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations, ~~one who is privileged to speak on behalf of Canada,~~ and, also, through ~~his~~ association with Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser, and Field Marshal Smuts ~~in the meetings' proceedings,~~ a welcome equally heartfelt and generous to the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. ~~On their behalf, as well as my own, and those whom we represent,~~ I ~~would~~ express ~~our~~ deepest pride and gratitude.

Perhaps I may be allowed to ~~bring~~ a special message from ~~the government and~~ people of Canada ~~to the government and people of Britain.~~ No memory of happiness in the past ~~remains~~ more cherished than ~~that~~ of the visit to Canada of Their Majesties the King and Queen. ~~As in Britain and~~ throughout the Commonwealth and Empire, the years of war which have since intervened have heightened the ~~affection~~ and deepened the ~~reverence~~ felt by men and women ~~in all parts of Canada~~ for our King and Queen.



D 47777

Each and all of the nations of the Commonwealth must stand ready to co-operate in no exclusive spirit with other likeminded countries. Their entente cordiale with each other can not be a closed circle. It is indeed of vital importance that there should be as intimate an association as possible between the nations of the Commonwealth, the United States and the other United Nations. The Commonwealth presents no solid front against the rest of the world. It should be our hope that other countries will devise and practise as effective methods of solving international difficulties, without threat or thought of war, as the methods which prevail between the states under the British Crown. As Mr. Wendell Willkie wrote not long ago of the Commonwealth: "The success of that great experiment should be immensely encouraging to the United Nations in working out the problems of self-government that lie ahead."

While we are rightly confident of victory, there seems to be an atmosphere of despondency hanging over the prospects of the establishment by the United Nations of a just and enduring system of world security. We have had the bitter experience of fighting two world wars within the compass of a single generation. It was hoped, and indeed

generally believed, that after the last war foundations had been laid which would make impossible the ordeal of another world war. I fear that the failure of these hopes, and the disillusionment wrought by that failure, are tending to blind the judgment of all freedom-loving peoples. We cannot indeed, expect a new world order to appear of itself in a perfect form which will command universal acceptance. Nevertheless, I am confident that the peoples and leaders of the United Nations can, if they display the requisite courage, sagacity and high endeavour, construct a new and better world order in which the sacrifices of each will be much more than compensated by the benefits to all.

D 47779

It is possible that in searching for exact definition we may have mistaken what it is we are really trying to define. I have suggested that the spirit of the Commonwealth, no less than the spirit of the nations which comprise it, is not easy to define. The Commonwealth relationship is one which, progressively through the years, has developed on a basis of understanding and of consultation about common problems from time to time as the need has arisen. From the very atmosphere of freedom with which this development has been surrounded, it is apparent that any attempt at what I would call "institutionalizing" the Commonwealth relationship will work against the usefulness of that relationship.

It is also becoming apparent that those things which we recognize as counting for most in the Commonwealth relationship have been based on what I might call a progressive decentralization of function. That decentralization means, as I take it, that anything resembling a rigid permanent organization within the Commonwealth would have very great limitations. It means, as I see it, that institutionalizing would defeat many of the things - real and intangible together - for which the Commonwealth stands.

The freedom which springs from equality of status and decentralization of function is like the ripple on a pool, which spread in ever-widening circles.

This kind of freedom has been basic in the growth of the nationhood of Canada. It has found its best expression in the shaping of British institutions - the basic idea of the British heritage of freedom before the law - to Canadian needs. This process of constitutional development is not something whose good effects extend to Canada alone, for it has extended in some measure to the whole neighbourhood of Canada. In the tremendous tasks of rebuilding and readjustment, which will follow after the end of armed conflict, we must expect that the expression of this freedom - freedom in spirit as well as in action - will contribute much to the achievement of these tasks.

D47781

For the Prime Minister.
(via Mr. Turnbull)

The following thought is suggested for your consideration, for possible use in Britain.

The British Brotherhood of Nations.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is something quite other than - and much more than - a British family of nations. The word family denotes a common parentage, and this is not to be found in the peoples of the British Commonwealth. In Canada, fully half the population - indeed more than half - is of other than British origin. It would be idle to expect these people - or the people of other than British descent in South Africa, or many of the other nations of the Commonwealth - to regard Britain as the motherland.

I believe the Commonwealth may be better described as the British brotherhood of nations - a brotherhood which transcends the bounds of race or creed and which is therefore in no small measure a model for that even greater brotherhood of all nations of the earth, which is sought by all men of goodwill as the only means to enduring peace and freedom.

To regard the Commonwealth as such a brotherhood does not indicate any lesser regard for Britain. Rather, it is to be hoped that having led the world in parliamentary government and having further shown its leadership in political wisdom by the development of the Commonwealth, Britain will continue to make such contribution, through itself and by the inspiration of its history and tradition, through its brother nations of the Commonwealth, as will help greatly in establishing a new world order.

P.Q.
P.A.

2nd May, 1944.

It is possible that in searching for exact definition we may have mistaken what it is we are really trying to define. I have suggested that the spirit of the Commonwealth, no less than the spirit of the nations which comprise it, is not easy to define. The Commonwealth relationship is one which, progressively through the years, has developed on a basis of understanding and of consultation about common problems from time to time as the need has arisen. From the very atmosphere of freedom with which this development has been surrounded, it is apparent that any attempt at what I would call "institutionalizing" the Commonwealth relationship will work against the usefulness of that relationship.

It is also becoming apparent that those things which we recognize as counting for most in the Commonwealth relationship have been based on what I might call a progressive decentralization of function. That decentralization means, as I take it, that anything resembling a rigid permanent organization within the Commonwealth would have very great limitations. It means, as I see it, that institutionalizing would defeat many of the things - real and intangible together - for which the Commonwealth stands.

The freedom which springs from equality of status and decentralization of function is like the ripple on a pool, which spread in ever-widening circles.

This kind of freedom has been basic in the growth of the nationhood of Canada. It has found its best expression in the shaping of British institutions - the basic idea of the British heritage of freedom before the law - to Canadian needs. This process of constitutional development is not something whose good effects extend to Canada alone, for it has extended in some measure to the whole neighbourhood of Canada. In the tremendous tasks of rebuilding and readjustment, which will follow after the end of armed conflict, we must expect that the expression of this freedom - freedom in spirit as well as in action - will contribute much to the abivement of these tasks.

The Commonwealth and the World D 47784

Each and all of the nations of the Commonwealth must stand ready to co-operate in no exclusive spirit with other likeminded countries. Their entente cordiale with each other can not be a closed circle. It is indeed of vital importance that there should be as intimate an association as possible between the nations of the Commonwealth, the United States and the other United Nations. The Commonwealth presents no solid front against the rest of the world. It should be our hope that other countries will devise and practise as effective methods of solving international difficulties, without threat or thought of war, as the methods which prevail between the states under the British Crown. As Mr. Wendell Willkie wrote not long ago of the Commonwealth: "The success of that great experiment should be immensely encouraging to the United Nations in working out the problems of self-government that lie ahead."

While we are rightly confident of victory, there seems to be an atmosphere of despondency hanging over the prospects of the establishment by the United Nations of a just and enduring system of world security. We have had the bitter experience of fighting two world wars within the compass of a single generation. It was hoped, and indeed

generally believed, that after the last war foundations had been laid which would make impossible the ordeal of another world war. I fear that the failure of these hopes, and the disillusionment wrought by that failure, are tending to blind the judgment of all freedom-loving peoples. We cannot indeed, expect a new world order to appear of itself in a perfect form which will command universal acceptance. Nevertheless, I am confident that the peoples and leaders of the United Nations can, if they display the requisite courage, sagacity and high endeavour, construct a new and better world order in which the sacrifices of each will be much more than compensated by the benefits to all.

NOTE:

Here develop thethought that the place of the Commonwealth in the world is to keep the ~~formation~~ before in all quarters of the globe nations/the necessity of being inclusive rather than exclusive in fashioning the new world order and in seeking to meet future world problems. In this connection stress the assistance that the smaller nations can be to the greater in the solution of world problems just as smaller nations of the Commonwealth have surrounded Britain; also the necessity of fostering a right spirit as the basis of all co-operation, that spirit being one of freedom. Also remove the fear of powerful nations dominating the less powerful by the example of the United States and Canada. In this connection mention might be made of the means by which peace and good-will have been fostered, as, for example the Rush-Bagot Agreement and the substitution throughout of reason rather than force; the international Joint Commission, also the policies of Mutual Aid, mutual defence, reciprocal trade, etc.

What I should like to bring out is that the real test of the wisdom of an institution is whether it can be carried on indefinitely e.g. war cannot for it means total destruction; peace can because of it being the most favourable atmosphere to human existence.

Perhaps bring in the idea of the guarantee of

D 47787

freedom and complete self-governing government to inferior peoples - India and others.

What I want to combat without ~~xxxxx~~ doing so too emphatically in words is the balance of power idea against a world co-operative commonwealth. And come back at the end to the British spirit of freedom and justice being the ideal of all nations and the basis on which they alone can unite.

D 47788

If peace is to be soundly based, the vast majority of the nations and people of the world must be prepared to associate freely in a common organization and to abide by rules to which they have freely consented. The conception of a balance of strength among three or four great powers, in which there is no place for smaller peace-loving nations, gives little hope of enduring peace. It is not enough to match the manpower and resources of three or four dominant states. What we must strive for is close co-operation among the great powers and all other like-minded nations. There must, indeed, be firm commitments by all states who are members of the international organization to do their share in preserving the peace. But the international organization to be successful must involve more than the mere pooling of power. It must also be permeated by that spirit of freedom in association which gives life and meaning to the British Commonwealth.

In the words of Mr. Churchill which I have already quoted, the British Commonwealth is "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become". The Commonwealth represents the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries. It is our conviction that the voluntary co-operation of the members of the Commonwealth will always be characterized by a peculiar intimacy. At the same

D 47789

time, we cannot afford to forget Mr. Churchill's warning against making that co-operation exclusive, rather than inclusive.

As I see it, the greatest contribution the British Commonwealth can make to the future peace and well-being of mankind is not by its power but by the extension of its spirit of free co-operation until that spirit comes to embrace all the nations.

a fight for freedom

I believe I speak for the whole of Canada when I say that in this war, the fighting men of Canada have crossed the seas of their own free will - and may I remind you they are all volunteers - to fight not primarily for Canada or for Britain or for the British Commonwealth, but to defend and preserve the freedom of all mankind of which our nations and our Commonwealth are symbols. We owe it to the men who are fighting and dying for freedom to do our utmost to see that means are found to preserve and extend freedom for generations yet unborn. In conclusion, I say again, let us shape and fashion our Commonwealth so that it will increasingly represent the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries.

D 47790

In the fashioning of the world of the future the nations of this Commonwealth will assuredly have a special place. In the tasks of rebuilding and reconstruction there will have to be co-operation among all nations, great and small, in directions which but a few years ago we should have thought improbable, if not impossible. The spirit to animate this world-encircling fund of co-operation must be a spirit of freedom, a spirit which will shine brightly from very frequency of use, and which will illuminate by its own light many pathways of adventure into new realms of human well-being.

This is the spirit by which Canada has been guided in all her associations with the British Commonwealth. It is a spirit which, first implanted by sturdy minds from the British Isles has been shaped and strengthened in as the growth of Canadian institutions. It is a spirit which has found a high and lasting expression in our day to day dealings with our immediate neighbour, the United States. It is more than one hundred years since the Rush-Bagot agreement laid a firm foundation for understanding, confidence, and joint action in dealing with important international problems. This self-denying ordinance was the beginning of

a century-long agreement under which reason, and not force, has been the criterion and the moving force in all our myriad relationships as good neighbours. What was begun in the Rush-Bagot agreement has been continued in many other directions: by the International Joint Commission on boundary waterways, by trade agreements, by permanent joint arrangements for effective defence, by mutual aid in wartime, and by many acts and demonstrations of an enduring friendship.

There is today an obligation upon the Commonwealth - upon those nations which have flourished in freedom but who have not hesitated to take up arms in freedom's defence - to make sure that the benefits of freedom are not denied to other nations. Freedom from the menace of tyranny or domination by any other power, freedom to live at peace with their neighbours, freedom to exercise the fullest measure of self-government will all become a part of that world-encircling freedom which will be as the steadily beating heart of a world community. Such a world-encircling freedom, encompassing all peace-loving nations, can never be built upon an idea of balancing the power of one nation or group of nations against any other nation or group of nations. It can only be established upon the idea of a commonwealth

D 47792

expanded from its British understanding into the larger world. It can only be sustained by ideals of freedom and justice which become ideals in action, carried in the minds and hearts of resolute men and women, far beyond the dark and uncertain clouds of war into the full sunlight of "broader lands and better days".

D 47793

I confess I have never thought very highly of various external devices which have been suggested to improve Commonwealth relations. Naturally, we should always be on the look-out for means of improving consultation and furthering co-operation. But we want to be sure that any device we adopt will have that result as well as that purpose. I was much impressed by a phrase Mr. Churchill used in his recent speech to the House of Commons on this very subject. You will remember he said: "I have never thought that the Empire needed tying together with bits of string." I agree with him. I have never thought so either. And I reflect as well that one does not begin to tie things together with bits of string until they begin to fall apart. That is a reflection it is worth considering.

D 47794

How then has that co-operation been achieved? The first and most important answer is that there has been an identity of spirit and of interest among us all. We have all been menaced by the same danger to our common freedom. We have all reacted to that danger in much the same way. But, also, to give practical effect to our co-operation, we have, through the various recognized channels of communication - which I shall not describe - what amounts to a real but invisible Commonwealth War Council in constant session.

Each member of that invisible Council is the whole government of the nation, not merely its Prime Minister. Far greater authority attaches, therefore, to the decisions reached, and decisions can be reached with astonishing rapidity.

U.K. Speech

24

D47795

The British Commonwealth is not an Institution

The nations of the British Commonwealth, by combining their strength in the terrible year between June 1940 and June 1941, saved the world's freedom. That combination of strength was the spontaneous response to the call of freedom. The spirit of freedom cannot be embodied in institutions. Any attempt to give institutional form to the unity of the Commonwealth might well destroy its spirit. When I hear of plans and projects for the improvement of our arrangements for consultation and co-operation within the Commonwealth, I keep asking myself the question: What more complete co-operation could be achieved among nations than the free co-operation of the British nations in the present war. In this connection, I am reminded of an old Italian epitaph which reads: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am." There is, I believe, a lesson in these words for the peoples of the British Commonwealth, and particularly for those who seek to place the Commonwealth in an institutional strait-jacket. I cannot believe that the road to unity and strength within the Commonwealth is to be found in turning back the hands of the clock, and setting limits to the freedom of its member nations.

D 47796

I do not mean to suggest that there should be no formal relationships or definite agreements or fixed commitments between nations of the Commonwealth. It is perfectly clear that, where the interests of the British nations coincide, there is every reason why that identity of interest should be recognized, as it was recognized recently in the agreement between Australia and New Zealand. The menace to the free spirit of the Commonwealth comes rather from those who would force upon it an artifical unity and a single identity which would mark it off and separate it from the rest of the world.

The Commonwealth can best serve mankind - and in doing so best serve the interests of its member nations - by seeking always to extend the frontiers of freedom, and by the readiness of its members to co-operate with all nations who seek the maintenance of freedom and the achievement of enduring peace.

The history of two great wars has shown that the British Commonwealth is an entente of a particularly tough and enduring character. Let us beware lest by attempting to turn understanding into an institution, understanding itself should disappear.

Suggested insert Page 17

D 47797

.....testimony to its value.

In a critical year of the present war, the freedom of the world was saved by the combined strength of the nations of the Commonwealth. Our combination of strength represents a voluntary and spontaneous resolve to defend common interests which are wider than the Commonwealth; interests which are common to all mankind. I cannot believe it would be possible to achieve greater harmony or more complete co-operation among nations than the harmony and co-operation which have reigned within the British Commonwealth during this war. When concern is expressed for the future of the Commonwealth and plans and projects are advanced for various types of mechanical arrangement to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together, I am reminded of an old Italian epitaph which reads: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies.....

W.L.M.K.
5.V.44

D 47798

The spirit of the Commonwealth is freedom.

The unity of the Commonwealth is effected by co-operation.

Co-operation is effected by having policies that can be extended indefinitely. In this way, we are assured of the expansion of the co-operation of all nations by starting with the United Nations that were united in the war. Go on to a world organization that would be effected by keeping together and expanding the great powers; those that have acted together and gradually seeking to make the policies in which all can share.

D 47799

A Tribute to the People of Britain

I have been thinking how I might best express the feelings of the people of Canada for the people of Britain. I have decided not to say anything new on this occasion, but rather to repeat a few phrases from the New Year message I addressed to the Canadian people at the beginning of 1941. The fact that these words were not originally intended to be addressed to the people of this island is the greater evidence of their deep sincerity.

May I repeat my words:

"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."

In 1940 and 1941 the nations of the Commonwealth knew what the rest of the world was only coming to see; that the maintenance of human freedom depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. For one whole year we were proud to stand with you alone in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. Today a great array of United Nations

D 47800

has joined with the nations of the British Commonwealth in the march toward victory. The world can never forget that it was indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

Heavily + 15"

J.W.P.
29.IV.44

D 47801

The Unity of the Commonwealth

I have said that the spirit of a nation cannot be readily defined - that it manifests itself in the collective acts of the people. In the present war, the spirit of the nations of the Commonwealth has revealed itself in their spontaneous defence of their common freedoms. The unity of the Commonwealth cannot be readily defined, because our unity is a unity of spirit. A spirit cannot be confined within the limits of an institution. Neither can the unity of the Commonwealth be expressed in terms of means of communication, or machinery for consultation, or councils, or other institutional forms. In much of the discussion of Commonwealth relations, there seems to be a tendency to lose sight of the real substance in pursuit of mere forms or mechanisms.

of freedom has been Britain's peculiar contribution to civilization.

16

D 47802

15-7

It is that the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength are not to be found in any ~~fixed~~ form of outward structure, but in the spirit which animates the whole. In reaching for definitions, we quickly

discover that the British Commonwealth is something that eludes definition. To me, the strength of the Commonwealth lies in the fact that it defies definition. Definition would limit its potential strength and possibilities. Those who seek to give it some extensive form of political organization are thinking more of appearances and outward forms than of realities and the living spirit. / ~~The~~ common action ~~of the~~

[illegible] in directing the military operations of some thirty nations, large and small, all of them cannot have an equal voice. I would be less than honest were I to pretend that we have been completely satisfied with every decision, or with the voice we have had in reaching every decision. But, we have tried to take a practical, common-sense view. It is clear that the conduct of the war would be hopelessly impeded if, before decisions could be taken, there were to be endless debate between the United Nations. I should be equally lacking in candour if I did not say that there have been times when we marvelled at the speed with which we have been informed of sudden new developments.

(8)

D 47804

We have been impressed by the extent of the consultation which, often in most difficult circumstances, has been possible.

Secret + Personal

NAR)ET
24 April,1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

D 47806

Given the special circumstances under which the meeting of Prime Ministers is taking place and the protracted public debate on questions of Commonwealth policy which has preceded it, I think it may well prove that your speech at Westminster will be a more effective opportunity for putting the Canadian point of view than will be provided by the actual meetings of the Prime Ministers. The Canadian statement should be on positive and not defensive lines. Following on recent public statements by Churchill, Curtin and Smuts, a simple reaffirmation of the political principles on which the Commonwealth relationship is based would have, or could be given, a negative and defensive aspect. One impression made on me by Churchill's latest speech was that he was covering a tactical retreat from the objectives of international economic cooperation laid down in the Atlantic Charter,etc. by efforts to organize closer political unification within the Commonwealth.

In the whole sphere of international economic co-operation,however,Canada cannot stand on a defensive policy. Pre-war arrangements were not good enough. No country has a clearer interest than we have in removing trade barriers and broadening the area of international economic cooperation. To move forward effectively in these fields we must try to carry the other Commonwealth countries with us in a programme of economic cooperation with the United States and the rest of the world. The big decisions of policy must be taken pretty quickly. I should like to see you make a strong public plea in London for Commonwealth leadership in a concerted attack on these problems,which have defeated the world's best efforts in the years between the wars,but which can,I believe, be successfully tackled now if confidence,courage and long vision are not lacking. The permanent welfare of this country and of the other parts of the Commonwealth does in large degree depend on the progress in the right direction that we can make together in the critical period of demobilization and reconversion.

D 47807

A vigorous initiative from Canada at this time in this sense would give needed impetus and encouragement to efforts which are under way right now in most countries,but which are encountering pretty stiff opposition from pre-war vested interests both political and economic. It would also have a couple of important secondary consequences. It would ipso facto and without argument establish the independent validity of our own approach in a very important field of international policy. You could take the initiative away from some of your critics by pleading for a common policy on these matters of greatest common concern. It would be the economic nationalists and the economic imperialists who would be put on the defensive and compelled to make reservations to protect what they conceive to be their special political and economic interests.

Another consequence that could be expected from this sort of initiative would be a rallying of Canadian opinion behind it. No party in Canada would be disposed to dissent. By putting forward for world consideration propositions which everybody except the Social Creditors concedes to be in Canada's interest, you should be able to re-unite public opinion in Canada,which is tending to divide itself over the formal political aspects of our Commonwealth association.



Con. Conv.

D 47808

Finally, I think that in his peroration Mr. King might do a little to dispel the increasing pessimism about the post-war world. He might say something along these lines:

While we are rightly confident of victory, there is today an atmosphere of despondency over the prospects of the establishment by the United Nations of an enduring and just system of world security. We have had the bitter experience of fighting two great wars within the compass of a single generation. It was hoped, and indeed generally believed, that after the last war foundations had been laid which would make impossible the ordeal of another world war. Do not the failure of these hopes and the disillusionment wrought by that failure tend to blind our judgment of what we may accomplish? The United Nations cannot, indeed, build a brave new world. A disillusioned generation is unlikely to indulge in Utopian fallacies. Nevertheless, I am confident that the peoples and leaders of the United Nations can, if they will display the requisite courage, sagacity and high endeavour, construct a new and better world order in which the sacrifices of each will be much more than compensated by the benefits to all.

This is very rough and has been dictated without prior preparation but I think it appropriate that Mr. King should say something to counter the brand of pessimism which has permeated the speeches of Smuts, Halifax and other leading public men.

H.W.

(abbreviate to 1)

J.W.P. 5.V.44

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor

D 47809

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from the Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom at a special gathering, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge the thought of so high an honour. How deeply moved I feel at this moment, I leave it to you and to all here assembled to imagine. The consciousness of the associations and traditions of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons, do not lighten my sense of obligation.

I am aware of all it means to be the guest of the people of Britain in this fifth year of war, and to be speaking to them and to others from the heart of the world's citadel of freedom at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. It would be impossible for me to make a fitting acknowledgment of so high a distinction.

It is a signal honour, Mr. Lloyd George, that you should preside on this occasion. A generation ago, you were the leader of the British people when they faced the same grim menace from the same source. The people of Britain may well as be, ~~and~~ I know they are, profoundly thankful that the two greatest crises in their history have called forth ~~for the~~ qualities of leadership which have been equal and, indeed,

Pickersgill

D 47810

Canada, the British Commonwealth and the New World Order

Tribute to Britain

For more than four and a half long years, the nations of the British Commonwealth have been joined together in waging the most terrible war in history. For a full year we stood almost alone against the most formidable attempt any nation has ever made to dominate the world. Throughout those dark months of 1940 and 1941 the enemy poured death and destruction from the skies upon the people and cities of this island. The dauntless courage and unmatched skill of the young men of Britain and the magnificent endurance of your people saved not only your own country, but the freedom of the world. Never in their long and glorious history have the British people deserved or received greater admiration from their fellow-men throughout the world. Never have the British nations beyond the seas had greater cause for pride in their association with Britain in the world-encircling Commonwealth.

Today, the Commonwealth is the centre of a grand alliance of United Nations approaching the hour of supreme effort in the struggle for the world's freedom. As we approach the military decision in Europe, the time has come to take stock of the relations between the

 D 47811

nations of the Commonwealth and of their relations with the rest of the world.

description of the Commonwealth

First of all, I should like to give my view of what the British Commonwealth really is in itself. It is not easy to define the Commonwealth because it is unlike any other political organization which exists now or ever has existed. It is much easier to say what it is not - and that perhaps gives the best clue to what it is.

*

The British Commonwealth is not a nation; it is composed of nations, of nations quite as free, as fully sovereign and self-governing as any other nations on earth.

~~The Commonwealth~~ it is certainly not a federation, because it lacks any organ of central authority. The whole trend of its historical development has been away from central authority towards national self-government.

Except for the traditional use of the name, ~~the British Commonwealth of Nations~~ it is not an empire. All its member nations are equal in status; none rules or dominates any of the others.

~~The British Commonwealth~~ it is not a permanent military alliance; the common action of the nations of the Commonwealth in the present war was based upon the individual decision of each and not upon any prior commitments.

~~The Commonwealth~~ it is certainly not a racial union: it is not even a linguistic union. Two of its leading nations,

D 47812

my ~~own country~~ Canada and South Africa, have two official languages.

Yet no one who has witnessed the British Commonwealth in action in this long and bitter conflict can doubt that this association of nations, which it is so hard to define, is joined together by the strongest of bonds.

To me, the greatest strength of the Commonwealth lies in the fact that it defies definition. The Commonwealth is larger and stronger than those who would limit it by defining it.

Nonetheless, for those who cannot share the typically British capacity to take for granted the growth and evolution of free institutions, I have sought to find a description - or, as I prefer to express it, a vision of the British Commonwealth.

That vision I have found admirably expressed in a statement made thirty-seven years ago by a young man who has since become well known throughout the world. The term Commonwealth had not then come into use, but its spirit lives in these words from a speech by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1907:

"Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an inclusive and not an exclusive character. We ..... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful cooperation of all sorts of men in

D 47813

all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

I cannot improve upon that vision of the British Commonwealth of Nations and I shall not try.

Growth of freedom in Canada
Origins of Commonwealth

The foundations of the Commonwealth, I believe, rest on the twin pillars of "freedom" and "self-government". The origins of the Commonwealth go back more than a century ago to the days when Canada was a small and remote collection of colonies ruled in theory by Downing Street and in fact by a little irresponsible colonial oligarchy. In those days, the Canadian people adopted a battle cry which embraces both freedom and self-government. That battle cry was "responsible government". The gradual extension of responsible government - the steady widening of the frontiers of freedom - preserved the British Empire and transformed the Empire into the Commonwealth.

The development of responsible government gave the British Empire, in the words of Mr. Churchill I have

D47814

already quoted, "an inclusive and not an exclusive character".

Without responsible government, the British Commonwealth could never have come to represent "the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries." Without responsible government, the sisterhood of British nations could never have achieved its present co-operation in war. In all our plans and projects for consultation and co-operation within the Commonwealth, it is well to remember that the foundations of the Commonwealth rest upon the freedom implied in that peculiarly British phrase, "responsible government".

A recurring theme in current discussion.

The independence of the several nations of the Commonwealth has strengthened rather than weakened their sense of interdependence. It was, I believe, their very freedom to make their own decisions on their own responsibility, that rallied Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada to the defence of freedom in 1939.

It is not my place to speak for the other nations of the Commonwealth, but I have no hesitation in saying that Canada could not have made, and would not have made a response to an automatic commitment comparable with the response we have made in this war to the voluntary decision of a free people.

D 47815

Canada's place in the Commonwealth and in the world

This leads me to say something of Canada's place in the Commonwealth and in the world. Only half the people of Canada trace their ancestry to these islands; the other half are bound to Britain and the Commonwealth by no ties of blood or race. Our country, like South Africa, has two official languages and two cultures. Nearly a third of the Canadian people are linked by ties of history, language, race and sentiment to France. Canada is a North American nation, a comparatively small people living side by side with the most powerful nation in the world today. Our country looks out on the Pacific and the Arctic, as well as the Atlantic. History and geography have combined to pull our people in divergent directions. So powerful are these divergent forces, that it is sometimes said that the Canadian nation has been created in defiance of nature. It is certain that the cement of our national unity has not been/the traditional compounded of bonds of common race or creed or language, nor has it been a neat geographical unity. The unity of Canada has been maintained by intangibles; by freedom, by tolerance and by voluntary co-operation.

D47816

That is precisely why Canadians almost instinctively cherish those qualities in the British Commonwealth. It is because the Commonwealth has stood as the bulwark and almost the symbol of freedom in the world that our sense of unity within the Commonwealth has deepened throughout the present war.

It is not my purpose to describe Canada's contribution in men and materials to the world's fight for freedom. What our country has done and is doing, is, I believe, well known in Britain. I wish, however, to say something of the spirit in which our people are waging war and of their aspirations for the future after the war.

Alone among the nations of the new world, Canada entered the war in 1939. Few of our people in those days believed our own country stood in immediate danger of attack. What our people sensed was that the issue in the war was the issue between freedom and slavery. All our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could survive only in a free world.

The menace to freedom was revealed to all the world with burning clarity by the terrible events of 1940. So long as freedom lasts, free men everywhere will owe a debt they can never repay to the people of Britain. Without flinching, you bore the furious onslaught of a seemingly

D 47817

invincible foe. We, in Canada, like our brothers in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, redoubled our efforts to contribute to your magnificent resistance. We never lost our faith that right in the end would triumph, and we backed that faith with everything we had.

In the course of this war, Canada, without becoming a great power, has ceased to be a small one. In fighting men and in the weapons and materials of war, we have made our utmost contribution as a people to the world's right for freedom. In our relations with the other nations of the Commonwealth and with the other United Nations, Canada has sought at all times to follow the path of co-operation. We like to believe that Canadians, as people, seek rather to remove than to create difficulties. That certainly has been the attitude of our government in the present struggle. The people, no less than the government of Canada, have recognized that in directing the military operations of a grand alliance of some thirty nations, all of those nations, large and small, cannot have an equal voice. I would be less than honest were I to pretend that our people or our government have always been satisfied with every decision, or with the voice we have had in reaching every decision. But we have tried to take a practical, common-sense view. It is perfectly clear that the conduct of the war would be

D 47818

hopelessly impeded if each of the United Nations insisted on endless debate before decisions could be taken. So far as Canada is concerned, we have sought no easy or cheap notoriety by seeking to create for our country what in politics is called a "nuisance value". But the fact that Canada has recognized the limitations of our strength and population; the fact that we have not sought influence disproportionate to the weight of our national contribution to the struggle; the fact that we have preferred to exert our influence quietly and without notoriety; these facts do not mean that the people of Canada do not intend to speak with their own particular voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth, in all those matters of paramount interest to our own people.

In saying this I am but asserting anew the historic attitude of the Canadian people - indeed, I might say, the inevitable attitude of any free people. It is, I believe, the desire of the Canadian people that their government should, by consultation, endeavour to achieve the utmost voluntary co-operation with our sister nations in the Commonwealth. It is equally their view that in the final analysis the decisions of the Canadian government should be our own, made upon our responsibility to our own

D 47819

Parliament. The voluntary co-operation thus achieved has, in this war, saved the freedom of the world. We would do well to cherish what has served so well the cause of all mankind.

back

As we look upon nearly five years of war, one of the most significant developments in world affairs has been the increasing intimacy of association between the British Commonwealth and the United States. The basis of that association is likewise voluntary co-operation in the common cause of freedom. We, in Canada, look back with particular satisfaction upon the share we had in fostering that co-operation in 1940. The relations between Canada and the United States after more than a century of unbroken peaceful co-operation had reached a degree of intimacy almost, if not quite, without parallel in the world. Canada as a member of the British Commonwealth and as a North American nation was, indeed, a natural bridge between the Commonwealth and the United States. ~~two~~. In that crisis it was the deliberate aim of Canadian policy to keep that bridge open to the full traffic of the forces of freedom. In that aim we succeeded. I shall always recall with pride the part which Canada had in the events which so greatly increased the harmony of sentiment and the practical co-operation of the United States and the British nations in 1940 and 1941. Now that the dawn of victory begins to appear upon the horizon, we do not always remember

D 47820

that, in the midst of the darkness which, in 1940, enshrouded mankind, the relations between the United States and the British Commonwealth shone forth as the one great beam of hopeful light left in the world.

For Canada, the maintenance of harmony between the United States and the British Commonwealth is the very law of our being as a nation. Necessity, no less than the inclinations of our people, makes it the highest object of our external policy to foster good relations between our sister nations of the Commonwealth and our great American neighbour. Yet I venture to say that few Canadians would seek to promote a political union of the great English speaking nations. What we do seek is the utmost voluntary co-operation from which all free peoples will benefit - and what is even more important - in which all free peoples can share. The relationship between the British Commonwealth and the United States cannot be permitted to be an exclusive relationship, unless we are prepared to risk arousing suspicions and fears that what is designed is Anglo-Saxon domination of the world.

When the day of victory comes, it is our hope and expectation in Canada, as I believe it is throughout the Commonwealth, that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found

D 47821

at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But it is equally our hope that they will be part of a larger company. In that company, we hope that all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united for the preservation of freedom and of peace.

Re post war order

re Dumbarton

I have repeatedly expressed the view that the post-war order will inevitably be shaped while the war is on. At the opening of the present session of our Parliament, the government of Canada officially recorded our view that the time has come when all the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. It is our belief that the dangers of future aggression can be removed and world security attained only by a general international organization of peace-loving nations.

In the present war we have learned that the effective defence of freedom has required the mobilization of a large superiority of power over that of aggressor nations seeking to dominate the world. There is equally no doubt that the preservation of peace, once it has been achieved, will require the maintenance of a like superiority of power, so that any nation which may wish to disturb the peace will have no chance of success. How that superiority of power is to be maintained, and what contribution the

 D 47822

nations of the British Commonwealth are to make to its maintenance, are questions of vital importance to the future of mankind.

Great & Small Powers.

It will, I believe, be readily recognized that, in the international organization for the maintenance of peace, it will be no more possible than in the supreme councils directing the war, to give to each and every nation equal weight and authority. If the peace is to be kept, the greater powers will inevitably have to assume the heaviest burdens. They cannot be expected to assume those burdens and discharge that responsibility, unless they are given proportionate weight and authority in the international organization. But just as in war, the smaller powers are making a large contribution to ultimate victory, so in the international organization to keep the peace, they can and should make a proportionate contribution and have a proportionate voice.

In the international sphere as within the nation, power is the ultimate sanction of peace. But every man knows that the power of the police within a nation would be of little avail unless the vast majority of the people gave willing consent and support to the maintenance of law and order. Equally in the relations between nations, power may ultimately be required to restrain a potential aggressor, but there is little hope of world peace if its maintenance is to depend upon power alone.

JAG/Z D47823
6.4.44

Draft

More than a hundred years ago, Robert Baldwin exclaimed to Lord Durham: "It is the genius of the British races in both hemispheres to be concerned with the government of themselves." The working out of this idea of self-government has occupied the attention of the best minds of that community of self-governing peoples which we know today as the British Commonwealth of Nations. In this working-out of self-government, it has become clear that the things which count for most in the Commonwealth relationship have been based upon what I might call a progressive decentralization of function.

It is this progressive decentralization which has made possible an equality of status, which is today a mark both of the character and the strength of the British Commonwealth. But the evolution of the Commonwealth idea, from Responsible Government through Federation, from Federation into autonomous nationhood, and from autonomous nationhood to the stature, as in Canada's case, of a world power of major rank, seems to me to suggest that anything resembling a rigid permanent organization within the Commonwealth would have very great limitations. It would, I believe, defeat many of the things - real and intangible

D 47824

together - for which the Commonwealth stands. The freedom which springs from equality of status and decentralization of function is like the ripple on a pool, which spread in ever-widening circles.

This kind of freedom has been basic in the growth of the nationhood of Canada. It has found its best expression in the shaping of British institutions - the basic idea of the British heritage of freedom before the law - to Canadian needs. This process of constitutional development is not something whose good effects apply to Canada alone, for it has extended in some measure to the whole neighbourhood of Canada. In the tremendous tasks of rebuilding and readjustment, which will follow after the end of armed conflict, we must expect that the expression of this freedom - freedom in spirit as well as in action - will contribute much to the achievement of these tasks.

U.K. Speech

By Hume Wrong

D 47825

Essential Qualities of the Commonwealth

We have inside the British Commonwealth a group of states which are bound together by two very different but very important ties. One is their common loyalty to the Crown, an ancient tie the strength of which does not diminish with the passage of time. This cannot be shared with any country outside the Commonwealth. The other, now also firmly sanctioned by time and usage, is the will and purpose of Commonwealth countries to use their best endeavours to agree on major questions of world policy, to exchange information and opinions frankly with each other, and to pursue the same general objectives in world affairs. They are free to differ, but they choose not to differ on great issues except after making every effort to reach agreement. Politically, in fact, the British Commonwealth of Nations is not and cannot become a single Great Power, since this could only be achieved by sacrificing the fundamental democratic rights of the people of each of its countries to determine through their elected representatives the policies which they wish their Governments to pursue. ~~The British Commonwealth of~~ Nations is, however, ~~a~~ political ~~entente cordiale of a singularly tough and enduring character,~~ with a fuller exchange of information and a more intimate system of

constant consultation than exist between any other group of sovereign states in the world.

Every state in the world is bound by some special tie to another state or states. In the Commonwealth the events of two great wars have shown the strength of the tie between its members. These events also have shown two other significant things. One is that membership in the Commonwealth is not dependent on acquiescence in the policies adopted by most of its Member States. Since the countries of the Commonwealth normally agree because they want to agree, it follows that they must be free to differ when they do not succeed in reaching agreement; I need only cite the case of Ireland to illustrate this. The other is that in its political objectives there is nothing exclusive about the Commonwealth association. In this war the great array of the United Nations has formed around a nucleus composed of the countries of the Commonwealth, which for one year bore alone the brunt of the battle against the European Axis. The countries of the Commonwealth which freely entered the war within a few days of the German onslaught on Poland can proudly survey today the ranks of the Allies who have rallied to the same cause.

Each and all of the members of the Commonwealth must stand ready to cooperate in no exclusive spirit with other likeminded countries. Their entente cordiale with each other is not a closed circle. It is indeed of vital importance that there should be as intimate an association as possible between them all and the United States and the other United Nations. They present no solid front against the rest of the world. They hope, indeed, that other countries will devise and practise as effective methods of solving international difficulties without any threat or thought of war as those which prevail between the states under the British Crown. As Mr. Wendell Willkie wrote not long ago of the Commonwealth: "The success of that great experiment should be immensely encouraging to the United Nations in working out the problems of self-government that lie ahead."

The Commonwealth, as it is today, is something of a Canadian creation, for at nearly all the important stages in its development Canadians have taken a leading part. It has been shaped into its present form, not to promote the selfish interests of its members, but to further their purposes to the general advantage. It has served, and continues to serve, them well. It has fallen to me since

D 47828

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada today, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conference but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

that it defies definition. Definition, at best, can but serve to limit its potential strength and possibilities.

(It is not an institution that can be seen and described, but like the spirit of a nation is much larger and stronger.)

Nevertheless, for those who cannot share the typically British capacity to take for granted the growth and evolution of free institutions, I have sought to find a description, or, as I prefer to express it, a vision of the British Commonwealth.

That vision I have found admirably described in a statement made thirty-seven years ago by a young man who has since become famous throughout the world. The term "Commonwealth" had not then come into use, but its spirit lives in these words from a speech in 1907 by Mr. Winston Churchill:

"Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an inclusive and not an exclusive character. We..... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful cooperation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become. "

D 47830

stand together in a good cause.

This is not to say that the countries of the Commonwealth should not continue their special forms of consultation and collaboration. We must certainly try to evolve foreign policies common to all of us. Friends and allies must strive to agree and must be prepared to make sacrifices in the common interest. ~~But what if we disagree, as disagree we must in specific matters.~~ Is it not better that one of us should go her own way on a single issue rather than find the only way out in separation. ~~secession~~. It is not possible that the peoples of our various countries will always accept the veto of other countries on policies on which they have strong feelings. Their loyalty to the Commonwealt will be sorely strained, and the stresses and strains may well end in the dissolution of an association which has flourished on freedom. The Canadian Government does not want the British Commonwealth to dissolve or be torn apart. We do not believe that it is in the interests of world order that the Commonwealth should break up; and we are anxious to avoid policies which, whatever their ~~intention, may lead to that end.~~

There has been much talk of the need to strengthen our various positions in the world by closing our ranks. It has been suggested that Great Britain is not properly a

D 47831

The terrible events of 1940 revealed to all countries how great was the menace to freedom and how speedily its light might be extinguished. So long as Britain continues to impart the spirit of freedom to other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as ~~she~~ continues to share that spirit with ~~her sister~~ nations, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the ~~British~~ Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth. No one who has witnessed the ~~British~~ Commonwealth in action in this long and bitter conflict can doubt that this community of nations is joined together by the strongest of bonds. I might perhaps be permitted to say what in my opinion the bonds really are which have made our Commonwealth one. It is not easy to define the Commonwealth itself because it is unlike any other political organization which exists now or ever has existed. But, it may well be that in a search for definition we may be led to discover the true character of the Commonwealth and the real source of its strength.

D 47832

in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,

And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. ~~It is not his~~ to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?

Where is it now, the glory and the dream"

The glory and the dream - are not they being realized in the ~~co-operation~~ of the nations of the Commonwealth, ~~at this very hour?~~

D 47833

From time to time, it has been suggested that an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. At that time, the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Their status and responsibilities were not defined. Moreover, there had not developed the means, and, what is equally important, the habits of constant communication and consultation which now exist.

I wonder very much whether some who speak of ~~more effective~~ machinery, appreciate how completely we have achieved effective means of consultation, co-operation, and the co-ordination of policies throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is true we have not continuously, sitting in London, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council, but we have, what is much more important, a continuing, ~~though invisible,~~ conference of the cabinets of the Commonwealth, ~~dealing~~ from day to day, and not infrequently from hour to hour, with matters of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers or other individual Ministers meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are

D 47834

decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinets of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation and effective co-ordination of policy on all matters of common concern between the different nations of the Commonwealth. I ~~cannot~~ do not believe it would be possible to achieve greater harmony or closer co-operation than the harmony and co-operation which have prevailed within the British Commonwealth during the war. War tests all institutions. What more effective means could ~~be~~ have been found of obtaining a consensus of view, and of co-ordinating policies than the means which, ~~at this time of~~ despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success. When plans and projects are advanced ~~from~~ by other types of mechanical arrangement to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together, we cannot be too careful to see that ~~however well intentioned, the arrangements are not such that they might be read by any of~~ Under no circumstances must our own peoples as ~~an effort to limit or circumscribe their freedom~~, and ~~by~~ to those outside the Commonwealth as an effort to establish a bloc which has an exclusive rather than an inclusive aim. Let us ~~be careful not~~ furthermore desire to lose the substance for the form, ~~or not to~~ sacrifice reality for appearance.

D 47835

I am told that somewhere over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am". That might be the epitaph of many nations and empires of the past. It will be the epitaph of others in the not distant future. ~~If its members are true to themselves,~~ It will never be written of the nations of the British Commonwealth ~~of and Empire.~~ If its members are true to its Spirit.

~~In saying this,~~ In what I have said I am not disparaging the importance of ~~a~~ meetings of Prime Ministers such as we are having at ~~the present~~ this time, nor of Conferences such as have been held periodically in times of peace. They have their place, and it is a very high place in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain top. But it is not on the mountain top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us must work hard and unremittingly in his own particular field.

Insert here *621

I have always believed that the ultimate test of the validity of any principle is that it should be capable of indefinite extension and universal application. I am firmly convinced that the only way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which

D 47836

can extend to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that may be universally applied.

It will be useless to attempt to find a basis of unity on which the free nations of the Commonwealth can reach agreement, unless that basis is broad enough to include all nations who are ready to live at peace with their neighbours.

So diverse are the local conditions and the geographical relationships of the several nations of the Commonwealth that we shall look in vain for any unity based upon special and exclusive interests. The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the inclusive co-operation of all such nations in preventing the recurrence of successful aggression.

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Depression

D 47837

6

We must ~~ever~~ hold the vision of a better future.

We must never cease to strive for its realization in fullest measure. ~~That vision~~, as I see it, is the development of a new world order in which ~~political freedom and social justice~~ will be ~~extended to all mankind by the ever widening application of the principles of co-operation and mutual aid. Let us maintain the principle of political freedom we have already won, and extend the principle of social justice.~~

In the realization of that vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth ~~of Nations~~. It is ours to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

D 47838

Fraternal association with the United States

I have said that the strength of the Commonwealth lies, above all, in a common devotion to freedom. That heritage of freedom is not ours alone; it is an inheritance we share in the fullest measure with the people of the United States. Our common love of freedom and our common will to defend and to extend the bounds of freedom throughout the world give meaning and purpose to our joint exertions in fighting this war. In war, the British Commonwealth and the United States have achieved a fraternal association which assures the preservation of the liberties of mankind. So long as we remain true to the spirit of freedom, the greatest hope of a happier future for humanity will rest upon the maintenance of our fraternal association.

DRAFT CONCLUSION -20/ D 47839

THE SUPREME OBJECTIVE

So diverse are the local conditions and the geographical relationships of the several nations of the Commonwealth that we shall look in vain for any unity based upon ~~the~~ special and exclusive interests ~~of the Commonwealth~~. ~~There is no future in a world-wide isolationism for the British nations.~~ The foundation of Commonwealth unity must be broad enough to include all nations ready to co-operate for the maintenance of peace and freedom and the promotion of justice and human welfare. Unless we set ourselves such an objective, no mere forms will serve to maintain our unity. If we set ourselves the right objective, we can, I believe, rely upon the spontaneous unity of the Commonwealth in peace as in war.

We are approaching the supreme crisis in the European theatre of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain the single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory, not of the British Commonwealth only, but of all the United Nations. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose unremitting toil,

/patient

D 47840

patient endurance and readiness to accept the burdens and hardships of war has made possible the immense strength of the United Nations in the machines and weapons of war. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men of the forces of freedom who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.

The assurance of the unfailing support of our fighting men is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth. We must do everything possible ~~by planning, by organisation,~~ by co-operation and by united action to assure that support in the largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also, in the clouds miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

That is why the support of our fighting men cannot be confined only to arms and to munitions. We owe it the memory

/of

D 47841

of those who give their lives, we owe it to those who are crippled or maimed, we owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

We must keep before the world the vision of a better future and we must never cease to strive for the realisation of the vision. That vision, as I see it, is the vision of a new world order in which freedom and justice will be extended to all mankind by the ever-widening application of the principles of mutual aid and co-operation. In the realisation of that vision, the Governments and peoples of the British Commonwealth will have a foremost place. It must be our hope and our endeavour to make our association of free British nations, ~~in the words of Mr. Churchill~~, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become." ~~Only so can we do our full part to support our fighting men.~~

~~#~~ 285

D 47842

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated largely in monuments of ~~stone~~ steel. After this war we should seek ~~to erect~~ a memorial more enduring ~~than stone~~ more lasting and. What more fitting memorial could be raised to the men and women who are giving their lives for freedom and justice than the establishment of an international order in which freedom and justice will be gradually extended to all mankind by the ever widening application of the principles of co-operation and mutual aid.

D 47843

The defence of freedom, the preservation of freedom, and the extension of freedom - these have evoked our common action. Our war efforts owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The spirit of freedom has been Britain's peculiar contribution to civilization.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed to all countries how great was the menace to freedom, and how speedily its light might be extinguished. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

A new meaning and significance to British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth. The true character of the Commonwealth and the

D 47844

real source of its strength are not to be found in outward form, but rather in the spirit which animates the whole. Their common action in the present war has made it clear that the British Commonwealth, like the nations of which it is composed, has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. It is the spirit of co-operation. That co-operation can be shared with other nations; it is capable of indefinite expansion. Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of its political institutions, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We .... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by a young man whose fame today is not surpassed in any

Set in middle
in separate lines

"die away

And fade into the light of common day"

D 17845

as above

in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, over ever widening areas, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

"die away

Visions of youth, sometimes, "[redacted]y and fade into the light of common day". They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly impossible obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. It is not his to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?

"Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream - these are being realized in fullest measure at this very hour. In the passage I quoted, I gave only a part of what Mr. Churchill said. He set forth as well the means by which he believed the vision could be realized. "Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an <u>inclusive</u> and not an <u>exclusive</u> character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

D 47846

part of the world, if indeed it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, over ever widening areas, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth sometimes fade out, in the light of common day. They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of the seemingly impossible obstacles that lie in the path of highest achievement. ~~But Mr. Churchill's vision has not faded. It has grown clearer with the years.~~

In the passage I quoted, I have given only a part of what he said. ~~There is even greater significance in the words in which he set forth the means by which he sought the realization of the vision.~~ "Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an inclusive and not an exclusive character." ~~Has co-operation ever found broader expression than among the United Nations in the present war!~~

The Unity of the Commonwealth

It is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of ~~mankind~~ that there should continue to be the greatest

D 47847

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to ~~the future~~ ~~of~~ the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. Such co-operation can, I believe, be achieved only in the pursuit of policies of an inclusive, not an exclusive character. Our war-time co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies in which all of us equally share, because they are in the interest of all the nations of the Commonwealth. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of manking that, after the war there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world. It is the most eloquent testimony to the inclusive character of the policies of the Commonwealth that the area of our war-time co-operation has been extended to include more than ~~forty~~ thirty nations. Moreover they are policies that have made an equal appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries" provided only they were men of good-will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by new forms or new institutions which appear to create something exclusive, but by policies and objectives which can be shared with other nations.

D47848

the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies in which all of us ~~can~~ equally share because they are in the interest of all the nations of the Commonwealth. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that there should ~~continue to~~ be the greatest possible ~~measure of~~ co-operation among the nations of the world. It is the most eloquent testimony to the inclusive character of the policies of the Commonwealth that the area of our war-time co-operation has been extended to include more than 30 nations. ~~Our policies have not been in the exclusive interests of the Commonwealth.~~ They are policies that have made ~~make~~ an equal appeal to all men ~~of good-will,~~ in all parts of countries, ~~throughout the world,~~ founded on more economic

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends ~~I suggest,~~ will be achieved not by new forms or new institutions ~~designed~~ to create something exclusive, but by ~~the adoption of~~ policies and objectives which can be shared

Commonwealth Co-operation

From time to time, it has been suggested that ~~the establishment of~~ an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council ~~or an Imperial Secretariat~~ would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. At that time, the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Their status and responsibilities were not defined. Moreover, there ~~was~~ had not ~~the same development~~ developed as ~~of~~ the means, and, what is equally important, of the habits of constant communication and consultation which now exist ~~between them~~. We who are meeting in round table conference at No. 10 Downing Street are, I believe, all agreed that nothing in the way of secretariats or other forms of consultation machinery could have added to the completeness or the harmony of our co-operation during the present war. I wonder very much whether ~~those who are speaking about~~ some who have had in mind when they speak of machinery consultation, co-operation and co-ordination begin to appreciate how ~~much has been achieved in that direction and how completely~~ completely we have specific means of communication, co-operation and co-ordination of policies ~~there are existing~~ throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations ~~today most effective means of consultation and co-operation in everything that affects policy, whether it is foreign policy or defence or any other matter.~~ It is true ~~that~~ we have not continuously sitting in London ~~what to appearances would be an~~

B-19 D 47849

Imperial War Cabinet or ~~Imperial Conference~~, but we have ~~in reality~~ what is much more important, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth dealing from day to day, and not ~~f~~ infrequently from hour to hour with matters of common concern. When ~~Commonwealth~~ decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of ~~individual members~~, ~~be they~~ Prime Ministers, or other ~~of His Majesty's Ministers~~, meeting ~~away~~ from their own colleagues and countries, they are ~~Cabinet~~ decisions reached after mature consideration ~~and consultation not between individual but between~~ all members of the Cabinet ~~concerned~~, ~~and~~ with a full consciousness, ~~which Cabinets have or should have~~, of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments. ~~I am one hundred percent for~~ close consultation, close co-operation and effective co-ordination of policy on all matters of common concern between the different nations of the ~~British~~ Commonwealth, ~~but I ask in deepest sincerity~~ what more effective means could ~~possibly~~ be found of obtaining a consensus of view, ~~an approach toward common policy~~, of co-ordination of policies than ~~what we already have, and~~ which has worked with such complete success ~~throughout these many years of war~~. As one who wishes to see the closest possible unity maintained between all parts of the Commonwealth and, at the same time the closest possible friendly relations developed between the nations of the Commonwealth and between the Commonwealth and all other nations, I cannot too strongly

counsel my colleagues against taking any step which however well intentioned, might be read by any of our own peoples as an effort to limit or circumscribe their freedom, and by those outside the Commonwealth as an effort either by ourselves or in combination with other countries to establish a bloc which has an exclusive rather than an inclusive aim, particularly at a moment when we have achieved under the most difficult of circumstances a degree of common action as well as common purpose never hitherto attained. Let us be careful not to lose the substance for the form, nor to sacrifice realities to appearances.

I am told that somewhere over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there will be found the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am". That epitaph has been found over many nations and empires of the past. It will be found over others in the not distant future. If its members are true to themselves, it will never be found over the nations of the British Commonwealth and Empire.

In saying this I am not disparaging the importance of ~~an~~ occasional meeting of Prime Ministers such as we are having at the present time. They have their place, and it is a very high place in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain-top. But it is not on the mountain-top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us must work hard and unremittingly in his own particular field.

D47851

~~with other nations.~~ It will be useless to attempt to find a basis of unity on which the free nations of the Commonwealth can reach agreement, unless that basis is broad enough to include all nations who are ready to live at peace with their neighbours.

D 47852

D 47853

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the inclusive co-operation of all such nations in preventing the recurrence of successful aggression.

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic ~~xxxxxxx~~ isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Depression followed, and war followed depression. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation - or group of nations - can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

I have always believed that the ultimate test of the validity of any principle is that it should be capable of indefinite extension and universal application. I am firmly convinced that the only way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can extend to all nations.

D47853-1

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth will depend on their capacity to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which are in the interests of the world as a whole.

The Supreme Objective

So diverse are the local conditions and the geographical relationships of the several nations of the Commonwealth that we shall look in vain for any unity based upon its special and exclusive interests. The foundation of Commonwealth unity must be broad enough to include all nations ready to co-operate for the maintenance of peace and freedom and the promotion of justice and human welfare. Unless we set ourselves such an objective, no mere forms will serve to maintain our unity. If we set ourselves the right objective, we can, I believe, rely upon the spontaneous unity of the Commonwealth in peace as in war.

We are approaching the supreme crisis in the European theatre of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain the single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory, not of the British Commonwealth only, but

D 47854

A Long Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the ~~vision~~ of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need ~~the assurance~~ of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind. ~~Canada's effort is a long-range effort.~~

A National Effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. ~~Canada's~~ decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

~~It has been urged that, as a national right,~~ Canada should have demanded a larger share in the determination of strategy, ~~and in the direction of the war.~~ I like to believe

D 47855

that Canadians, as a people, seek to remove, rather than to create difficulties. That ~~at least~~ has been ~~our~~ attitude throughout ~~the war~~. We have recognized that in directing the military operations of some thirty nations, large and small, ~~all of them~~ cannot have an equal voice. Without sacrificing our national identity, we have endeavoured to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war. That is a part of our policy of making Canada's war effort a co-operative effort.

Nations great and small

The fact, however, that we have preferred to exert our influence quietly, does not mean that we have failed to exercise due vigilance in protecting Canada's rights. Much less does it mean that, in matters of paramount interest to Canada, we ~~do not intend~~, as occasion may demand, ~~to~~ speak with our own voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth. It is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Identity of Effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of ~~my own country~~. May I say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each

16 D 47856

of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been parallelled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the ~~immediate~~ scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain, ~~and France~~. To each, the issue was plain; the response, ~~voluntary and~~ immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. ~~The closest kind of~~ co-operation has marked their course throughout. ~~The war effort of~~ each is ~~a~~ long-range effort, ~~and~~ will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the Nations of the Commonwealth.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

Our war efforts owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed ~~to all countries~~ how great was the menace to freedom, and how speedily its light might be extinguished. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

A new meaning and significance to British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth. Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not

D 47858

exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. ~~It is the spirit of freedom~~. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies ~~its~~ unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We .... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by a young man whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if indeed it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the

D 47859

in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, ~~over ever widening areas~~, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes,--

..... "die away,

And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly ~~impossible~~ obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. It is not his to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?

Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream! - these ~~are~~ being realized ~~in fullest measure at this very hour.~~

In the passage I quoted, I gave only a part of what Mr. Churchill said. He set forth as well the means by which he believed the vision could be realized. "Let us then seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire an <u>inclusive</u> and not an <u>exclusive</u> character."

23 Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

2

is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies in which all of us can equally share because they are in the interest of all the nations of the Commonwealth. But they are also policies which are not exclusive to the Commonwealth; they are policies which make an equal appeal to all men of good-will in all countries throughout the world.

If, at the close of hostilities, ~~we are to maintain the~~ unity of the Commonwealth ~~in pursuit of common policies~~, ~~that end~~, I suggest, will not be achieved by new forms or new institutions, but by the adoption of policies and objectives which ~~are not exclusive to the Commonwealth~~. It will be useless to attempt to find a basis of unity on which [redacted] the free nations of the Commonwealth can reach agreement, unless that basis is broad enough to include all nations who are ready to live at peace with their neighbours.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. ~~Out of the bitter experience of war, a union has been formed of all the nations having a common interest in the defeat of the present attempt to dominate the world by force.~~

~~When the present aggressors have been vanquished,~~ the future security of peace-loving nations will [redacted] depend

upon ~~the~~ inclusive ~~union of all these~~ nations ~~jointly pledged~~ ~~to~~ prevent the recurrence of successful aggression.

But ~~we should not forget that~~ it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought ~~prosperity~~ in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the ~~prosperity~~ of all nations was destroyed. Depression followed, and war followed depression. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as ~~a~~ no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation - or group of nations - can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

~~Here is~~ surely a great opportunity for the nations of the British Commonwealth to take a lead in the ~~pursuit~~ promotion ~~of policies which will at once further the interests of their own peoples in every part of the Commonwealth and the interests of mankind in general.~~ I have always believed that the ultimate test of the validity of any principle is that it should be capable of indefinite extension and universal application. I am firmly convinced that the only way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can extend to all nations. ~~If we set ourselves the right objectives, we can, I believe,~~

D 47862

I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am". That might be the epitaph of many nations and empires of the past. It will be the epitaph of others in the not distant future. It will never be written of the nations of the British Commonwealth if its members are true to its spirit.

In what I have said, I am not disparaging the importance of meetings of Prime Ministers such as we are having at this time of war, nor of Conferences such as have been held periodically in times of peace. They have their place - and it is a very high place - in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain top. But it is not on the mountain top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us must work hard and unremittingly in his own particular field.

So diverse are the local conditions and the geographical relationships of the several nations of the Commonwealth that we shall look in vain for any durable unity based upon special and exclusive interests. The basis must be broad enough to include all nations who are ready to live at peace with their neighbours.

23

D 47863

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. Such co-operation can, I believe, be achieved only in the pursuit of policies of an inclusive, not an exclusive character. Our war-time co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies in which all of us equally share, because they are in the interest of all the nations of the Commonwealth. Moreover they are policies that have made an equal appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries" provided only they were men of good-will. It is the most eloquent testimony to the inclusive character of the policies of the Commonwealth that the area of our war-time co-operation has been extended to include more than thirty nations.

In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by new forms or new institutions which appear to create something exclusive, but by policies and objectives which can be shared with other nations.

D/947864

16+

-15-

Means of consultation and co-operation

From time to time, it has been suggested that an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. At that time, the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Their status and responsibilities were not defined. Moreover, there had not developed the present means, and, what is equally important, the habits of constant communication and consultation which now exist.

I wonder very much whether some who speak of the need of improving existing machinery, appreciate how completely, throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations, we have achieved effective means of consultation and co-operation, and the co-ordination of policies. It is true we have not continuously, sitting in London, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and not infrequently from hour to hour, with matters of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers, or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of

D 47865

their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policy on all matters of common concern between the different nations of the Commonwealth. I do not believe it would be possible to achieve greater harmony or closer co-operation than the harmony and co-operation which have prevailed within the British Commonwealth during the war. War tests all institutions. What more effective means could have been found of obtaining a consensus of view, and of co-ordinating policies than the means which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success.

When plans and projects are advanced to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together, by other types of mechanical arrangement, we cannot be too careful to see that any such arrangements will not appear to our own peoples as an effort to limit or circumscribe their freedom, and to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an effort to establish a bloc which has an exclusive rather than an inclusive aim.

Let us beware lest we lose the substance for the form, or sacrifice reality for appearance.

D 47866

I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am". That might be the epitaph of many nations and empires of the past. It will be the epitaph of others in the not distant future. It will never be written of the ~~nations of the~~ British Commonwealth ~~if its members are true to its spirit.~~

In what I have said, I am not disparaging the importance of meetings of Prime Ministers such as we are having at this time of war, nor of Conferences such as have been held periodically in times of peace. They have their place - and it is a very high place - in our Commonwealth relationships. They permit of general discussions - of a viewing, so to speak, from the mountain top. But it is not on the mountain top that the ordinary day-to-day business of war or of peace is conducted. That must be done in the fields on the plain, and each of us has hard and unremitting work to accomplish in his own particular field.

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means by which he believed the vision of the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries could be realized. "Let us," he said, "~~then~~ seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an <u>inclusive</u> and

D 47867

not an <u>exclusive</u> character".

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

So diverse are the local conditions and the geographical relationships of the several nations of the Commonwealth that we shall look in vain for any durable unity based upon special and exclusive interests. The basis must be broad enough to include all nations who are ready to live at peace with their neighbours.

I ~~have always~~ believed that the ultimate test of the validity of any principle is that it should be capable of indefinite extension and universal application. I am firmly convinced that the only way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can extend to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that may be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the inclusive co-operation of all such nations in preventing the recurrence of successful aggression.

Prosperity - like security - indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to retunn to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the ecnnmmic security of all nations was destroyed. Depression

followed, and war followed depression. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation, or group of nations, can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and future welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the Nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership ~~in the pursuit of policies which are in the interests of the world as a whole.~~

We are approaching the supreme crisis in the European theatre of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain ~~the~~ single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory, ~~not of the British Commonwealth only,~~ but

D47870

of all the United Nations. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose unremitting toil, patient endurance and readiness to accept the burdens and hardships of war has made possible the immense strength of the United Nations in the machines and weapons of war. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men of the forces of freedom who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.

The assurance of the unfailing support of our fighting men is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth. We have met here in order to do everything possible by co-operation and by united action to assure that support in the largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also, in the clouds miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

-21- 27 D 47871

That is why the support of our fighting men cannot be confined only to arms and to munitions. We owe it, the memory of those who give their lives, we owe it to those who are crippled or maimed, we owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

We must keep before the world the vision of a better future, and We must never cease to strive for the realisation of the vision. That vision, as I see it, is the vision of a new world order in which freedom and justice will be extended to all mankind by the ever-widening application of the principles of mutual aid, and co-operation. In the realisation of that vision, the Governments and peoples of the British Commonwealth will have a foremost place. It must be our hope and our endeavour to make our association of free British nations, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, D 47872

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons do not lighten my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. The remembrance of our friendship over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, give me an assurance I should not otherwise possess, in addressing so distinguished an assembly.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues

D 47873

have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril to this hour when ~~the light is breaking over the summit of the hill.~~ ~~The last stretch of that long climb may well be the hardest.~~ It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, ~~Prime Minister~~, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. I know it is meant to be a welcome, equally heartfelt and generous, to the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. For this high compliment to Canada, and to other nations of the Commonwealth, I should like to express warmest thanks.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memmory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit ~~to Canada~~ of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war ~~which have since intervened~~,

D 47874

have heightened the admiration and ~~deepened~~ increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen, We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we never cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. ~~How~~ clearly ~~we now see~~ that the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain! It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other nations of the Commonwealth, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

D 47875

The strength of Britain

~~From time to time,~~ there have been suggestions that this country will be relatively poor or relatively weak after the war. That is not my impression. It will be true that much of the accumulated wealth of Britain will have been spent in waging war. It will be true that you will have paid a heavy cost in human lives. There is, however, something wholly indestructible which will survive all this. Britain has been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated ~~from~~ in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace, as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war,

D 47876

Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The spirit underlying Canada's war effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in ~~the~~ a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

D 47877

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects ~~of our war effort~~ which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. ~~Much less was it due to any formal obligation or to an automatic bond of Empire~~. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries,

D 47878

controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. So great has been our output of munitions, foodstuffs and other supplies of war that at no time, since early in the war, has adequate shipping been assigned to carry overseas to Britain and to other theatres of war all the war materials Canada was ready to send. Nor at any time have enough ships been available to transport overseas all our men who have offered to serve in any theatre of war. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

8
~~5.~~

An Immediate Effort

D 47879

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When in 1939 the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, ~~late in August of 1939~~, I announced that if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation ~~in any part of Canada~~. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed ~~Canada~~ our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread.

~~In 1939,~~ for the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for ~~many~~ generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized in the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our

D 47880

political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free. Because our people believed that peace without freedom would be a living death, they were ready to resume at once the fight for freedom. Like our decision to fight, our effort was an immediate effort.

An All-Out Effort

From the beginning outbreak of war in 1939, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build, or buy, or borrow to acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our the Army to the highest strength we believed was the highest we could maintain ever a long period of war time. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousand fighting air man has just completed his training. This The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

D 47831

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal ~~loss~~ of hundreds of thousands of young men from the farms and the fisheries, the mines and the forests we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family ~~has~~ helping helped to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions ~~of war~~, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, ~~Canada was the first to enter this war~~. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world.

D 47882

It has been to us a source of pride that our methods of meeting some of the problems of war have served as patterns in the war effort of ~~the United States.~~ our neighbour Canada's effort, in many ways, has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the sense of security which came from ~~the~~ our powerful neighbour, we in Canada could not, before the United States became a belligerent, have made the overseas effort we did. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause.

The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable ~~example~~ instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation

D 47883

living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ~~the~~ ships, machines, weapons and other supplies ~~of war~~ which ~~as a result of our all-out effort and~~ of our great resources, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, ~~Canada has~~ we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent ~~a direct~~ an outright contribution, ~~for which no payment has been asked.~~ Under our Canadian system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation. ~~We have sought to make Canada's war effort not only an all-out effort, but, wherever possible, a co-operative effort.~~

A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, ~~Canada's~~ our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made

machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. Our soldiers have helped to guard this island citadel of freedom from the early days of the war. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces joining in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that Canada is in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

D 47885

A Long Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A National Effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

Without sacrificing our national identity, we have endeavoured to co-operate fully with those who have the major responsibility for directing the war. We have recognized that in directing the military operations of some thirty nations, all of them large and small, cannot have an equal voice.

D 47886

The fact, however, that we have preferred to exert our influence quietly and to remove rather than to create difficulties does not mean that we have failed to exercise due vigilance in protecting Canada's rights. Much less does it mean that, in matters of paramount interest to Canada, we shall not, as occasion may demand, speak with our own voice, both inside and outside the Commonwealth. It is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Identity of Effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been parallelled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain, the response immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer.

D 47887

Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identify of effort on the part of the Nations of the Commonwealth.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

~~Our~~ war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and how ~~speedily~~ suddenly freedom's light might be ~~extinguished~~ lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to

(See also 16 1/2)

share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

D 47889

A new meaning and significance to British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We .... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by a young man whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill

D 47890

in 1907.

As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream"?

The glory and the dream" - are not they being realised at this very hour in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

Means of consultation and co-operation

From time to time, it has been suggested that an Imperial War Cabinet or an Imperial War Council would facilitate and strengthen our joint action in the prosecution of the war. The suggestion is obviously based on what happened in the last war. At that time, the nations of the Commonwealth, apart from Britain, had little experience in the conduct of their external relations. Moreover, the present means and,

D 47891

what is equally important, the present habits of constant communication and consultation had not developed.

It is true we have not ~~continuously~~, sitting in London, continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with ~~the co-ordination of~~ policies ~~on matters~~ of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers, or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success!

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together, we

D 47892

cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance, or for appearances' sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The hope of the future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means by which he believed the vision of the peaceful co-operation by all sorts of men in all sorts of countries could be realized. "Let us," he said, ".. seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character".

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

D 47893

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies ~~in which all of us equally share~~. Moreover they are policies that ~~have an equal~~ appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good-will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations.

~~I believe that the ultimate test of the validity of any principle is that it should be capable of indefinite extension and universal application.~~ I am firmly convinced that the ~~only~~ way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which ~~can~~ extend to all nations. I am equally sure that the ~~only~~ way to maintain

D 47894

world unity is to base it upon principles that [redacted] be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the ~~inclusive~~ co-operation ~~of all such nations in preventing the recurrence of successful aggression.~~ [the maintenance of peace by the active and effectual co-operation of international]

Prosperity like security, indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Depression followed, and war followed depression. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and ~~future~~ welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity

D 47895

of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. There must be a readiness to co-operate. If other nations are not so disposed, we, of course, must pursue our own way, making it, at all times, as inclusive as we can. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

June 23/2

The supreme crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war has made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.

23/2

J.W.P. - May 9, 1944

D 47896

Re: United States

Canada's relations, over many years, have been especially intimate with our powerful neighbour. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war. It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united today in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

D 47897

The assurance of the unfailing support of our fighting men is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth. We have met here in order, first and foremost, to do everything possible by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also, in the clouds miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men, and all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the close of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the memory of those who gave their lives, ~~we owe it to the families that are bereaved~~, to do all in our power to ensure that ~~their~~ service and ~~their~~ sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

D 47898

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated largely in monuments of steel and stone. After this war, we must seek, as a memorial, ~~something more worthy of service and sacrifice~~. That, I believe, will only be found in seeking to give to others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in ~~basing our relationships with other nations on the principle of mutual aid~~. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which ~~freedom and justice,~~ social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of ~~international~~ understanding and good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. ~~Nevertheless~~, in the perspective of time, this world encircling danger may ~~yet~~ prove to have been a blessing in disguise.

D47899

Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, come to ~~realise~~ that the interests of mankind are one, and that the claims of Humanity are supreme. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek human enslavement and world domination. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice, ~~or worthily to perpetuate the cause for which they have fought and died.~~ We must ~~never lose~~ the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its ~~realization in fullest measure.~~ In the realization of that vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is ours to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

D47900

Text Of Premier King's Address To British Houses

LONDON, May 11.—(CP)—Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech before both Houses of Parliament:

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, my Lords and members of the House of Commons:

When I recieved from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honor. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Epic Four Years.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

Equally to Other Dominions

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of prime ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada today, I should like to express my gratitude and pride. I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

Their Majesties' Visit.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown. The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds.

We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain.

It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other nations of the Commonwealth, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for our mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

Example To World.

Great Britain has been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith.

A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigor and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities in mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown.

I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

Voluntary Effort.

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice. As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigor and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers

million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an airdrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Decision.

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

Hopes After Last War.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our national war memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized in the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war. We expanded our navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war.

Air Training Plan.

We expanded our air force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The 100,000th fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations. We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces.

Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family in helping to finance the war.

Utmost Contribution.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war.

In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exists between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. We have sought to make Canada's war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

Sharing Production.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly £900,000,000 ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

What are your plans?

"You know, all of us have plans for the future. But have you ever noticed when you're talking about *your* plans how often you begin by saying 'when the war is over?' And, of course, that's because most of us find

LAROCQUE REGISTERED Shop and Save



Pan-Cake* Make-Up

...originated by *Max Factor Hollywood*

See what lovely beauty you can create...*in just a few seconds*...with this modern make-up. You'll be so thrilled when you look in your mirror that you'll be devoted to Pan-Cake Make-Up forever. Try it.

1.75

LAROCQUE REGISTERED Shop and Save

Lingerie Delights For Mother's Day





Lovely Housecoats

Spun or bengaline housecoats, wraparound styles in lovely floral designs or plain shades. Blue, turquoise, rose and red.

Sizes 14 to 20.

$6.95

Others from $7.95 to $16.95

Smart Slips

Kaybar or plain silk crepe slips with built up shoulders, straight cut styles, plain tailored, in tearose, white and black.

Shop and Save

1 of/de

sentative at the meeting of prime ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada today, I should like to express my gratitude and pride. I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

Their Majesties' Visit.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown. The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds.

We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown.

I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

Voluntary Effort.

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice. As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigor and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers 11,500,000. Three-quarters of a

But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

Canada's contribution to the

Americas, was at war.

men have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of

(Continued on Page Fourteen)



YOUR SKIN WILL LOVE.::

Barbara Gould

TISSUE CREAM

Look! See how dry, tired skin begins to wake up and regain its freshness and bloom as soon as BARBARA GOULD TISSUE CREAM comes soothingly to its aid. Look again! Now your skin is petal-smooth, radiant, tempting . . . ready to help you attain dramatic perfection!

Tissue Cream . . . created for skins inclined to dryness. Prices **$2.75** and **$3.10.**



BG-544M

What are your plans?

"You know, all of us have plans for the future. But have you ever noticed when you're talking about *your* plans how often you begin by saying 'when the war is over?' And, of course, that's because most of us find that all our plans and hopes are tied up with winning the war. Young Mary, for instance. Her plans are big and exciting and mighty important. But getting married will have to wait until the war is over and her favorite soldier is back home again. Dad's plans mightn't sound exciting — but he's going to enjoy that rest he's looked forward to for so long. And he's going to start it the minute the war is over.

Yes, Mary's plans and Dad's plans — your plans and my plans — are all tied up with winning the war. And one of the best ways we can hurry along the day when our plans and hopes will become realities, is by buying Victory Bonds. So let's all get behind the Sixth Victory Loan. Put all the cash savings we have into Victory Bonds — then buy more on the instalment plan. Let's all invest as heavily as we can in the future we're looking forward to. Let's all put Victory First!"

AN APPEAL TO CANADIANS AS BROADCAST LAST NIGHT *on the* CELANESE HOUR

"Great Moments in Music"

LABATT'S REGISTERED

Shop and Save

Lingerie Delights

For Mother's Day



Lovely Housecoats

Spun or bengaline housecoats, wraparound styles in lovely floral designs or plain shades. Blue, turquoise, rose and red.
Sizes 14 to 20.

$6.95

Others from $7.95 to $16.95



Smart Slips

Kaybar or plain silk crepe slips with built up shoulders, straight cut styles, plain tailored, in tearose, white and black.
Sizes 44 to 50.

$2.50

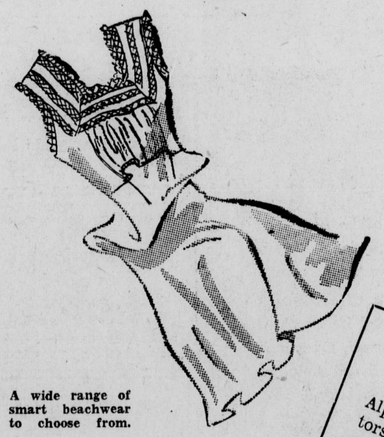
Shop and Save

Lingerie 2nd Floor

Give Mother a Chenille Housecoat

Practical and pretty for lazy hours! Baby chenille housecoats in wraparound styles, some have pattern at bottom and sleeves, some in basket weave pattern. Fuchsia, turquoise, rose, white and powder. Small, medium and large.

$5.95 and **$6.95** Sizes 40 to 44 **$7.95**



A wide range of smart beachwear to choose from.

Slacks

in all shades. Sizes 38 to 46.

$4.95

Luxurious Nighties

Satin or crepe gowns in tailored or lace trimmed styles. Beautifully fitted for added figure flattery. Blue, eggshell, tearose and white. Small, medium and large.

$2.95 to **$5.95**

Slack Suits

Alpaca cloth, jacket in long torso style, slacks with permanent crease and high waist styles. Green and dark blue. Sizes 38 to 46. ----- **$9.95**

2 of/de 2

D 47901

Text of Premier

(Continued from Page Thirteen)

the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

In War to the End.

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war; a monstrous conspiracy of the Fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order. By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

As National Effort.

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

By Other Dominions.

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the nations of the Commonwealth. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface.

From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective actions are quickened and heightened at a time of war.

Common Inspiration.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

New Strength and Unity.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth," but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future.

"We, who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Churchill's Words in 1907

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken 37 years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind. Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away, and fade into the light of common day." They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask:

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam? Where is it now the glory and the dream?"

Now Being Realized

The glory and the dream: are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

By All Cabinets

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial war cabinet or council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of prime ministers, or other individual ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries, they are decisions reached after mature considera- respective parliaments.

Must Not Lose Substance

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success; let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. We cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc.

Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation.

"Let us," he said, "seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Opposite of Exclusive

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expressed itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The wartime co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of goodwill.

By Sharing Policies

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am fully sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It has been no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Depends on Leadership

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbors. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that. Just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Relations with U.S.

Over many years, Canada's relations have been especially friendly with the United States. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united today in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

Near Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men, who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.

Support of Armed Forces

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Commonwealth. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

Really First World War

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea, but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

For New World Order.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something more fitting as a memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of an abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principles of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one, and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Must Vision Better Future.

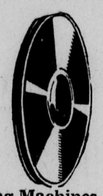
Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honor the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, a model of what we hope the whole world may some day become."

Popular Records

Used but in good condition.

15c and up



Regent Vending Machines Limited

779 Bank St. 2-0801

SELF A&P SERVICE FOOD STORES

It's time to turn to the FINER, FRESHER FLAVOUR OF CUSTOM GROUND A&P COFFEE

COFFEE RATION NOW 1 POUND PER COUPON

Enjoy YOUR INCREASED TEA RATION BUY FINE FLAVOUR A & P TEAS

"OUR OWN" BLACK TEA 4 oz. Pkt. 17¢ ½ lb. Pkt. 31¢

A & P NECTAR ORANGE PEKOE ½ lb. Pkt. 39¢



VIGOROUS AND WINEY BOKAR 1 LB. 35¢

MILD AND MELLOW 8 O'CLOCK 1 LB. 29¢

QUAKER OATS Lge. Pkg. 19c

CAMAY SOAP 2 Cakes 11c

SUPERSUDS Reg. Pkg. 20c

Put Victory First — Buy Victory Bonds

BUTTER Silverbrook First Grade lb. 37c

GARDEN SEEDS Govt. Certified 2 Pkgs. 9c

PUMPKIN Choice 2 28 oz. Tins 25c

LIBBY'S MUSTARD 2 6 oz. Jars 15c 2 9 oz. Jars 19c

Palmolive Soap 2 Reg. Cakes 11c 3 Giant Cakes 23c

Domestic Shortening

SUNNYFIELD Grade "A" Large EGGS Doz. 29c

APENN MOTOR OIL Gal. 82c

Virginia Dare

For your Mother

MOTHER'S DAY May 14th



HOUSECOAT for Mother

in a feather print cotton Housecoat to greet mother on Sunday morning. It's the practic.. wrap-around, so easy to iron, and comes in many flattering colours. Rose, Blue, Red or Wine.

SIZES 14 to 20, 3.98

Virginia Dare has a wide assortment of other attractive housecoats, priced to fit your budget—from 3.98 to 8.98

BLOUSE for Mother

Colourful whipstitching in Red or Blue adorns the White simplicity of this perfect sheer blouse for mother. The sleeves and bodice are softly gathered.

SIZES 12 to 42, 2.98

Other pretty blouses in sheer spun — Spring tints and multi-colour stripes. Priced from 2.98 up.

1 of/de

to make it worthy of Canada.

By Other Dominions.

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the nations of the Commonwealth. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface.

From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective actions are quickened and heightened at a time of war.

Common Inspiration.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations

ally own. They were spoken 37 years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind. Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away, and fade into the light of common day." They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask:

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam? Where is it now the glory and the dream?"

Now Being Realized

The glory and the dream: are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

By All Cabinets

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial war cabinet or council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of prime ministers, or other individual ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries, they are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their

there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The wartime co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of goodwill.

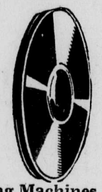
By Sharing Policies

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am fully sure that the only way to maintain world

Popular Records

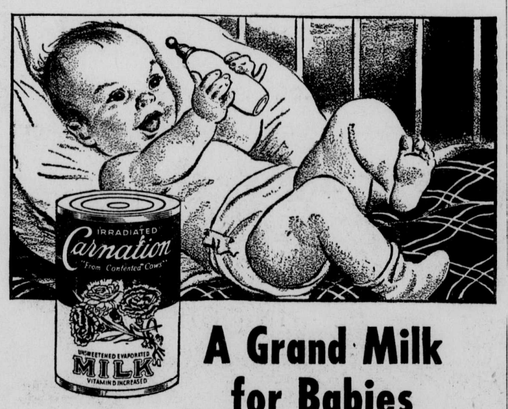
Used but in good condition.

15c and up



Regent Vending Machines Limited

779 Bank St. 2-0801



A Grand Milk for Babies

MILLIONS of babies have been raised on Carnation Milk formulas that their doctors have prescribed.

There are *three big reasons* ... First, Carnation Milk is as *nourishing* as milk can be—and it's *irradiated* for extra "sunshine" vitamin D. Second, Carnation's *safe* because it comes to you sealed and sterilized. Third, Carnation's readily *digestible*, because heat-treatment gives it a valuable *soft-curd* quality.

You don't have *any* milk worries when your doctor puts the baby on Carnation. Write for free book "Your Contented Baby". Carnation Co. Ltd., Toronto, Ont.

IRRADIATED Carnation Milk

A CANADIAN PRODUCT "from Contented Cows"

If you don't see Carnation Milk at your grocer's, ask for it



Give Her Something To Please Her Feminine Heart!

Come in today and choose from our large assortments of—

Toilet Waters, Perfumes, Powders, Toilet Sets, Toilet Soaps, Bath Salts.

MOLOT'S DRUG STORES

460 Rideau St. 3-1151 — 566 Bank St. 2-0252

See Our Large Display of Make-up Cosmetics by

Barbara Gould

EMOND

Retail Perfume & Cosmetic Shop

156 RIDEAU ST. CALL 3-4038

5 Floors of Quality Furniture

Come in at anytime and look around.

175-179 SPARKS ST 2 423

Orme LIMITED

SELF A&P SERVICE FOOD STORES

It's time to turn to the FINER, FRESHER FLAVOUR OF CUSTOM GROUND A&P COFFEE

COFFEE RATION NOW 1 POUND PER COUPON

Enjoy YOUR INCREASED TEA RATION BUY FINE FLAVOUR A & P TEAS

"OUR OWN" BLACK TEA 4 oz. pkt. 17¢ ½ lb. Pkt. 31¢

A & P NECTAR ORANGE PEKOE ½ lb. Pkt. 39¢



VIGOROUS AND WINEY BOKAR 1 LB. 35¢

MILD AND MELLOW 8 O'CLOCK 1 LB. 29¢

QUAKER OATS Lge. Pkg. 19c

CAMAY SOAP 2 Cakes 11c

SUPERSUDS Reg. Pkg. 20c

Put Victory First — Buy Victory Bonds

BUTTER Silverbrook First Grade lb. 37c

GARDEN SEEDS Govt. Certified 2 Pkgs. 9c

PUMPKIN Choice 2 28 oz. Tins 25c

LIBBY'S MUSTARD 2 6 oz. Jars 15c 2 9 oz. Jars 19c

Palmolive Soap 2 Reg. Cakes 11c 3 Giant Cakes 23c

Domestic Shortening Lb. 19c

SUNNYFIELD Grade "A" Large EGGS Doz. for 39c

APENN MOTOR OIL Gal. Jar 82c

IVORY SNOW Pkg. 22c

PURE LARD ... lb. 14c

TISSUE Cashmere 3 Rolls 25c

Catelli Egg wheat Noodles 2 pkgs. 27c

DELTA WAX .. 1 lb. Tin 27c

O'CEDAR Polish 4-oz. Btl. 23c

PAPER NAPKINS . Pkg. 9c

HEINZ WHITE and MALT VINEGAR ... 2 16-oz. Btls. 25c

LOAF CHEESE Plain lb. 34c

ANN PAGE VITAMIN B BREAD OVEN FRESH DAILY White, Whole Wheat, Cracked Wheat 2 24 oz. Loaves 15c

RAISIN LOAF 24 oz. Loaf 13c

RYE BREAD 24 oz. Loaf 10c

Blackberry JAM 24 fl. oz. 31c

SWEET RELISH 16 fl oz glass 21c

Aylmer Carrots 16 fl. oz. Glass 22c

JAM Strawberry & Rhubarb 24 fl. oz. 30c

ANN PAGE MAYONNAISE . 8-oz. Jar 16c

A&P SPECIAL OR COMMERCIAL QUALITY BEEF

SPECIAL RED BRAND BLADE ROAST ..... lb. 25c

SPECIAL RED BRAND SHORT RIB ROAST ..... lb. 28c

SPECIAL RED BRAND RUMP ROAST BEEF ..... lb. 36c

SPECIAL RED BRAND PRIME RIB ROAST ... First 5 Ribs lb. 32c

MILK FED VEAL LEGS ..... lb. 25c

BONELESS SMOKED PORK SHOULDERS ... Picnic Style lb. 37c

FRUITS & VEGETABLES

CAN. NO. 1 POTATOES 10 lb. 29c

RIPE TOMATOES lb. 23c

NEW CARROTS Bulk 4 lb. 23c

NEW CROP VALENCIA CALIF. ORANGES 252's Doz. 37c

PINEAPPLES Size 24 Each 43c

NEW GREEN CABBAGE lb. 7c

A&P FOOD STORES

HOUSECOAT for Mother

in a feather print cotton Housecoat to greet mother on Sunday ... sing. It's the practic... wrap-around, so easy to iron, and comes in many flattering colours. Rose, Blue, Red or Wine.

SIZES 14 to 20, 3.98

Virginia Dare has a wide assortment of other attractive housecoats, priced to fit your budget—from 3.98 to 8.98



BLOUSE for Mother

Colourful whipstitching in Red or Blue adorns the White simplicity of this perfect sheer blouse for mother. The sleeves and bodice are softly gathered.

SIZES 12 to 42, 2.98

Other pretty blouses in sheer spun — Spring tints and multi-colour stripes. Priced from 2.98 up.

GLOVES for Mother

Gloves for her new Spring outfit in the new, longer length. Fine fabric with oversewn seams, and an elastic wrist insert. In Black, Brown, Chamois, Beige, Grey, Navy and White. Buy her a light and dark pair for inter-changing. They're washable. ONLY 1.25

Leather gloves for mother from 1.98 up.

Silk gloves 1.00

1.00

1.00

GLAMOUR PINS for Mother

Glistening gilt birds with long, flowing feathers: Flowers and other designs, some beautifully jewelled with colourful simulated stones. Priced from 1.00 to 3.00 (tax extra).

3.00

128 Sparks St.

Virginia Dare

MAIL ORDERS FILLED

With money order, include 10c to cover cost of mailing. Head office, Kent Bldg., Toronto.

Invest in Victory

Buy the

Sixth Victory Loan Bonds

2 of/de 2

D 47902

11.5.44. No.10.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION, BROADCAST OR USE ON CLUB TAPES UNTIL DELIVERY AT 3 P.M., TODAY, AGAINST WHICH IT SHOULD BE CHECKED. SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION ARRANGED IN CANADA WHERE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS CAN OBTAIN COPIES.

An Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to the members of both Houses of Parliament, at Westminster - May 11th, 1944.

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr.Speaker,

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kindly a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your collegues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognise that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid to Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr.Curtin, Mr.Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London

/at this

D 47903

at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedon of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilisation of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The strength of Britain

Britain has been an example to the world of the organisation of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these

/qualities

qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

D 47904

The spirit underlying Canada's war effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of its relations, with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A voluntary effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has become a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An immediate effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in

/the defence

the defence of freedom, our Government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

D 47905

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized by the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An all-out effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

/A pioneering effort

D 47906

A pioneering effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A co-operative effort

In Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing for in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds (£4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A world-wide effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan.

Canada's/

Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An enduring effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A long range effort.

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a longOrange effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A national effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

/Identity of effort

D 47908

Identity of effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowances for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immadiate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The spirit of freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and to the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as now here else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and has suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men every-where will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa, are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

/The strength

D 47909

The strength and unity of the British Commonwealth

The common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We.... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, it not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream - are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth.

Means of consultation and co-operation

From time to time, it is suggested we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success!

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers,

/or other

or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization ~~to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together~~, we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The hope of the future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realising his VISION of peaceful co-operation. "Let us," he said, "..seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character".

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity, Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and world co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good-will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

/It is less

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations great and small are members one of another.

Prosperity like security, indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Depression followed, and war followed depression. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realise that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a a whole.

Canada and the United States

Over many years, Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The supreme crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to

/maintain

D 47912

maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies to the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind, ~~are facing death at sea, on land and in the air~~.

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifices of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something MORE fitting as a memorial.. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunity of a more abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races, and many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world-encircling danger may prove

/to have been

to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of Mankind are one, and that the claims of Humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common alligiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

CANADA HOUSE

PM / London Speech

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, May 31 D 47914

FOR PRIME MINISTER:

You may wish to see the W.I.B. Survey of Editorial Comment on your speech in London (pages 4 to 10).

J.A.G.

sent to Parliament
4-6-45

D 47915

On aura observé que le personnage, que ses partisans acclament comme l'incarnation même de la résistance française, obéit à deux sentiments profonds et absolus, à deux tendances qui peuvent paraître parfois un peu contradictoires: la première, c'est la volonté implacable de poursuivre la lutte jusqu'au bout aux côtés des Alliés et la haine farouche de tous ceux qu'il accuse d'avoir collaboré de près ou de loin avec l'ennemi; la seconde, c'est le soin jaloux qu'il apporte à défendre la souveraineté française dont il voudrait être le mandataire incontestable et qui l'a fait souvent se cabrer d'impatience sous la tutelle des puissances anglo-saxonnes.... Le général de Gaulle et ses partisans ont voulu affirmer hier solennellement la souveraineté française. L'Assemblée consultative d'Alger a décidé hier par résolution de changer le nom de "Comité français de la libération nationale" en celui de "Gouvernement provisoire de la République française.... Le général de Gaulle est allé encore plus loin dans la voie de l'émancipation de la tutelle alliée et de l'affirmtion de la souveraineté française. Il a déclaré que les accords Clark-Darlan, conclus au moment des débarquements en Afrique-Nord à l'automne de 1942, ne liaient pas les Français.

Commonwealth Relations

Mr. King's Speech

As forecast in last week's SURVEY, particularly every Canadian daily newspaper has commented upon Prime Minister King's speech to the British Houses of Parliament. The tone of comments received this week is generally similar to that noted in last week's editorials. Many editors consider that the speech was one of the finest of Mr. King's career, and comment is predominantly favourable, even when editors make qualifications as to the policies outlined. The following quotations are typical of the majority noted this week:

> KINGSTON WHIG STANDARD, May 12: Canada is fortunate to be represented at the conference of Empire premiers by a statesman of Mr. King's ackowledged ability and experience. It would be idle to deny that many Canadians are opposed to the Prime Minister and his party. In a democracy it would not be healthful otherwise. Yet few indeed, even among his most bitter opponents, will attempt to withold acknowledgement of Mr. King's stature in international affairs. It has been too often affirmed, both at Washington and London, for any doubt to exist, and his statesmanlike address yesterday added to his reputation.

> VICTORIA COLONIST, May 12: We have no hesitation saying that Mr. King approached both the dignity and the force of statemanship on this occasion, when he spoke in the people's name.

LE NOUVELLISTE: Dans la gloire de ses nouveaux combats la France retrouvera la plénitude de sa personnalité militaire et politique et par le succès des armes reprendra son rang de la grande alliée de la Grande-Bretagne: elle aura reconquis le droit de traiter égal à égal avec tous ses associés dans la lutte contre l'Axe.

LE CANADA: Il y a quatre ans, l'armée française, considérée comme la première armée du monde, connaissait l'humiliation de la défaite.... La route, depuis, a été longue et dure pour les Français.... Aujourd'hui, les soldats français qui livrent bataille à l'ennemi en Italie font l'admiration de leurs frères d'armes britanniques et américains. La furie qu'ils apportent au combat, les brillants succès qu'ils remportent démontrent à l'évidence qu'ils sont en tout point dignes de la glorieuse tradition militaire de la France. En même temps qu'ils luttent pour la libération de leur patrie ils ont à coeur de rétablir les armes françaises au premier rang que tous leur reconnaissaient jadis.

LE SOLEIL: Pendant ces trois années d'épreuve, les soldats français n'ont jamais eu l'avantage de se battre dans des conditions comparables, même de loin, à celles de leurs camarades britanniques et américains. Encore aujourd'hui, bien que leur sort se soit amélioré, ils sont les moins bien vêtus et nourris des combattants de l'armée des Alliés. Ceux qui les ont vu à l'oeuvre et qui peuvent en parler librement savent que telle est l'exacte vérité.

LE CANADA attributes the present victorious advance in Italy to the complete collaboration between the forces of all nationalities:

Ce qu'il faut le plus admirer dans cette impressionnante série de victoires, c'est la collaboration efficace qui s'affirme entre les soldats de nationalités diverses combattant sur le front italien, du côté allié. Tous ont leur part de mérite et de gloire dans les succès remportés. C'est ce magnifique esprit et cette coordination efficace des efforts qui nous donnera la victoire finale, lorsque l'invasion se fera.

United Nations

Many subjects have been dealt with under this classification, no one subject being of outstanding interest. There have been a few comments on the changing of the name of the French Committee of National Liberation. It is noteworthy that LE DEVOIR, the only French-language daily which has consistently opposed de Gaulle, publishes a favourable comment:

D47916

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

War

The following quotation from the LONDON FREE PRESS is typical of general comment on the reopened offensive in Italy:

> The new thrust in Italy is obviously part of the invasion strategy along with the heavy and prolonged air pounding of enemy occupied Europe.... Certainly the Italian campaign may be regarded as a curtain raiser to the real invasion.

A few of the English-language editors have taken particular note of the part played by French troops in this offensive, and have expressed satisfaction at the renewal of active French co-operation. Representative comments follow:

> OTTAWA JOURNAL: The news from Italy telling that the greatest gains against the Germans were made by the French must move the hearts of all of us. For what it tells is that there lives on the spirit of the race whose martial tread shook Europe through the centuries. We believe that in the hearts of those Frenchmen who stormed up Italian heights against their old enemy, the Boche, was determination to wipe out the stain of Vichy, to redeem the lustre of the race which on many a battle-field of the past, humbled the arrogant Prussian.
>
> CALGARY ALBERTAN: One of the most striking features of the current offensive in Italy is the prominent part taken by the French.... These exploits contrast very vividly with the ignominious surrender of 1940. Evidently the new French army which has been organized and trained in North Africa has become a very formidable force. The old fighting spirit of Verdun and Austerlitz has wakened again.
>
> MONCTON TIMES: The French forces with the Fifth Army in Italy must be taking a peculiar satisfaction with the job in hand. Well trained, well equipped and well led, they are now the object of universal admiration among the British and American infantry-men who are fighting by their side. They have waited a long time for this opportunity. Now that it has come they seem to be making the most of it.

The French-language papers have shown particular pleasure in the revival of French military prestige:

> LA PATRIE: Le rôle glorieux que jouent les forces françaises dans cette offensive révèle les progrès réalisés durant ces derniers mois dans la reconstitution de l'armée regroupée d'abord par le général Giraud, commandée aujourd'hui par le général de Gaulle et équipée par les Alliés anglo-américains. Ce sont les bataillons français incorporés à la 5e Armée britannique qui ont remporté les honneurs de ces derniers jours.

D 47917

PRESS SURVEY

Prime Ministers

WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD, OTTAWA

Late Comments on PM's London Speech

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

May 16 to May 23, 1944

NEWS TREATMENT

The renewed Italian offensive has been the major headline news of the week. All dispatches from overseas which might be interpreted as indications of "invasion" preparations have also been given wide prominence. The report of the shooting of Allied prisoners of war in a German prison camp was the main featured news story in the majority of daily papers for two days. Stories of the sinking of the Valleyfield were also given great prominence.

In the domestic field prominent placing was given to the verdict in the murder trial of the 15 year old boy in Montreal, Fernand Clermont. This interest was also reflected in editorial columns. The French-language papers showed considerable interest in the shooting of Guenette and the arrest of the two R.C.M.P. officers on a charge of manslaughter. This interest was confined to the news treatment of the story; editors have so far refrained from comment.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

There has been considerable further comment on the Prime Minister's speech to the British Houses of Parliament. The reopening of operations in Italy has also been widely commented upon, French-language papers paying particular attention to the use of French troops. Otherwise editorial comment has shown little concentration.

The following table gives the percentages of editorials under the usual classifications:

	E-L	F-L	Both	E-L	F-L	Both
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS				51%	53%	52%
War	21%	22%	22%			
United Nations	13	17	14			
Commonwealth Relations	9	11	9			
Enemy Countries	5	1	5			
Neutral Countries	3	2	2			
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS				49	47	48
Social Problems	9	11	9			
Finance	9	9	9			
Federal Politics	9	0	8			
Armed Services	5	11	6			
Provincial Politics	5	6	5			
Production	3	8	3			
Manpower and Labour	3	0	2			
Economic Controls	2	0	2			
Postwar Planning	3	0	3			
Information Services	1	2	1			
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total editorials used:	936	90	1026			

D 47918

Manpower and Labour

Labour questions have not received much attention from editorial writers. What comment there has been has been so varied that there are not more than two editorials on any one phase of labour. Among the topics discussed are the problem of farm labour, Labour-Management committees, the wage demands of the Railroad unions, the Windsor and Detroit strikes and their effects on production.

Information Services

There has been some comment regarding the question asked in the House concerning the article written by Walter Winchell. The more partisan papers express strong views on this subject. The TORONTO STAR says:

> Did the Ottawa opposition express appreciation of this act of friendliness on Winchell's part? Not they. Praise of Canada's war effort, whether it comes from Churchill or from Winchell, inevitably involves praise of Canada's government. So Churchill must be attacked and insinuations must be launched against Winchell.... That was the acknowledgement the Conservative opposition tendered Mr. Winchell for one of the best advertisements Canada ever had.

The TORONTO [illegible] says:

> It thus appears that material sent out by a King Government agency is pumped back into Canada as an independent opinion of worthwhile significance. Canadians are asked to behold what our neighbours to the South are thinking, whereas what is laid before them is a rehash of what the Canadian War Information Board has been thinking. And another Government agency, the CBC, has been linked up in spreading the deception.

However, most editors who have made any comment on this matter adopt a similar line to that of the OTTAWA JOURNAL, which calls the whole discussion "making molehills into mountains."

D 47919

Finance

The great bulk of editorial comment under this classification deals with the Sixth Victory Loan and its satisfactory results.

Federal Politics

The discussion of Progressive Conservative policy in Quebec, noted last week, has continued, the WINNIPEG FREE PRESS running a series of articles on the party's past record in that Province. The TORONTO STAR has published several editorials along the same lines, claiming that from 1911 onwards the Conservative Party has followed a policy of aligning itself with the discordant elements in Quebec. The TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL and the TORONTO TELEGRAM take strong exception to these articles and have retaliated by reviewing the history of the Liberal party in the Province of Quebec. They claim that as far back as Mercier's day the Liberal party has followed an appeasement policy there, avowing one policy in Quebec and another in the rest of Canada. The OTTAWA JOURNAL lays the blame for this controversy on the National Liberal Federation and says:

> We have the National Liberal Headquarters here in Ottawa sending broadcast through the country the most reprehensible sort of electioneering propaganda; raking up and rehashing what happened in Quebec as far back as 1911 -- decaying things about which nobody in this country at this time should care a tinker's curse.... Our advice to the henchmen of that organization would be to go easy with this game, and especially with the tactics of raking up political history in the province of Quebec during the past quarter of a century. It is a field in which they are too tragically vulnerable.

Many papers have commented upon Mr. Bracken's recent speech in Campbellton, N.B. in which he outlined a policy for Canadian forests. All editors concerned agree upon the need of a national policy with regard to forest resources and express approval of the general suggestions made by Mr. Bracken.

Armed Services

The heated discussion of conscription for overseas service, which began early in April and reached its peak at the beginning of May, has subsided this week. The ST. CATHERINES STANDARD concludes an editorial on Mr. King's speech as follows:

> There was one point on which Mr. King was fully right. The biggest thing right now is in winning the victory, a single-minded concentration toward it. And in that connection there is a hybrid home policy on the use of manpower to which the Prime Minister might devote his eloquence, his persuasion and even his powers as First Minister of State on his large group of supporters in an adjoining province. There is little doubt, however, that British newspapers will accept the official utterance, from Canada, in polite deference.

D 47920

LE DROIT, May 20, says that all members of the conference were agreed on the ends to be achieved:

> Toutes les parties du Commonwealth tendirent à Londres vers la même fin, la conservation et le développement de la vraie force du Commonwealth ainsi que l'établissement d'une politique de sécurité collective mondiale visant au maintien de la paix. On ne différait d'avis que sur les moyens à prendre pour atteindre cette fin.

In reviewing the conference as a whole editors, generally, express satisfaction. They point out that the purposes of the conference were not to formulate definite and concrete postwar proposals but to set forward and discuss the views of the different members of the Commonwealth in an amicable fashion in order to facilitate future Empire understanding and co-operation. They feel that this has been accomplished, and that there should be no disappointment that the closing declaration of the Prime Ministers made no definite commitments.

The WINDSOR STAR, May 18, quotes Gallup Poll findings to show that the scope and limitations of the conference were in full harmony with majority opinion in Canada:

> Now that the Empire Prime Ministers have held their first wartime conference, a great deal of public interest has been aroused in matters of Empire policy. This is reflected in the result of a Gallup Poll which shows that the majority of Canadians favor regular consultations dealing with our relations with the rest of the world, but do not want Canada bound by decisions made at such meetings. If the Canadian Government had anything to do with the planning the conduct of the conference just closed -- and presumably it did -- it has shown itself to be singularly sensitive to public opinion. The meeting in London followed almost exactly the course suggested by the majority of those voting in the poll. There was full discussion, but no attempt to commit the various parts of the Commonwealth to any set international policy. One point, of course, must be noted. The people believe there should be frequent consultations. They will not be content to see five years or more go by again without another conference.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Social Problems

There have been numerous editorials on such social problems as housing, education, religion, etc. The conviction of the 15-year old boy in Montreal has given rise to further discussion of juvenile delinquency, and considerable apprehension is expressed over the lack of control among the young.

There have been further comments on the Japanese problem, and it is generally agreed that the government should formulate a definite policy on the matter.

D 47921

LE DEVOIR, May 15, states that Mr. King's rejection of the Halifax and Curtin proposals proceeds from his concern, not for Canadian autonomy, but for Empire unity, which such proposals would actually endanger:

> Loin d'être l'affirmation de l'autonomie canadienne, le discours que M. Mackenzie King a prononcé jeudi dernier devant les membres du Parlement de Westminster est plutôt un plaidoyer en faveur de l'Empire et de l'unité impériale.... Les réformes préconisées par des gens comme lord Halifax et M. Curtin représentent un double danger. Danger intérieur, car si les populations des Dominions ont l'impression que l'on tente de restreindre leur liberté de décision, ils cherchent à briser l'unité impériale pour obtenir leur véritable liberté. Danger extérieur, car si les peuples étrangers s'aperçoivent que les pays du Commonwealth font bloc, ils peuvent s'unir contre l'Empire.... A vouloir unir trop étroitement l'Empire, on en brise l'unité.

L'ACTION CATHOLIQUE, May 19, feels that there is little to choose between Mr. King and the OTTAWA JOURNAL, but hopes that the future may bring greater liberty of action to Canada:

> "De la bouillie pour les chats"?: Comme on le voit, si M. King et le JOURNAL ne s'entendent pas en théorie, ils sont moins éloignés l'un de l'autre en pratique. Quant à nous, nous voudrions bien que le gouvernement actuel et ceux qui pourraient lui succéder prissent l'habitude d'agir en toute liberté, sans toujours se soucier de l'attitude de Londres, sans se décider d'avance à penser comme la Grande-Bretagne même sur la question de la défense de la liberté. L'impérialisme a trop vécu. Penserons-nous bientôt par nous-mêmes? Quand le Canada sera économiquement plus libre vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre, peut-être exercera-t-il plus facilement sa liberté politique.

LA PRESSE and LA PATRIE publish further favourable comments:

> LA PRESSE, 19 mai: Pourtant, à la réflexion, il est clair que la conférence a atteint son but principal: les premiers ministres se sont expliqués, il se sont compris.
>
> LA PATRIE, 20 mai: On continuera comme dans le passé à maintenir des relations personnelles fréquentes entre les divers chefs de gouvernement, sans les lier davantage du point de vue juridique. Cette formule comporte plus de souplesse et écarte une entrave constitutionnelle pour le jour où nous déciderions d'accéder au stage de la souveraineté absolue.

D 47922

far as Empire affairs were concerned was typical of his public career, namely, that the interests of Canada are more extensively aligned with those of America than with those of the British Commonwealth as a whole. He didn't say so in so many words, but beat about the bush in his usual manner of commending the British Empire and the other Dominions for their unsurpassed leadership in the civilization of the world, and in the salvation of that civilization at the great crisis in world history when Britain stood between us and catastrophe. He acknowledged all this.... But he neglected to observe that had Hitler known in advance that the British Dominions would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Mother Country... in all probability there would have been no war.

The ST. THOMAS TIMES JOURNAL, May 15, quotes Mr. Churchill's introduction of Mr. King as the only man who could "lead Canada united into the heart of this world-shaking struggle", and comments:

> If Lord Bennett was there we would like to have offered a penny for his thoughts at that moment. And to Lord Greenwood, another Canadian, from Whitby, who was one of Lloyd George's postwar cabinet ministers. They might have liked to ask Mr. Churchill where he got the idea Mr. King had led Canada united into this struggle. Perhaps they button-holed the British Prime Minister afterwards and asked if he knew that the province of Quebec stood out alone again conscription of men for overseas service and opposed every move in that direction; that the Quebec legislative assembly only a few days before had voted almost unanimously against it, and that Mr. King had directed his war policies since 1939 so that they would meet the wishes of the powerful voting bloc from Quebec and ignored the expressed views of the eight other provinces.

The French-language papers have generally maintained and developed the points of view noted in last week's SURVEY. The question of why Canada is at war has been freely discussed, three papers referring to the editorial on the subject in the Ottawa JOURNAL, quoted last week. LE DROIT, May 15, considers that Mr. King's statement merely puts into other words the Laurier dictum: "When Britain is at war, Canada is at war":

> Le premier ministre canadien affirme que le Canada est entré en guerre dès 1939 pour rien autre chose que la défense de la liberté du monde. Mais, d'après le discours de M. King, il est clair que ce dernier ne conçoit qu'un cas où la liberté du monde puisse être en danger: c'est lorsque l'Angleterre décide de faire la guerre.... L'attitude de M. King pourrait s'exprimer dans la formule suivante: 'Quand la liberté du monde est en danger, c'est-à-dire lorsque l'Angleterre déclare la guerre, le Canada se jette immédiatement dans le conflit.'

> organized for the chief purpose of elbowing the United States aside in the rivalry for military and commercial position after the war. Mr. King is acutely conscious of that danger, and conscious also that no voice can scothe the alarm in the American breast as effectively as a Canadian one. Hence the accent on the notes of inclusiveness and not of exclusiveness, of co-operation rather than unification, of co-operation which "is capable of indefinite expansion" rather than of unification which involves the surrender of individuality.... We do not see how any class of Canadians can find grave fault with Mr. King's speech, except those who are still convinced that what the Commonwealth needs is a single voice and a single central council to pronounce that voice. They are not, we suggest, a very numerous element in this country, nor one which can cherish much hope of determining its course.

The HALIFAX CHRONICLE, May 16, expresses a view shared by several other papers -- that Mr. King's speech set the tone for the conclusion of the meeting. "Not only is that the case, but British opinion which originally appeared to favor a closer and more standardized form of inter-Dominion collaboration, has now swung the other way".

Unfavorable editorials received this week do not raise any new points for criticism. The following are typical:

> ST. CATHARINES STANDARD, May 11: It was a speech of lofty idealism, without doubt, of language which could be given interpretations and which lacked directness as to how world Utopia was to be brought about. There was also the old favorite preachment of Canada's autonomy strongly implied in his warning against new methods of organization.
>
> SYDNEY POST RECORD, May 12: No one has ever accused our Prime Minister of being an Imperialist and no one ever will, after hearing Mr. King's address to the joint session of the British Houses of Parliament yesterday in which, somewhat fulsomely it is feared, he dwelt on Canada's war effort, and then placed this Dominion in the category of a country which when Empire matters are at stake, would not necessarily be bound by decisions made by other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.
>
> MONCTON TIMES, May 13: Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his address before the British Lords and Commons was, as he naturally would be, given a fine ovation. This would come as a result of Canada's contribution to the war effort of the Empire which has been acknowledged time and again by Allied statesmen as being great in comparison to the population of the senior British Dominion. And it must be acknowledged Mr. King was at his best when he spoke, for his speech certainly showed that it had been carefully prepared and with a great deal of consideration. But Mr. King's address in so

D
47924

> ...demonstration of unprecedented publicity for the Dominion, and an unparalleled manifestation of homeland regard and gratitude for the part taken by Canada and Canadians in the conduct of the war.

VANCOUVER NEWS HERALD, May 13: Prime Minister Mackenzie King has scored a triumph in England with his address before both Houses of Parliament on Empire Policy. Nearly every section of the British press has lauded his declaration. The chief attraction his proposal has for the eminently common-sense British people is that it is common-sense policy. British tradition and history have always been against centralization of the Empire. Mr. King's policy fits in with this trend. Moreover it is a constructive policy. It sets forth ways and means of increasing Empire unity and Empire collaboration without violating the basic spirit of Empire affiliation and Dominion independence.

FORT WILLIAM TIMES JOURNAL, May 12: The remarks of the Canadian prime minister were applauded by the august assemblage and no doubt they will be received favorably by many people in this Dominion. We all are anxious for world peace, amity and co-operation. At the same time there are fundamental things in the way of British principles which we never can ignore or compromise. We are anxious to co-operate and promote harmony and collaboration but we have our own verities which must be maintained. And Mr. King, no doubt, would say amen to that.

The TORONTO SATURDAY NIGHT suggests that the speech was prepared with the definite purpose of disarming potential critics of the British Commonwealth in the United States:

> It was a speech designed to produce certain results, not in Canada and not in the British Empire, but in the international world. Mr. King's main concern throughout his prime ministership, but especially in the later and more difficult years, has been predominantly international... he is profoundly convinced that only in a well-organized international world can Canada hope to find security and complete self-fulfilment. American opinion, as it will express itself in the elections which are now only a few months away, is the most important undetermined factor in the world situation today. Mr. King never loses sight of that factor. It would easily be possible just now to make the British Commonwealth of Nations look to a great part of the American people like a strong power bloc

His address was plain, but serviceable.... Those disposed to view with critical eyes could find some occasion, no doubt, to pick holes in what Mr. King said, or left unsaid. We are not engaged so. Bearing in mind the significance of the occasion and the gravity of the hour, Mr. King did well. He came as close to being non-partisan as we have ever known him to be at any time or in any place.

CORNWALL STANDARD FREEHOLDER, May 12: Even the most rabid of Mr. King's political enemies probably will be forced to admit that Canada's Prime Minister did much to enhance his reputation as a first class statesman who is fully conversant with Empire and world affairs as a result of Mr. King's masterful and forceful address yesterday to a joint session of the British Houses of Parliament in London. An outstanding address of this nature does an incalculable amount of good for Canada and Canadians.

LETHBRIDGE HERALD, May 12: Prime Minister King's speech before the joint Houses of Parliament in Great Britain on Thursday did not avoid the issue which is paramount at the Prime Minister's conference. He faced it squarely, and he left no doubt about where the Canadian government stood upon it .... Prime Minister King has re-defined the basis of Commonwealth unity, and he has done it in such a way as to invite the co-operation of free peoples everywhere for the development of a post-war world based on peace and goodwill. He has served Canada well in the opportunity that was his on Thursday.

MONCTON TRANSCRIPT, May 13: Mr. King, in presenting his views has afforded an opportunity for comparison between two schools of thought, that which he advocates in pressing for wider co-operation by independent members of a Commonwealth with each other and with the world, and the ideas which have been advanced by others of a closer knit empire placing its own interests first and tending on a larger scale toward that spirit of nationalism and isolation which was largely responsible for the war in which the world is engaged.

PORT ARTHUR NEWS CHRONICLE, May 13: His critics may choose to call it a political build-up, but Canadians regardless of political affiliations, will be bound to concede that the speech delivered by Prime Minister Mackenzie King before a joint assembly of members of the House of Commons in London on Thursday was a triumph for Canada's first minister that resulted in a

D 47926

D 47927

11.5.44. No.10.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION, BROADCAST OR USE ON CLUB TAPES UNTIL DELIVERY AT 3 P.M., TODAY, AGAINST WHICH IT SHOULD BE CHECKED. SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION ARRANGED IN CANADA WHERE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS CAN OBTAIN COPIES.

An Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to the members of both Houses of Parliament, at Westminster - May 11th, 1944.

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr.Speaker,

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kindly a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your collegues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognise that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid to Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr.Curtin, Mr.Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London

/at this

D 47928

at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedon of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilisation of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The strength of Britain

Britain has been an example to the world of the organisation of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these

/qualities

qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

D 47929

The spirit underlying Canada's war effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of its relations, with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A voluntary effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has become a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An immediate effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in

/the defence

the defence of freedom, our Government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

D 47930

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized by the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An all-out effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

/A pioneering effort

D 47931

A pioneering effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A co-operative effort

In Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds (£4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A world-wide effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan.

Canada's/

Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An enduring effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A long range effort.

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a longOrange effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A national effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

/Identity of effort

D 47933

Identity of effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowances for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immadiate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The spirit of freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and to the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as now here else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and has suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world.

So long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa, are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

/The strength

D 47934

The strength and unity of the British Commonwealth

The common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We.... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, it not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream - are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth.

Means of consultation and co-operation

From time to time, it is suggested we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success!

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers,

/or other

or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization ~~to bring the nations of the Commonwealth closer together~~, we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The hope of the future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realising his ~~vision~~ VISION of peaceful co-operation. "Let us," he said, "..seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character".

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity, Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and world co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good-will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

/It is less

D 47936

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations great and small are members one of another.

Prosperity like security, indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. ~~Depression followed, and war followed depression.~~ Now is surely the time for the whole world to realise that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a a whole.

Canada and the United States

Over many years, Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The supreme crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to

/maintain

D 47937

maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies to the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind, ~~are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.~~

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifices of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something MORE fitting as a memorial.. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunity of a more abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races, and many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world-encircling danger may prove

/to have been

D 47938

to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of Mankind are one, and that the claims of Humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common alligiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

CANADA HOUSE

D 47939

11.5.44. No.10.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION, BROADCAST OR USE ON CLUB TAPES UNTIL DELIVERY AT 3 P.M., TODAY, AGAINST WHICH IT SHOULD BE CHECKED. SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION ARRANGED IN CANADA WHERE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS CAN OBTAIN COPIES.

An Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to the members of both Houses of Parliament, at Westminster - May 11th, 1944.

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr.Speaker,

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kindly a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your collegues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognise that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid to Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr.Curtin, Mr.Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London

/at this

D 47940

at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedon of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilisation of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The strength of Britain

Britain has been an example to the world of the organisation of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these

/qualities

D 47941

qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The spirit underlying Canada's war effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of its relations, with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A voluntary effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has become a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An immediate effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in

/the defence

the defence of freedom, our Government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

D 47942

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized by the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An all-out effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

/A pioneering effort

D 47943

A pioneering effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A co-operative effort

In Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing for in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds (£4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A world-wide effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan.

Canada's/

D 47944

Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An enduring effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A long range effort.

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a longOrange effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A national effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

/Identity of effort

D 47945

Identity of effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowances for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immadiate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The spirit of freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort.

The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and to the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as now here else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and has suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa, are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

/The strength

D 47946

The strength and unity of the British Commonwealth

The common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We.... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organisation has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, it not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream - are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth.

Means of consultation and co-operation

From time to time, it is suggested we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success!

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers,

/or other

or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization [redacted], we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The hope of the future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realising his VISION of peaceful co-operation. "Let us," he said, "..seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character".

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity, Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and world co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good-will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

/It is less

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting / if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations great and small are members one of another.

Prosperity like security, indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. ~~Depression followed, and war followed depression.~~ Now is surely the time for the whole world to realise that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a a whole.

Canada and the United States

Over many years, Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The supreme crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to

/maintain

D 47949

maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies to the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind, ~~are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.~~

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifices of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something MORE fitting as a memorial.. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunity of a more abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races, and many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world-encircling danger may prove

/to have been

to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of Mankind are one, and that the claims of Humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common alligiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

CANADA HOUSE

47951

D

The Canadian Army

Christmas 1939 - landing of 1st Division

Christmas 1940 - formation of first CORPS

1941 - first ARMOURED formations sent from Canada.

1942 - formation of first CANADIAN ARMY - DIEPPE

1943 - first CORPS in Italy

1944 - ARMY poised for the assault on Europe.

Parallel growth of CANADIAN NAVY and AIR FORCE (Reference to Merchant Navy)

Pride of visitor from CANADA in unmistakably and genuine admiration felt in BRITAIN for CANADIANS in all armed forces.

Assurance of full backing from HOME.

Assurance from recent meetings of complete unity of purpose and fullest preparations and support for coming action.

CONFIDENCE in SUCCESS.

Pride of CANADA in fighting men.

WELCOME awaiting the victorious return of Canada's Forces.

47951

D

The Canadian Army

Christmas 1939 - landing of 1st Division

Christmas 1940 - formation of first CORPS

1941 - first ARMOURED formations sent from Canada.

1942 - formation of first CANADIAN ARMY - DIEPPE

1943 - first CORPS in Italy

1944 - ARMY poised for the assault on Europe.

Parallel growth of CANADIAN NAVY and AIR FORCE (Reference to Merchant Navy)

Pride of visitor from CANADA in unmistakably and genuine admiration felt in BRITAIN for CANADIANS in all armed forces.

Assurance of full backing from HOME.

Assurance from recent meetings of complete unity of purpose and fullest preparations and support for coming action.

CONFIDENCE in SUCCESS.

Pride of CANADA in fighting men.

WELCOME awaiting the victorious return of Canada's Forces.

REPEAT
REPETITION

47952 D

The Canadian Army

Christmas 1939 - landing of 1st Division

Christmas 1940 - formation of first CORPS

1941 - first ARMOURED formations sent from Canada.

1942 - formation of first CANADIAN ARMY - DIEPPE

1943 - first CORPS in Italy

1944 - ARMY poised for the assault on Europe.

Parallel growth of CANADIAN NAVY and AIR FORCE (Reference to Merchant Navy)

Pride of visitor from CANADA in unmistakably and genuine admiration felt in BRITAIN for CANADIANS in all armed forces.

Assurance of full backing from HOME.

Assurance from recent meetings of complete unity of purpose and fullest preparations and support for coming action.

CONFIDENCE in SUCCESS.

Pride of CANADA in fighting men.

WELCOME awaiting the victorious return of Canada's Forces.

47952 D

The Canadian Army

Christmas 1939 - landing of 1st Division

Christmas 1940 - formation of first CORPS

1941 - first ARMOURED formations sent from Canada.

1942 - formation of first CANADIAN ARMY - DIEPPE

1943 - first CORPS in Italy

1944 - ARMY poised for the assault on Europe.

Parallel growth of CANADIAN NAVY and AIR FORCE (Reference to Merchant Navy)

Pride of visitor from CANADA in unmistakably and genuine admiration felt in BRITAIN for CANADIANS in all armed forces.

Assurance of full backing from HOME.

Assurance from recent meetings of complete unity of purpose and fullest preparations and support for coming action.

CONFIDENCE in SUCCESS.

Pride of CANADA in fighting men.

WELCOME awaiting the victorious return of Canada's Forces.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Extra copies "Special Biographical Articles"

Date

Subject

D 47953

Commonwealth and World

Editorial from THE TIMES, London, England, Friday, May 12, 1944.

The address which the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, delivered yesterday before the two Houses of Parliament was the far-ranging estimate of a statesman thinking of the British Commonwealth and the world in world-wide terms.

> I profoundly believe (said Mr. King) that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peaceloving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. . . . So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her preeminence in the world; so long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

These passages are instinct with the enduring traditions of the British constitution. The doctrine would have been as acceptable to the PITTS or EDMUND BURKE as to Mr. KING'S own predecessors, the Prime Ministers of Canada from SIR JOHN MACDONALD to SIR ROBERT BORDEN, and to the Prime Ministers of each of the British nations now meeting in family council in London.

The unity of the Commonwealth and its methods of co-operation, proven, strengthened and given new significance by the common effort of the war, represent, in Mr. KING'S view, though the words he chose were aptly quoted from an address of Mr. CHURCHILL in 1907, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become." In Mr. KING'S address, as in that of Mr. CHURCHILL, the Commonwealth and Empire are defined not in terms of a limited association but of the evolution of free nations looking forward "to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice." Not merely is the security of nations indivisible but also their prosperity; and the nations of the Commonwealth as part of "a larger company" embracing the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and all other nations united today in the defence of freedom "must help to fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare become a part of the inheritance of mankind." In these sentences there is no suggestion of a restricted bloc of British nations seeking to sustain its power in competition with other groups, but a vision of the Commonwealth as the inspiration and precursor of an inclusive and expanding system of free States, sharing the common purposes of security and welfare and servng their own high national interests, conscious and regardful of the interests of other nations. Mr. KING'S address, like those of his associates, is at once a definition of the nature of the British Commonwealth and a programme and policy for the Commonwealth and the world, consistent both with the long history of the widening freedom of each British nation and with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow Declaration.

Canada's history and Canada's voluntary and unstinted share in this war both symbolize the nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them

1 of/de

nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them would in itself be a world failure. Indeed, in this as in so many other respects, the Commonwealth itself is a test of the possibility and hope of an effective, permanent system of international co-operation. With all its advantages of common political principles and unique political capacity and experience, if the Commonwealth fails or allows its own vision to grow dim, there is no other group of nations far flung across the oceans and continents of the world ready to assume its duties and its tasks. For the world as for the Commonwealth, Commonwealth policies should be those which "make an appeal 'to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries,' provided only that they are men of good will," and in the pursuit of such policies, "the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations."

Success, as Mr. KING recognized, will depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But it remains the duty of the Commonwealth wherever possible "to give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a whole," in security and in welfare—since it is more and more apparent that a broad community of thought and action in social purposes must be one great element in that leadership. To this end, "it is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should be the greatest possible cooperation among its members," secured through close consultation and effective coordination. When decisions are taken, they will not, it is true, be those of some visible Imperial Cabinet or Council sitting continuously in London. But, what is most significant, the decisions will be taken through a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth, using all the resources of modern communications—"a conference of Cabinets," in Mr. KING'S words, "which deals from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern," and reaches its decisions "after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinets of each country, with full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments." The difficulty inherent in centralization of whatever kind has been more clearly brought out in recent weeks. It implies necessarily that some body other than the several Cabinets or Parliaments should, in whatever degree, decide the policies of those Cabinets or Parliaments. It is the firm conviction of Mr. KING, and, it may be assumed, of other Prime Ministers, that the other Parliaments no less than the Canadian Parliament would accept no such derogation of responsibility to their electorates. This being so, the unity of the Commonwealth is better nourished and sustained by consistent and improved methods of consultation, by the sense of responsibility of each Government for the interests of all others, and by the deep, firm sense of community founded not in remote authority but in that form of free government where, in BURKE'S words, "the people is the true legislator."

Mr. KING'S address is a fine and helpful contribution to the philosophy of the Commonwealth and Empire and to the thought of all free peoples. Among these free peoples none has more right than Canada to define the purposes of the United Nations or the principles of the unity of the Commonwealth. Canada has not sought and does not wish to influence the policies of her great neighbour and friend or her partners in the American hemisphere, but twice at a solemn moment in world history, the political imagination and experience of the Canadian people, instantly and freely responding to a challenge, physically distant but morally immediate, has anticipated those policies and has anticipated them by a declaration of war that enhanced rather than weakened the unity of the Canadian people.

Reprinted by the NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION of Canada, 107 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

2 of/de 2

OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT

File B 47954

The Montreal Star

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1944

A NATION'S HEALTH IS A NATION'S WEALTH

PREMIER MACKENZIE KING

RESPONSIBLE Canadian citizens irrespective of party politics will join in welcoming Premier Mackenzie King on his return from the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference. As representative of the leading Dominion Mr. Mackenzie King occupied a position of special responsibility, and it is the general consensus of opinion that he discharged his duties with distinction and with an authority that has commanded world-wide respect. These are strenuous days, and the strain imposed upon a man of seventy years in flying across the Atlantic and back, and in attending the daily meetings of so momentous an assembly as the London conference is by no means light, but is regarded as all in the day's work.

Mr. King's speech at a joint session of the House of Commons and the House of Lords was undoubtedly awaited with the keenest interest, and the comments it has evoked indicate the profound impression it made not only upon his associates in the conference but on the press of Great Britain and the Empire.

There is no doubt that Canada is destined to play a more important part in world affairs in the future than she has ever done. The Premier convinced the rest of the Empire that she is alive to her responsibilities and prepared to meet them to the best of her ability while maintaining the association of free nations of the British Commonwealth and Empire which has stood together so firmly since the present war began.

That Mr. Mackenzie King may long be spared to see a successful termination of the present world struggle and the beneficent influence of Canada in the settlement of post-war problems is a wish in which the entire Canadian people can unhesitatingly join.

D 47955

Commonwealth and World

Editorial from THE TIMES, London, England, Friday, May 12, 1944.

The address which the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, delivered yesterday before the two Houses of Parliament was the far-ranging estimate of a statesman thinking of the British Commonwealth and the world in world-wide terms.

> I profoundly believe (said Mr. King) that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peaceloving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. . . . So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her preeminence in the world; so long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

These passages are instinct with the enduring traditions of the British constitution. The doctrine would have been as acceptable to the PITTS or EDMUND BURKE as to Mr. KING'S own predecessors, the Prime Ministers of Canada from SIR JOHN MACDONALD to SIR ROBERT BORDEN, and to the Prime Ministers of each of the British nations now meeting in family council in London.

The unity of the Commonwealth and its methods of co-operation, proven, strengthened and given new significance by the common effort of the war, represent, in Mr. KING'S view, though the words he chose were aptly quoted from an address of Mr. CHURCHILL in 1907, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become." In Mr. KING'S address, as in that of Mr. CHURCHILL, the Commonwealth and Empire are defined not in terms of a limited association but of the evolution of free nations looking forward "to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice." Not merely is the security of nations indivisible but also their prosperity; and the nations of the Commonwealth as part of "a larger company" embracing the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and all other nations united today in the defence of freedom "must help to fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare become a part of the inheritance of mankind." In these sentences there is no suggestion of a restricted bloc of British nations seeking to sustain its power in competition with other groups, but a vision of the Commonwealth as the inspiration and precursor of an inclusive and expanding system of free States, sharing the common purposes of security and welfare and servng their own high national interests, conscious and regardful of the interests of other nations. Mr. KING'S address, like those of his associates, is at once a definition of the nature of the British Commonwealth and a programme and policy for the Commonwealth and the world, consistent both with the long history of the widening freedom of each British nation and with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow Declaration.

Canada's history and Canada's voluntary and unstinted share in this war both symbolize the nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them would in itself be a world failure. Indeed, in this as in so many other respects, the Commonwealth itself is a test of the possibility and hope of an effective, permanent system of international co-operation. With all its advantages of common political principles and unique political capacity

1 of/de

Charter and the Moscow Declaration.

Canada's history and Canada's voluntary and unstinted share in this war both symbolize the nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them would in itself be a world failure. Indeed, in this as in so many other respects, the Commonwealth itself is a test of the possibility and hope of an effective, permanent system of international co-operation. With all its advantages of common political principles and unique political capacity and experience, if the Commonwealth fails or allows its own vision to grow dim, there is no other group of nations far flung across the oceans and continents of the world ready to assume its duties and its tasks. For the world as for the Commonwealth, Commonwealth policies should be those which "make an appeal 'to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries,' provided only that they are men of good will," and in the pursuit of such policies, "the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations."

Success, as Mr. KING recognized, will depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But it remains the duty of the Commonwealth wherever possible "to give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a whole," in security and in welfare—since it is more and more apparent that a broad community of thought and action in social purposes must be one great element in that leadership. To this end, "it is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should be the greatest possible cooperation among its members," secured through close consultation and effective coordination. When decisions are taken, they will not, it is true, be those of some visible Imperial Cabinet or Council sitting continuously in London. But, what is most significant, the decisions will be taken through a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth, using all the resources of modern communications—"a conference of Cabinets," in Mr. KING'S words, "which deals from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern," and reaches its decisions "after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinets of each country, with full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments." The difficulty inherent in centralization of whatever kind has been more clearly brought out in recent weeks. It implies necessarily that some body other than the several Cabinets or Parliaments should, in whatever degree, decide the policies of those Cabinets or Parliaments. It is the firm conviction of Mr. KING, and, it may be assumed, of other Prime Ministers, that the other Parliaments no less than the Canadian Parliament would accept no such derogation of responsibility to their electorates. This being so, the unity of the Commonwealth is better nourished and sustained by consistent and improved methods of consultation, by the sense of responsibility of each Government for the interests of all others, and by the deep, firm sense of community founded not in remote authority but in that form of free government where, in BURKE'S words, "the people is the true legislator."

Mr. KING'S address is a fine and helpful contribution to the philosophy of the Commonwealth and Empire and to the thought of all free peoples. Among these free peoples none has more right than Canada to define the purposes of the United Nations or the principles of the unity of the Commonwealth. Canada has not sought and does not wish to influence the policies of her great neighbour and friend or her partners in the American hemisphere, but twice at a solemn moment in world history, the political imagination and experience of the Canadian people, instantly and freely responding to a challenge, physically distant but morally immediate, has anticipated those policies and has anticipated them by a declaration of war that enhanced rather than weakened the unity of the Canadian people.

Reprinted by the NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION of Canada, 107 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

2 of/de 2

D 47956

Commonwealth and World

Editorial from THE TIMES, London, England, Friday, May 12, 1944.

The address which the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, delivered yesterday before the two Houses of Parliament was the far-ranging estimate of a statesman thinking of the British Commonwealth and the world in world-wide terms.

> I profoundly believe (said Mr. King) that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peaceloving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. . . . So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her preeminence in the world; so long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

These passages are instinct with the enduring traditions of the British constitution. The doctrine would have been as acceptable to the PITTS or EDMUND BURKE as to Mr. KING'S own predecessors, the Prime Ministers of Canada from SIR JOHN MACDONALD to SIR ROBERT BORDEN, and to the Prime Ministers of each of the British nations now meeting in family council in London.

The unity of the Commonwealth and its methods of co-operation, proven, strengthened and given new significance by the common effort of the war, represent, in Mr. KING'S view, though the words he chose were aptly quoted from an address of Mr. CHURCHILL in 1907, "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become." In Mr. KING'S address, as in that of Mr. CHURCHILL, the Commonwealth and Empire are defined not in terms of a limited association but of the evolution of free nations looking forward "to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice." Not merely is the security of nations indivisible but also their prosperity; and the nations of the Commonwealth as part of "a larger company" embracing the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and all other nations united today in the defence of freedom "must help to fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare become a part of the inheritance of mankind." In these sentences there is no suggestion of a restricted bloc of British nations seeking to sustain its power in competition with other groups, but a vision of the Commonwealth as the inspiration and precursor of an inclusive and expanding system of free States, sharing the common purposes of security and welfare and servng their own high national interests, conscious and regardful of the interests of other nations. Mr. KING'S address, like those of his associates, is at once a definition of the nature of the British Commonwealth and a programme and policy for the Commonwealth and the world, consistent both with the long history of the widening freedom of each British nation and with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow Declaration.

Canada's history and Canada's voluntary and unstinted share in this war both symbolize the nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them would in itself be a world failure. Indeed, in this as in so many other respects, the Commonwealth itself is a test of the possibility and hope of an effective, permanent system of international co-operation. With all its advantages of common political principles and unique political capacity and experience, if the Commonwealth fails or allows its own vision to grow dim, there is no other group of nations far flung across the oceans

1 of/de

nature of the Commonwealth and exemplify the world character of its role. "All our political experience told us," said Mr. KING, "that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free." His statement is equally true for every part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For no world event, least of all if its purport is aggression and domination, can fail instantly to influence some part of the British system; of all groups of nations and peoples, there are none so sensitive to world forces, and for the British Commonwealth to fail to respond to them would in itself be a world failure. Indeed, in this as in so many other respects, the Commonwealth itself is a test of the possibility and hope of an effective, permanent system of international co-operation. With all its advantages of common political principles and unique political capacity and experience, if the Commonwealth fails or allows its own vision to grow dim, there is no other group of nations far flung across the oceans and continents of the world ready to assume its duties and its tasks. For the world as for the Commonwealth, Commonwealth policies should be those which "make an appeal 'to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries,' provided only that they are men of good will," and in the pursuit of such policies, "the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations."

Success, as Mr. KING recognized, will depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But it remains the duty of the Commonwealth wherever possible "to give the lead that is in the interest of the world as a whole," in security and in welfare—since it is more and more apparent that a broad community of thought and action in social purposes must be one great element in that leadership. To this end, "it is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should be the greatest possible cooperation among its members," secured through close consultation and effective coordination. When decisions are taken, they will not, it is true, be those of some visible Imperial Cabinet or Council sitting continuously in London. But, what is most significant, the decisions will be taken through a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth, using all the resources of modern communications—"a conference of Cabinets," in Mr. KING'S words, "which deals from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern," and reaches its decisions "after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinets of each country, with full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments." The difficulty inherent in centralization of whatever kind has been more clearly brought out in recent weeks. It implies necessarily that some body other than the several Cabinets or Parliaments should, in whatever degree, decide the policies of those Cabinets or Parliaments. It is the firm conviction of Mr. KING, and, it may be assumed, of other Prime Ministers, that the other Parliaments no less than the Canadian Parliament would accept no such derogation of responsibility to their electorates. This being so, the unity of the Commonwealth is better nourished and sustained by consistent and improved methods of consultation, by the sense of responsibility of each Government for the interests of all others, and by the deep, firm sense of community founded not in remote authority but in that form of free government where, in BURKE'S words, "the people is the true legislator."

Mr. KING'S address is a fine and helpful contribution to the philosophy of the Commonwealth and Empire and to the thought of all free peoples. Among these free peoples none has more right than Canada to define the purposes of the United Nations or the principles of the unity of the Commonwealth. Canada has not sought and does not wish to influence the policies of her great neighbour and friend or her partners in the American hemisphere, but twice at a solemn moment in world history, the political imagination and experience of the Canadian people, instantly and freely responding to a challenge, physically distant but morally immediate, has anticipated those policies and has anticipated them by a declaration of war that enhanced rather than weakened the unity of the Canadian people.

Reprinted by the NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION of Canada, 107 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

2 of/de 2

Reprint from
The *New York Times*
of May 14, 1944.

ABROAD

D 47957

The Voice of Canada in the Empire Conference

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

THE speech of Mr. Mackenzie King before the British Parliament on Wednesday is likely to be drowned out by the thunderous prelude to invasion reverberating in Italy and on the Channel coast. This is a pity, because the statement of the Canadian Prime Minister has an important bearing on a vitally important development. Made in England, before a meeting of the House of Lords and the House of Commons presided over by Mr. Churchill, it lights up in striking fashion the evolution the war is speeding up in the relations of the states of the British Commonwealth with one another and the mother country, on the one hand, and in the relation between the Empire system and the United States on the other.

Made at this time, on the eve of the supreme venture of the war, Mr. King's address is also a sign of the certainty of victory that characterizes all Allied thinking. The Dominion Premiers are meeting in London at this crucial moment for the same reason that all the Governments on our side are so anxious about the post-war period. They dread the cost of winning, but they have no dread of not winning. They are anxious about the future because they have no doubt that they will have to organize the future.

The premiers met to consider the future. The main purpose of the conference was to discuss whether the ties between the Dominions should be tightened and strengthened to meet the shifts the war is making in the world balance. The British are frankly concerned about the post-war power of Britain relative to that of Russia and the United States. Premier Jan Smuts of South Africa voiced this concern in the sensational address in which he advocated among other things that the nations of northern Europe should be federated with the United Kingdom to strengthen the British position on the Continent. Others argue that Britain is not and should never become a continental power but should rather strengthen her position by supplementing sea power with air power.

This view implies the perpetuation of the Empire, or at least the continuance of close bonds with the Dominions. If the suggestion of Premier John Curtin of Australia were carried out, these bonds would be even closer. He sponsored the idea of a permanent secretariat for the Commonwealth, a kind of imperial council, with headquarters in London to co-ordinate the policies of the member states.

Canada is against this plan. According to a report from London by Percy Philip, Mr. King told the Parliament in well-weighed words "what he came to the Prime Ministers' conference to say about the future organization of the British Commonwealth." What he uttered so carefully was a grave counsel to let well enough alone. "Let us by all means improve where we can," he said, "but in considering new methods of organization we cannot be too careful to see that to our own peoples the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision, or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc."

The emphasis in Mr. King's address was on two points. While reiterating in the strongest terms his faith in the Commonwealth as the world model for an association of free nations, he declared that the unity and security of the nations of the Commonwealth will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive but by policies and principles which can be extended to all other nations. Pointing out that the war had proved to great and small nations alike that no national security or prosperity is to be found in isolation, he argued in effect for a universal system as the only safe alternative to any separate system, no matter how large or how strong in itself. This must be the conclusion of all statesmen who contemplate the danger of a world divided into competitive power blocs—Russian, American, British—instead of organized from the beginning, however loosely or gradually, into some sort of committee of the whole.

Mr. King's second point of emphasis was on Canada's ties with the United States. He spoke as the neighbour of this country—"surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one"—and almost as the voice of America. He left no doubt in the minds of his hearers that Canada must never be confronted with a choice between the United States and Britain.

If this line of policy is clearer to-day than in the past, it is partly because Canadian industrial production is closely co-ordinated with ours as a result of our unique war partnership. Canada has paid cash for purchases needed for herself, but she has benefited by the flow of lend-lease material exported to and through Canada for Britain and other United Nations, and even more from the American policy, embodied in the Hyde Park Declaration of April, 1941, of placing orders in Canada for all kinds of war materials and supplies. Thus Canada has been able to build up an aircraft industry with American help, has manufactured products we have ordered for lend-lease, and in innumerable ways has geared her war industry so closely to ours that it will be difficult to separate them.

The economic links forged by the war will be hard to break. But if Canada speaks in London with the voice of America, it is also because the two countries do live as neighbours in a different world, a new world. They are neighbours without fear of one another, and they share a certain responsibility as well as a vital interest in enlarging the pattern of security and confidence they have worked out together.

D 47958

Montgomery County Times

AND

Mid-Wales Advertiser

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1944.

Mr. Mackenzie King on. Unity

Mr. Mackenzie King, on the historic occasion on Thursday when he addressed both Houses of Parliament, was able to emphasise the fact that the contribution of Canada to the war effort is in every respect a voluntary one. It was as a voluntary act that Canada came into the war at the very moment that the United Kingdom made its announcement that it was at war with Germany, and ever since Canada has never required to move from the voluntary status. As its distinguished Premier said in addressing our Lords and Commons, Canada's population numbers 11,500,000, and three-quarters of a million of its finest young men are serving in the armed forces.. They are all volunteers. But this record has not prevented the country from doubling its pre-war production. "Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women," said Mr. Mackenzie King, "Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome and a shipyard of freedom. We have become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the sea, on the sea. and in the air is a volunteer." In regard to the air training scheme in Canada which has been of such great importance to our United Kingdom air effort, he said that the 100,000th fighting airman has just compleed his training. That in itself has been a remarkable contribution to the Empire's effort.

But Mr. Mackenzie King, while dwelling on what the Empire is doing to achieve victory, was anxious to make it clear that Canada regards its efforts in no spirit of Imperial exclusiveness. He pointed out the co-operation that exists between his country and the United States, which has been for the benefit of both. It offers a supreme example of a small state living in the utmost harmony side by side with a great and powerful one. It is natural that the Prime Minister of Canada is against any idea that the British Empire should ever become a separate and self-centred bloc of nations, though he is in favour of improving wherever possible the means of co-operation between the various parts of the British Commonwealth.

It is not only for the winning of the war that Mr. Mackenzie King sees the value of co-operation in the Empire and between all the United Nations, but for the benefit of the whole world in the peace that is to follow the military operations. The concentration of all effort on giving the best possible support to the fighting men is the object that the conference of Empire Prime Ministers has had in view and that it has still under consideration. We have first to win the war, but the Canadian Premier looked to the continuance of the same unity in the post-war years, so that the British Commonwealth may help to fashion "a new

1 of/de

Mid-Wales Advertiser

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1944.

Mr. Mackenzie King on. Unity

Mr. Mackenzie King, on the historic occasion on Thursday when he addressed both Houses of Parliament, was able to emphasise the fact that the contribution of Canada to the war effort is in every respect a voluntary one. It was as a voluntary act that Canada came into the war at the very moment that the United Kingdom made its announcement that it was at war with Germany, and ever since Canada has never required to move from the voluntary status. As its distinguished Premier said in addressing our Lords and Commons, Canada's population numbers 11,500,000, and three-quarters of a million of its finest young men are serving in the armed forces.. They are all volunteers. But this record has not prevented the country from doubling its pre-war production. "Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women," said Mr. Mackenzie King, "Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome and a shipyard of freedom. We have become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the sea, on the sea, and in the air is a volunteer." In regard to the air training scheme in Canada which has been of such great importance to our United Kingdom air effort, he said that the 100,000th fighting airman has just compleed his training. That in itself has been a remarkable contribution to the Empire's effort.

But Mr. Mackenzie King, while dwelling on what the Empire is doing to achieve victory, was anxious to make it clear that Canada regards its efforts in no spirit of Imperial exclusiveness. He pointed out the co-operation that exists between his country and the United States, which has been for the benefit of both. It offers a supreme example of a small state living in the utmost harmony side by side with a great and powerful one. It is natural that the Prime Minister of Canada is against any idea that the British Empire should ever become a separate and self-centred bloc of nations, though he is in favour of improving wherever possible the means of co-operation between the various parts of the British Commonwealth.

It is not only for the winning of the war that Mr. Mackenzie King sees the value of co-operation in the Empire and between all the United Nations, but for the benefit of the whole world in the peace that is to follow the military operations. The concentration of all effort on giving the best possible support to the fighting men is the object that the conference of Empire Prime Ministers has had in view and that it has still under consideration. We have first to win the war, but the Canadian Premier looked to the continuance of the same unity in the post-war years, so that the British Commonwealth may help to fashion "a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind." Mr. Mackenzie King's mind passed from the unity of the Empire to unity of all men, and it is a movement that the minds of all men, after the experiences of this war, tend more and more to make.

2 of/de 2

D 47959

Personal

Ottawa,
June 15, 1944

The Honourable Rupert Davies,
President,
The Whig-Standard,
Kingston, Ontario.

My dear Senator:

I thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of the Montgomery County Times with its appreciative editorial on my speech before the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. I hope I may be allowed to retain the editorial.

I am much interested in what you tell me of Montgomeryshire and its representation in the British House. I happen to know very well both Lord and Lady Gladstone. I mean the Lady Gladstone who was the daughter of Lord Rendel. She, as a matter of fact, presented me with a pair of gold cuff links which belonged to the Right Honourable Ewart Gladstone and which carry his crest. I wear them on special occasions.

I shall hope to have a talk with you one of these days. Unfortunately, since my return from Britain, I have scarcely had a moment to myself.

With all good wishes.

MK/EH/Z

D 47960

COPY

THE WHIG-STANDARD
Kingston, Ontario

From the office
of the President

June 13, 1944

Personal.

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. King:

I attach a copy of the Montgomery County Times in which there is an editorial regarding your visit to the Imperial Conference.

This little weekly newspaper is published in my native town of Welshpool and while its comments may not seem important, it nevertheless has a wide circulation in North Wales of some 15,000 and so indicates the interest which was taken throughout the United Kingdom in your address at the Conference. I might add as one Liberal to another that praise from this Tory sheet is praise indeed!

Montgomeryshire is a county in Mid-Wales represented from 1905 to 1930 by David Davies (now Lord Davies), and at present represented by Clement Davies, no relation to His Lordship. Clem has been a thorn in the side of the Churchill Government during the past three years and recently had the support of the Montgomeryshire Conservative Association withdrawn from him. In the last election he was given an acclamation as a National Liberal candidate. I have wondered whether his mind was affected. Since the war started he has lost three of his four children, two by their own hand and one killed in military manoeuvres.

Montgomershire was solidly Tory for 100 years and in the hands of one family, the Wynns. It went Liberal in 1880 when Stuart Rendel, afterwards Lord Rendel, whose daughter married Lord Gladstone, won it for the Liberals. Since that time it has never failed to return a Liberal member. I am proud of the part that my grandfather, father and my uncles played in that and other elections when Wales was endeavouring to throw off the yoke of the Tory landlords and quarry owners and rid itself of an established church, iniquitous land laws and church schools only.

This newspaper, the County Times, was started in 1893 and

47961
D

has fought the Tory cause valiantly and at times bitterly, without success in the county.

I thought you might be interested in a little bit of the political background of the county in which this newspaper is published.

Warmest regards,

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) W. Rupert Davies

D 47962

CANADIAN LEGATION

BUENOS AIRES

May 23, 1944

No. 87

Sir; I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith one copy of the paper mentioned below.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your obedient servant,

K.P.KIRKWOOD

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
O t t a w a, Canada.

La Prensa, May 15th,1944	The Commonwealth benefits under the influence of War.

(Translation)

D 47963

from "La Prensa", Buenos Aires, May 15th, 1944.

The Commonwealth Develops under the Influence of War.

New York, 14. - The British Imperial Conference of London has shown the unity of the immense Empire, as well as its elastic structure. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, who was the main voice heard at the Conference, when he explained his country's situation in the world, took the part of the champion of the autonomy and sovereignty of the British Dominions and says that Canada is contrary to any project of imperial unification or centralization. Thus, the project of the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Curtin (which consisted in constituting a permanent imperial secretariat with its seat in London, a kind of Empire Council, for the coordination of its member's policy) is being discarded.

The loyalty to the British Commonwealth does not prevent Canada from opposing openly any initiative of international reorganization which might seem exclusive or might imply a decrease of freedom to collaborate with all the countries of the world, either great or small, having the same sentiments or ideas as the Canadian people.

Mr. King recalls that Canada entered the war spontaneously because of her love of freedom and justice. The Canadian effort is total and universal: her industries are mobilized for arms production, and her people are undergoing all the sacrifices necessary for the common cause. Canada has become the granary, the arsenal, the aerodrome and the naval factory of liberty.

The concerted action of the British Dominions which gives such satisfactory results during the war, must be maintained during peace, not only by uniting the members of the Commonwealth but also the other countries which desire to maintain order and tranquility in the world; which does not prevent each state from safeguarding its national prerogatives and its individuality. The Canadian Prime Minister's thought can be summed up in the following words; "War has convinced all nations that there is no national security in the isolation of any nation or any group of nations."

Canada's position shows the evolution which war is causing among the Commonwealth of Nations, not only as far as relations between these countries and the mother country are concerned, but also between the British Empire and the United States. In the deliberations of the London Conference we have been able to see the identity of preoccupations as regards the future. The British Dominions wish to prepare themselves for the contingencies of peace, amongst which is Russia, according to the sensational speech made by Marshal Smuts, the South African Prime Minister, in which he was recommending that the European nations should gather around England, to reinforce the British position on the Continent.

Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia, on the other hand, more interested in the survival of the Commonwealth than in the influence of the United Kingdom on the Continent, wishes to tighten the bonds that unite 500 millions of human beings, dispersed over the world.

If the Canadian thesis prevails in London, it is because the war, with its strategic needs, and its problem of communications (formerly so dramatic), has given much significance to geography; thus Canada now feels more of an American nation and more tied to America's destiny. In one paragraph of his speech, Mr. Mackenzie King appears to be a citizen to this hemisphere, a good neighbour of the

United States (a neighbourhood which the orator offers as an example of how a small country can live in the greatest security and harmony together with a great and powerful country). The Canadian Premier's speech is insistent in that the new world organization must not cause the Dominion's freedom of decision to diminish, and must not either give the foreigners the impression that the British Commonwealth wants to become separate. As long as Great Britain shares the other Dominion's spirit of liberty (says Mr. Mackenzie King) the solidity of the Commonwealth's union is not in the least endangered.

A speech like this (and made in London at this critical time) will have a good influence in the world. It shows that war will not leave its heritage of new interests and that the traditional rights will have to be adapted, intelligently to new circumstances.

If a certain nasal accent is noticeable in Mr. Mackenzie King's English, it is certainly not due to indifference towards the family circle, but because war has caused the people of this end of the other world to join together instinctively, as sheep do in a storm. The new economic ties which the conflict is creating are not unseverable, but it will be difficult to forget the reciprocal services which the nations have lent to one another during these years of supreme test.

"We are loyal members of the British Commonwealth" said the Prime Minister, "but we are also members of the American family and neighbours of the United States; this neighbourhood has forged vital interests and common responsibilities for the maintenance of future peace."

It might be the duty of Argentina and Brazil to accomplish, in the Southern Hemisphere a parallel and complementary mission.

Office of
Canadian High Commissioner

Dublin D 47965

Airmail. 16th May, 1944.

No.64

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No.62, of 12th May, 1944, concerning an editorial in the "Irish Times" commenting on the address delivered to members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom by the Prime Minister of Canada on 11th May, 1944, and to enclose one copy of an editorial published in the Belfast News-Letter of 12th May entitled "A Model for the World" dealing with the same speech.

2. The editorial touched on Mr. Mackenzie King's remarks concerning the great contribution to victory made by Canada, and adds: "That is as good a measure as material standards afford of the authority with which Canada is entitled to speak at future Councils of the world, and from Mr. Mackenzie King's statement it is clear that its influence will be exerted more and more as a unifying force within and without the Empire."

3. The editor sees Canada well placed geographically for playing an important part in the work of world unification and agrees with the Canadian Prime Minister that such unification must be based on principles which can be applied universally - "policies which can be extended to all nations."

In conclusion, the point is stressed that the defence, preservation and extension of freedom" is not a matter for the Great Powers alone."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa, Ontario,
CANADA.

EJG/HG

D 47966

Belfast News-Letter

FRIDAY, May 12, 1944.

Telephone Nos.: Belfast 26231 (3 lines)
London Central 3463
Telegrams: Newsletter, Belfast
Newsletter, Fleet, London

Sun Rises—6-24; Sets—10-15. Moon Rises —2-0 a.m.; Sets—9-13 a.m. Age—19 days. High Water: Morning—8-2; Evening—3-39. Lighting-up Time—11-17.

A Model for the World

In addressing members of both Houses of Parliament at Westminster yesterday the Prime Minister of Canada spoke for a country which now stands fourth among the United Nations in respect of war production. As he said, it is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom, with about half of its total production directly devoted to waging the war. Moreover, the Dominion has supplied to Britain and British armed Forces since the outbreak of hostilities armaments and commodities to a value of almost £900,000,000. That is as good a measure as material standards afford of the authority with which Canada is entitled to speak at future Councils of the world, and from Mr. Mackenzie King's statement it is clear that its influence will be exerted more and more as a unifying force within and without the Empire. "It is for us," he declares, "to make our association of free British nations a model of what we hope the whole world will one day become." Canada is well placed for playing an important part in the work of unification, what with its ocean links with the United Kingdom, as well as with other Dominions, its land links with the United States of America, and its plans for developing air links across the Arctic Circle with the Soviet Union. When peace returns, moreover, Canada can be of considerable help in promoting the reconstruction of China and restoration of its trade. With the four allied Great Powers continuing their association after the war, there are good grounds for hoping that smaller nations, having come to realise (some of them through much suffering) their mutual dependence, will draw closer to one another rather than drift further apart. As the Canadian Premier says, the most fitting of all war memorials would be a new World Order with social security and human welfare ("a more abundant life for all") as part of mankind's heritage, and in the fashioning of such an Order the British Commonwealth can play a leading part. Not by exclusive policies, however, is this to be achieved, or, for that matter, the unity of the Commonwealth itself maintained and strengthened. The essential thing, as Mr. Mackenzie King sees it, is to base that unity on principles which can be applied universally—policies which can be extended to all nations. For if it be true that future security depends in the first instance (ultimately it involves something far deeper) upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation, not less true is it that the necessity of defending, preserving, and extending freedom is not a matter for the Great Powers alone.

47967
D A7967

Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Address Before British Parliament

LONDON, May 11 — (C.P.) — Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech before both Houses of Parliament:

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, my Lords and members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honor. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lord and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Lauds Leadership

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada today, I should like to express my gratitude and pride. I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in the war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown. The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds.

Greatest Pride

We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other nations of the Commonwealth, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

Highlights

BRITAIN—The maintenance of freedom depended on the preservation of that country.

* * *

BRITISH PEOPLE—They made a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed.

* * *

CANADA'S EFFORT—A total effort, a co-operative effort and a voluntary effort.

* * *

AID TO BRITAIN — Since the start of the war Canada has supplied $4,000,000,000 worth of materials to Britain's armed forces.

* * *

PACIFIC EFFORT — Canadian forces will take part in the final assault on Japan.

* * *

COMMONWEALTH—So long as Britain continues to share the spirit of freedom with other nations of the Empire she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

* * *

OUTSIDE CO-OPERATION—In considering methods of bringing the Commonwealth closer together there must be no limit on their freedom in dealing with peoples outside the Commonwealth.

* * *

WORLD CO-OPERATION — If the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained after the war these ends must be achieved by policies which can be shared with other nations.

* * *

CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS — The prime object of Canadian policy will be to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples.

* * *

PREMIER CHURCHILL — His continued war leadership is a source of confidence throughout the free world.

* * *

INVASION — The Canadian Army is standing by for the order to join the battle for the liberation of Europe.

your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities in mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

Canadian Spirit

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown.

I should like to speak, as well of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized in the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war. We expanded our navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our air force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The 100,000th fighting airman has just completed his training. The cooperative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations. We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces.

Enlarged Output

Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through Victory Loans and War Savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war.

In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. We have sought to make Canada's war effort, wherever possible, a co-operate effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a powerful one.

Canadian Supplies

As a part of our policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly £900,000,000 ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war; a monstrous conspiracy of the Fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

New World Order

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavors, we all need the vision of a new world order. By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free Parliament, it was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the nations of the Commonwealth. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

Common Source

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own preeminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth.

The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth," but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future.

"We, who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Words of Churchill

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken 37 years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind. Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away, and fade into the light of common day." They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask: "Whither is fled the visionary gleam? Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream: Are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

More Important

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers, or other individual ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries, they are decisions reached after mature consideration by all

Empire Solidarity Urged By Premier King in London

Introduction by Churchill

LONDON, May 11—(B.U.P.)—Following is the text of Premier Winston Churchill's address introducing Premier Mackenzie King at a joint session of the Lords and Commons today:

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, My Lords, ladies and gentlemen:

We are met here today to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.

We have known him a long time, and the longer we have known him the more we have loved him. He comes here from Canada to attend our gathering of Empire leaders. He comes here as one who has played an unrivalled part in the forward march of Canada.

Like most others here he is a party politician. Well, there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. I say without hesitation that there was no other career he could have followed, which would have enabled him, our honored guest this afternoon, to lead Canada united into the heart of this world struggle.

He has brought Canada to the greatest development of her power. It is extraordinary, the things that Canada has done in this war.

Career Reviewed

The unending path of events, one scene, one drama succeeding and overlapping another, the intense absorption of people of every age, set tasks in the war effort, hardly enabling them to draw breath—all this makes us incapable of appreciating a tithe of what is going on, of what has been going on in Canada under this Government headed by a leader, 25 years the leader of a party and 18 years Prime Minister of the Dominion. I say we may well be excused, for we have not followed it all in the detail it deserves.

Canada, with her 11,000,000 people, has guarded the heart and citadel of the Empire during the most perilous months in all its history. There was a time when the Canadian force stood as our principal defence between the enemy gathering invasion boasts and this vast city of London.

The Canadians have become a naval people. They have gone to sea. Not only do they build ships both of peace and war but they man them and fight them, and have contributed in notable degree to the destruction of the U-boat menace.

As to the air, Canada is the home of the British Empire and Commonwealth in the central organization of the air. Weather conditions have facilitated this. But from the airfields of Canada have come a race of airmen who have not only gathered unsurpassed honor but will continue to be a society for the greater unity which underlies all written, or legal constitutions of the British Empire.

Long Known

And my friend, Mr. Mackenzie King, I have known him for over 40 years, first in politics, and then in personal friendship and I know well the steady steps he has always taken during that period, followed up to this great climax of the development and demonstration of the power of Canada.

Canada has a future which none can measure. In my lifetime it has doubled, but in very much shorter time it will re-double and perhaps redouble again. And there they are, this magnificent people, and here is their representative who comes here. And I say that he will give us today a conception not only of the general participation of Canada in the Empire, but of the particular character of the contribution which in our vast and varied organization is always to be welcomed.

Canada is the link which joins together the Old World and the New, which links this vast American people, with whom I trust we shall ourselves develop a fraternal association. Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of this benignant unfearing, glorious British Empire together into one homogeneous mass which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty. I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realising his vision of peaceful co-operation.

"Let us," he said, "seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Secret of Unity

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expressed itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expanson. Therein lies the hope of the future.

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of goodwill.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to serve and to extend freedom, we should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity Indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbors. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that. Just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity. For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Over many years Canada's relations have been especially friendly with the United States. Throughout the war we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

Larger Company

It will be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples. This association is not to be directed against any other nation. It is not to be a closed corporation. It is not to be a society for the greater unity which underlies all written, or legal constitutions of the British Empire.

Long Known

And my friend, Mr. Mackenzie King, I have known him for over 40 years, first in politics, and then in personal friendship and I know well the steady steps he has always taken during that period, followed up to this great climax of the development and demonstration of the power of Canada.

Canada has a future which none can measure. In my lifetime it has doubled, but in very much shorter time it will re-double and perhaps redouble again. And there they are, this magnificent people, and here is their representative who comes here. And I say that he will give us today a conception not only of the general participation of Canada in the Empire, but of the particular character of the contribution which in our vast and varied organization is always to be welcomed.

Canada is the link which joins together the Old World and the New, which links this vast American people, with whom I trust we shall ourselves develop a fraternal association. Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of this benignant unfearing, glorious British Empire together into one homogeneous mass which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty. I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

ment of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land and in the air.

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world. The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something more fitting as a memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

May Serve For Good

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one, and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honor the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the Governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."



1 of/de

New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in the war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown. The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds.

Greatest Pride

We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work, and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other nations of the Commonwealth, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

Britain has been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith.

A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities in mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

Canadian Spirit

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown.

I should like to speak, as well of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice. As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigor and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers 11,500,000. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an airdrome, and a shipyard of freedom.

Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces.

Enlarged Output

Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through Victory Loans and War Savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war.

In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence, and by the pooling of resources. We have sought to make Canada's war effort, wherever possible, a co-operate effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavors, we all need the vision of a new world order. By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory; our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free Parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the nations of the Commonwealth. The spirit of a nation is not

Empire Solidarity Urged By Premier King in London

(Continued from Page 1)

it was the fondest hope of Canada that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States "will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever," he added.

"But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united today in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

The supreme crisis of the war in Europe was being approached and the first obligation was to maintain single-handed concentration on the achievement of victory, said Mr. King. That was the first obligation to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose toil and endurance had made possible the United Nations' strength in war materials and supplies. It was the duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who were facing death to defend freedom.

He said it was a source of confidence throughout the free world that Premier Churchill was continuing his leadership "with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend."

"When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigor and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed.

"In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war."

The war efforts of the Commonwealth nations owed their inspiration to a common source—the love of freedom and the sense of justice which had been cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

As long as freedom remained, free men everywhere would owe a debt to the people of Britain they could never repay, he said. So long as Britain continued to maintain the spirit of freedom she need never doubt her preeminence throughout the world. The common effort, springing from a common source, had given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth.

Mr. King quoted words used by Mr. Churchill in 1907 when he said those who looked forward to "larger brotherhoods" cherished the British Empire "because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

New Breach In Tradition

LONDON, May 11—(C.P. Cable)—The tradition against broadcasting from the Houses of Parliament, broken first in 1942, was shattered again today when Prime Minister Mackenzie King's address to a joint meeting of the House of Lords and House of Commons was broadcast and recorded for world transmission.

Mr. King spoke in the Royal Gallery of the Palace of Westminster, an imposing hall 110 feet long which forms part of the Houses of Parliament and through which the Sovereign passes on his way to the House of Lords.

For Prime Minister Churchill, who introduced the Canadian Prime Minister, it was the second broadcast from the hall. When Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa spoke from there Oct. 21, 1942, Mr. Churchill introduced him and their speeches went over the air.

Mr. King's speech will be translated into more than 25 languages for transmission to people in Allied, Neutral and enemy countries.

Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Words of Churchill

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken 37 years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind. Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away, and fade into the light of common day." They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. This has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask:

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam? Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

"The glory and the dream: Are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

More Important

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers, or other individual ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries, they are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close cooperation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success; let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. We cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realising his vision of peaceful co-operation.

"Let us," he said, "seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Secret of Unity

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expressed itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expanson. Therein lies the hope of the future.

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

The war-time co-operation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of goodwill.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied. The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It has been no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve and to extend freedom, we should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity Indivisible

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbors. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that. Just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity. For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Over many years Canada's relations have been especially friendly with the United States. Throughout the war we have followed the path of co-operation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

Larger Company

It will be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each others side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united today in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory, said Mr. King. That was the first obligation to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose toil and endurance had made possible the United Nations' strength in war materials and supplies. It was the duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who were facing death to defend freedom.

He said it was a source of confidence throughout the free world that Premier Churchill was continuing his leadership "with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend."

"When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigor and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed.

"In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war."

duty. I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

May Serve For Good

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of goodwill. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one, and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honor the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the Governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

ON THE AIR TONIGHT!

Borden's "Canadian Cavalcade"

CFCF

9.30-10.00 P.M.

CHLT—SHERBROOKE

A half-hour of dramatic episodes from the lives of men and women doing vital work on the home and fighting fronts.

Borden's 87TH YEAR

The Borden Company Limited
Fluid Milk Division, Montreal
Wilbank 1188

INVASION — The Canadian Army is standing by for the order to join the battle for the liberation of Europe.

* * *

"Know Your Man!"

Listen Tonight
Station C.F.C.F.
at 10.45 P. M.

Progressive-Conservative Party

Advertisement.

Help Kidneys If Back Aches

Do you feel older than you are or suffer from Getting Up Nights, Backache, Nervousness, Leg Pains, Rheumatic Pains, Burning, scanty or frequent passages? If so, remember that your Kidneys are vital to your health and that these symptoms may be due to Kidney and Bladder troubles—in such cases Cystex usually gives prompt and joyous relief by helping the Kidneys clean out poisonous excess acids and wastes. You have everything to gain and nothing to lose in trying Cystex. The iron clad money-back agreement assures a refund of your money on return of empty package unless fully satisfied. Don't delay. Get Cystex (Siss-tex) from your druggist today. . .

Cystex Helps Clean Kidneys

All-Year World-Wide FUR STORAGE

Rates: 2% or 2½%

Guaranteed by L. P. Lazare & Company Limited

JUST PHONE . . .

MArquette 1255

and our bonded driver will call for your fur coat.

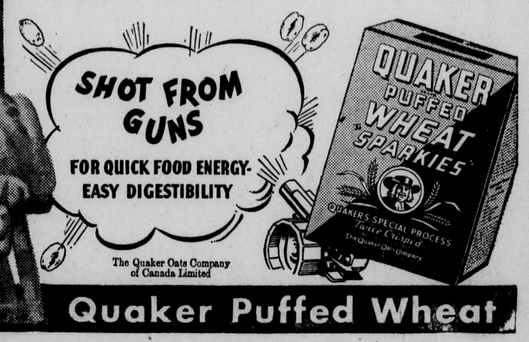
L. P. LAZARE & CO. LTD.

She may be a teacher Someday . . .



Right Now what she eats is important!

Yes, Mother . . . you have big plans for the future of that lively youngster of yours . . . but remember . . . RIGHT NOW she needs the proper food to keep her healthy . . . full of pep and energy! And that means nourishing, digestible Quaker Puffed Wheat "Sparkies". "Sparkies" are SHOT-FROM-GUNS . . . exploding tiny food cells . . . releasing QUICKLY the vital wheat energy and making "Sparkies" so easy to digest. "Sparkies" are GOOD to eat, too . . . delicious, tempting, crunchy-crisp and full-flavoured. Order several packages from your grocer tomorrow.



Quaker Puffed Wheat

2 of/de 2

D 47968

The Montreal Daily Star.

"Canada's Greatest Newspaper"

Founded in 1869

The Montreal Daily Star is printed and published at 241-245 St. James Street West, Montreal, by The Montreal Star Company, Limited, Montreal, J. D. MacKinnon, Secretary-Treasurer.

Subscription Rates

Mail Subscriptions in Canada, Great Britain and Newfoundland—$9.00 per annum. United States—$12.00 per annum.

BRANCH OFFICES

UPTOWN OFFICE—Want Ads and Star Travel Bureau, Castle Building, 1414 Stanley Street, at St. Catherine.
TORONTO—Advertising and Circulation, 390 Bay Street at Queen.
NEW YORK CITY—Advertising: Dan A. Carroll, representative, 110 East 42nd Street.
Editorial: 1205 Daily News Building, 220 East 42nd Street.
CHICAGO—Advertising: John E. Lutz, representative Tribune Tower, 435 N. Michigan.

The Canadian Press is exclusively entitled to the use for publication of all news dispatches credited to it or to The Associated Press in this paper and also the local news published therein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein are also reserved.

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1944

A NATION'S HEALTH IS A NATION'S WEALTH

PREMIER MACKENZIE KING'S ADDRESS

THE keynote of the thoughtful and carefully-worded address delivered by Premier Mackenzie King to the members of the British Parliament today was international co-operation for the preservation of world unity. The occasion was a momentous one. A great deal has been written ever since Lord Halifax made his famous speech at Toronto suggesting the desirability of united action by the members of the British Commonwealth and Empire in foreign policy. Persistent has been the obsession that Lord Halifax was advocating the commitment in advance by the Dominions to a foreign policy drafted by Britain.

We have repeatedly pointed out the inaccuracy of this, and the danger, of misunderstanding. Premier Mackenzie King dealt today with co-operation in policy in the broadest sense. "It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members," he declared. "In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world."

There is in this nothing inherently inconsistent with the views repeatedly set forth by Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt. It is admitted on all sides that international co-operation is the ideal goal towards which all Powers should direct their united effort. Mr. King in unequivocal phrase makes it quite clear that in his belief the isolation of any nation or group of nations provides no guarantee of national security. He seems to fear some pursuit of policy within the Empire which will be inimical to world co-operation. He says:

> "If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied. . . The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation."

That Mr. King believes in the important part the British Commonwealth will have to play in helping to ensure security for the post-war world is obvious. He declares: "I believe that the British Commonwealth can, by its example, by its influence, by its material resources, by the spirit of its people, make a contribution to the peace of the world which no other group of nations can make." That is the crux of the matter. It is the reason why Canada, under its present Government, stands. The rest of the Empire has nothing to worry about.

Mr. Churchill obviously thinks so, for he concluded his eulogy of Canada this morning with these words: "Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of the benignant, unfearing, glorious, British Empire together into one homogeneous mass, which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty."

WIPE OUT THIS REPROACH

TODAY, with three days remaining for canvassing, the Sixth Victory Loan is still $310,000,000 short of the total figure reached in the Fifth Victory Loan. The objective this year is $1,200,000,000, the same as for the previous Victory Loan, and the total announced at Ottawa this morning as having been received up to date is $1,073,168,950. Unless subscriptions come in at a much better rate than during the past few days there is a grave likelihood that the Sixth Victory Loan, while it may achieve its objective, will be materially short of the excess over the objective achieved last year.

Up to date the total of individual subscriptions is $441,672,350. The minimum objective is $525,000,000, but last year the total subscribed by individuals was $604,000,000, so that with only three days more for canvassing the individual subscribers are over $162,000,000 short of the total they subscribed for the Fifth Victory Loan.

This is not good enough. This must be made up at all costs. We must not let our fighting men down. We are not even asked to give anything, simply to lend it at a rate of interest which the banks find attractive. Canadians overseas are risking their lives every day for us. In addition, they make us ashamed, for with their very limited incomes, as compared with the average Canadian's income, they have soared high above their objectives in all three Services.

This is a matter which vitally concerns the individual Canadian citizen, man and woman. It will be for ever a reproach on us as a nation if we do not remedy the defect, emulate their example, and send the Sixth Victory Loan booming over its objective when the books close at the week-end.

At what do you value the life of a single Canadian soldier, sailor or airman? Take that thought home with you, and buy more bonds tomorrow morning in order that you may feel no shame when Saturday night comes.

QUEBEC REJECTS RACIALISM

RENE CHALOULT'S attempt to divide this province into two mutually exclusive racial groups met deserved defeat in the Provincial Legislature yesterday. The Member for Lotbiniere's motion in itself has never given us much concern; it was frankly framed on racial lines and supported by no-one who utters the authentic voice of Quebec. Its defeat by a vote of 52 to 1—it would be interesting to know why even Mr. Chaloult's seconder abandoned him—is not proof that others do not share his ideas, but it does afford clear evidence that the group who continually raise the race cry in this province command no substantial following in the Legislature.

Of much greater interest than Mr. Chaloult's motion censuring the Government for appointing two English-speaking members to the Hydro Commission was Mr. Godbout's rejection of it and his reasons therefor. Mr. Chaloult insisted that because French-Canadians constitute four-fifths of Quebec's population, they are entitled to four-fifths representation on the board. Mr. Godbout countered effectively with the statement that if Mr. Chaloult's principle of proportional representation were to be applied generally, English-speaking Canadians would be entitled to one-fifth of the Government jobs, whereas in point of fact they hold only two per cent

A Guide for Our Boys

(From The Sudbury Daily Star)

"We must beware of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything except a politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no reward, and thrift no privileges."
—Winston Churchill.

HUNDREDS OF ORGANIZATIONS across Canada are zealously packing parcels for our boys in the armed services; others contribute their voluntary services to the supervision of canteens for their welfare, while others work for charitable groups united in providing comforts that will make the physical existence of Canadians abroad just a little more endurable. But the activities of one individual which, we believe, strikes a unique note, is worthy of special comment.

It was our good fortune to have the contributions of this person to the armed services brought to our attention. It consists of a small vest-pocket Bible, finished in khaki, navy blue or air force blue which is distributed to all his friends in the armed forces—and his friends are legion. The benefactor for those going away to war is one of the world's greatest conservationists—Jack Miner.

* * * * * * *

TAUGHT ONLY THROUGH THE WAYS of Nature, the Kingsville seer has learned through years of contact with the denizens of the outdoors that in times of stress and trouble there is one great comforter to whom he has been able to turn. In a brief, personal letter accompanying each Bible, Mr. Miner expounds his philosophy in words which rank among his greatest writings. He says in part: "With me nearing 80 years of age, I want to say that I have spent more time during my life reading my Bible than all other books put together. The Bible is full of God's promises and every promise I have read and then been privileged to test out, I have found to be true. In years gone by, in Northern Ontario and Quebec on hunting expeditions, through constant prayer, God has guided me to many lost men who had in many cases given up hope, and one lay down to die. I have sent thousands of verses of Scripture out from my bird sanctuary on the legs of the fowl of the air, but never did I and my family get more joy than in sending you this specially prepared Bible with the hope that you will take time to read it and get the joy, comfort and peace that God alone can give, if you will but turn your heart and face to Him. I do hope, as you read it, that you will dedicate your life to Him as never before."

* * * * * * *

THE FLY-LEAF OF THE BIBLE is autographed by Mr. Miner with the expressed hope that the little book and its teachings will help the recipient as much as the Word has the sender.

This is one person doing much to help provide spiritual guidance in times of stress and strain. While many of the worst physical discomforts can be withstood with hardihood, it is often the mental and spiritual hazards which provide the greatest hurdle for men at war. With the help and guidance provided by such a gift as that of Mr. Miner, it is to be hoped that many will find surcease and relief from world ills. Men going into battle kneel and pray without a qualm, and thousands who haven't prayed for years turn to the one and only Person who can give them comfort at such a time. They will undoubtedly return from such battlefronts with a deeper religious fervour than ever experienced, and with this moving spirit directing their lives will be better fitted to contribute toward a more Christian Canada and a more Christian world. Living the Christian principles expounded in the Bible has brought peace and contentment to Mr. Miner, who has found greater fame in their application than any who set fame and wealth their goal at the expense of a Christian life.

Do Not Be Afraid

Do not be afraid.
Do not fear to suffer; for indeed
The unparried and unparryable blade
Must strike you to the heart and you must bleed.

THE PASSING HOUR

Unremitting

"Call that a kind man?" said an actor, speaking of an absent acquaintance, "a man who is away from his family, and never sends them a farthing! Call that kindness?"

"Yes, unremitting kindness" said his friend.

Solid

She: "Darling, it's just a year today since our honeymoon, when we spent that wonderful day on the sands."

He: "We never thought then that we'd be spending our first anniversary on the rocks."

Don't Worry

Here's a story that illustrates one American reaction to the war. Two people motoring across Pennsylvania spent a night at a country inn. Next morning they discussed the war news with their waitress.

"And isn't it awful to think that that sort of thing may be happening right here before long," said one of the guests.

"Oh, it couldn't happen here!" said the waitress. "The nearest battlefield is Gettysburg."

Forget It

The newly-married couple were just leaving the registrar's office when the wife remembered she had registered her age as a year older than she actually was.

"Och never mind," replied her husband, "ye'll get the auld age pension a year sooner."

No Magnetism

Try as hard as he could, the comedian's jokes were falling flat. At last he lost patience.

"Blimey!" he exclaimed bitterly. "You people don't seem to know how to applaud. Why don't you clap? Are you all handcuffed?"

"Handcuffed!" came a bored voice from the pit. "Why, you haven't even arrested our attention yet!"

Quite Different

The committee of the village women's institute were discussing their program. One member suggested that a glove-making class would be interesting.

"Do you think that's really necessary — at our age, I mean?" asked one elderly woman, looking rather alarmed.

"What, glove-making?" she was asked.

"Oh," she said, looking greatly relieved, "I thought you said love-making!"

Too Careless

An Aberdonian met his old friend and invited him to have a drink.

"What will you have?" he asked when they reached the bar.

"A double whiskey wouldn't come amiss," was the reply.

"Here," gasped the startled Aberdonian, "less of that careless talk."

Dissolved

Their home leave happened to fall together, so they were having a good talk.

"But weren't you engaged last time we met?" asked one. "What happened? Did you break it off?"

"No, not exactly."

"Then she did?"

"No, she didn't."

"Well, then——"

"You see, she told me what her clothes cost, and I told her what my pay was. Then our engagement sagged in the middle and gently dissolved."

Maybe

"I see, dear," remarked the wife, reading from her newspaper, "that a woman has been awarded £2,000 damages for the loss of a thumb. I shouldn't have thought a thumb was as valuable as that."

"Perhaps she kept her husband under it," grunted her husband.

Revised

The cadets were eagerly awaiting their dinners at a certain R.A.F. training school, where the sea air seems to create perpetual hunger. One of them was overheard to remark: "Never was so little waited for by so many for so long."

Take Your Time

A parrot lived in the bar of an inn, and was accustomed to note the rush of business every Saturday night.

One Saturday it left its cage to explore the neighborhood, and was eventually found in a field surrounded by crows, who were busily depriving it of its feathers.

When the rescue party arrived, the parrot was heard ejaculating:

Don't Hold Up "Supplies"



PHONE BE. 2545

Letters to the Editor

Cathedral Service Was Fine Indeed

Sir,—I would like to offer thanks to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for allowing the service in Christ Church Cathedral the full time, last Sunday.

It was a great pleasure to hear this service in its entirety, and must have been a source of gratification to His Grace the Archbishop of York to know that we could render such a service as he is accustomed to.

I was a worshipper at his church when he was a curate under the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and his church was noted for its superbly musical services. I can assure you that the service at Christ Church Cathedral was on a par with those, and also rendered according to rubric.

A. J. Lane.

One Way To Save Some Pasteboard

Sir,—Judging by an advertisement in The Montreal Star about the shortage of paper, how about this for an idea? Why not put a tin container or something equally good on each or every second corner in the city for pedestrians to throw their empty cigarette boxes into? You have noticed how many cigarette boxes are strewn over the streets of this city. By doing that and by having them emptied every so often we will be able to save plenty of cigarette boxes. The City of Montreal Incineration Dept. could look after the containers.

Charles F. Lyle.

C.N.R. Shop Unions Have Also Sold Bonds

Sir,—On page eight of The Montreal Star, under date of May 4th, there is a picture of two officials of

NOTE

THE Star is receiving a good many letters signed by noms de plume only. It will save both us and the writers considerable time if they will desist from this practice. We must have the correct name and address of every correspondent, in proof of good faith. Anonymity will be strictly preserved whenever requested. The Star reserves the absolute right to edit or reject any letter received. Under no circumstances will any letter be returned unless the writer has sent a stamped addressed envelope for this purpose. The Star does not make a practice of publishing "open" letters. Many letters cannot be printed on account of their length. The shorter the letter, the better its chances of publication, as a general rule.—Ed., Star.

bad, meaning wholesale destruction by the Allies' fire, or why not Deluge Day, overwhelming flood of fire and steel. Dreadnought speaks for itself. What's the matter with Decoy Day, when all kinds of contrivances will be operated to lure the enemy into snares on all fronts and backs. As it will be the commencement of a fade out, what about Die Day, or Dye Day because they will be in the Red. If it happens it is Dream Day, we will wake them out of their dream—a reverie shatterer. To make the Axis see the point of the thrusts, Dagger Day would come into its own. The clergy will favor Deliverance Day, as setting all humanity free.

Who started this anyway? It would best to ask him?

James Wilson.

What Children's Milk Fund Does Yearly

Sir,—In reply to the letters sent

it down, but leave it spread all over the place for one to wade through; and acres of it in other places. Now I never tread an inch of woodland without keeping my eyes wide open for the stuff. It even grows on the waterfront at Crawford Park where hundreds of children spend their summer days.

You cannot warn people too much about this fearsome pest. It must even impede our war effort, for if one ever gets it, he or she soon knows it. It may even be one reason for so much sinus trouble.

There is a by-law requiring owners of property to get rid of this poisonous plant. To do this thoroughly would mean tearing up whole acres of ground, tearing down mountains, re-routing rivers, for it grows everywhere. But it would be easy for every landowner to keep a pot of red paint handy and to mark "Poison Ivy" on rocks, sidewalks, posts, fences, so that all would soon learn of its whereabouts. This ivy has ruined a good many holidays, and even our soldiers, in some places, have learned to hate it. I hope everyone this year will learn where it grows, and so avoid it, for if not treated in time, it becomes a real pleasure to tear oneself to pieces.

L. E. Wethey.

Things Have Changed for M. L. H. & P. Investors

Sir,—Some years ago, when I was much younger, from hard-earned savings I purchased 50 shares of Montreal Light, Heat & Power stock. I have forgotten how much it cost me, but it was when the price was very much higher. I think in the neighbourhood of $50 or $60 a share, the dividend being then enough to pay about $4 a year. I could have bought shares of other companies paying a higher dividend, but I was advised that my investment was as good as any bonds and I could probably count on being able to sell later on at a good deal higher price.

1 of/de

the commitment in advance by the Dominions to a foreign policy drafted by Britain.

We have repeatedly pointed out the inaccuracy of this, and the danger of misunderstanding. Premier Mackenzie King dealt today with co-operation in policy in the broadest sense. "It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members," he declared. "In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world."

There is in this nothing inherently inconsistent with the views repeatedly set forth by Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt. It is admitted on all sides that international co-operation is the ideal goal towards which all Powers should direct their united effort. Mr. King in unequivocal phrase makes it quite clear that in his belief the isolation of any nation or group of nations provides no guarantee of national security. He seems to fear some pursuit of policy within the Empire which will be inimical to world co-operation. He says:

> "If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied. . . The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation."

That Mr. King believes in the important part the British Commonwealth will have to play in helping to ensure security for the post-war world is obvious. He declares: "I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive."

Canada's Prime Minister is not unmindful of the fact that the success of such a plan is problematical. He is careful to remind us: "How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole."

There will be no inclination anywhere within the British Empire to disagree with the principles Mr. Mackenzie King has enunciated. But there may be considerable curiosity manifested as to what prompted him to warn repeatedly against exclusive policies. It is probable that Mr. King made up his mind to clear the atmosphere once and for all of misunderstanding, so far as Canada is concerned, in regard to Empire policy.

If so, then he made a good job of it, for no-one henceforward can doubt his policy. Whether or not the ideal he champions is susceptible of practical development in a bitterly realistic world remains to be seen. History has taught us that the loftiest idealism in politics very often fails under the test of practical application. None the less, the highest ideals are those towards which we should ever strive.

The glowing tribute paid to Mr. Mackenzie King by his old friend, Premier Churchill, a tribute remarkable for the warmth of its sentiments, was in keeping with the enthusiastic cheers that punctuated the Canadian Premier's speech. Now everybody knows as compared with the average Canadian's income, they have soared high above their objectives in all three Services.

This is a matter which vitally concerns the individual Canadian citizen, man and woman. It will be for ever a reproach on us as a nation if we do not remedy the defect, emulate their example, and send the Sixth Victory Loan booming over its objective when the books close at the week-end.

At what do you value the life of a single Canadian soldier, sailor or airman? Take that thought home with you, and buy more bonds tomorrow morning in order that you may feel no shame when Saturday night comes.

QUEBEC REJECTS RACIALISM

RENE CHALOULT'S attempt to divide this province into two mutually exclusive racial groups met deserved defeat in the Provincial Legislature yesterday. The Member for Lotbiniere's motion in itself has never given us much concern; it was frankly framed on racial lines and supported by no-one who utters the authentic voice of Quebec. Its defeat by a vote of 52 to 1—it would be interesting to know why even Mr. Chaloult's seconder abandoned him—is not proof that others do not share his ideas, but it does afford clear evidence that the group who continually raise the race cry in this province command no substantial following in the Legislature.

Of much greater interest than Mr. Chaloult's motion censuring the Government for appointing two English-speaking members to the Hydro Commission was Mr. Godbout's rejection of it and his reasons therefor. Mr. Chaloult insisted that because French-Canadians constitute four-fifths of Quebec's population, they are entitled to four-fifths representation on the board. Mr. Godbout countered effectively with the statement that if Mr. Chaloult's principle of proportional representation were to be applied generally, English-speaking Canadians would be entitled to one-fifth of the Government jobs, whereas in point of fact they hold only two per cent of provincial civil service appointments.

More effective than this, however, was the Premier's further declaration of the policy pursued in seeking men for important posts. "It is the Government's intention," he said, "to select men for difficult tasks because of their competence, and only for their competence. . . We are not going to sacrifice the wealth of the province for a question of language."

There is a school of thought in this province which supports Mr. Chaloult on this question of proportional representation. Its arguments usually centre around the assumption that their compatriots do not get a fair share of the jobs in Ottawa. In view of Mr. Godbout's disclosure that the proportional representation principle is not recognized in Quebec itself, these ardent racialists will be hard put to it to sustain their argument with regard to Ottawa appointments.

TRY TO CATCH US!

WHEN this war began, Hitler, Goering and Goebbels placed all their faith in the Luftwaffe. Through it the German people were to be immunized against attack and Britain was to be reduced to grovelling impotence. The supreme test came with the Battle of Britain, and, having weathered that storm, we have had no occasion since to fear the sky battalions of the Fuehrer.

Perhaps the German people still believe their Luftwaffe to be strong. Perhaps they still have faith in its eventual ability to keep Allied bombers out of German skies. But we know better. We know that, do what he may, Hitler cannot catch up with us again. On Sunday the First Lord of the Admiralty disclosed that Britain, the Empire and the United States had turned out 127,000 aircraft in 1943. That is at a rate of more than fourteen planes per hour.

During the past three weeks we have sent a plane out over occupied territory every two minutes from dawn to dusk. Our production rate is almost keeping up with the sortie rate. Let Hitler, Goering and Goebbels try to catch up with us!

staff prayer, God has guided me to many lost men who had in many cases given up hope, and one lay down to die. I have sent thousands of verses of Scripture out from my bird sanctuary on the legs of the fowl of the air, but never did I and my family get more joy than in sending you this specially prepared Bible with the hope that you will take time to read it and get the joy, comfort and peace that God alone can give, if you will but turn your heart and face to Him. I do hope, as you read it, that you will dedicate your life to Him as never before."

* * * * * * *

THE FLY-LEAF OF THE BIBLE is autographed by Mr. Miner with the expressed hope that the little book and its teachings will help the recipient as much as the Word has the sender.

This is one person doing much to help provide spiritual guidance in times of stress and strain. While many of the worst physical discomforts can be withstood with hardihood, it is often the mental and spiritual hazards which provide the greatest hurdle for men at war. With the help and guidance provided by such a gift as that of Mr. Miner, it is to be hoped that many will find surcease and relief from world ills. Men going into battle kneel and pray without a qualm, and thousands who haven't prayed for years turn to the one and only Person who can give them comfort at such a time. They will undoubtedly return from such battlefronts with a deeper religious fervour than ever experienced, and with this moving spirit directing their lives will be better fitted to contribute toward a more Christian Canada and a more Christian world. Living the Christian principles expounded in the Bible has brought peace and contentment to Mr. Miner, who has found greater fame in their application than any who set fame and wealth their goal at the expense of a Christian life.

Do Not Be Afraid

Do not be afraid.
Do not fear to suffer; for indeed
The unparried and unparryable blade
Must strike you to the heart and you must bleed.
The bright drops shall run red, and you shall bear
The double agony of soul and flesh—
The pang that all men being brothers share—
Hewn down that God may build us up afresh.

Do not be afraid.
Do not shrink from loss: all you possess
Of rich and proud, of nothing was it made
And at the last returns to nothingness.
What we must lose either to life or death
Is not our own, however dear it be:
Of your free will and in unfaltering faith
Yield your possessing treasures and be free.

Do not be afraid.
Do not tremble for the future: stand
Strong in that Strength by which the worlds were made,
Safe though the seas remove, safe though the land
Be heaped in dust. Fear for no circumstance
Of bodily anguish, mortal loss or sorrow:
We have climbed beyond the winds of change and chance—
We have Eternity for our tomorrow.

—Audrey Alexandra Brown.

Two Continents

My heart is homesick for the things I know,
Grey hills, and ancient cedars in the rain;
But what he longs for is such leagues away,—
A sun-drenched Southern plain.

Again before his vision, as we talk,
Beside a blue sea Table Mountain looms,
And in the hot, dry sunshine, down some street
A jacaranda blooms.

Well I remember mountains, high, austere,
Where the late snow may lie till June to melt;
And he is seeing springbok flocks, that troop
Across the Afric veldt.

Mine is a memory of little streams,
And fragile wild-flowers, innocent and sweet;
His is a larger canvas, of a place
Where three great oceans meet.

One sees a palm-tree, one a lady-birch;
One loves a lilac, one a crimson flower.
These are the memories that pattern lives
Until their final hour.

On my still hills a robin pours his song,
While on the sunny veldt a rooi-bek sings;
And oh, how quickly does the heart respond
To dear, familiar things!

Toronto. —E. Anne Ryan.

"Do you think that's really necessary — at our age, I mean?" asked one elderly woman, looking rather alarmed.

"What, glove-making?" she was asked.

"Oh," she said, looking greatly relieved, "I thought you said love-making!"

Too Careless

An Aberdonian met his old friend and invited him to have a drink.

"What will you have?" he asked when they reached the bar.

"A double whiskey wouldn't come amiss," was the reply.

"Here," gasped the startled Aberdonian, "less of that careless talk."

Dissolved

Their home leave happened to fall together, so they were having a good talk.

"But weren't you engaged last time we met?" asked one. "What happened? Did you break it off?"

"No, not exactly."

"Then she did?"

"No, she didn't."

"Well, then——"

"You see, she told me what her clothes cost, and I told her what my pay was. Then our engagement sagged in the middle and gently dissolved."

Maybe

"I see, dear," remarked the wife, reading from her newspaper, "that a woman has been awarded £2,000 damages for the loss of a thumb. I shouldn't have thought a thumb was as valuable as that."

"Perhaps she kept her husband under it," grunted her husband.

Revised

The cadets were eagerly awaiting their dinners at a certain R.A.F. training school, where the sea air seems to create perpetual hunger. One of them was overheard to remark: "Never was so little waited for by so many for so long."

Take Your Time

A parrot lived in the bar of an inn, and was accustomed to note the rush of business every Saturday night.

One Saturday it left its cage to explore the neighborhood, and was eventually found in a field surrounded by crows, who were busily depriving it of its feathers.

When the rescue party arrived, the parrot was heard ejaculating: "One at a time, gentlemen, if you please. One at a time; you'll all be served."

From Star Files

THIRTY YEARS AGO
Monday, May 11, 1914

Batavia, Java—Lillian Nordica, the famous singer, died here last night. Madame Lillian Nordica, one of America's greatest operatic singers, was born in Farmington, Me., on December 23, 1857.

Montreal—James Reid Wilson, familiarly and affectionately nicknamed by his friends, "Iron Jimmy," died at the Grand Hotel, London, this morning. Mr. Wilson was President and Managing Director of Thomas Robertson & Co., Ltd., Vice-President of the Dominion Coal Co., Chairman of the Canadian Board of the Phoenix Assurance Co., Ltd., of London, England, Director of The Canadian Steel Foundries, etc.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO
May 11, 1919, fell on a Sunday.

TWENTY YEARS AGO
May 11, 1924, fell on a Sunday.



"Now don't forget—the football scores at dictation speed."

RUTFORD
PHONE BE. 2545

Letters to the Editor

Cathedral Service Was Fine Indeed

Sir,—I would like to offer thanks to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for allowing the service in Christ Church Cathedral the full time, last Sunday.

It was a great pleasure to hear this service in its entirety, and must have been a source of gratification to His Grace the Archbishop of York to know that we could render such a service as he is accustomed to.

I was a worshipper at his church when he was a curate under the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and his church was noted for its superbly musical services. I can assure you that the service at Christ Church Cathedral was on a par with those, and also rendered according to rubric.

A. J. Lane.

One Way To Save Some Pasteboard

Sir,—Judging by an advertisement in The Montreal Star about the shortage of paper, how about this for an idea? Why not put a tin container or something equally good on each or every second corner in the city for pedestrians to throw their empty cigarette boxes into? You have noticed how many cigarette boxes are strewn over the streets of this city. By doing that and by having them emptied every so often we will be able to save plenty of cigarette boxes. The City of Montreal Incineration Dept. could look after the containers.

Charles F. Lyle.

C.N.R. Shop Unions Have Also Sold Bonds

Sir,—On page eight of The Montreal Star, under date of May 4th, there is a picture of two officials of the C.B. of R.E. C.C.L. selling Sixth Victory Loan bonds, stating that this union is the first one to sell bonds to employes of a company.

I wish to correct this misunderstanding. The Federated Shop Crafts on the Canadian National Railways at Point St. Charles Shops have sold bonds to the C.N.R. employes for the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Victory Loans.

This Federation is composed of the various unions affiliated to Division No. 4 Railway Employes Department also the American Federation of Labor.

The selling of bonds is done solely by local union officials, excepting the staff of the company who are canvassed by one of the staff.

W. H. Varley,
Secretary.

Compulsory Schools But No School There

Sir,—Is school compulsory? If so would there be a kind person that would pay $21 a month to help me send my children to school, plus $10 a month transportation? The municipality where I live does not provide schools for English Protestant pupils and as I cannot afford to pay the above cost to send them to the nearest Protestant school outside our municipality the Dept. of Education explains: this is a case when a law is not a law, or not for my children. I don't understand compulsory school education, and so much fuss made about it! A little red tape, foresightedness of the Government, and it's shot to pieces. A little cash needed is all that matters and for the sake of it laws are broken, children refused admission at school and denied the privilege of an education.

Next Voter.

A Great Many Things "D-Day" Does Not Mean

Sir, — D-Day might stand for Dodo, the bird now extinct, indicating the extinction of the Axis: Dromedary, as it would given them the hump: Doldrums, imposing on them the dumps. Then it could be Damnation, Decision, Demolition, and as they will be stripped bare, it could be Denudation or Devastation Day. As we will make them sweat, Diaphoretic Day would apply. Decimation Day is not too bad, meaning wholesale destruction by the Allies' fire, or why not Deluge Day, overwhelming flood of fire and steel. Dreadnought speaks for itself. What's the matter with Decoy Day, when all kinds of contrivances will be operated to lure the enemy into snares on all fronts and backs. As it will be the commencement of a fade out, what about Die Day, or Dye Day because they will be in the Red. If it happens it is Dream Day, we will wake them out of their dream—a reverie shatterer. To make the Axis see the point of the thrusts, Dagger Day would come into its own. The clergy will favor Deliverance Day, as setting all humanity free.

Who started this anyway? It would best to ask him?

James Wilson.

What Children's Milk Fund Does Yearly

Sir,—In reply to the letters sent by E.S.H. on the 5th inst. and by E.S.H. on the 10th inst. may I, as Financial Secretary of the School Children's Milk Fund (Non-Sectarian), reply.

This organization which held its annual Tag Day on May 2nd, was founded on January 24, 1934, and was incorporated by Letters Patent, on February 23, 1935, for the express purpose of supplying milk to underprivileged children. Last year this Association supplied over 125,000 bottles of milk, to 27 schools throughout the City, in co-operation with the school board and the Principals of these schools.

Their only means of revenue are their annual Tag Day, yearly donation of $500 from the City of Montreal, and contributions from members, friends and supporters among our worthy citizens. We are also registered with the Better Business Bureau, and our two largest distributors of milk, The Ernest Cousins Co. and Guaranteed Pure Milk Co. can verify the amount of milk they deliver daily.

No doubt when correspondent E.S.H. asked the taggers what schools the Milk Fund is for, they must have been surprised at this question, as these children know that milk has been supplied since they have been going to school, and could not understand how he did not know about the Milk Fund. I would be glad to answer all questions regarding the School Children's Milk Fund, and also receive any donations that any of our readers would care to send in.

H. A. Docks.

Poison Ivy's the Thing to Watch For

Sir, — I have seen in your columns mention of poison ivy at different times. Now that spring is here, it is time to mention it again, that worst of all plants in North America. Everyone should know what it looks like, and be warned to avoid it, as from experience, I can assure you that it can cause serious trouble, and may even lead to mental disaster. I would even suggest that, for the education of all, some of it may be grown in our conservatories, under glass, that all may really know what it looks like.

I have seen it growing in many places where the unwary can touch it—along the sidewalks on East Notre Dame; along the boardwalk between Stony Point and Dorval; in Bordeaux, where they kindly cut it down, but leave it spread all over the place for one to wade through; and acres of it in other places. Now I never tread an inch of woodland without keeping my eyes wide open for the stuff. It even grows on the waterfront at Crawford Park where hundreds of children spend their summer days.

You cannot warn people too much about this fearsome pest. It must even impede our war effort, for if one ever gets it, he or she soon knows it. It may even be one reason for so much sinus trouble.

There is a by-law requiring owners of property to get rid of this poisonous plant. To do this thoroughly would mean tearing up whole acres of ground, tearing down mountains, re-routing rivers, for it grows everywhere. But it would be easy for every landowner to keep a pot of red paint handy and to mark "Poison Ivy" on rocks, sidewalks, posts, fences, so that all would soon learn of its whereabouts. This ivy has ruined a good many holidays, and even our soldiers, in some places, have learned to hate it. I hope everyone this year will learn where it grows, and so avoid it, for if not treated in time, it becomes a real pleasure to tear oneself to pieces.

L. E. Wethey.

NOTE

THE Star is receiving a good many letters signed by noms de plume only. It will save both us and the writers considerable time if they will desist from this practice. We must have the correct name and address of every correspondent, in proof of good faith. Anonymity will be strictly preserved whenever requested. The Star reserves the absolute right to edit or reject any letter received. Under no circumstances will any letter be returned unless the writer has sent a stamped addressed envelope for this purpose. The Star does not make a practice of publishing "open" letters. Many letters cannot be printed on account of their length. The shorter the letter, the better its chances of publication, as a general rule.—**Ed., Star.**

Things Have Changed for M. L. H. & P. Investors

Sir,—Some years ago, when I was much younger, from hard-earned savings I purchased 50 shares of Montreal Light, Heat & Power stock. I have forgotten how much it cost me, but it was when the price was very much higher, I think in the neighbourhood of $50 or $60 a share, the dividend being then enough to pay about $4 a year. I could have bought shares of other companies paying a higher dividend, but I was advised that my investment was as good as any bonds and I could probably count on being able to sell later on at a good deal higher price.

Up to the end of last year my dividends have come in regularly and every three months I got a cheque equal to $18.50, but yesterday the envelope which came in, instead of having a cheque for $18.50, had only a cheque for 6 cents a share in place of 37 cents which I had previously been getting. It was explained in a notice enclosed that the balance of the 37 cents dividend was enclosed in the way of a 50 share certificate in Southmount Investment Company. As I needed the money badly I inquired how much I could sell this certificate for, and was told that all that it would bring would be 20 cents a share, a total of $10.

This meant that where I was getting $18.50 every three months previously, all I got yesterday for the three months was $3, together with a certificate for shares which I could sell for 20 cents a share. Inquiring why the new shares were not worth any more, I was told that by the time the Government lawyers and the lawyers for the Company got through fighting that there would probably not be much left of the investment. Asking how this, to me, tragic loss could happen with a company which had been sound and well managed, my friend replied that it was probably brought about by ambitious politicians to help them get re-elected, that the Quebec Government had taken over the property and all the daily receipts but had not, so far, paid anything for them and would not until they had fought through the law courts to get the property at the lowest possible price, no matter what the real value was. I asked: "Is there not some law that would prevent so unjust a deal?" which to me seems almost a steal, and his reply was: "There was such a law, but the Government cancelled it so that they would not be doing something illegal." I inquired: "Isn't this crooked?" His reply was "Ah,—perhaps the urge of politics." Quotation by lawyer before Cannon Commission: "When politics enter a court-room, justice retires."

Just at a time when living is so expensive from my slim income I am now losing three-quarters of what I formerly was getting, and I understand I am not even sure of getting the $3 of my $18.50. While I am writing just for myself, there must be thousands of other people whom the Government would seem to have more or less impoverished.

Bandit.

2 of/de 2

The Montreal Daily Star.

"Canada's Greatest Newspaper"

Founded in 1869

The Montreal Daily Star is printed and published at 241-245 St. James Street West, Montreal, by The Montreal Star Company, Limited, Montreal, J. D. MacKinnon, Secretary-Treasurer.

Subscription Rates

Mail Subscriptions in Canada, Great Britain and Newfoundland—$9.00 per annum. United States—$12.00 per annum.

BRANCH OFFICES

UPTOWN OFFICE—Want Ads and Star Travel Bureau, Castle Building, 1414 Stanley Street, at St. Catherine.
TORONTO—Advertising and Circulation, 390 Bay Street at Queen.
NEW YORK CITY—Advertising: Dan A. Carroll, representative, 110 East 42nd Street.
Editorial: 1205 Daily News Building, 220 East 42nd Street.
CHICAGO—Advertising: John E. Lutz, representative Tribune Tower, 435 N. Michigan.

The Canadian Press is exclusively entitled to the use for publication of all news dispatches credited to it or to The Associated Press in this paper and also the local news published therein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein are also reserved.

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1944

A NATION'S HEALTH IS A NATION'S WEALTH

A MATTER OF DEGREE

THE more closely Premier Mackenzie King's speech in London yesterday is examined, the clearer does it become that the difference in attitude towards the British Commonwealth and Empire between himself and Mr. Curtin and Marshal Smuts is one of method far more than of principle. The Australian and South African Premiers are anxious for closer consultation and co-operation between the member States of the Commonwealth. So is Mr. King. He pleads for the continuation of the greatest possible co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth, which he regards as of the greatest importance to it. But he fears that any overt plan for achieving this purpose may impress peoples outside the Commonwealth as an attempt to establish a separate bloc.

The only concrete proposal that has been made so far is that by Premier Curtin for the establishment of a permanent Commonwealth secretariat in London, which would be a purely consultative body. To this idea Premier Mackenzie King has always been vigorously opposed. He has always been satisfied with the present method of consultation. He appears to be under the impression that a permanent secretariat such as Mr. Curtin envisages would arrive at decisions which would be those of individual Ministers meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own country.

We believe this to be an inaccurate interpretation of Mr. Curtin's proposals. Unless he has communicated something to the Imperial Conference very different from what he set forth in his press conference last week, he does not propose a secretariat which shall have the power to make any decisions without consultation with the Governments of the various Dominions.

But if Mr. King can place such an interpretation upon his innocuous plan, it is of course quite possible, indeed highly probable, that small countries outside the Empire, or even large ones, may arrive at the same conclusion.

If Mr. Curtin pressed his plan, and Mr. King remained adamant, such nations would be able to point to seeming lack of unity within the Empire. On the other hand, if Mr. Curtin dropped it, the British Common-

FEDERAL HOUSING PLANS

THE new Federal Government Housing Act has not yet been placed before the House of Commons, but Mr. Ilsley yesterday gave the country some inkling of the Government plans. From what he did say it is possible to conclude that the Government has in mind a long-range scheme for homes costing not more than $5,000. It may be doubted whether at this juncture, and given the higher cost of building materials, a plan based on a maximum expenditure of $5,000 will satisfy Canadian housing needs, but it is at least a step in the right direction.

Lowering of the mortgage interest rate to borrowers from five to four and one-half per cent is a valuable feature of Part I of the new Act; it should encourage many to build who would otherwise be deterred by the cost of servicing the mortgage. As Mr. Ilsley observed, the return to the mortgage lender will be five per cent because the Government will advance twenty-five per cent of the loan at three per cent to the lending institution. Extension of loans from the ordinary mortgage period of twenty years to a maximum of twenty-five or thirty years should assist many who would be unable to pay the higher service charges for the shorter period.

Another part of the forthcoming Act is designed to relieve the acute shortage of low-rental houses in urban areas. Under both parts of the Act the homes to be built should be thoroughly modern in every respect; otherwise the areas in which they are constructed will tend to become slum areas in a very short time. It has been the experience elsewhere, and notably in Britain, that where people unaccustomed to modern conveniences get an opportunity to use them, their standards of comfort and living rise. It should be our aim to improve the Canadian standard of living.

A HINT TO MR. COLDWELL

THE state of public opinion on the question of nationalization of the chartered banks is accurately reflected in the House rejection of the C.C.F. motion by a vote of 112 to 15. Mr. Coldwell moved for national ownership and complete control of the banks. He was supported only by the Social Credit group and the even smaller Bloc Populaire contingent. Oddly enough, the two Communists in the House voted with the Government.

Votes in the House may not always accurately reflect public opinion, but there is substantial independent evidence that it did so in this case. Mr. Coldwell has been touring the country preaching bank nationalization to any audience he could get, using again the arguments familiar for years about "economic royalists" and the "grasping hand of greed." In areas where the C.C.F. showed some evidence of having a substantial following, he doubtless felt that he was preaching to the converted, but a recent Gallup Poll established that the rank and file of his party are by no means at one with him on this question.

The question put was: "Do you think the Government should own and operate all banks in Canada, or do you think we should continue with the present system?" Only twenty-three per cent approved Government ownership; sixty-six per cent disapproved, and eleven per cent were undecided. That makes seventy-seven per cent who are not in favour of the change.

But the poll did not end there, and it must have been a profound shock to Mr. Coldwell and the C.C.F. leaders to discover that on this, the issue against which they lean most heavily, forty per cent of those who said they would vote C.C.F. today also opposed bank nationalization. A further eleven per cent were undecided, so that more than fifty per cent of C.C.F. adherents are not at the moment in favour of nationalization.

This result should give Mr. Coldwell something to think about. To him, nationalization of the banks is the entering wedge to public ownership of everything. If his followers do not agree with him on this issue it means one of two things: Either they do not understand the meaning of the C.C.F. platform, or they do not propose to follow their leader blindly into Socialism.

A CASE FOR PROSECUTION

THE second strike of Ford Motor Company

British Way to Victory: A Confession of Faith

Written Specially for The Montreal Daily Star
By Sir Archibald Hurd
(Author of "Command of the Sea")

I

IN THE MAKING AND ENDING OF WARS, the root of the matter is in the British people, as events from day to day are proving. Having made the invasion of these islands an impracticable operation we, in association with the Americans, are about to invade Occupied Europe so as to defeat Germany.

Five times in its history this country, completely surrounded by the sea and able, therefore, to take as much or as little part in world affairs as she has desired, has been mainly responsible for the defeat of the would-be dictators—Charlemagne, Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon and William II of Germany; now Mussolini of Italy has fallen and Hitler and all he has stood for are tottering; while, with the appointment of Lord Louis Mountbatten, in command of rapidly increasing forces, the island State of Japan, short of shipping, must realize that her downfall is only a matter of time.

* * * * * * *

WHAT IS THE EXPLANATION of the influence which so comparatively small an island—only about a quarter of the area of New Guinea—has exerted on world history?

When this country was hard pressed in Queen Elizabeth's day, Sir Francis Drake wrote words which are as appropriate in 1944 as they were in 1587: "There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end until it be thoroughly finished yields the true glory." And this great seaman added this admonition: "If we can thoroughly believe that this which we do is in the defence of our religion and country, no doubt but our merciful God, for His Christ our Saviour's sake, is able and will give us victory, although our sins be red." It was in that spirit that the great Elizabethans fought mainly by sea, but when occasion required also by land, and laid the foundations of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

* * * * * * *

THE SEAMEN AND SOLDIERS of Queen Elizabeth were all of like mind—"voluntarily to put their hands and hearts to the finishing of this great piece of work, wherein we are all persuaded that God, the giver of all victories, will in mercy look upon your most excellent Majesty and us your poor subjects who for the defence of your Majesty, our religion and native land have resolutely vowed the hazard of our lives." Just such a confession might be made today to King George VI by all who are engaged in the present war, whether they are confronting the enemy by sea, by land or by air, or are keeping the fighting forces supplied with all they need.

We, like our forefathers, have had our reverses and disappointments. But there has been no despair. Rather the attitude has been that of Admiral Rodney, when the enemy eluded him, "'Tis provoking, but never mind it; their fate is only delayed a short time, for have it they **must** and **shall**."

* * * * * * *

THE BRITISH FIGHTING TRADITION has been handed down from generation to generation. It is sometimes said that we muddle through our wars—but win in the end. That is only true to the extent that we have never lived on the footing of war—like nations with conscript armies. The people of the British Isles live at peace with all nations so long as neither their honour, their freedom nor their lawful possessions are assailed. Peace is their highest interest. Only when war becomes inevitable, as when the multilateral Treaty protecting Belgium was torn up by Germany in 1914 and when Poland, which we were pledged to defend to the best of our ability, was invaded by the Germans in 1939, do we set ourselves seriously to prepare for offensive war.

It has been British policy for a thousand years to maintain a supreme fleet, usually in accordance with the Two-Power Standard—that is stronger than any other two fleets. The British faith has been expressed in the Articles of

THE PASSING HOUR

Just Probable

Some of the true stories are really the funniest. A speaker, discoursing on the transitory nature of earthly things, said: "Look now at the great cities of antiquity. Where are they? Why, some of them have perished so completely it is probable they never existed."

Private

For some time the two women sitting in front of him at the cinema had annoyed him with their constant chatter.

At last he could stand it no longer. Leaning forward, he said politely:

"Pardon me, but I can't hear."

"I should hope you can't," replied one woman, coldly; "this conversation is strictly private."

Worthless

"What do you earn?" a defendant was asked at a London police court. "I don't earn anything," was the reply. "I am a master man."

And profits, presumably, are too "low" to talk about.

Went Down

Dad: "Well, what kind of grades did you make in your finals?"

Son: "All right in everything but one study, and in that I am like Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln."

Dad: "Why, how's that?"

Son. "I went down in history."

Taught

The baby pulled brother's hair until he yelled from the pain of it. The mother soothed the weeping boy: "Of course, she doesn't know how badly it hurts." Then she left the room.

She hurried back presently on hearing frantic squalling from the baby. "What in the world is the matter with her?" she questioned anxiously.

"Nothing at all," brother replied, contentedly. "Only now she knows!"

A Magnet

"Choir practice was out early last night, wasn't it?"

"Yes."

"What was the trouble?"

"Some one blew an auto horn outside and the male quartet was all that was left."

Just Dumb

"Now," said the blustering customer, "no talk, please. I don't want any hair restorer, scalp invigorator, dandruff killer, or shaving soap, and I'm not interested in football——"

"Excuse me, sir," said the barber working at the next chair, "will you write on his slate? He's deaf and dumb."

Speediest

"I say, my boy, can you tell me the way to the hospital?"

"Yes, sir. Just step across to the Bull Ring and give three cheers for Hitler, and you'll find yourself there in no time."

Result.

Silas Clam
Lies on the floor;
He tried to slam
A swinging door.

From Star Files

THIRTY YEARS AGO
Tuesday, May 12, 1914

London.—"That beautiful and interesting Canadian," is one of the phrases the critics apply to Madame Edvina's appearance before the King and Queen, and the King and Queen of Denmark, at last night's gorgeous opera performance at Covent Garden.

Montreal.—Louis Philippe Hebert, the distinguished Canadian sculptor, who has spent the chief part of the last two years in Italy and Paris, was among the passengers on the Allan liner Scotian which docked at Montreal this morning, Mr. Hebert's return to Canada is for the supervision of the erection of the King Edward VII monument in Phillips' Square.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO
Monday, May 12, 1919

London. — Colonel Rae, D.S.O., Vancouver, just back from France, tells how warmly Marshal Foch spoke of the Canadians when decorating him at the headquarters of the Supreme War Council, Paris, with the Croix de Guerre. Foch said the Canadians made a splendid record, and especially instanced their superb share in the second battle of Ypres and the brilliant counter-attack of the 10th and 16th

Wires Crossed



Letters to the Editor

"Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings!"

Sir,—I thought that perhaps some of your readers might be amused by the following incident which occurred while I was taking my class to the circus:

Boarding a crowded street car, the youngsters stood down the centre of the car, unable to see out. One little boy was directly opposite a lady with a meat axe expression, who was wearing the latest creation in hats perched on her head. The youngster gazed in wonderment till at last the lady said "Well, young man, would you like my picture?"

"Oh, no, thank vou," he replied innocently. "We're going to the circus."

(Mrs.) Edna P. Farrell

No Check Rooms In Uptown Theatres?

Sir,—I think people would be glad to have their coats and hats checked in all theatres not forgetting the umbrellas that we are obliged to carry along on rainy days. We would be glad to pay a five cents or so, fee, for this service. Believe me, it would be a great relief to us to have our coats out of hands in the theatre and knowing that they would not (get) be crushed on our exit from the movies.

Downtown theatres have check rooms, free of charge. Why should uptown theatres not have any?

Lucie Michel.

How Far Has Book Censorship Gone?

Sir,—Is the war being used as a pretext for curtailing the liberty of the press in Canada? Two parcels of books which arrived for me today, I am informed, must go to Ottawa to be approved by the Censor. The authors are—Erasmus, Harry Elmer Barnes, George Brandes, Bertrand Russell, Joseph Wheless, Isaac Goldberg and Joseph McCabe. Incidentally, is the list of

NOTE

THE Star is receiving a good many letters signed by noms de plume only. It will save both us and the writers considerable time if they will desist from this practice. We must have the correct name and address of every correspondent, in proof of good faith. Anonymity will be strictly preserved whenever requested. The Star reserves the absolute right to edit or reject any letter received. Under no circumstances will any letter be returned unless the writer has sent a stamped addressed envelope for this purpose. The Star does not make a practice of publishing "open" letters. Many letters cannot be printed on account of their length. The shorter the letter, the better its chances of publication, as a general rule.—Ed., Star.

often lie awake wondering how my husband is faring at sea and would love to be able to provide him with warm woollen garments, such as jerseys, scarves, helmets, socks, etc., but wool (such as it is) is rationed here and I find it impossible to spare any coupons, having a small son of three years, who is growing like a mushroom and absorbs the greater part of my coupons as well as all of his own.

Now that I know that these kind ladies are making and sending all these comforts, I shall not worry so much. Please give them my most heartfelt thanks and tell them how much their kindness and devotion is appreciated.

Anne Day.

Spiritualism May Be Matter of Definition

Sir,—The writer of last Saturday's religious editorial did well to call attention to the evils of spiritism, but it does not seem to have been made clear that spirit communication, can actually be practiced. Not that such is the case

the song has it 'we'll get there one day'."

This shows you what one who had been torpedoed three times and never touched our shores thinks of our grand country. He is on one of His Majesty's ships attached to the sick berth.

God bless all our service men and keep our country safe.

Marguerite Naylor.

Ice and Milk Being Wasted and Spoiled

Sir,—Would it be possible for an enterprising reporter from your paper to determine what method is best suited for obtaining ice which is delivered during the day when the occupants of a home are out working?

Of all the regulations of the W.P.T.B. regarding domestic matters the late delivery of ice and milk seems to me to be the most serious for health matters. The last reports of the health department emphasized the increase of enteritis last season. In our family an older relative nearly died of "summer complaint" so we realize how serious the trouble is. How can people avoid food pollution when ice is practically unobtainable and milk must stand on the floor of a hall for several hours before being placed in the refrigerator?

Our household consists of working girls who leave home early and return in the evening. One ice company makes deliveries on our street at ten thirty and another in the afternoon. We seem to have four alternatives about ice:

1. Go without refrigeration. 2. Leave your door open all day, three days a week. (In downtown Montreal burglaries are increasing at an alarming rate). 3. Give a key to your home to a stranger of whom one knows nothing so that the iceman can get in. 4. Place a pan outside one's door to receive the ice and have half of it melt before you get home.

If ever there was a time when our nation needed healthy citizens it is now and any danger of sickness from food spoilage is sabotaging our greatest physical asset—our health.

Jean Ross.

1 of/de

Mr. King. He pleads for the continuation of the greatest possible co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth, which he regards as of the greatest importance to it. But he fears that any overt plan for achieving this purpose may impress peoples outside the Commonwealth as an attempt to establish a separate bloc.

The only concrete proposal that has been made so far is that by Premier Curtin for the establishment of a permanent Commonwealth secretariat in London, which would be a purely consultative body. To this idea Premier Mackenzie King has always been vigorously opposed. He has always been satisfied with the present method of consultation. He appears to be under the impression that a permanent secretariat such as Mr. Curtin envisages would arrive at decisions which would be those of individual Ministers meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own country.

We believe this to be an inaccurate interpretation of Mr. Curtin's proposals. Unless he has communicated something to the Imperial Conference very different from what he set forth in his press conference last week, he does not propose a secretariat which shall have the power to make any decisions without consultation with the Governments of the various Dominions.

But if Mr. King can place such an interpretation upon his innocuous plan, it is of course quite possible, indeed highly probable, that small countries outside the Empire, or even large ones, may arrive at the same conclusion.

If Mr. Curtin pressed his plan, and Mr. King remained adamant, such nations would be able to point to seeming lack of unity within the Empire. On the other hand, if Mr. Curtin dropped it, the British Commonwealth would be able to point to the fact that the association of free nations known as the British Commonwealth and Empire can discuss proposals and agree to disagree on them without any lack of unity.

We should not, however, overlook the possibility that Mr. King may be ready to accept Mr. Curtin's proposal if, as seems certain, he is reassured by the Australian Premier that the proposed secretariat would not be endowed with any executive authority.

Premier Mackenzie King sees the common effort made by voluntary decision on the part of the peoples of the Brtish Commonwealth as giving a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to that Commonwealth. And he finds that the Commonwealth, like the nations of which it is composed, has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive but the opposite of exclusive. This spirit expresses itself in co-operation, and therein lies the strength of the Empire and the secret of its unity.

But he does not want any steps to be taken which will strengthen the Empire or bind it closer together, without the co-operation and approval of the nations outside it. However, the whole argument resolves itself, in the final analysis, into one of principle, and principles are sacred things; but their translation from the language of idealism into one of practical statesmanship is not often accomplished by the making of speeches. More often, indeed, it requires years of careful planning and procedure along the well tested system of trial and error. We naturally want to avoid as much as possible of the latter, and anything that can be done without weakening the fabric of the Empire to eliminate doubt and misgiving on the part of the smaller peoples of the world, as well as the greater, will be a move in that direction.

A CASE FOR PROSECUTION

THE second strike of Ford Motor Company workers at Windsor having been declared illegal, the Department of Labour will doubtless prosecute those who instigated it. An excellent precedent is afforded by the judgment in the Shawinigan case for prosecution under the Defence of Canada Regulations instead of under the Labour Code; the former has teeth in it, the latter provides only for small fines which the unions would find no difficulty whatever in paying.

It is a pity that the declaration of illegality comes so long after the men walked out. There was no doubt from the beginning of the second strike that it was illegal, and a declaration then by competent authority might have persuaded the men back to work. In the event, they have been out for ten days that would have been devoted to the production of war materials more urgently needed now than at any other time. Production has, in fact, been halted for all except two days since April 20th, and anyone who knows the production rate in the Ford plants since the beginning of the war will appreciate how great a lag has been created by these two stubborn and disastrous strikes.

The situation created by the walkout of the C.I.O. union again emphasizes the ineffectiveness of our conciliation machinery. It should surely be possible to devise a method for settling disputes, particularly wartime disputes, much more rapidly than they have been settled. This second strike was declared on May 2—or rather, the men were careful not to "declare" a strike; they just walked out—and not until May 10 did the Wartime Labour Relations Board get around to declaring it illegal. Its illegality was obvious from the start, and if the Board had made the declaration it now makes, that it will not deal with union grievances as long as the men remain away from work, the illegal strike might have been of shorter duration.

Unless prosecutions are instituted in this instance, and swiftly, the public will believe less than ever in the new Labour Code. If the strikers are allowed to get away with it this time, labour can afford to laugh at the whole set-up as a futile and spineless one.

and complete control of the banks. He was supported only by the Social Credit group and the even smaller Bloc Populaire contingent. Oddly enough, the two Communists in the House voted with the Government.

Votes in the House may not always accurately reflect public opinion, but there is substantial independent evidence that it did so in this case. Mr. Coldwell has been touring the country preaching bank nationalization to any audience he could get, using again the arguments familiar for years about "economic royalists" and the "grasping hand of greed." In areas where the C.C.F. showed some evidence of having a substantial following, he doubtless felt that he was preaching to the converted, but a recent Gallup Poll established that the rank and file of his party are by no means at one with him on this question.

The question put was: "Do you think the Government should own and operate all banks in Canada, or do you think we should continue with the present system?" Only twenty-three per cent approved Government ownership; sixty-six per cent disapproved, and eleven per cent were undecided. That makes seventy-seven per cent who are not in favour of the change.

But the poll did not end there, and it must have been a profound shock to Mr. Coldwell and the C.C.F. leaders to discover that on this, the issue against which they lean most heavily, forty per cent of those who said they would vote C.C.F. today also opposed bank nationalization. A further eleven per cent were undecided, so that more than fifty per cent of C.C.F. adherents are not at the moment in favour of nationalization.

This result should give Mr. Coldwell something to think about. To him, nationalization of the banks is the entering wedge to public ownership of everything. If his followers do not agree with him on this issue it means one of two things: Either they do not understand the meaning of the C.C.F. platform, or they do not propose to follow their leader blindly into Socialism.

mainly by sea, but when occasion required also by land, and laid the foundations of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

* * * * * * *

THE SEAMEN AND SOLDIERS of Queen Elizabeth were all of like mind—"voluntarily to put their hands and hearts to the finishing of this great piece of work, wherein we are all persuaded that God, the giver of all victories, will in mercy look upon your most excellent Majesty and us your poor subjects who for the defence of your Majesty, our religion and native land have resolutely vowed the hazard of our lives." Just such a confession might be made today to King George VI by all who are engaged in the present war, whether they are confronting the enemy by sea, by land or by air, or are keeping the fighting forces supplied with all they need.

We, like our forefathers, have had our reverses and disappointments. But there has been no despair. Rather the attitude has been that of Admiral Rodney, when the enemy eluded him, "'Tis provoking, but never mind it; their fate is only delayed a short time, for have it they **must** and **shall**."

* * * * * * *

THE BRITISH FIGHTING TRADITION has been handed down from generation to generation. It is sometimes said that we muddle through our wars—but win in the end. That is only true to the extent that we have never lived on the footing of war—like nations with conscript armies. The people of the British Isles live at peace with all nations so long as neither their honour, their freedom nor their lawful possessions are assailed. Peace is their highest interest. Only when war becomes inevitable, as when the multilateral Treaty protecting Belgium was torn up by Germany in 1914 and when Poland, which we were pledged to defend to the best of our ability, was invaded by the Germans in 1939, do we set ourselves seriously to prepare for offensive war.

It has been British policy for a thousand years to maintain a supreme fleet, usually in accordance with the Two-Power Standard—that is stronger than any other two fleets. The British faith has been expressed in the Articles of War: "It is upon the Navy that under the good Providence of God, the wealth, prosperity and the peace of these Islands and the Empire do mainly depend." Since the Revolution, Britain alone among the Great Powers of Europe, has had no conscript standing army; the existence of the British Army, always of very modest strength, depends from year to year on the passage each spring of the Army Annual Act, which is our way of stressing the fact that the Army is a people's voluntary army and not a conscript army, and that we have no aggressive designs on our Continental neighbours separated from us by the sea. An army is the spearhead of Naval Power and that spearhead we do not forge until an emergency arises. Though the Royal Air Force also consists of volunteers, it goes on its way, like the Royal Navy, without formal approval of Parliament each year. The significance of that status of the R.A.F. lies in the fact that sea-power cannot now be effective without air-power.

* * * * * * *

WE THUS PROCLAIM by our peace policy that we are an island people whose first line of defence is on the seas—and latterly also in the air, and that we entertain no military ambitions which can cause anxiety to any of the Powers over the seas since our army is of "contemptible" strength.

That policy of defence, since the numbers enlisted in the naval, military and air forces under peace conditions is relatively small enables the man-power of the nation to be earnfully employed in industry and commerce. We built up in these conditions of life great financial resources, which have proved far from contemptible when war has been forced upon us. But, if a war requires a large army, many months must necessarily elapse before the mobilized military power can be trained and equipped. That is the penalty of our democratic way of life.

It is often said, as I have remarked, that we muddle through our wars. Inevitably that is the impression in the minds of military minded observers. In the early days of a struggle against one or more vast conscript armies, our policy leads to misfortunes on land. Those reverses do not, however, affect the national morale, because the country knows that the Royal Navy, in association today with the Royal Air Force, will keep the ring while the necessary military strength, which lies dormant while peace continues, is being trained and equipped. That has been our recent experience.

(To Be Concluded.)

some one blew an auto horn outside and the male quartet was all that was left."

Just Dumb

"Now," said the blustering customer, "no talk, please. I don't want any hair restorer, scalp invigorator, dandruff killer, or shaving soap, and I'm not interested in football——"

"Excuse me, sir," said the barber working at the next chair, "will you write on his slate? He's deaf and dumb."

Speediest

"I say, my boy, can you tell me the way to the hospital?"

"Yes, sir. Just step across to the Bull Ring and give three cheers for Hitler, and you'll find yourself there in no time."

Result.

Silas Clam
Lies on the floor;
He tried to slam
A swinging door.

From Star Files

THIRTY YEARS AGO
Tuesday, May 12, 1914

London.—"That beautiful and interesting Canadian," is one of the phrases the critics apply to Madame Edvina's appearance before the King and Queen, and the King and Queen of Denmark, at last night's gorgeous opera performance at Covent Garden.

Montreal.—Louis Philippe Hebert, the distinguished Canadian sculptor, who has spent the chief part of the last two years in Italy and Paris, was among the passengers on the Allan liner Scotian which docked at Montreal this morning, Mr. Hebert's return to Canada is for the supervision of the erection of the King Edward VII monument in Phillips' Square.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO
Monday, May 12, 1919

London. — Colonel Rae, D.S.O., Vancouver, just back from France, tells how warmly Marshal Foch spoke of the Canadians when decorating him at the headquarters of the Supreme War Council, Paris, with the Croix de Guerre. Foch said the Canadians made a splendid record, and especially instanced their superb share in the second battle of Ypres and the brilliant counter-attack of the 10th and 16th Battalions between St. Julien and the Yser Canal.

Paris. — A petition from the Korean people and nation asking for liberation from Japan was submitted to the Peace Conference today, by representatives of Korea. The petition also asks for recognition of Korea as an independent state and for the nullification of the treaty of August, 1910.

TWENTY YEARS AGO
Monday, May 12, 1924

London.—The Earl of Ashburnham, died in a London hotel this morning. The Earl and Countess of Ashburnham made their home at Fredericton, N.B., where the Earl, then known as Major the Hon. Thomas Asburnham, of the 28th New Brunswick Dragoons, married in 1903. Miss Maria Elizabeth Anderson, a native of the place and a telephone operator in the employ of the New Brunswick Telephone Company.

Paris. — France has voted for peace with Germany. Yesterday's elections mark the most important victory for democracy since the ending of the war. The French people want a settlement of the reparations problem that will not lead to another world conflict.



Letters to the Editor

"Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings!"

Sir,—I thought that perhaps some of your readers might be amused by the following incident which occurred while I was taking my class to the circus:

Boarding a crowded street car, the youngsters stood down the centre of the car, unable to see out. One little boy was directly opposite a lady with a meat axe expression, who was wearing the latest creation in hats perched on her head. The youngster gazed in wonderment till at last the lady said "Well, young man, would you like my picture?"

"Oh, no, thank vou," he replied innocently. "We're going to the circus."

(Mrs.) Edna P. Farrell

No Check Rooms In Uptown Theatres?

Sir,—I think people would be glad to have their coats and hats checked in all theatres not forgetting the umbrellas that we are obliged to carry along on rainy days. We would be glad to pay a five cents or so, fee, for this service. Believe me, it would be a great relief to us to have our coats out of hands in the theatre and knowing that they would not (get) be crushed on our exit from the movies.

Downtown theatres have check rooms, free of charge. Why should uptown theatres not have any?

Lucie Michel.

How Far Has Book Censorship Gone?

Sir,—Is the war being used as a pretext for curtailing the liberty of the press in Canada? Two parcels of books which arrived for me today, I am informed, must go to Ottawa to be approved by the Censor. The authors are—Erasmus, Harry Elmer Barnes, George Brandes, Bertrand Russell, Joseph Wheless, Isaac Goldberg and Joseph McCabe. Incidentally, is the list of books which are not allowed to enter Canada so enormous, that even a metropolis like Montreal cannot be supplied with a copy of it?

J. C. Wilson.

British Women Are Grateful

Sir,—The enclosed letter will convey more eloquently than any words of mine the deep appreciation of British women for what their Canadian "cousins" are doing to make their menfolk happy and comfortable.

A very fine group of some twenty-five young matrons, whose husbands are employed at the great powder plant at Nitro, near Valleyfield, "adopted" the H.M.S. Gateshead, immediately she was commissioned at Quebec one year ago, upon condition that the writer would act as their Liaison Officer.

The de Salaberry Ladies Club supplies the wherewithal and kind friends in Montreal do the knitting. In addition to their generous support of the work for the Gateshead this club has supplied other minesweepers of the fleet with many comforts, including besides every sort of woollen article, radios, libraries, and gramophones, sports equipment and indoor games.

In addition to the great volume of mail from the boys themselves, scores of letters from their "ain folk" prove how very much this phase of Canadian Women's war work is needed and appreciated.

The girls of Stanley Presbyterian Knitting Group contributed many knitted articles last year to this work.

Estelle Jean Worfolk.

* * *

206 Plumstead High Street,
London S.E., 18, England.

Dear Mrs. Worfolk,—My husband (Steward C. H. Day, C/LX 25212, H.M.S. Gateshead) has sent me your letter of the 15th February and I feel that I must add my thanks to those of the men of the Gateshead for your kindness in sending them so many good things at Christmas time and since.

I am sure that the other wives and mothers feel as grateful as I do to know that our "cousins in the Dominion" are taking such a kindly interest in the wellbeing of our menfolk.

Is is very comforting to learn that the ladies of the de Salaberry Club have taken the H.M.S. Gateshead under their wing.

On very cold, bitter nights, I often lie awake wondering how my husband is faring at sea and would love to be able to provide him with warm woollen garments, such as jerseys, scarves, helmets, socks, etc., but wool (such as it is) is rationed here and I find it impossible to spare any coupons, having a small son of three years, who is growing like a mushroom and absorbs the greater part of my coupons as well as all of his own.

Now that I know that these kind ladies are making and sending all these comforts, I shall not worry so much. Please give them my most heartfelt thanks and tell them how much their kindness and devotion is appreciated.

Anne Day.

Spiritualism May Be Matter of Definition

Sir,—The writer of last Saturday's religious editorial did well to call attention to the evils of spiritism, but it does not seem to have been made clear that spirit communication, can actually be practiced. Not that such is the case seems evident from the fact that the consultation of spirits is specifically forbidden in the Scriptures — see Deuteronomy 18.10.

As to "spiritualism": Is it wise to apply that term to the working of the Spirit of God? Only until quite recently that term has been used to signify what we now call "Spiritism," and will doubtless long continue to have that signification to a majority of people.

A clear distinction should be made between the spirit of man with which he is endowed by natural birth, and the Spirit which is from above that is imparted by the grace of God at the second birth of which the Lord Jesus spoke to Nicodemus. (John 3).

It should also be made clear that only those who, by a definite act of the will, accept and confess the Lord Jesus as Saviour and atoning sacrifice, are made possessors of the Holy Spirit and inheritors of eternal life. The most wayward of men are received as sons of God through the exercise of such faith, whereas nothing any man can do—even in the sacrifice of his life—can merit the forgiveness of God. In Ephesians 2 the Apostle Paul says, "By grace are ye saved through faith . . . , it is the gift of God, not of works lest any man should boast."

Humble Believer.

From One Who Thinks Highly Of Canada

Sir,—I am what most people call a staunch Canadian, who is more proud of her country than anything else. And only yesterday I received a letter from my uncle, whom I have never seen, who has been in the Royal Navy since he was 21 years old. He had retired after 21 years in the service, then enlisted again when this war broke out. In this letter he wrote something that made me even prouder when I know what one thinks of our country, and one who has never been here at that! Let me quote here from his letter:

"You must be pretty busy in your father's shop. Help of all kinds is short now. However what do those things matter so long as we have enough for our great task. We live in great and stern times, my dear, and you must be proud to belong to your country which so wholeheartedly accepted the challenge, the brutal challenge, thrown out by the Nazis. We still have a stiff road to travel but as the song has it 'we'll get there one day'."

This shows you what one who had been torpedoed three times and never touched our shores thinks of our grand country. He is on one of His Majesty's ships attached to the sick berth.

God bless all our service men and keep our country safe.

Marguerite Naylor.

Ice and Milk Being Wasted and Spoiled

Sir,—Would it be possible for an enterprising reporter from your paper to determine what method is best suited for obtaining ice which is delivered during the day when the occupants of a home are out working?

Of all the regulations of the W.P.T.B. regarding domestic matters the late delivery of ice and milk seems to me to be the most serious for health matters. The last reports of the health department emphasized the increase of enteritis last season. In our family an older relative nearly died of "summer complaint" so we realize how serious the trouble is. How can people avoid food pollution when ice is practically unobtainable and milk must stand on the floor of a hall for several hours before being placed in the refrigerator?

Our household consists of working girls who leave home early and return in the evening. One ice company makes deliveries on our street at ten thirty and another in the afternoon. We seem to have four alternatives about ice:

1. Go without refrigeration. 2. Leave your door open all day, three days a week. (In downtown Montreal burglaries are increasing at an alarming rate). 3. Give a key to your home to a stranger of whom one knows nothing so that the iceman can get in. 4. Place a pan outside one's door to receive the ice and have half of it melt before you get home.

If ever there was a time when our nation needed healthy citizens it is now and any danger of sickness from food spoilage is sabotaging our greatest physical asset—our health.

Jean Ross.

Hanley Plan Should Get Warm Support

Sir,—I have made inquiries from the Playground Department of the city concerning the closing of Ropery street between the park and playground and just what will be installed for recreational purposes and this is the information that I received.

First, every department of the city agreed that the closing of the street would not effect the traffic because it is seldom used. There would be a sidewalk on the east and west sides of Ropery street for pedestrians to reach Mullins and Grand Trunk streets, the asphalt surface would be levelled, hockey boards would be erected four feet high with wire fenceing approximately 10 feet above the boards. Flood lights would be installed, tennis courts, open air basketball with a city instructor, roller skating, roller hockey in the autumn months, and street dancing—all the above games at a cost of approximately $2,500 from the budget of the Playgrounds Department. The above sports would give an opportunity to boys and girls from 12 to 18 years or older. Today in the playground there is nothing to attract this element, thus they are to be found on the street corners, in pool rooms, restaurants and destroying peoples property.

Upon further investigation I am told all the clergy, (French, English Protestant and Catholic,) all the residents of Mullins street, Ropery street and elsewhere have signed a petition approving this plan, but four or five selfish proprietors around that vicinity disapproved without any good reason.

Personally I think the people of our neighborhood are very fortunate that Councillor Hanley succeeded in securing this money and it will be just too bad if we do not support him successfully, we may never have this opportunity again.

I would like to add a word to the previous letter appearing on Councillor Hanley's behalf.

Last summer we enjoyed the entertainments he provided and the moving pictures our children enjoyed, this I am sure was a lot of hard work for him and very expensive, but apart from entertainment it was very patriotic and helped the war effort. We are looking forward to you Coun. Hanley again this summer.

Pt. St. Charles Resident.

NOTE

THE Star is receiving a good many letters signed by noms de plume only. It will save both us and the writers considerable time if they will desist from this practice. We must have the correct name and address of every correspondent, in proof of good faith. Anonymity will be strictly preserved whenever requested. The Star reserves the absolute right to edit or reject any letter received. Under no circumstances will any letter be returned unless the writer has sent a stamped addressed envelope for this purpose. The Star does not make a practice of publishing "open" letters. Many letters cannot be printed on account of their length. The shorter the letter, the better its chances of publication, as a general rule.—**Ed., Star.**

2 of/de 2

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 77, pages D 47970 - D 48880

Hansard

PW/g D47970

NAR/SR
August 2nd, 1944

STATEMENT ON SHOOTING OF CANADIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

I would ~~invite~~ ask for the attention of the House to a statement I am about to make

~~I have~~ It is my sad duty this morning to inform Honourable Members of the circumstances in which 19 members of the Canadian Forces were killed in Normandy. What I ~~do~~ have to say ~~does not~~ is apart altogether from any other matter to which I have previously made reference, a like nature

In the early days of the invasion, it was reported to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force that some Canadian soldiers had been shot after capture by the enemy. At the request of the ~~Commander of the First~~ Canadian Commander, a court of enquiry composed of ~~senior~~ officers of the British, United States, and Canadian Armies, was promptly convened. That Court has now reported, after most careful investigations, that one Canadian officer and 18 Canadian other ranks, who had been taken prisoner by, and were in the custody of, the German Army, were murdered by members of the 12th S.S. Reconnaissance Battalion of the 12th S.S. Panzer Division, under the direction of certain of their officers. These Canadian soldiers had the status of prisoners of war and as such were entitled to protection. There is no doubt that they met their deaths in a manner and under circumstances clearly in violation of the well-recognized laws and usages of War and of the provisions of the International Conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war. In short, they were wilfully murdered by members of the enemy's forces.

The other Governments of the Commonwealth have joined

D47970-1

with the Canadian Government in a request to the Swiss Government that the results of the Enquiry by the Court be brought to the attention of the German Government, that a demand be made on the German Government for an immediate and searching investigation and that the German officers and men responsible be punished. The Governments of the Commonwealth have also asked the Swiss Government to demand that the German Government promulgate strict orders to prevent, in future, a repetition of such an occurrence.

As I have said, we have put the findings of the Court into the hands of ~~our~~ the Protecting Power. We have asked them to take appropriate action. ~~Under~~ In the circumstances, this is all that I ~~can~~ am able to say on this subject at the moment. ~~I am sure that the~~ and I hope Honourable members ~~of this House~~ will understand the desirability of avoiding unnecessary discussion. There is nothing more that can usefully be said at this time, ~~and~~ I shall conclude simply with the statement that this House humbly pays ~~a sincere~~ tribute to the valour and honour of the dead, and expresses heart-felt sympathy to the families who have been so sadly bereaved. ~~This~~ can only strengthen our purpose to carry on until complete victory ~~is achieved.~~

The report of his ~~com~~ findings.
Names will not be published

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

[Aug 1944]

Re Bust

D 47971

am very much honoured that parl should have wanted a bust, a portrait of myself, which might be presented, as a memorial after I am gone.

I am glad, ~~now to~~ ~~have finished~~ our first two or three sittings, for I am going on my first Overseas Birthday

— and almost to turn a record, — I cannot say how hard ~~this~~ I could this or any other day or how long

4

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

May offer to others -
the most any of us can
expect to wish for, or to
ask, that we may be
known to others as we feel
~~those~~ we are - particularly honored that those who
I have very much above ~~those~~ we have to meet us
should come to know
Hopefully will come. Then it will
Canada will not regret
having a portrait
on its bill to others
of human dignity - during
the period of time over

which we - caught in many
& community should reflect
for ~~Canada~~ ourselves
human sake - Standards

D 47972

~~I would~~ accept for myself
the one of best service

(1)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Note will be shortly issued
re Cuba & b[illegible]

Under auspices of
Defence Council Service

—

Need for employment of Pilots in
Economic Planning

—

Need for Statistical unit in Public
Life – their own activities
or betrays –
and by all will be
taken for
Chamberlain when
Low Yellowman

—

Charges of accounts keeping of men
working the machine but
Treasury – attention
to an invalid

—

D 47973

Official Cards –
1st any party limited
2nd – country –
3rd – Empire limited

Unbalanced mind symptoms
Examination of relevant officers
some more than
others

4

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Season's Greetings ~~to you~~ from us to you.

Best wishes - Winston C.

See article entitled Keep it human next week

Mr Tibbs & Mayor book

Some progress

Mr Rudelli arrived.

Mr Ogmore - Australia

Belief in 2 parties

Mr McKinnon's speech. Re

Suspension of parliament

Secret memorandum D 47974

circs.

See notes re reconstruction

especially by McDuff.

Loss of friends - Labour, Parliament

Senate.

Mayors.

Number of colleagues. Some years

a a ago

a 7 Ministers?

in person?

3/

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 47975

D 47976

NOTE ON SCULPTOR

D 47977

No. 6

DR. AVARD FAIRBANKS, M. F. A., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sculpture at University of Michigan, whose brilliant work has honoured place in every State of the Union as well as outside it, and who has created this imperishable tribute to Canada's Prime Minister as an expression of his art which will find its home in Canada.

McKinley

Mr McKean wonedd like to get
the message. Can read for the Press.

Occasion for the "Big Parade"

Hamlet à Elsinore — 1908

Ophélie — Walterton — 1908

Hamlet — Walterton — 1908

Ophélie — North York — 1917

Hamlet — North York — 1917

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1918 — John Bull

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1921 — Hamlet on Parade

Ophélie — North York — 1921

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1925

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1925 — Hamlet in Armour

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1926

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1930

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1935

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1940 RPs

Hamlet — 1908

Ophélie — 1919

Hamlet — Walterton — Hamlet on Parade

Ophélie — North York — Hamlet in Armour

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1921

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1925

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1926

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1930

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1935

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1940 RPs

Hamlet — Walterton — 1908

Ophélie — North York — 1917

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1921

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1925

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1926

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1930

Hamlet — Prince Albert — 1935

Ophélie — Prince Albert — 1940 RPs

Hamlet — 1908

Ophélie — 1919

Hamlet — Walterton — Hamlet on Parade

Ophélie — North York — Hamlet in Armour

Workmen's — Practice than general statutes

Survey of Sweden

Laws of compensation

1935 — 25 [illegible] Crowns

Rendalen Sanatorium

Trades

Survey of Age + Sex

Sulphur exam of Settlement + Asbestos

Factory workers Surveys + Practice

9

Should workmen employed in dusty trades

have X-rays

One second candle power

D 47979

Dessous tous nos à voir Mirbeau

Jeudi 6

- Messages pour Communion

Secrétaires — Cpt Jourdain

Conseil Secrets

Commissions — Noyon, Lefèvre, Dandeuil
Steeles

Membres d'Ch. Pl. — Soffert à Orléans

Séance Publique

Projet d'Emploi — en commission

Journalistes — Prévu Soffert

Conseil d'Hommes

Télégrammes à Annuler 1918

Remords d'Emploi à Pl — Séance Dimanche

Friends — Télégramme — Expédié sans Soffert

Fautes — Si on a fait
Sur Soffert
Avec remarques

47980

D 47931

11.

If the foundations that have been laid are sound, what can I say, what can I say?

That any factious members in Parliament should [illegible] move to have, in the form of a permanent record of the treason of the Liberal Party of this day 25 years, and so answer this question a time of [illegible] as the scale of crimes now [illegible] in the office of Public Prosecutions, or [illegible] can think of as [illegible] that is accompanied by a record containing the names and of the Liberal Executive and members.

D 47982 I have been [illegible] of the name of Liberal [illegible] whose confidence and

D47933

many who had signified their intention to be present. but circumstances prevented, I cannot I trust have forgotten the pleasure of the occasion. ~~to [illegible] the election~~ at the [illegible] that others might be present in their stead, or ~~have joined in~~ to join with consolidated friends. in proposing a toast connected with other parts of the Dominion. ~~for~~ For all their services & exertions especially of loyalty to their Sovereign, to the people I am to address on it. I am personally grateful, ~~no effort~~ ~~can~~ Nothing could be given so welcome - given so encouraging as since we were last here could have come from Canada a more cordial ~~about~~ ~~by~~ welcome than the Citizens of ~~Ottawa~~ for the reception & ~~[illegible]~~ such a reward of our exertions & an ample ~~[illegible]~~, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ this evening ~~[illegible]~~ Standard must be raised high in all parts of Canada

D
47934

(1)

Feelings at this moment.

Looking forward with confidence to this evening

Still I can reason myself, after all that has been said, and this many expressions of friendship, friendship I pray never better but for a short.

Knowing and this hurt me. D 47985

I am sorry I am not able better to express my feelings, more as I see from those friendship have been of service to me but I am not able to express this feeling as I would like to express my gratitude for receiving so many expressions of affection and friendship loyalty it is a pleasure I have had the privilege of meeting - and that from time most whom one in last 5 months I have been more closely associated, have I to attempt to express my feelings, I cannot search for words adequate enough I can only thank you for your kindness and hope I do not fail in my trust.

And yet I cannot make some attempt
at thanks, even if it is only a word.
And how that you may be assured at once
that I understand the meaning
of what constitutes morality in a complete
system, let me tell you that the
a quarter of a century of existence of any kind; and
~~remainder of~~ has taught me that there
& half a century of ~~continuous~~ future service in one form or another
are few of any class ~~of men~~
more unfeeling in their dealings
than the land of compromise, of
~~Dominion~~ from which
both it seems, have in our
distinction and you [illegible]
~~Sulphur~~
Sulphur as we can of ~~institutions~~ and
destruction, from one another
to almost certain. ~~death~~ Death or late
will remain from ~~another~~ ~~a~~
~~enemy~~ ~~effects~~ and pain
for beyond ~~anything~~
~~hope of recovery~~ [illegible] or death.

I think I can say without
fear of contradiction that no man
in this country, least of Canada
in this year 25 years has been

D 47936

no friend to turn in this way of
from a sense of his personal
intellectual and educational claims
myself. No man whose ambitions
have been ~~never~~ ^ misunderstood
and against whom ~~slanderous~~
persistent efforts have been made
to lower him in the social estimation
and to poison their minds ~~him~~
myself. If I could see how
the reason I should be weighed
indeed, the reason is only too
abundant, - both of us I mean
of leadership of any party I am
and on such my 18th day
I object, that as a long time
for some people to be out of
office, especially when ~~some~~
their pockets, classes, and classes
dearly and to alone, in their right
strong personal ambitions have been frustrated
to make, ^ But there is a pro
-found reason that that.
Any one who reads

D 47987

battle & entrenched principles,
& plan a certain value on human
life ~~consequences in this~~
remains human hunters, when
upon position and possessions
human great, must expect &
see his motives misconstrued,
~~and~~ and & the attached & the
~~honest party~~ enemy of civilization
or & friend & the promoter of
principles, & ~~during~~ introduction
& special interests & the
general interest, & ~~conflict~~
such men and even a de
bury of eyewitness & observers'
for act. Do Dunn and
his & does not. & the pro,
and this & Cooke I doubt
complete & the true & them
in doors on and out of season
in Yosemite and in Alaska, in
Parliament and in this country
as home and abroad

D 47988

5/.

I am sorry to trouble you
in this matter as the trouble
I have undoubtedly been caused in
your office by your claim of absence
and consequent non-receipt of home pay
is entirely mine

D 47989

I am very sorry that I was
ten years I have perhaps had more
than my share of detached duties
and I have claimed
detachment allowance
particularly as having an
equal claim in an opposite
direction. And that is
why another draft of this has
not been sent on land of consequence
and have written on the exact
circumstances about which
Captain Thomas may say. So long
as one draft is due the right
or part claim on it is the right.

~~Affecting~~ after from all these, I should
be less than human, if ~~I was~~
~~not~~ any way ~~affected~~ could
look with pleasure, and ~~a~~ deep sense
of the many
manifestations of the Queen's
loyalty towards, & trust in myself
~~me in~~ ~~during~~ after 20 years of
Reckoning ~~have~~ have not ~~my~~ turned
from so many noble Duties;
and I should add the honour
of God would, and in mercy, that he also
~~has~~ have ~~my~~ turned on the part
of my responsible Ministers ~~and~~ & Counsellors
of other countries, ~~from~~ as
much as from many of those
~~besides~~ with whom ~~I~~ in our own.

If ~~the~~ ~~Princes~~ ~~of~~ ~~Europe~~
I ~~am~~ ~~unanimous~~ ~~in~~ ~~my~~ ~~views~~ & ~~support~~, it
should be very much owing to my
dear & woman who ~~sees~~ ~~in~~
~~some~~ has ~~counselled~~ in the
hall of ~~parliament~~ and ~~of~~ ~~Cabinet~~
Councillors

Lord

D 47990

I cannot end without saying how personally grateful I am for the kindness and consideration of Mr Bunting and the Committee of Management in all matters connected with my visit to Canada, and for the pleasant arrangements which have contributed to the success of the Conference.

I think all who have attended the Conference will feel that the business has been conducted in a manner worthy of the Methodist Church in the Dominion.

D 47991

of the Lives of the monks "that shone as
the Lamps burning Lights on the Alters"
of the unfortunates " — ~~I know nothing~~
~~know~~ anything I may do say
I may of a Manifestation — would
~~unsay~~ ~~to~~ from unsaid
that as it is I would never wish
to say. Again I am only
the Channel

(~~Mrs Browning~~)

I thank you one and all
with all my heart

~~If any one doubts what I~~

I scarcely ask you to pray that I
I am a lonely ~~stranger~~ stranger that
I hope ~~to find~~ to find all my
friends

Dear ~~friends~~ ones as ~~we~~ we
part all the dear memories I
have ~~have~~ in my memory as my
as memory ~~will~~ will ~~remain~~

D 47992

For an [illegible] Schmidt in Sibirien of my old companion "Pat" and myself ~~[illegible]~~ I cannot begin to think [illegible] and obligation [illegible] world. Not that I know

I cannot begin to [illegible] how obliged I am [illegible] the [illegible] of Herr Schmidt in Sibirien of my old companion 'Pat' and myself. Not that I shall [illegible] any special [illegible] [illegible] out of looking on anyone from now [illegible], but [illegible] and [illegible] I shall [illegible]

D 47993

141

[illegible] from [illegible] exclamation
[illegible] of [illegible] from
[illegible] of [illegible] from
[illegible] [illegible]
and complain of injury
and being reminded, - of which
I have now occasion to remind
of our right I claimed [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] from the example
of my best friend.

Quintus.

[illegible]

It was resolved a [illegible] thing
[illegible]

D 47994

15

Sofern wir Ihnen

[illegible]

[illegible]

Es wäre also sehr wünschenswerth
wenn Sie uns folgende Liste
1. Ihr Eintritt [illegible] in 1908 — [illegible]
2. Ihre Ernennung zum Leiter
3. N. Y. U. — Studienzeit
Ihr Beruf. —

[illegible]

4. Ihre Tätigkeit — N. Y. U. [illegible]

5. Ihre Adresse
12. 2

[illegible]

Sie [illegible]

Da [illegible]
[illegible] Sie [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

D 47995

D 47996

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

1. a vital deal but mostly
destructive — the brave
hearts or the wise
a part

Very exciting, to test our mind
and reflections
devotional literature
biographical
international affairs
miscellaneous
poetry.
Mixed up event nature
reading depends on
merits
of medium thing
type of Soviet Soldiers

course of reading — general books
not research or
Small capitals
particular works
most important debates
D47997
Commonwealth
Simon report (Students)
readers: description material
Some translations Netherlands
country

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

2/

more attention to international
relations than foreign affairs
in which of international affairs
much of matters
after cost over
Many people assume
Canada's Canada's
as

2/ Suppose — most events & many
of Canadian war & other
most played

Many Canada has right
entitled
same tolerance & Canada

most misunderstood

Opinion
defence calendar, attitude of
a good many influential
people
Commander Canada, as a nation
& parliament or an article
a fresh & new, or indeed
but different interest market
but detachment & right & delicate

D47998.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

3

most pleasant manner in which all
Australians met -

Ireland — readiness to serve.
Lebanon has come into the
Union - rights of organized
& capital - wage struggle
Social conscience

Foreign Community — great contribution
Human resources & power

Emergence of Canada into World
Affairs — need sense of National
Self
Reliance

3. Church should be a great force
(for the mind)
— the best minds
not average minds.
high intelligence & intelligent
the highest thoughts

Bolton's Saturday night -

D47999

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM re Conference - Locarno
full of interest
Reconstruction of Ollon

Let 7 see my friends

Cordial sense of fruitless effort
~~of~~ attraction of character
(written in pencil on proof)
Conversion of truce
lying and hate
cause of all ills in domestic
internal & international strife

~~from~~

D 48000

(1)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 48001

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Little red book - to the Queen

Book of Sermons - Grey Comm

Sermons - Essay on Compensation

Hammond - Analysis

Nature work - Montreal Standard
Journal
etc

Telegrams (Churchill
Duchess
& messages.

Mike

D 48002

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 48003

4/

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 48004

(2)

In carrying about Glory-
Thorn held to conceal
for actions, shakespeare
hold to friends, hand then
over them -

Not allow an invisible
conduct from beyond
a chain directed by
a concealed hand
the Robot = the concealed
weapon -

Glory in public life
begins under fortunate
hatreds - of freemasonry

Women of distinction
(See Red Book -
M Daniels
Gt Ormond St

D 48005

Gerber Edward
2 Mayis

(1) Ernennung Komponist

(1) Als Sujet muss ein
bekanntes Typ - Lang vom
Internationalen Ausland
muss der neue Sowjet
Staatsmann gefeiert werden

(2) Frauen und Kinder
Allegorien der Arbeits
Armee)

(3) Freude Enthusiasmus
Stürmische Begeisterung, Hymnen
Oratorium -
Symphonie für Chor und
Klavier und Chor eine Oper
über Lenin

D 48006

Lenin in Zürich
Lenin und Inessa
Lenin und Krupskaja
Lenin und Stalin
Lenin und Gorki
Lenin und Trotzki

(3)

Parents

Sawmi

Thesis I maintain:

(communism 1919

still up-

Immediate communism of wages

important

Staff – (Bureaucracy)

Civil Service

staff work in public

service in country

Demands of Public Opinion –

Abolition of Civil Service

Feeling towards men

Human culture better

or worse

for more belief

for individ. worse

(Communist culture better

could be aimed at by

planning in

D 48007

D 48008

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister:

Re: Speech for August the 7th

Attached are a few suggested points along a line you mentioned the other day. The list of principles could be, of course, greatly extended and amplified, and no doubt some of the most important have been omitted. I have tried, however, to suggest a few which were typical rather than to be exhaustive.

J. Wilson

August 4th, 1944
JWP/LAB

D 48009

D 48010

Prime Minister's Speech, August 7, 1944

Suggested Points

Basic Objectives in Public Life

A. Social:

1. National minimum of social security and human welfare.

2. Closer approach to equality of opportunity for all.

B. National:

1. Unity based not on a single race or language, but upon tolerance, equality and deep attachment to a common homeland.

2. Development of national strength based on harmonizing differences of race and class, acceptance of common objectives and, above all, the greatest possible measure of freedom.

C. International:

1. The fullest measure of freedom of decision by Canada, and equality of status for Canada with other nations of the world.

2. Co-operation with other nations to preserve freedom and promote prosperity for all.

D 48011

Principles which have guided conduct in public life:

1. Human values are higher than material values. The supreme obligation of society is to provide a suitable environment for the full development of the human personality.

2. Freedom is much more than the negative concept of the absence of restraint. There can be no true freedom so long as men are the prey of fear and insecurity.

3. A healthy and vigorous national consciousness and pride is essential to the unity of any country, but nationality which is not subordinated to the higher claims of humanity is one of the greatest evils.

4. Industry, properly viewed, is a form of social service. Industry is only justified to the extent that it serves humanity.

5. A living community is one in which there is continuous social change, but beneficial change comes only as a result of a steady process of public education.

D 48012

6. Enduring social reform, and indeed all effective and lasting action by government, depends upon the consent and approval of public opinion, and the pace of reform cannot be forced.

7. The effectiveness of governmental action does not depend upon its being spectacular. The most significant action is often, like the action of a glacier, the least perceptible at the time.

8. The evil which a wise government prevents is often more significant than the positive good it accomplishes.

9. The exponents of "ACTION" often forget that extremes of conduct or of language on one side generally arouse extremes on the opposite side. In the resulting conflict the two neutralize each other and no action results.

10. Effective action is based on mature deliberation - on the meeting of minds and the exchange of views. That is the justification of cabinet government and the reason why the action of free governments, though it may often seem slow, is generally effective.

D 48013

11. One-man rule invariably leads to action without deliberation and ultimately to injustice and violence.

12. The secret of successful government in a free community is the use of the maximum of persuasion and the minimum of coercion.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
76		Welcome to Hon. Peter Fraser, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1944	D 47420 - D 47426	
76		Introduction of General Charles De Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	11 July 1944	D 47427 - D 47462	
76		Family Allowance. Speeches in Parliament	25 June 1944	D 47463 - D 47470	
76		Estimates, 1944, External Affairs	1944	D 47471 - D 47557	
76		London, England House of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47558 - D 47578	
76		Dinner given by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 47579 - D 47969	
77		Shooting of Canadian Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1944	D 47970	
77		Anniversaries, King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 47971 - D 48013	
77		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 48014 - D 48040	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Aug 17/44

D 48014

Subject

Premier King Puts Action For Post-War Era First

Canada Must Match Plans for Peace With Successful War Effort, He Says

OTTAWA, Aug. 17—Canada must make the same thorough and comprehensive provision for the post-war future, which she made for the successful prosecution of the war. Only in this way can full provision be made for the future of the fighting men of this country.

That was the thought which Premier Mackenzie King left with the people of Canada last night. Speaking over a network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, he dealt in detail with the provision which this country was making for the future of the fighting forces.

At the outset of his remarks he said that ever since 1940 he had refrained from making any broadcasts of a political character and did not intend to start now. The thoughts of the people were centred on the war.

Throughout the armed services, the men and women were eager to know what arrangements had been made for their future. The wives and sweethearts also want to know. "Next to the successful prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, the first care of the Government, as it was its first duty, has been to make provision for the future of Canada's fighting forces."

Supreme Obligation

The Government had recognized the supreme national obligation to provide for the dependents of those who had made the supreme sacrifice, to care for the sick and disabled and to see that opportunities were afforded for education and training, and above all, to make sure that useful employment is available, and a better standard of life provided for the fighting men than they knew before the war.

"In expressing our recognition of this solemn obligation," Mr. King said, "I speak for everyone of you. What is being done is, in reality, being done by the people of Canada. The Government is their agent and their trustee."

The Government had not deemed it advisable to focus too much public attention on post-war matters until victory was in sight. Today we feel the time has come when we should make known as widely as possible the provision that already has been made for our fighting men."

Reviews Action Taken

The Prime Minister outlined the steps which had been taken since December 9, 1939, when a Cabinet committee was appointed to consider post-war problems.

"It is my desire tonight to bring before you a broad picture of what has been done.

"Our first thought was of the men who would be giving their lives for the world's freedom. Our first duty was to make provision for their wives and children. That provision is made by pensions. During the war, the pension system has been further improved from time to time, and pensions have been exempted from income tax.

"Our next thought was of those who would be disabled. For them, too, provision is made through pensions. Pensions are paid to veterans who have been disabled in proportion to their disability. The pension system also recognizes the family responsibilities of veterans and veterans' widows. Under the legislation recently enacted, family allowances will be paid for children of pensioners in addition to the full pension now being paid.

"The country's interest in the veteran who has been disabled or maimed, or the veteran whose health is impaired, does not stop with the award of a pension. All veterans are entitled to medical care to restore them to civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them. For a pensionable disability, veterans are entitled to medical care throughout life. During the first year after discharge, all veterans are entitled to medical care for any condition, whether connected with service or not. In cases of need, veterans who have served in an active theatre of war are provided with medical care required for causes not connected with their service.

Demobilization Continuous

"We all realize that the need for pensions and medical care begins to arise early in a war. But we usually think of demobilization as something which begins only at the end of the war. Too often it is forgotten that, long before the end of a war, for many reasons, men and women in the services are honorably discharged. Ill health, overstrain, age and other causes, as well as disabilities brought about in consequence of continuous aid.
action with the enemy, result in

"For one cause or another, some 150,000 men have already been discharged during the present war. Many of them helped to hold the fortress of Britain until others could be trained, equipped and arrayed against the enemy. Most of those already discharged have been established in employment. All those who have been honorably discharged at any time are entitled to participate in benefits which have been made available since their discharge. Many benefits have been available for some time. Others became effective with the enactment of the War Service Grants Act.

"I have been a long time in Parliament and I have had the privilege of introducing many important bills of lasting benefit to the people of Canada. But in that long record nothing has given me greater pride and satisfaction than the honor of introducing the War Service Grants Act. . . .

"Fortunately, the majority of Canada's veterans will not require either pensions or much in the way of medical care. Their concern will be with their re-establishment in civil life as working members of the community. I wish now to describe briefly what is being done to help these men and women to re-establish themselves when they leave the service.

"In point of time, the first benefit is received by the veteran immediately on discharge. Every man and woman in the services who has served over six months will receive a rehabilitation grant of one month's pay and dependents' allowances, together with a clothing allowance of $100, and all will receive free transportation from the place of discharge to their homes.

"By the end of the war about a million men and women will have passed through the ranks of our three services. Some, particularly those who have been away from home for three or four or five years, will require time to find their place again in civil life.

"To help veterans and their families in meeting the period of transition from military to civil life, maintenance allowances are available. An allowance is provided in case employment is not available immediately, and is payable for as long as a year. During the first year after a veteran is discharged, an allowance is payable in case of temporary incapac-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 48015

ity for any cause. These allowances are $50 a month for single men and $70 a month for married men, with additional allowances for children.

"Similar allowances are payable to veterans who have taken up farming or fishing under the Veterans Land Act and to those who have set themselves up in small businesses or trades.

Free Courses Offered

"Free courses are offered to veterans who are qualified to undertake vocational or technical training or to attend a university for either undergraduate or post-graduate studies. Vocational or technical training may be continued for a year, and university studies for a period equal to the length of the veterans' service. All educational fees are paid. In addition a monthly allowance of $60 for single men and $80 for married men is payable during the period of training or education.

"All veterans may not wish further training or education. Larger numbers will prefer to secure immediate employment. In seeking employment veterans will enjoy definite advantages.

"Many veterans with the aptitude or experience will wish to engage in the great primary industries of farming and fishing. Under the Veterans Land Act, provision is made for financial assistance in establishing veterans with suitable backgrounds on farms or in fishing.

Two-Fold Purpose

"Everything I have so far mentioned was already in operation before the War Services Grants Act, just enacted, was introduced in Parliament. That measure does two things. It provides, first, for a cash gratuity to every member of the armed forces who volunteered for general service and, second, for a re-establishment credit which will fill in gaps in the re-establishment program.

"War service gratuities are a token of the gratitude of our country to those who were ready to risk their lives in their country's service. Since they are an expression of gratitude, in so far as anything can express gratitude for the offer of life itself, the gratuities are, with certain exceptions, payable only to those who have volunteered for service anywhere in the world. Those whose services are being recognized have not thought of their duty as something which would entitle them to monetary reward. But for those of us at home it is a satisfaction to know that, insofar as there can be such a thing as generosity to those who have been prepared to risk their all in war, no country in the world is being more generous than Canada in its recognition of the services of men and women in the armed forces.

"But that is not all. In the War Service Grants Act, an attempt is made to fill gaps in the existing re-establishment program. The Government recognized that all veterans did not desire to take vocational training, or to complete their education, or to establish themselves in farming or fishing. Some of them might, for example, want to set up small businesses or build homes.

"To sum up, the rehabilitation and re-establishment program includes pensions and medical care, a rehabilitation grant with clothing allowance and transportation home on discharge, maintenance allowance during the period of transition, free vocational training or university education, preferences in employment, unemployment insurance protection, opportunities to undertake farming or fishing, and, now, re-establishment credits with very wide scope. In addition the veteran will have in the war service gratuity a nest-egg of cash which may be used for any purpose which commends itself to the individual. What I wish to emphasise tonight is that all this is not merely a policy or a plan, much less a promise; it is already a part of the law of the land.

"In order to complete the picture, I should mention two other measures of particular interest to veterans enacted in the recent session of Parliament. One is the Veterans' Insurance Act, which makes life insurance at very reasonable cost available without medical examination to veterans. The other is the measure which establishes a separate department of government known as the Department of Veterans' Affairs. The new department will administer pensions, war veterans' allowances, the rehabilitation program, the Veterans' Land Act, and all other measures which are exclusively concerned with the welfare of the men and women who have served in Canada's armed forces.

Free Citizens

"But we should not forget that the vast majority of the men and women in Canada's Navy, Army and Air Force are not, in any professional sense, sailors or soldiers or airmen. They are civilians. They are the free citizens of a free country. When they are discharged they will wish as quickly and fully as possible to take their share in the ordinary civil life of the community and the nation. The best welcome home for any man is a job and the opportunity to lead a useful life. Those who have served abroad will want that life to be a better life than most of them knew in Canada before this war.

"We must also remember that a great proportion of our war veterans are young. They will wish to marry and establish families. Like the rest of the people they will be vitally interested in social insurance against the major hazards of life, and in a reasonable degree of social security for themselves and for their families.

"But we have not lost sight of the rest of the task, which regards them as citizens concerned as all other citizens are with the opportunities and the security afforded in civil life. We have taken steps to help to ensure full employment and a high level of income after the war. We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home or abroad. We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We are fostering research into new uses for our natural resources. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning. We have extended banking services, and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under the prices of their products. In the greatest measure of all, we have provided for the well-being of Canada's children," Mr. King said.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

5166/44

Date AUG 18 1944

D 48016

Subject

Non-Political Mr. King.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING introduced his address to the people of Canada on Wednesday evening by saying it would not be partisan. Then he proceeded to review existing legislation for the benefit of war veterans with many references to himself and his Government, and comparisons with the benefits given after the First World War. He said very little about Parliament, but much about the Government.

The Prime Minister, had party politics been as far from his mind as he would like us to think, would have told the people that the veterans' legislation, of necessity originating with the Government, had the complete approval of all parties in the House of Commons and Senate. The Progressive Conservatives and all other groups, for example, gave their hearty commendation to the Veterans' Benefits Act, which makes grants to all active service men and women.

Mr. KING might have mentioned this fact. We can be sure the Liberals in the Dominion election will claim sole credit for the veterans' legislation, but the people should remember that in this matter the parties were in full agreement that the treatment of the returned men should be generous as well as just.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Aug 17/44

5166/44

D 48017

Subject

Canada's Plans for Her Armed Forces

Canadians have learned from time to time of new provisions for the future well-being of the Dominion's armed forces as these have been announced from Ottawa. But even those who have followed the announcements closely must have been impressed last evening when Prime Minister King gathered them all together and gave the complete picture in a radio address.

As Mr. King pointed out, the rehabilitation and re-establishment program includes pensions and medical care, a rehabilitation grant with clothing allowance and transportation home on discharge, maintenance allowances during the period of transition, free vocational training or university education, preferences in employment, unemployment insurance protection (dues paid up by the government from time of enlistment to re-entry into an insured position), opportunities to undertake farming or fishing, and now re-establishment credits with very wide scope. In addition the veteran will have in the war service gratuity a nest egg of cash which may be used for any purpose which commends itself to the individual. Laws are already on the statute books providing these advantages, as is also a measure which permits the returned man to take out reasonably-priced government insurance without a medical examination.

The veterans will also have the advantage of social security measures applicable to citizens in general, such as children's allowances. Mr. King said: "We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain Canada's markets at home or abroad. We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We are fostering research into new uses for our natural resources. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning. We have extended banking services and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under the prices of their products. In the greatest measure of all, we have provided for the well-being of Canada's children."

It is an imposing record of provisions for the welfare of citizens in general and veterans in particular. Speaking of the latest measure to be approved by parliament for the benefit of the armed forces, the Prime Minister said: "Nothing has given me greater pride and satisfaction than the honor of introducing the War Services Grants Act." He added: "We have recognized the supreme national obligation to provide for the dependants of those who have made the supreme sacrifice, to care for the sick and disabled, to see that opportunities are afforded for education and training, and, above all, to make sure that useful employment is available and a better standard of life provided for our fighting men than they knew before the war."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 17 1944

Subject

D 48918

KING OUTLINES VETERANS AID

Says in CBC Talk Canada Leads in Rehabilitation Plans

Ottawa, August 16. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight that "with the War Service Grants Act crowning the measures previously enacted Canada leads the world" in making provision for servicemen after the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King gave an outline of the benefits and arrangements made for the re-establishment of servicemen into civilian life and declared the provision made is "the most comprehensive any country has ever made to re-establish its fighting men."

Mr. King's broadcast was part of the free-time granted by the CBC to allow national political parties to outline their platforms and plans. It was the third broadcast by Liberal party supporters since the free-time policy was inaugurated in June.

Prior to the recent session of parliament, Mr. King said, provision was made for the dependents of men who gave their lives and for disabled men through pensions. In addition to pensions already payable, children of disabled men or men who lost their lives now would receive family allowances.

Provision also has been made for medical care of veterans who require it. Men are entitled to be sent into civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them.

Mr. King also outlined the maintenance allowances payable to veterans while awaiting employment, taking vocational or university training or awaiting returns from business; the Veterans Land Act to aid men in setting themselves up as farmers or fisherman; preferences in employment; benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act law requiring the reinstatement of veterans in pre-enlistment jobs, and free tuition at universities and trade schools.

Of the 150,000 veterans already discharged, most have already been re-established but, Mr. King said, by the end of the war close to 1,000,000 men will have passed through the armed forces. Most of them, fortunately, will come out fit and not in need of pension or medical care. They will be interested in an opportunity to lead a useful life.

On discharge, he said, they would receive one month's pay and allowances plus a clothing allowance of $100 and transportation to their place of enlistment.

The War Service Grants Act, passed at the recent session, provided men with a cash nest-egg which amounted to $1,041.97 for a private soldier with one year's service in Canada, three years overseas, married and having two children. He would get $411.97 in cash on discharge and $630 in monthly instalments.

If the soldier did not take advantage of other schemes such as those provided for farming, fishing, business establishment or education, he would receive a credit of $630 which might be used at any time in 10 years to buy or improve a home, buy furniture or tools, purchase a business or pay down on a life insurance policy.

Soldiers, sailors and airmen were citizens first of all and would want to live in a better Canada than before the war. They were young and looked forward to having families.

"We have taken steps to help ensure full employment and a high level of income after the war," said Mr. King. "We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home and abroad."

"We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning.

"We have extended banking services and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under their prices.

"In the greatest measure of all we have provided for the well-being of the nation's children."

Canada was moving in the vanguard of the nations which had the resources and the will to put the welfare of the people first in the transition from war to pace. All measures of human betterment would benefit returning veterans directly or indirectly. Their re-stablishment depended on a prosperous and happy Canada.

In war, the fighting men had had the best in training, leadership and equipment. Nothing to ensure success in war had been left undone.

"It now remains for us to make, for the post-war future, the same thorough and comprehensive provision that Canada has made for the successful prosecution of the war," he said. "Only in this way can we fully provide for the future of our fighting men."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date AUG 17 1944

D 48919

Subject

Canada Leading World In Rehabilitation: King

Ottawa, Aug. 16 (CP). — Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight that, "with the War Service Grant Act" crowning the measures previously enacted, Canada leads the world" in making provision for servicemen after the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King gave an outline of the benefits and arrangements made for the re-establishment of servicemen into civilian life and declared the provision made is "the most comprehensive any country has ever made to re-establish its fighting men."

Mr. King's broadcast was part of the free time granted by the CBC to allow national political parties to outline their platforms and plans. It was the third broadcast by Liberal Party supporters since the free-time policy was inaugurated in June.

Review of Legislation

Prior to the recent session of Parliament, Mr. King said, provision was made for the dependents of men who gave their lives and for disabled men through pensions. In addition to pensions already payable, children of disabled men or men who lost their lives now would receive family allowances.

Provision also has been made for medical care of veterans who require it. Men are entitled to be sent into civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them.

Mr. King also outlined the maintenance allowances payable to veterans while awaiting employment, taking vocational or university training, or awaiting returns from business; the Veterans Land Act to aid men in setting themselves up as farmers or fishermen; preferences in employment; benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act law requiring the reinstatement of veterans in pre-enlistment jobs, and free tuition at universities and trade schools.

Of the 150,000 veterans already discharged, most have already been re-established but, Mr. King said, by the end of the war close to 1,000,000 men will have passed through the armed forces. Most of them, fortunately, will come out fit and not in need of pensions or medical care. They will be interested in an opportunity to lead a useful life.

On discharge, he said, they would receive one month's pay and allowances plus a clothing allowance of $100 and transportation to their place of enlistment.

The War Services Grants Act, passed at the recent session, provided men with a cash nest-egg which amounted to $1,041.97 for a private soldier with one year's service in Canada, three years overseas, married and having two children. He would get $411.97 in cash on discharge and $630 in monthly instalments.

Home Purchase Plan

If the soldier did not take advantage of other schemes such as those provided for farming, fishing, business establishment or education, he would receive a credit of $630 which might be used at any time in 10 years to buy or improve a home, buy furniture or tools, purchase a business or pay down on a life insurance policy.

Soldiers, sailors and airmen were citizens first of all and would want to live in a better Canada than before the war. They were young and looked forward to having families.

"We have taken steps to help ensure full employment and a high level of income after the war,' said Mr. King. "We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home and abroad."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 17 1944

D 48020

Most of Discharged Men Re-established Asserts Mr. King

Prime Minister King said last night that "with the War Service Grants Act crowning the measures previously enacted Canada leads the world" in making provision for servicemen after the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King gave an outline of the benefits and arrangements made for the re-establishment of servicemen into civilian life and declared the provision made is "the most comprehensive any country has ever made to re-establish its fighting men".

Mr. King's broadcast was part of the free-time granted by the CBC to allow national political parties to outline their platforms and plans. It was the third broadcast by Liberal party supporters since the free-time policy was inaugurated in June.

Prior to the recent session of Parliament Mr. King said, provision was made for the dependents of men who gave their lives and for disabled men through pensions. In addition to pensions already payable, children of disabled men or men who lost their lives now would receive family allowances.

Provision also has been made for medical care of veterans who require it. Men are entitled to be sent into civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them.

Mr. King also outlined the maintenance allowances payable to veterans while awaiting employment, taking vocational or university training or awaiting returns from business; the Veterans' Land Act to aid men in setting themselves up as farmers or fishermen; preferences in employment; benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act law requiring the reinstatement of veterans in pre-enlistment jobs, and free tuition at universities and trade schools.

Of the 150,000 veterans already discharged, most have already been re-established but, Mr. King said, by the end of the war close to 1,000,000 men will have passed through the armed forces. Most of them, fortunately, will come out fit and not in need of pension or medical care. They will be interested in an opportunity to lead a useful life.

On discharge, they would receive one month's pay and allowances plus a clothing allowance of $100 and transportation to their place of enlistment.

The War Service Grants Act, passed at the recent session, provided men with a cash nest-egg which amounted to $1,041.97 for a private soldier with one year's service in Canada, three years overseas, married and having two children. He would get $411.97 in cash on discharge and $630 in monthly instalments.

If the soldier did not take advantage of other schemes such as those provided for farming, fishing, business establishment or education, he would receive a credit of $630 which might be used at any time in 10 years to buy or improve a home, buy furniture or tools, purchase a business or pay down on life insurance policy.

Soldiers, sailors and airmen were citizens first of all and would want to live in a better Canada than before the war. They were young and looked forward to having families.

"We have taken steps to help ensure full employment and a high level of income after the war. We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home and abroad."

"We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning.

"We have extended banking services and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under their prices.

"In the greatest measure of all we have provided for the well-being of the nation's children."

Canada was moving in the vanguard of the nations which had the resources and the will to put the welfare of the people first in the transition from war to peace. All measures of human betterment would benefit returning veterans directly or indirectly. Their re-establishment depended on a prosperous and happy Canada.

In war, the fighting men had had the best in training, leadership and equipment. Nothing to ensure success in war had been left undone.

"It now remains for us to make, for the post-war future, the same thorough and comprehensive provision that Canada has made for the successful prosecution of the war", he said. "Only in this way can we fully provide for the future of our fighting men."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 17 1944

D 48020

Most of Discharged Men Re-established Asserts Mr. King

Prime Minister King said last night that "with the War Service Grants Act crowning the measures previously enacted Canada leads the world" in making provision for servicemen after the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King gave an outline of the benefits and arrangements made for the re-establishment of servicemen into civilian life and declared the provision made is "the most comprehensive any country has ever made to re-establish its fighting men".

Mr. King's broadcast was part of the free-time granted by the CBC to allow national political parties to outline their platforms and plans. It was the third broadcast by Liberal party supporters since the free-time policy was inaugurated in June.

Prior to the recent session of Parliament Mr. King said, provision was made for the dependents of men who gave their lives and for disabled men through pensions. In addition to pensions already payable, children of disabled men or men who lost their lives now would receive family allowances.

Provision also has been made for medical care of veterans who require it. Men are entitled to be sent into civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them.

Mr. King also outlined the maintenance allowances payable to veterans while awaiting employment, taking vocational or university training or awaiting returns from business; the Veterans' Land Act to aid men in setting themselves up as farmers or fishermen; preferences in employment; benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act law requiring the reinstatement of veterans in pre-enlistment jobs, and free tuition at universities and trade schools.

Of the 150,000 veterans already discharged, most have already been re-established but, Mr. King said, by the end of the war close to 1,000,000 men will have passed through the armed forces. Most of them, fortunately, will come out fit and not in need of pension or medical care. They will be interested in an opportunity to lead a useful life.

On discharge, they would receive one month's pay and allowances plus a clothing allowance of $100 and transportation to their place of enlistment.

The War Service Grants Act, passed at the recent session, provided men with a cash nest-egg which amounted to $1,041.97 for a private soldier with one year's service in Canada, three years overseas, married and having two children. He would get $411.97 in cash on discharge and $630 in monthly instalments.

If the soldier did not take advantage of other schemes such as those provided for farming, fishing, business establishment or education, he would receive a credit of $630 which might be used at any time in 10 years to buy or improve a home, buy furniture or tools, purchase a business or pay down on life insurance policy.

Soldiers, sailors and airmen were citizens first of all and would want to live in a better Canada than before the war. They were young and looked forward to having families.

"We have taken steps to help ensure full employment and a high level of income after the war. We are proceeding with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home and abroad."

"We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning.

"We have extended banking services and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under their prices.

"In the greatest measure of all we have provided for the well-being of the nation's children."

Canada was moving in the vanguard of the nations which had the resources and the will to put the welfare of the people first in the transition from war to peace. All measures of human betterment would benefit returning veterans directly or indirectly. Their re-establishment depended on a prosperous and happy Canada.

In war, the fighting men had had the best in training, leadership and equipment. Nothing to ensure success in war had been left undone.

"It now remains for us to make, for the post-war future, the same thorough and comprehensive provision that Canada has made for the successful prosecution of the war", he said. "Only in this way can we fully provide for the future of our fighting men."

REPEAT
REPETITION

Canadian Governor for the Better
Understanding

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER 48021

MEMORANDUM

~~Lennie to Commonwealth~~

Prime Minister Washington

re Broadcast-

The attached draft is a joint effort by Mr Claxton and myself. An additional check on the facts is being made by our Senior at his suggestion.

This draft is about 1½ to 1¾ pages too long for ~~radio~~ but that will no doubt be places where it can be tightened up.

W. P

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CANADA'S FIGHTING FORCES D 48022

Introductory.

~~This is the first occasion in four years on which I have broadcast to the people of Canada in my capacity as leader of the Liberal Party. But even tonight, on time allowed for political broadcasts, I am not going to speak of party matters. I propose rather to speak to~~ you as the head of Canada's wartime government. When I conclude I am sure you will agree that I have been speaking as the representative of Canadians of every walk of life, and of ~~every party~~.

~~People living in different parts of Canada may~~ differ about some things; but the things on which we ~~~~ agree are much more important and far more numerous than the things on which we disagree. We love our country; we would not wish to live anywhere else. We want to see the war brought to a victorious conclusion at the earliest possible moment. We are willing to work for a better life after the war. We all want to see provision made for those who served us when the need was greatest.

Next to the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, the first duty and the first care of ~~the~~ government

D 48023

has been to make ~~arrangements~~ for the ~~re-establishment~~ of Canada's fighting men. ~~There must be provision~~ for the dependents of those who have made the supreme sacrifice. The sick and disabled ~~must be cared for~~. Opportunities ~~must~~ be afforded for education and training. Above all, useful employment ~~must be~~ available, ~~to~~ provide a better standard of life for our fighting men than they knew before the war. ~~What they want above everything else is the opportunity to have an abundant life.~~ In expressing our recognition of this solemn obligation ~~I know~~ I speak for everyone of you.

~~For some time I have wanted to give an accounting~~ of our preparations to the people of Canada. After all, what is being done is really being done by the people of Canada, ~~not merely by the government.~~ Our fighting men in France and Italy, at sea and on air stations in every quarter of the globe, ~~want~~ to know what arrangements are being made for the future they cannot prepare for themselves. Their wives, their mothers and their fathers want to know what is being done for their loved ones in the Navy, the Army and the Air Force. ~~They want to know the basis on which they can plan ahead.~~

I have not spoken earlier on this subject because I thought it wiser to wait until our preparations were

To

D 48024

reasonably complete, as they are now with the enactment of the War Services Grants Act. I have delayed speaking for another reason. While making every preparation we would have been wrong to focus too much attention on post war planning until we were within sight of the victory for which we have been striving, now, for nearly five years.

In France and Italy, and on the Russian and Far East fronts, the progress made by the magnificent achievements of the allied forces, including our own splendid Canadians, indicate that victory everywhere is certain. But we cannot be sure when the hour of victory will strike. Whether the hour will come sooner or later depends upon the exertions of all the United Nations. We must keep up the pressure. The greater our efforts, the sooner victory will be achieved and the smaller the cost in precious human lives.

Moreover, I believe that all of us will be encouraged to redouble our efforts by the knowledge that thought and planning and preparations are being made for Canada's future. The conduct of Canada's fighting forces has been so magnificent that it would be wrong to speak of strengthening their morale. In the difficult months ahead, their morale will be sustained if they know that their country is making arrangements for their future which are the most comprehensive

D 48025

any country has ever made to re-establish its fighting men. With the War Services Grants Act ~~to crown~~ crowning the measures ~~already~~ formerly enacted, Canada has leads the world.

Steps already taken.

~~The reason why I am able tonight to make this report to the nation is that the government of Canada has been making preparations for rehabilitation and re-establishment ever since the beginning of the war.~~ To illustrate how early in the war the work of rehabilitation began, I might mention that on 9th December, 1939, a committee of cabinet ministers was appointed to consider the problems of demobilization and re-establishment. Since that time, the government has ~~adopted~~ brought forward one measure after another to meet each new need as it began to appear. ~~At the beginning~~ Before the adjournment of the recent session of Parliament ~~which has just closed~~, ~~Canada~~ we already had in operation a broad programme for re-establishment and for the care of our disabled fighting men and merchant seamen. ~~In the Speech from the Throne~~ at the opening of the present session the government ~~promised to introduce~~ announced its intention to introduce legislation to provide war service gratuities, and to improve the rehabilitation programme. That legislation is now on the statute books.

~~The reason why I am able tonight to make this report to the nation is that the government of Canada has been making preparations for rehabilitation and re-establishment ever since the beginning of the war.~~ The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session

D 48026

Pensions.

~~Let me tell you what the arrangements are.~~ ~~We first think of the men who have given their lives so that we might live in freedom.~~ ~~The first use of the freedom they have kept for us must be to assist in discharging their duty to those who depended on them.~~ ~~For the~~ wives and children ~~of the fallen~~ ~~there must~~ be ample provision. That provision is made by pensions. ~~Since the last war,~~ Canada's pension system ~~has been~~ improved ~~steadily~~. On 1st September, 1939, ~~which was before Canada entered the war,~~ ~~our~~ armed forces were placed on active service. The following day, ~~Canada's armed forces~~ were brought under the Pension Act. During the war, the pension system has been ~~further~~ ~~strengthened~~, and pensions have been exempted from income tax. ~~Our next thought is for the~~ disabled. Pensions are paid to veterans who have been disabled in proportion to their disability. The pension system also recognizes the family responsibilities of veterans and veterans' widows. Under the legislation recently enacted, family allowances will be paid for children of pensioners in addition to the full pension now being paid.

D 48027

Medical Care.

The country's interest in the veteran who has been disabled or maimed, or the veteran whose health is impaired, does not stop with the award of a pension. All veterans are entitled to medical care to restore them to civil life in as fit a condition as medical science can place them. Veterans are entitled to medical care throughout life for a pensionable disability. Veterans who have served in an active theatre of war are provided, in cases of need, with medical care for causes not connected with their service. During the first year after discharge all veterans are entitled to medical care for any condition, whether connected with service or not.

Demobilization and Re-establishment.

We all realize that the need for pensions and medical care begins to arise early in a war. But we ~~often~~ usually think of demobilization as something which begins only at the end of the war. ~~It is~~ often forgotten that, for many reasons, men and women in the services are honourably discharged before the end of ~~the~~ war. Ill health, overstrain, age, and other causes, as well as disabilities brought about in consequence of action with the enemy, result in ~~a steady~~ continuous demobilization. For one cause or another some 150,000

men have already been discharged. To them we owe our gratitude. Many of them helped to hold the fortress of Britain until others could be trained, equipped and arrayed against the enemy.

So effective have been the measures for the re-establishment of those already discharged that the number listed as seeking employment is usually less than the number discharged in the previous two weeks. At this point I should say that all those who have been honourably discharged at any time are entitled to participate in the benefits to which I now refer.

Many of those benefits have been available for some time. Others became effective with the enactment of the War Services Grants Act. I have been a long time in Parliament and I have had the privilege of introducing many important bills of lasting benefit to the people of Canada. But in that long record nothing has given me greater pride and satisfaction than to be the sponsor of this legislation for our returned soldiers, sailors and airmen. In the last war, provision was not made for re-establishing our veterans until December, 1918, and then it was done by Order in Council. In this war, we have prepared well in advance and the most important measures have been enacted by Parliament.

Rehabilitation Benefits.

The majority of Canada's veterans will not require either pensions or medical care. Their concern will be with

their re-establishment in civil life as working members of the community. I ~~want~~ now to describe briefly what is being done to help these men and women to re-establish themselves when they leave the service.

In point of time, the first benefit is received by the veteran immediately on discharge. Every man and women in the services who has served over six months will receive a rehabilitation grant of one month's pay and dependents' allowances, together with a clothing allowance of $100, and all will receive free transportation from the ~~point~~ place of discharge to their home.

By the end of the war about a million men and women will have passed through the ranks of our three services. Some, particularly those who have been away from home for three or four or five years, will require some time to find their ~~feet~~ place again in civil life. Others will want to complete their education or to secure ~~additional~~ new training; still others will wish to embark on new careers from which there will be little or no financial return for the first few months.

Maintenance allowances are available to help veterans and their families in meeting ~~this~~ the period of transition from military to civil life. An allowance, and is payable for as long as a year is provided in case employment is not available immediately

~~immediately.~~ During the first year after a veteran is discharged, an allowance is payable in case of temporary incapacity for any cause. These allowances are $50 a month for single men and $70 a month for married men, with additional allowances for children.

~~Maintenance allowances are also payable to make it possible for a veteran to maintain himself and his wife and children while he is taking a vocational and technical training course or attending a university.~~ Similar allowances are payable to veterans who have taken up farming or fishing under the Veterans Land Act and to those who have set themselves up in small business or trades. These allowances are intended to tide the veteran and his family over the period during which they are awaiting returns from their new ventures.

Free courses are offered to veterans who are qualified to undertake vocational or technical training or to attend a university for either undergraduate or post graduate studies. Vocational or technical training may be continued for a year, and university studies for a period equal to the length of the veteran's service. This period may be extended on recommendation of the university ~~even to a post-~~

D 48031

~~graduate degree~~ in cases where exceptional work is being done. All educational fees are paid ~~and~~ in addition a monthly allowance of $~~60~~ 80 for single men and $~~75~~ for married men is payable during the period of training or education.

All veterans ~~will~~ many not wish further training or education. ~~Most~~ large numbers will prefer to secure immediate employment. In seeking employment veterans will enjoy definite advantages. Two years ago, Parliament enacted a law which entitles every veteran to re-instatement in his previous employment if he desires to claim that right. Veterans have preference in employment in the Civil Service of Canada. Many other employers are following the example of the federal government in giving ~~employment preference~~ preference in employment to veterans.

Unemployment Insurance was established in Canada in 1940, during the darkest days of the war. Veterans are given full advantage of the protection afforded by unemployment insurance. A veteran who accepts employment in an insured occupation and remains in that occupation for fifteen weeks will have his back contributions paid for him from the date of his enlistment, or from July 1st, 1941 when unemployment insurance began, if he enlisted before that date. This provision will give the veteran the protection he would have received if he had not gone on active service and had made his regular contributions.

D 48032

Many veterans with the ~~right~~ aptitude or experience will wish to engage in the great primary industries of farming and fishing. Under the Veterans Land Act, provision is made for financial assistance in establishing veterans with suitable backgrounds on farms or in fishing. ~~These loans may amount to $6000.~~

In all the principal cities there are veterans welfare officers whose duty it is to act as the friend of the veteran, to advise him on his problems and as to his rights, and to help him to find the ~~right~~ place to meet his particular need.

War Service Grants Act.

Every thing I have so far mentioned was already in operation before the War Service Grants Act was introduced in Parliament, ~~last week and enacted on Monday evening.~~ That measure ~~aimed to do~~ does two things. It provided, first, for a cash gratuity to every member of the armed forces who ~~had~~ volunteered for general service and, second, for a re-establishment credit which ~~would~~ will fill in ~~the~~ gaps in the re-establishment programme.

War Service gratuities are a token of the gratitude of our country to those who were ready to risk their lives in their country's service. ~~No strings are~~ attached to ~~these~~

D 48033

grants. Since they are an expression of ~~our~~ gratitude, in so far as anything can express ~~our~~ gratitude for the offer of life itself, the gratuities are, with certain exceptions, payable only to those who have volunteered for service anywhere in the world. Those whose services are being recognized have not thought of their duty as something which would entitle them to monetary reward. But for those of us at home it is a satisfaction to know that, insofar as there can be such a thing as generosity to those who have been prepared to risk their all in war, no country in the world is being more generous than Canada in its recognition of the services of men and women in the armed forces.

The war service gratuities are based on length of service at home and overseas. For each thirty days of service the man or woman will receive $7.50 for service in Canada and $15 for service overseas. War service gratuities are not based on rank as in the last war. Service is the one determing factor. Generals and privates receive the same amount.

In addition, every member of the forces whose service included overseas service will, upon discharge, be entitled to receive seven days pay and allowances, including dependents allowance for each period of six months of service.

D 48034

Let us look at one example to see how this works out. A private, married with two children, who has seen a years service in Canada and three years overseas, will receive:

For pay and allowances	$203.85
For clothing allowance	100.00
For rehabilitation grant	108.12
For gratuity	630.00
making a total of	$1,041.97

Of this, $411.97 is payable in cash on discharge, and $630 is payable in monthly instalments not exceeding his rate of pay and allowances. Moreover, in the event of the death of the soldier on service or after discharge, the amount of the gratuity, here $630, may be payable to anyone who was dependent on him.

But that is not all. In the War Service Grants Act, an attempt is made to fill the gaps in the existing re-establishment programme. The government recognized that all veterans did not desire to take vocational training, or to complete their education, or to establish themselves in farming or fishing. Some of them might, for example, want to set up a small business or build a home. Accordingly, provision was made in the War Service Grants Act for re-establishment credits equal to the amount payable to each veteran as a war service gratuity. In the example I have before me, that would mean a credit of an additional $630. The re-establishment credit is available to veterans who do not wish to take training, or

D 48035

education, for a land grant. The credit may be used to buy, repair, or improve a home; to buy furniture and household equipment; to provide working capital for a profession or business; to purchase tools, instruments, or equipment; to purchase a business; to pay premiums under a government insurance scheme, or for any other purpose which the government may authorize in the light of circumstances and of experience.

SUMMARY

All this is not a policy or a plan: it is the law of the land, in force today. To sum up, the rehabilitation and re-establishment programme includes pensions and medical care, a rehabilitation grant with clothing allowance and transportation home on discharge, maintenance allowances during the period of transition, free vocational training or university education, preferences in employment, unemployment insurance protection, opportunities to undertake farming or fishing, and, now, re-establishment credits with very wide scope. In addition the veteran will have in the War Service gratuity a nest egg of cash which may be used for any purpose which commends itself to the individual.

VETERANS' INSURANCE AND DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

In order to complete the picture, I should mention

D 48036

two other measures of particular interest to veterans enacted in the recent session of Parliament. One is the Veterans' Insurance Act, which makes life insurance at very reasonable cost available to veterans without medical examination. The other is the measure which establishes a separate department of government known as the Department of Veterans' Affairs. The new department will administer pensions, war veterans' allowances, the rehabilitation programme, the Veterans' Land Act, and all other measures which are exclusively concerned with the welfare of the men and women who have served in Canada's armed forces.

A BETTER CANADA

But we should not forget that the vast majority of the men and women in Canada's navy, army and air force are not, in any professional sense, sailors or soldiers or airmen. They are civilians. They are the free citizens of a free country. When they are discharged they will wish as quickly and fully as possible to take their share in the ordinary civil life of the community and the nation. The best welcome home for any man is a job and the opportunity to lead a useful life. Those who have served abroad will want ~~And they want~~ that life to be a better life than most of them knew in Canada before this war.

D 48037

We face the task of reconstructing the national economy to meet the needs of peace and to provide the highest possible level of employment with the greatest possible national production and national income for our people.

We must also remember that a great proportion of our war veterans are young. They will wish to marry and establish families. Like the rest of the people they will be vitally interested in social insurance against the major hazards of life, and in a reasonable degree of social security for themselves and their families.

~~When we have made~~ In making specific provision for the dependents of those who have given their lives, ~~when we have~~ in provided for the maintenance and care of the disabled, ~~when we have~~ in created opportunities for training, education and the establishment in employment of those who are fit and well, ~~when we have prepared for demobilization and the transition to civil life,~~ we have been dealing with ~~the task of re-~~ ~~establishing~~ Canada's fighting men, as soldiers, sailors and airmen.

We ~~are~~ have not ~~losing~~ lost sight of the rest of the task. But we regard them as citizens concerned as all other citizens are. We ~~are taking~~ have taken steps to help ~~in~~ to ensuring full employment and a high level of income after the war. We are proceeding

with the Workmen's and the security afforded to civil life

D 48038

with social insurance against the major economic hazards. We are actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets at home or abroad. We are planning for the rapid and efficient conversion of war industries to meet peacetime needs. We are fostering research into new uses for our natural resources. We have enacted legislation to promote housing, slum clearance and community planning. We have extended banking services, and provided additional credit facilities for industrial expansion, farm improvement and the building and modernizing of houses. We have provided social insurance for farmers and fishermen through the establishment of floors under the prices of their products. We have provided, in the greatest measure of all, for the well being of ~~our~~ Canada's children.

~~Make no mistake about it,~~ ~~In planning~~ In preparing for the transition from war to peace, we are moving forward in the vanguard of the nations which have the resources and the will to put the welfare of all the people above every other consideration.

~~There is no time in this broadcast to tell you in detail about all these measures to maintain an expanding economy and to provide social security in Canada.~~ I doubt if any Parliament anywhere has ever accomplished more in a single session than has your parliament in the session which to provide for human betterment

D 48039

~~Then I am~~ ~~closed on Monday to provide for human betterment.~~ I am sure ~~no government has implemented such a programme while a nation was engaged in a great and terrible war.~~ I mention these steps ~~forward because all of them~~ will benefit our returning veterans directly or indirectly. Their successful re-establishment in civil life depends ~~upon~~ a prosperous and a happy Canada, ~~and~~ that is what we ~~must~~ to ensure to those who have preserved our freedom.

(19) D 48040

The fighting men of Canada have received the best of training. They are provided with the best weapons, equipment and supplies in the world. They have the best of leadership. Nothing the government, the Parliament and the people of Canada can do to ensure their success in war has been left undone. But what we can do, and what we are doing, is to make the same thorough and comprehensive provision for the post-war future of our fighting men that we have made for their wartime success.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

Speech for D48041
September '10
5th Anniversary

15 minutes

—

Look at what was said
abt Canada going to
war —
^ progress of war in
Italy 42-44.

bring out fact the over
fact 5 yrs
Govt has control on the
winning of the war
The part of Canada has
played in every way

D 48042

tremendous way in wh
Canada's fighting men
have done their part / worthy sons
of fathers

the wonder world has ever
seen the Canada occupies

we can be thankful

particularly proud of what
the C.R.C. —
Canada is the van

very bitter fighting on their
account & we have the
letters here of P+S
having previously had a
letter in Canada

D 48043

questions for other
witness
Q on Nfld
QD on Lux

Trans Lab to go
now Lab + —
Apel link

outstanding things done
+ yrs

— we continue to do our
part with/our
enemies are dpt &
— Canada's place as
world power - status in
equals talked
"something very fine"

No hesitation—
We were in this fight from
the beginning

D 48044

D 48045

Mr. Gibson:

There is no record of an address on September 10th, 1939 - I attach speeches of Sept. 3 and 8.

C.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 48016

MEMORANDUM

Letter to Mr Gielgud re broadcast 2-9-42

For the Prime Minister;

Attached are a few thoughts for possible use in the broadcast of September 10th. More will be ready to go out tomorrow if a car should go to Kingsmere.

Love.

September 2

D 48047

How proud Canadians were, a few weeks ago, to hear Mr. Churchill say, to a group of Canada's fighting airmen in Normanyd:

> "I have no hesitation in saying that the British Commonwealth, with Canada in the van with our Old Country, have saved the world and given other great countries time to re-arm or time to recognize where their place was in the struggle".

And Mr. Churchill added:

> "Now I think the hopes of victory are sure but whether it is coming soon or late I cannot tell".

And how fitting it is, on this fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt should be meetting, here, on Canadian soil, to consider further the ultimate phases of this great war of liberation. A little over a year ago, Mr. Churchill and the President met in this ancient capital, and the world already knows the way in which the strategic decision of the Quebec Conference of 1943 have been translated into action against the Axis enemy.

This meeting together, at Quebec in 1944, of the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, is yet another reminder that our first task, our most urgent duty, is the winning of the war. After five years of the struggle,

I repeat, more earnestly than ever, that we will continue to do our part until the very end. Every consideration of national policy, our own interest as a nation, all our recollections of devotion to duty and uncomplaining fortitude, all our enshrining of the sacrifice of many valiant lives - all of this and much more that cannot be put into words, is bound up with our part in this tremendous struggle.

The matters which our two chief visitors and their staffs will discuss this week belong to what I have called the "ultimate" phases of this war. We may expect that their decisions, in turn, will find early execution in carrying the war still deeper into the enemy's camp. The Canadian participation in this latest phase of the struggle will reflect our own emerging stature as a world power. Nothing in our history, I believe, can give us greater cause for pride than the extent to which those powers whose ally we are, and who count us as allies, have recognized this status as a partner in the United Nations.

Cana a has become, in fact a strong working partner in the tremendous battle for the world's freedom, and the final liberation of those freedom-loving nations which have long suffered under the yoke of Axis occupation.

Liberation itself is a tremendous ~~example~~ thing. I can cite one example which will suggest how much a part of a

D 48049

world-wide crusade our effort has been. We have had, for generations, a close and special interest in the welfare and the fate of France. From parts of France but lately liberated there came, more than three hundred years ago, the founders of New France in what was then an untravelled wilderness. But from their descendants, rooted and grown up in Canada, came some of the stalwart soldiers who helped to free the towns and countryside from their Na$_z$i usurpers. We have heard from General deGaulle's own lips, during his visit to Canada two months ago, of the resistance movements which have hastened the work of liberation, at great peril to lives and families of all involved. We have sensed, in this visit, and by the successive news of the recapture of towns whose names became household words in the bitter fighting of 26 years ago, how strong and how many are the links which bind us to France. We have felt, in following the progress of this war of liberation, a revived sanse of our own history as a nation, in which freedom and tolerance have ever been cherished for their own sake, and in which freedom from fears and want have become a guiding star.

D 48050

Nearly eighteen months ago, speaking in support of a Victory Laon campaign, I said that if we viewed Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we would be able to see out war effort in its true perspective and proportions; to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. This is more than ever true, for, over the past five years of war, there has been no request for the waging of the war and bringing it to an early and victorious ending to which Canada has not responded promptly and in full measure. The response has come from people in every walk of life, and from one end of Canada to the other. The response has come, unstinted, constant and gallant, from Canada's fighting men on battlefronts around the globe.

Particularly during the last fortnight, our minds and hearts have been filled with many storied names. The sons of fathers who fought, a generation ago, in France and Flanders, are fighting today across and beyond those self-same battlefields, whose names are enshrined forever in Canada's history. No finer example was ever set, nor has any demonstration of resourcefulness and bravery, amid the rigors of modern war, been finer. Our hearts and prayers go out to these brave men as they carry the battle into the last stronghold of the Nazi enemy, the German reich itself.

But this is not all the story of our effort. The survey

D 48051

of that effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, enables us to see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's own status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities, both of which ~~xxx~~ have increased, and will continue to increase, with the progress of the war.

Speaking in April of 1943, again before the assault upon the European mainland had been launched, I also added;

> "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 for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit had not yet been reached; and that if everything this far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort - a supreme effort - is now necessary".

Our fighting men have been making that supreme effort for many months: in Otaly, where, following the original assault upon Sicily they have been fighting on the mainland for now just over a year; in France, where from the original landings on June 6 they have continued to fight with skill and tenacity; ~~xxx~~ in the skies over many battlefronts - for the war in the air ranges far afield - and on all the seven seas.

We cannot say where or when the moment for the greatest supreme effort will come. On one earlier occasion I described the supreme hour for Canada as that hour 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

D 48052

batter down the ramparts of Prussian power and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair". The supreme hour may be now, this very week. We may indeed have reached the summit towards which we have striven steadily for now five years. We may soon be set fair upon the farther slope of victory. But one thing at least is clear. There must be no slackening of our effort and resolution; neither today nor any day until the final victory over the enemies of freedom has been won.

The successes of Allied arms, in whatever theatre of war, havenot until now given irrevokable assurance of victory, but the war itself has never been a war of a kind in which easy or early victory hauld be contemplated. The fact that Canada has been at war for five years, that we have been fighting longer than the Soviet Union, longer than the United States, is an answer to that. The war was nearly three years old before the Allied powers were able to take and to sustain the offensive in any considerable area. But ever since that time, the combined resources of the Allied forces, the cumulative results of rigorous training, of the most modern equipment, of courageous and discerning leadership in the field, and, above all, of that comradeship in arms which has known no parallel in all the history of war - these strong links have held high the flag of a united effort and an unceasing fight against the common enemy.

In the forging of these strong links, Canada has had a notable part. In addition to the raising, training, and equipping of an Army, part of which is in Italy and part in France,

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D48053

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1944

PRIME MINISTER

Broadcast for Sept. 10

I have recast and rewritten most of the material sent out to you on Saturday so that it now reads as a continuous document. I am still working on a section about Canada's place as a world power - extension of representation abroad, interest in United Nations organizations (UNRRA, Food & Agriculture, Finance) &c.

I hope to have a preliminary draft of material for the UNRRA Council Meeting (Montreal, September 15) ready late tomorrow.

J.A.G.

JAG/DR
4.9.44

Draft Broadcast for September 10, 1944

D 48054

Five Years of War

This is a solemn day in Canada's history. Five years ago today, with but a single dissenting voice, the Parliament of Canada approved of the declaration of a state of war with the German Reich. For the second time in a quarter century we were at war against a nation possessed with the Nazi spirit of world domination, and goaded into an excess of warlike frenzy by the spurious doctrines of the so-called "master race."

Canada was at war, not because Poland had been wantonly invaded, nor because Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and Britain itself were threatened by Hitler's war machine. Canada was at war because the issue in this struggle was brutally clear. What Hitler sought, even before the first shots had been fired, the first bombs dropped, the first torpedo launched, was domination of the whole world.

From his very methods of fighting, from the speed with which his armies could over-run European nations in a single day, it was clear that if he were to be successfully opposed and defeated in his evil designs, the struggle must be long and bitter. How long and how bitter could scarcely have been imagined during those first anxious months. For war had come after a whole year of turmoil, and Hitler, having already effaced Austria and victimized Czechoslovakia, was all athirst for battle.

In short, it was clear that this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world, was the real cause of the war which menaced the freedom of mankind throughout the world. It became clear, and I think it was recognized in Canada from the very outsent, that in these tragic circumstances the world could not remain half-slave and half free. And so the battle was joined.

That was five years ago. Today is a solemn day of recollection and remembrance, but it is also, I believe, a day of counting up and being grateful for our own tremendous effort as a nation. We have done what no one could have imagined, five years ago, a nation of less than 12,000,000 people could have undertaken, still less accomplish. The Canada whose permanent army numbered some 4,500, all ranks; whose navy counted 15 ships and less than 1,800 men; whose airforce had a strength of but 4,000, can today point to a force of more than 765,900 men and women in the uniforms of the fighting services. The Canada which in 1939 had only a handful of industries geared for war needs, has in less than five years turned out war production valued at $7,985,000,000,000 (nearly eight billion dollars). To speed the victory of the Allied Powers Canadian industries have turned out, among myriad items of munitions and supplies, more than 10,500 aircraft, nearly 600,000 mechanical transport, armored vehicles and tanks, nearly 1,000,000 small arms, with fabulous quantities of ammunition, 232 cargo ships of nearly

D 48056

2,400,000 gross tons; 356 naval vessels and patrol boats, and instruments and communications equipment valued at more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

In addition to the equipping and feeding of our own forces, we have been able to supply to Allied nations on a basis of strategic need under Mutual Aid procedure, war supplies and foodstuffs representing an expenditure in Canada of nearly one billion dollars. Before the Mutual Aid Act was passed (on May 23, 1940) we had already extended to Britain and certain of our Allies financial assistance in excess of $2,700,000,000 for the purchase of Canadian supplies. On June 13 of this year an appropriation of $800,000,000 was voted for Mutual Aid. This sum includes Canada's contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, fixed for this year at $77,000,000.

Money values alone will never adequately express the extent of the Canadian contribution to victory. For, in addition to our own fighting forces, we have provided training facilities for fighting men of many of the Allied Nations. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan has made of Canada what our good neighbour, President Roosevelt, has called "the aerodrome of democracy." We have sent war supplies in great volume to the United Kingdom, to the Soviet Union, to Australia, to New Zealand, to China, to India, to the West Indies, to the Fighting French. But whether as arsenal, aerodrome, shipyard or granary, the effort of Canada has been a voluntary effort, an all-out effort, a

pioneering effort, a co-operative effort, a world-wide effort, an enduring effort, a long-range effort and, above all, a united effort worthy of Canada as a nation.

Many tributes have been paid, by the leaders of Canada's Allies among the company of the United Nations, to the magnitude and constant helpfulness of that effort. Canadians were very proud, a few weeks ago, to hear Mr. Churchill say, to a group of Canada's fighting airmen in Normandy:

> "I have no hesitation in saying that the British Commonwealth, with Canada in the van with our Old Country, have saved the world and given other great countries time to re-arm or time to recognize where their place was in the struggle."

And Mr. Churchill added:

> "Now I think the hopes of victory are sure but whether it is coming soon or late I cannot tell."

And how fitting it is, on this fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt should be meeting here, on Canadian soil, to consider further the ultimate phases of this great war of liberation. A little over a year ago Mr. Churchill and the President met in this ancient capital, and the world already knows the way in which the strategic decisions of the Quebec Conference of 1943 have been translated into action against the Axis enemy.

The matters which our two chief visitors and their staffs will discuss this week belong to what I have called the "ultimate"

D 48058

phases of this war. We may expect that their decisions, in turn, will find early execution in carrying the war still deeper into the enemy's camp. The Canadian participation in this latest phases of the struggle will reflect our own emerging stature as a world power. Canada has become, in fact, a strong working partner in the tremendous battle for the world's freedom, and for the final liberation of those freedom-loving nations which have long suffered under the hoke of Axis occupation. Nothing in our history, I believe, can give us greater cause for pride than the extent to which those powers whose ally we are, and who count us as allies, have recognized this status as a partner in the United Nations.

Nearly eighteen months ago, speaking in support of a Victory Loan campaign, I said that if we viewed Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we would be able to see our war effort in its true perspective and proportions; to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. This is more than ever true, for, over the past five years of war, there has been no request for the waging of the war and bringing it to an early and victorious ending to which Canada has not responded promptly and in full measure. The response has come from people in every walk of life, and from one end of Canada to the other. The response has come, unstinted, constant and gallant, from Canada's fighting men on battlefronts around the globe.

Speaking in April of 1943, again before the assault upon the European mainland had been launched, I also added:

> "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 for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit had not yet been reached; and that if everything this far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort - a supreme effort - is now necessary."

Our fighting men have been making that supreme effort for many months: in Italy, where, following the original assault upon Sicily they have been fighting on the mainland for now just over a year; in France, where from the original landings on June 6 they have continued to fight with skill and tenacity; in the skies over many battle fronts - for the war in the air ranges far afield - and on all the seven seas.

Particularly during the last fortnight, our minds and hearts have been filled with many storied names. The sons of fathers who fought, a generation ago, in France and Flanders, are fighting today across and beyond those self-same battlefields, whose names are enshrined forever in Canada's history. No finer example was ever set, nor has any demonstration of resourcefulness and bravery, amid the rigors of modern war, been finer. Our hearts and prayers go out to these brave men as they carry the battle into the last stronghold of the Nazi enemy, the German reich itself.

We cannot say where or when the moment for the greatest final supreme effort will come. On one earlier occasion I described

D48060

the supreme hour for Canada as that hour 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." The supreme hour may be now, this very week. We may indeed have reached the summit towards which we have striven steadily for now five years. We may soon be set fair upon the the farther slope of victory. But one thing at least is clear. There must be no slackening of our effort and resolution; neither today nor any day until the final victory over the enemies of freedom has been won.

The successes of Allied arms, in whatever theatre of war, have not until now given irrevokable assurance of victory, but the war itself has never been a war of a kind in which easy or early victory could be contemplated. The fact that Canada has been at war for five years, that we have been fighting longer than the Soviet Union, longer than the United States, is an answer to that. The war was nearly three years old before the Allied powers were able to take and to sustain the offensive in any considerable area. But ever since that time, the combined resources of the Allied forces, the cumulative results of the combination of rigorous training, the most modern equipment, courageous and discerning leadership in the field, and, above all, that comradeship in arms which has known no parallel in all the history of war - these strong links have held high the flag of a

D 48061

united effort and an unceasing fight against the common enemy.

In the forging of these strong links, Canada has had a notable part. A part of our army is in Italy, and another larger part, in France. Both have had, together with the Royal Canadian Navy and the R.C.A.F., a valiant part in the battle for the liberation of Europe. Especially during the last fortnight great advances have been made by the Canadian forces which fought with such stubborn tenacity at Caen and Falaise. Upon these battle fields of liberated France, the fighting men of Canada have been creating new vistas of history which will command the respect and admiration of generations far into the future of our nation.

From parts of France but lately liberated there came, more than three hundred years ago, the founders of New France in what was then an untravelled wilderness. From their descendants, rooted and grown up in Canada, came some of the stalwart soldiers who helped to free the towns and countryside from their Nazi usurpers. We have heard from General de Gaulle's own lips, during his visit to Canada two months ago, of the resistance movements which have hastened the work of liberation, at great peril to lives and families of all involved. We have sensed, in this visit, and by the successive news of the recapture of towns whose names became household words in the bitter fighting of 26 years ago, how strong and how many are the links which bind us to France. We have felt, in following the progress of this war of liberation,

D48062

a revived sense of our own history as a nation, in which freedom and tolerance have ever been cherished for their own sake, and in which freedom from fears and want have become a guiding star.

D48063

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 6/IX/44

Prime Minister

This completes the draft for Broadcast for September 10 / Jay.

Wrote W.L.M.K. for Parliament Sept 21 1944

D 48064

I should not like this fifth anniversary to pass without saying to you, to all who are listening this evening, my own word of deepest appreciation to all the men and women and children of Canada who have taken so great and so real a part in the war effort of our country. To some among you I can speak directly. To those who are fighting on distant fronts, or flying through the sovereign air, or keeping vigil on the sea, I would send out an equal message of appreciation. We are perhaps - most of us - still too close to the magnitude of the war effort to realize how largely it has counted on the side of victory, or to think in how many ways the steadfast achievement of Canada has brought strength and encouragement to those whose homelands have been invaded and whose homes have been destroyed.

If again we survey the national effort of Canada from the vantage ground of the years of war, we can glimpse how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's own status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities, both of which have increased, and will continue to increase, with the progress of the war. Responsibility and opportunity will be redoubled, upon the morrow of victory, for Canada's share in the humanitarian work of relief and rehabilitation among the United Nations will of itself be a great task.

D 48065

The Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be meeting next week in Montreal. This will be one of the most representative of many gatherings of the United Nations held in Canada in war time. For Canada has become, as it were, a central clearing house for ideas and for action in the consideration of humanitarian and practical work to be undertaken now and on the morrow of victory. The nation, which even in peace time, had become the fifth trading nation of the world, has become a fighting world power; the fourth largest producer of war supplies among the United Nations; the fourth air power, and the third sea power in this same company of fighting peoples.

Canada's own mounting interest in these momentous developments has been reflected as well in the expansion of our diplomatic relations with other nations. Before the outbreak of war in 1939, the sanior Canadian office abroad was Canada House in London, where our High Commissioner to Great Britain had his headquarters. There were also our legations in the United States (opened in 1927), in France, in Japan, in Belgium, and the Netherlands. The onset of war necessitated the closing of four of these offices. But, since 1939, High Commissioners have been appointed to Australia,

D 48066

New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland and Newfoundland. The Canadian Legation at Washington was raised to the status of an embassy, and Canadian embassies also are maintained today in Brazil, Chile, China, Mexico, Peru, and the Soviet Union. The Canadian representative to the French Committee of National Liberation has the personal rank of Ambassador. We maintain diplomatic representation towards the Allied Governments in Exile; Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia. There is, likewise, a Canadian legation in Argentina, the office of the Canadian Consul General in New York City, and Canadian consular offices in Greenland and in St. Pierre and Miquelon. Two of the nations of Europe not actively engaged in the war - Sweden and Turkey - maintain legations in Canada. It must be expected that this representation abroad, and the reciprocal representation of more than twenty countries which have offices in Ottawa, will be increased when the achievement of peace makes possible more normal relations with countries throughout the world.

All of these formal relationships speak of the developing importance of Canada in the world community. The fortunes of war - or perhaps more than the fortunes - have brought to Canada over the past five years valiant men and women of many nations: soverigns, Prime Ministers, foreign

D 48067

ministers and officers of State; chiefs of staff and ranking officers of armies, navies and air force of many lands.

The stature of nationhood which Canada has reached - the position of Canada as a world power - has been reached, not on material grounds alone, though Canada's contributions to mutual aid have been impressive by any standard. Neither does it owe its emergence to political considerations. It has risen in large part, I believe, from our recognition of the needs of humanity. It is something which seeks to support the maintenance of free institutions and the untrammelled expression of the free souls of free men. It is something which speaks, not simply for today, or next month, or next year, but for all the future of Canada.

We have been living through stirring times. There are still battles to be won ere victory is achieved. This meeting together, at Quebec in 1944, of the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, is yet another reminder that our first task, our most urgent duty, is the winning of the war. After five years of the struggle, I repeat, more earnestly than ever, that we will continue to do our part until the very end. Every consideration of national policy,

D 48068

our own interest as a nation, all our recollections of devotion to duty and uncomplaining fortitude, all our enshrining of the sacrifice of many valiant lives - all of this and much more that cannot be put into words, is bound up with our part in this tremendous struggle. This is the message which I would send to all of Canada on this day of proud remembrance.

D48069

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister

Letter W.C. for future reference 20-9-44

re Anniversary of Declaration of War

Mrs Turnbull suggested that I prepare something which might be suitable for a broadcast on Sept 10th. The first draft would take from 12 - 14 minutes but I have also done a revision and condensation which would take about 5 minutes. Both are attached.

J.C.S.

6.IX.44

Revised

D 48070

Draft

FIVE YEARS OF WAR

Five years ago today Canada took up arms against Nazi Germany. For three of those years the forces of aggression first in Europe and then in the Far East and the Pacific carried all before them. Two years ago, the tide of war turned. At first slowly, but at a steadily growing pace, the forces of freedom have driven back the enemy on both sides of the world. As we enter upon the sixth year of war the world is watching the conquests of Germany melt away like the snows in the springtime sun. On the other side of the globe, the Japanese aggressor is being relentlessly forced back towards his homeland.

The hearts of all free peoples are once more filled with hope. We cannot help but rejoice as the end of this terrible ordeal approaches. And it is right that we should rejoice, so long as our rejoicing stiffens our resolution and speeds our action towards victory.

The people of Canada would be less than human if we did not share the joy of the peoples of Europe in the restoration of their freedom. Canada's share in the

D 48071

liberation; the magnificent exploits of our armed forces have filled our hearts with pride. How could we fail to be uplifted by the news that Vimy and Dieppe had been freed on the same day.

But our pride and our rejoicing are mingled with sorrow. The exploits of Canada's fighting men are being achieved at a great price. For our freedom, for the freedom of Europe, for the vision of a better world, thousands of the finest young men of Canada are giving life itself. Thousands more are suffering injuries ~~in~~ Still others await release from the confinement of the prison camp. Their sacrifice is the real cost of war. We can be worthy of their example only by completing the task to which they have set their hand.

The liberation of the conquered peoples of Europe is almost completed. But it is only the first stage in the great task. Naziism must be utterly destroyed. The military power of Japan must be crushed. And it will not be enough to end the aggression of today. We must also prevent the aggression of tomorrow. That is the duty we owe to the fallen; that is the trust we must fulfill for generations yet unborn.

D 48072

All Canada is justly proud of our achievements in war. First in our thoughts are the courage and the successes of our fighting forces. But we know, too, how great has been the contribution in production and in finance to the combined effort of the United Nations. The Canadian navy, the Canadian army, the Canadian air force, Canadian merchant seamen, Canadian farmers, Canadian labour, Canadian industry, Canadian women, our mutual and our co-operative spirit have won for Canada a high place in the councils of freedom.

All we have achieved in war, we have achieved because our people were united in aim and purpose. If we are to win the peace, as we are winning the war, we must maintain a unity of aim and of purpose. That unity of aim and purpose must extend beyond victory. If we can keep our wartime spirit of co-operation and direct it towards the achievement of security and happiness not only for Canadians but for all men, there will be no limit to what the Canadian people can achieve. Now that victory appears on the horizon is the time to catch the vision of the future which will inspire our people to ever greater achievements in the years beyond victory.

First draft

DRAFT

D 48073

FIVE YEARS OF WAR

Five years ago to-day Canada took up arms against Nazi Germany. As we enter upon the sixth year of war we are watching Germany's conquests melt away like the snows in the springtime sun. Our hearts are filled with hope. We cannot help rejoicing at the approaching end of a terrible ordeal. And it is right that we should rejoice. But our rejoicing is only right if it speeds our action and stiffens our resolution to drive on ever faster to the end. That, I believe, is the spirit in which victory should be approached. Rejoicing to lighten our hearts and resolution to strengthen our arms are alike needed in this hour.

To-day, we stand on the threshold of victory. How different was the outlook five years ago. Then we made the great choice to stand with Britain and France and to cry halt to a ruthless aggressor. We could not and we did not know how great would be the price of war; we did know and we refused to accept the price of waiting for our own turn to come. It was a choice between fighting for freedom or waiting for slavery. Never for a moment, even in the darkest hour, have we doubted our choice or despaired of our cause.-

D 48074

A year later, in September 1940, the darkest hour of the war had struck. Germany had all of Europe at her mercy. Most of the world awaited the Nazi triumph over Britain. Canada has no greater pride today than her confidence in the British people in those terrible months. And we backed that confidence with everything we could muster.

Another year passed. By September 1941, the German armies had driven deep into Russia. The greatest military clash of history was engaged in Eastern Europe. From the outset, we put aside past misunderstandings. We saw clearly that as Russia's enemy was Canada's enemy, so Russia's cause was Canada's cause. And the Canadian people have every reason for pride in the extent of the support we have afforded to the Soviet armies in their long and heroic struggle against the despoiler.

Still another year passed. After three years of war, the whole world was engulfed. The ambition of Japan had been joined to the ambition of Germany in a combined effort to conquer and enslave all humanity. Our own shores had been visited by the enemy. His conquests had reached their greatest extent. At Stalingrad, at Cairo and on the borders of India the enemy seemed poised for the final campaign to join the forces

D 48075

of Germany and Japan. We did not know it in September 1942, but already the tide was beginning to turn.

Yet another year went by. It was a year in which, on every front, the United Nations seized and kept the initiative. Progress was often painfully slow, but, by September 1943 none could doubt that the tide was flowing ever faster towards a victory for the forces of freedom. Italy, the greatest of the Axis satellites, had collapsed and surrendered. Allied armies had landed on the mainland of Europe. The Japanese had been driven from the new world. They were being slowly pushed out of the islands of the South Pacific. The great Soviet advance had begun.

Now at the end of still another year, the German aggressors have almost been driven back to the borders of their own country. Their country itself has suffered and continues to suffer the most devastating aerial bombardment. The enslaved peoples are being liberated with so great a rush that at times the news is hard to believe it seems so miraculous.

We would be less than human if we did not share the rejoicings of the peoples of Europe in the restoration of their freedom. We cannot fail to be filled with pride in

D 48076

Canada's share in the liberation of Europe; above all in the magnificent achievements of our fighting forces. But our pride and our rejoicing are mingled with sorrow. What we are achieving is being achieved at a great price. Thousands of the finest young men of Canada are giving life itself for our freedom and the vision of a better world. Thousands more are suffering from injuries or the bitter confinement of the prison camp.

Their sacrifice is the real cost of war. Theirs is the only loss we can never restore. Only by resolving to complete the task they have so nobly begun can we be worthy of their example.

How long it may take to finish that task none can say. The liberation of the conquered peoples of Europe is almost complete. But that is only the first stage. In Germany itself, Naziism and the Prussian militarism on which Naziism has flourished must be utterly crushed and destroyed, however long that task may take. Nor can we let our successes in Europe drive from our thoughts the war in the Far East. That, too, is Canada's war. We cannot rest until the military imperialism of Japan has been defeated and destroyed.

It will not be enough to destroy the aggressors of today. We must also prevent the aggression of tomorrow.

D 48077

Civilization cannot endure a world war in every generation. A new world order must be established in which nations can live side by side in peace and harmony. Today we are achieving the victory planned months and even years ago, in the earlier stages of the war. Today we must plan the peace and organize to maintain the peace if security and peace are to reign among nations in the years ahead.

When Canada went to war in 1939, our people took up arms with a single aim and purpose. That aim and that purpose were the achieving of victory. Because we were, because we still are united in that aim and purpose, Canada is making a tremendous contribution to the winning of the war. The achievements of Canadian sailors, soldiers, airmen and merchant seamen; the output of Canadian industry, agriculture and labour; the product of Canadian skill and inventive genius; the co-operative spirit which has found expression in the growing volume of Canadian mutual aid; all these have given our country a high place in the counsels of the nations. There could be no better evidence of the position Canada occupies than the meeting between the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States beginning today on Canadian soil. Twice, in successive

D 48078

years, the ancient city of Quebec has been the scene of those momentous meetings in which the future of the free world is being determined.

The fighting men of Canada, the people of Canada as a whole, have earned for our country a voice and an influence which Canada must keep if our future is to be assured.

After five years of war, our country is far stronger and far better equipped to face the future than we were in 1939. But if we are to finish the task for which young Canadians in the thousands have given life itself, Canada as a nation must have a single aim and purpose on which we can all agree. It will no longer be enough to think only of winning the war. We shall have to think beyond that to the winning and the keeping of the peace.

Despite its terrible cost in human life and human suffering, war has given our people a deep sense of common purpose and a readiness to work together for a common goal. If only, when the war ends, we can keep that spirit of co-operation and direct it to the end of giving security and happiness to humanity, there will be no limit to what the Canadian people can achieve. With united will and purpose,

D 48079

Canada's achievements in the next five years will far outstrip the magnificent efforts of five years of war. We cannot wait until victory has been achieved. Now is the time to catch the vision of the future which will inspire our people to even greater efforts and greater achievements in the years beyond victory.

D48080

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister (for the proposed talk on 10th)

re Broadcast Sept 10th

Attached are two short inserts for the draft submitted yesterday.

I have tried to bring in one or two of the points you mentioned this morning which had not already been covered.

J.C.T

7.IX.44

Draft insert

D 48081

Five Years of War.

Canada's steadfastness in 1940-41

Today we can look back on five full years of Canada's participation in the greatest war of history. As we look back, it is clear that the darkest period of the war was the terrible year between the fall of France and the Nazi attack on Soviet Russia. During most of that year, the nations of the British Commonwealth alone stood unconquered in active resistance to the greatest military power in the world. Into that resistance, which many in other lands counted as hopeless, Canada threw all the strength our country could muster. It was in those fateful months that the Canadian people earned the tribute paid to our country a few weeks ago by the PrimeMinister of Great Britain. Mr. Churchill was in Normandy speaking to a group of Canadian airmen and this is what he said:

> "I have no hesitation in saying that the British Commonwealth, with Canada in the van with our Old Country, have saved the world and given other great countries time to re-arm or time to recognize where their place was in the struggle."

Since 1940 and 1941 the contribution of Canada to the cause of freedom, military, industrial, and financial, has multiplied many times. But at no time did

D48082

our effort mean so much, and of nothing can we be prouder than of the united determination and unshaken faith of the Canadian people in the months when, to many, all seemed lost.

D 48083

Draft insert.

Five Years of War.

The Liberation of France.

In no country was the fall of France in 1940 felt more keenly than in Canada; in none has her liberation been more warmly welcomed. It was with deep emotion that we learned on the 6th of June of this year that Canadian troops were once more on the soil of France. It was with the greatest pride that we followed, day by day, their terrible struggle at Caen and at Falaise. It was with deep satisfaction that we received the news that, on the same day, two places sacred to all Canadians had been liberated. Vimy and Dieppe willever live in the annals of Canada. We rejoiced that it was given to the Second Division of our army to free the city of Dieppe where so many of their comrades had given their lives two years ago. We are proud that the Canadian army has had the honour of destroying the Nazi forces who have been directing the savage and indiscriminate flying bomb attack upon London. It is a double satisfaction to the Canadian people to know that our forces, in helping to liberate France, have also been liberating Britain from this latest ordeal of blind destruction.

In the liberation of France, all branches of Canada's forces have been represented: the army, the navy and the air force. Vast quantities of Canadian munitions and supplies, much of them carried in Canadian ships, have contributed to the success of the Allied campaign. After long and weary waiting, after careful planning and detailed organization, we have at last seen the results in total action. Every Canadian who has done his duty in this war has earned and deserves a share of the credit for what Canada is doing to help in freeing Europe.

But those of us at home wish the honour and the credit to go to those whose part is the greatest, to those who are making the real sacrifices, to Canada's fighting men. It is to them that we owe the high place which Canada has achieved among the United Nations.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 15 1944

D 48085

Subject

King Instructs Liberals On Election Strategy

Quebec, September 14. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King today gave 175 Liberal workers a "fairly comprehensive program" of the issues on which the party will fight the coming federal election, it was reported, reliably tonight.

Mr. King was the chief speaker at a luncheon in the Reform Club. The meeting was in camera but it was learned the Prime Minister gave no hint of the election date. Liberals here, however, continued to talk of November 27 or early in December as likely dates.

It was reported Mr. King gave his listeners a lead on the lines which opponents of his government are expected to direct their attacks in the campaign and what is proposed to counter them.

Most of the federal cabinet ministers here for the Quebec conference occupied seats at the head table. Mr. King and Adelard Godbout, Quebec opposition leader were the only speakers.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 15 1944

D 48085

Subject

King Instructs Liberals On Election Strategy

Quebec, September 14. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King today gave 175 Liberal workers a "fairly comprehensive program" of the issues on which the party will fight the coming federal election, it was reported, reliably tonight.

Mr. King was the chief speaker at a luncheon in the Reform Club. The meeting was in camera but it was learned the Prime Minister gave no hint of the election date. Liberals here, however, continued to talk of November 27 or early in December as likely dates.

It was reported Mr. King gave his listeners a lead on the lines which opponents of his government are expected to direct their attacks in the campaign and what is proposed to counter them.

Most of the federal cabinet ministers here for the Quebec conference occupied seats at the head table. Mr. King and Adelard Godbout, Quebec opposition leader were the only speakers.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

D 48086

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Montreal, Friday, September 15th, 1944

Representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Nations begin to-day the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is my pleasant duty to welcome the members of this Council to Canada. The Council meets at the call of humanity. In their efforts to conquer the world, our enemies have spread destruction across the globe. The loss of life, liberty and property has been on a scale never before known. The agreement signed at Washington on 9th November, a year ago, defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy.

Today and throughout the deliberations of the Council our first thought must be of the millions who have been under the yoke of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in occupied countries were at the mercy of the enemy. The sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the United Nations are sweeping the enemy back and making freedom live again.

This is the War of Liberation. The tide of victory is in high flood. The rapid march of operations has added significance

D 48087

and urgency to this meeting. A year ago the enemy still held sway in every occupied country. Today our total war in Europe is resulting in total liberation. Tomorrow we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The urgency of the need of the liberated peoples must be the keynote of this meeting.

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to be set up. This meeting is the first meeting of representatives of the United Nations and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. I speak for every Canadian when I say how glad we are that it was decided to hold this meeting in Canada. In the name of the Government and people of Canada I extend to the Council of UNRRA the warmest possible welcome. Most of the citizens of Montreal and Quebec look back to France as the home of their ancestors. It is particularly fitting that the meeting should take place in Montreal at the very moment when France has been freed to take her rightful place among the nations of the world.

The arrangements for this meeting in Montreal have been made by the Director General and his staff; but the people of Canada would wish me to say that this government is ready to do everything possible to facilitate your work and to make your stay in Canada as enjoyable as war conditions will permit.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director General who is presiding at this meeting. The Honourable Herbert Lehman was unanimously chosen to Direct the Administration. In selecting him the Council recognized an exceptional combination of qualities.

D 48088
~~4803~~

Governor Lehman is particularly welcome in Canada because his son, who gave his life in the common cause, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The importance of the meeting is shown by the very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries. Its importance is recognized in Canada. Like other nations Canada is interested in UNRRA as a great work for humanity, the greatest single co-operative activity of a large number of nations for humanitarian purposes, based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself.

Thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have played a not inconsiderable part in war, will be fully used for peace. We recognize that as security is indivisible, so is prosperity also indivisible. We are interested, selfishly interested if you will, in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to restore themselves so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and goodwill. On such exchange our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations." Normal relations as they were before the war were not good enough. We want to see relations established on a new footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity. Canada is ready to meet every nation and all the nations more than half way.

D 48089

The Parliament of Canada has already recognized the importance of UNRRA. The measure which authorized the Government to fulfill its obligations was supported by all parties.

UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace. UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, as tangible evidence that nations can work together. President Roosevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together."

UNRRA has been described as a corporation, a partnership, a world community chest; it is also a fellowship; but it is also an experiment which will not succeed of itself. UNRRA is our creation and it will only work for the nations if the nations make it work.

For the reasons I have suggested, the eyes of the world are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of millions of mankind depend upon the decisions you will have to make. In your deliberations various points of view will quite properly be put forward and you will have differences to resolve. Despite daily reports of differences at Atlantic City the first Session of the Council was able to reach unanimity on the forty-one resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the Administration. I understand that your task today is to carry that agreement further and to give the Director General and his staff the guidance and support necessary to enable them to meet relief needs as soon as the military author-

D 48090

ities hand over the responsibility. The speed and conditions of victory may reduce the size of the task, but it is still large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination. It will require a genius of organization driven by the same concentration of will as that needed in war to turn defeat into victory.

Let us not deceive ourselves. A common danger is unfortunately a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanity or a common opportunity. The United Nations must show that our devotion to the cause of humanity is not exhausted by the defeat of the enemy. Our unity must be strong enough to survive victory.

We have been united in adversity by the bond of universal danger. We must stay united in victory through the recognition of mutual interest and the application of the principle of Mutual Aid. In the work of UNRRA we are taking the first step in making victory permanent.

The task of UNRRA is to see that the freedom which is being born again does not lack any nourishment it is in our power to provide.

D 48091

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada

to the Second Session of the Council of the

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Montreal, Friday, September 15th, 1944

Representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Nations begin to-day the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is ~~my pleasant duty to~~ with special pleasure that I welcome the members of this Council to Canada. It is against this background that this Council meets at the call of humanity. ~~In their efforts to conquer the world, our enemies have spread destruction across the globe.~~ The loss of life, liberty and property entailed by the enemy's attempt to dominate the world has been on a scale never before known. The agreement signed at Washington on 9th November of last year, ~~a year ago,~~ defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy.

Today and throughout the deliberations of the Council our first thought must be of the millions who have been under the yoke of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in occupied countries were at the mercy of the enemy. The sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the United Nations are sweeping the enemy back and making freedom live again.

~~This is the~~ In this War of Liberation, the tide of victory is now in high flood. ~~The rapid march of operations has added significance~~

D 48092

~~and urgency to this meeting. A year ago the enemy still held sway in every occupied country. Today our~~ Total war in Europe is resulting in total liberation. ~~Tomorrow~~ Soon we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The urgency of the need of the liberated peoples must be the keynote of this meeting.

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to be set up. This meeting is the first large meeting of representatives of the United Nations and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. I speak for every Canadian when I say how glad we are that ~~it was decided to hold~~ this meeting is taking place in Canada. ~~In the name of the Government and people of Canada I extend to the Council of UNRRA the warmest possible welcome.~~ Many ~~Most~~ of the citizens of Montreal and Quebec look back to France as the home of their ancestors. It is particularly fitting that the meeting should be convened ~~take place in~~ Montreal at the ~~very~~ moment when France ~~has~~ is being freed and is moving once more to take her rightful place among the nations of the world.

The arrangements for this meeting in Montreal have been made by the Director General and his staff; but the people of Canada would wish me to say that this government is ready to do everything possible to facilitate your work and to make your stay in Canada as enjoyable as war conditions will permit.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director General who is presiding at this meeting. The Honourable Herbert Lehman, who was unanimously chosen to direct the Administration, ~~In selecting him the Council recognized~~ brings to this Council of UNRRA an exceptional combination of qualities.

D 48093

In our welcome to him we are proud to remember ~~Governor Lehman is particularly welcome in Canada because his~~ that his son, who gave his life in the common cause, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

~~The importance of the meeting is shown by~~ The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That ~~Its~~ importance is recognized in Canada. ~~Like~~ other nations Canada ~~is interested~~ recognizes in UNRRA ~~as~~ the beginning of a great work for humanity. ~~the greatest single~~ For UNRRA represents the co-operative activity of a large number of nations for humanitarian purposes, based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself. We in Canada remember today that, thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have ~~played a not inconsiderable part in war~~ contributed so considerably to the Allied effort throughout the war, will be fully ~~used for peace~~ mobilized as well for the necessary battle of peacefully ordering our world so that it is indivisible, so is prosperity also indivisible. We are interested, ~~selfishly interested if you will,~~ in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to restore ~~themselves~~ their battered and wrecked economies so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and goodwill. On such exchange our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations." Normal relations as they were before the war were not good enough. We want to see as we used to all relations established on a new footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity. ~~Canada is ready to meet every nation and all the nations more than half way.~~

D 48094

The Parliament of Canada has already recognized the importance of UNRRA. The measure which authorized the Government to fulfill its obligations was supported by all parties.

UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace; UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, and as tangible evidence that nations can work together. President Roosevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together;" and here today we see all bearing witness to the rightness of his words

~~UNRRA has been described as a corporation, a partnership, a world community chest; it is also~~ UNRRA is a fellowship; but it is also an experiment which will not succeed of itself. ~~UNRRA is our creation and it will only work for the nations if the nations make it work.~~

~~For the reasons I have suggested,~~ The eyes of the hungry world, the disposessed world, the driven but never-despairing world, are focussed today on Montreal. The hopes of millions of ~~mankind~~ men and women, the livelihood of countless children will depend upon the decisions you will have to make. In your deliberations various points of view will quite properly be put forward and you will have differences to resolve. ~~Despite daily reports of differences at Atlantic City~~ The first Session of the Council at Atlantic City — despite inevitable differences of view — was able to reach unanimity on the forty-one resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the Administration. ~~I understand that~~ your task today as I understand it is to carry that agreement further, ~~and~~ to give the Director General and his staff the guidance and support necessary to enable them to meet relief needs as soon as the military ~~author-~~

D 48095

situation will allow UNRRA opportunity to take up the responsibility of victories and the ities hand over the responsibility. The speed and conditions of peace victory may reduce the size of the task, but it is still a task large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination. It will require a genius of organization driven by the same concentration of will as that which needed in war was needed to turn defeat into victory.

We ought to
Let us not deceive ourselves. A common danger has often proved
is unfortunately a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanity, or a common opportunity to serve the needs of humanity. Over all nations is humanity.
Nations must show that our devotion to the cause of humanity does not wither away once the enemy is defeated. That devotion is not exhausted by the defeat of the enemy. Our unity must will
must continue to grow and flourish, so that our
be strong enough, to survive victory, not only but to march forward to broader lands and better days.
We have been united in adversity by The bond of
has united us through years of unparalled adversity.
universal danger. We must stay united in victory through The free
recognition of mutual interest and the constant application of the
must be our bond of unity in victory.
principle of Mutual Aid. In the work of UNRRA we are taking
the long first step in making giving to victory a permanent significance
. The task of UNRRA is to see that The freedom which
is being born springing up again does not lack any nourishment it is in our
power to provide.

in the hearts and minds of valiant men and women must not lack. As you address yourself to this high calling, I wish you every success.

Second Revise 14:ix:44 D 48096

It is with special pleasure that I welcome to Canada today, on behalf of its Government and people, members of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitati on Administration. ~~xxxx

Second Revise 14:ix:44 D 48097

It is with special pleasure that I welcome to Canada today, on behalf of its Government and people, members of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. [redacted] The beginning of this week marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into teh war. It is an honour to our country that the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs ofStaff, should, for the second time in a little over a year be meeting in conference at Quebec. It is likewise significant of Canada's place in world affairs that in this same week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible date than the conferences which have been taking place in the ancient capital ofCanada. Nothing could prove more eloquently the resolve of these same nations to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands.

The welcome which, for the second time in the present war, I have had the honour of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill I extend with equal price to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. In addition to my own greetings and good wishes, I am happy to bring you greetings equally warm a

A

It is with special pleasure that I welcome D 48098
Canada today, on behalf of its government and people,
members of the Council of the United Nations Relief and
Rehabilitation Administration

First Revise 9:13:44

D 48099

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944

It is ~~indeed~~ an honour to our country ~~and~~ significant of ~~the~~ Canada's place ~~it occupies today~~ in world affairs ~~that in this week~~, which at ~~The~~ the beginning of this week marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should for the second time in a little over a year be meeting in Conference at Quebec, ~~and~~ that the representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in this city of Montreal.

The welcome which, for the second time ~~in the course of~~ during the present war, I have had the honour ~~on behalf of the Government and people of Canada~~ of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many countries here assembled. I am happy, in addition to my own greetings and good wishes, to bring to you ~~direct~~; greetings equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day ~~and~~ to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples in war-stricken lands.

JAC/Z
30-8-44

D 48100

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

A

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends. ——→

D 48101

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great agency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

D 48102

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

A 5 1 2 3 3A 4 4A

Second Revise 14:ix:44

D 48103

(A)

It is with special pleasure that I welcome to Canada today, on behalf of ~~its Government and people,~~ the members of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. ~~[illegible]~~ The beginning of this week marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into ~~teh~~ the war. It is an honour to our country that, in the following upon this anniversary week, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should, ~~for the second time in a little over a year~~ be meeting in conference at Quebec. This is the second such conference in a little over a year. It is likewise significant of Canada's place in world affairs that in this same anniversary week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled here, this is to be held in Canada, ~~in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration~~ (in this city of Montreal).

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible ~~date~~ day than the conferences which have been taking place in the ancient capital of Canada. Nothing could more manifest than this meeting the resolve of ~~these same~~ the free nations ~~to relieve~~ at the earliest possible date the suffering and ~~want~~ wartime of the peoples of war-stricken lands. This, the largest and most representative gathering of the United Nations, is the ~~[illegible]~~.

The welcome which, for the second time in the present war, I have had the honour of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. In addition to my own greetings and good wishes, I am happy to bring you greetings equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as follows: (5)

Redraft :: 12:ix:44 (JAG) D 48104

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944.

Representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Nations begin today the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is with special pleasure that I welcome the members of ~~this Council to Canada~~ on behalf of ~~the~~ Government and ~~the~~ people ~~of Canada.~~ ~~Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in the world-wide battle for freedom and liberation.~~ Since ~~this~~ the Council last met, the ~~German~~ Nazi hold upon western Europe has been disloged by frontal attacks from the ~~North~~ East, from the ~~South~~ West, and from the ~~East.~~ South. ~~Much of Italy~~ nearly all of Belgium has been liberated; ~~most of~~ the France today ~~has passed~~ is under French control, ~~and~~ the ~~uneasy~~ satellites of Hitler's Reich ~~have sought release from their obligation~~ are trying to get out of the war ~~to fight for the Axis.~~ War from the air ~~has~~ continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, ~~while~~ on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

~~In short,~~ the war ~~for the world's freedom~~ has entered upon a stage in which ~~we may say that~~ the issue is no longer in doubt, ~~nor the outcome uncertain. The sailors, soldiers and airmen of the United Nations are sweeping back the enemy~~

D 48105

* ~~That~~ the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should for the second time meeting in conference ~~for~~ at Quebec ~~visit~~ (in a little over a year) ~~and that~~ the representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Powers should ~~be~~ assembled in this city of Montreal in the Second Session of the Council of ~~UNRRA~~ the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation ~~Association~~ Administration.

~~Canada welcomes that~~ for the second time in the course of the present war

(6) ~~That~~ the welcome which I have had the honour of extending to Mr Roosevelt and Mr Churchill on their ~~own~~ behalf of the government and people of Canada, I extend ~~equally~~ with equal ~~warmth~~ pride to the ~~distinguished~~ representatives of the many countries here assembled.

~~I am happy to add to my own greetings~~

In addition to ~~the~~ my own greetings and good wishes I ~~extend to you on b/h of the people of~~ Canada I am Robb ~~to bring to you from the President & Mr Churchill~~ direct ~~and the P.M. of the UK greetings equally warm from Mr Ross.~~

greetings equally warm from Mr Roosevelt and Mr Churchill.

Nothing could ~~more vividly proclaim~~ ~~suggest~~ the clear ~~prophetic of the approaching~~ transition from the more convincingly ~~demonstrate~~ the determination of the free nations to achieve a total victory at the earliest possible day and then to ~~re-establish~~ relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want ~~which war has~~ of the peoples ~~of war~~ ~~areas devastated~~ in the war-stricken areas. ~~those countries which have~~ in war-stricken lands.

~~and are making freedom ring out again.~~ ~~But~~ For this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become~~, if anything,~~ more clear, more urgent, and more immediate.

It is against this background that the Council meets. It assembles at the call of humanity. The loss of life and the destruction of property entailed by the enemy's attempt to dominate the world has been on a scale never known before.

The agreement signed at Washington on November 9 of last year defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy. Today, and throughout the deliberations of the Council, our first thought must be for the millions who have been under the yoke ~~of severe and even barbarous~~ of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in the occupied countries were - and perhaps still are - at the mercy of this enemy.

In this war of liberation, the tide of victory is now in high flood. Total war in Europe is leading to total liberation.

Soon we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The ~~urgency~~ of the need of liberated peoples provides the justification for ~~and~~ it must remain the keynote of, ~~this meeting.~~

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to move into action. This ~~meeting~~ is the first large meeting of ~~the~~ representatives of the United Nations and

D 48107

and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. ~~I speak for every Canadian when~~ I need not ~~glad~~ pleased say how we are that this meeting is taking place in Canada, ~~and in the metropolis of Canada~~. Many of ~~the~~ our citizens ~~of Montreal~~, and especially those of the province of Quebec, look to France as the homeland of their ancestors. It is ~~fitting~~ doubly pleasing that the ~~meeting~~ Therefore Council should be ~~convened~~ opening its proceedings in Montreal just at the moment when France ~~is being~~ has been freed and is ~~moving once more~~ striving to ~~take~~ regain her rightful place among the ~~free~~ four~~ing~~ nations of the world.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director-General, and as an old friend, of UNRRA who is presiding at this meeting. The Honourable Herbert Lehman, ~~he~~ Mr. Lehman, was unanimously chosen to direct the Administration, UNRRA ~~He~~ brings to ~~the~~ its work ~~of UNRRA~~ an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to ~~him~~ Mr. Lehman we are proud to remember that his son, who gallantly gave his life in the ~~common~~ cause of this world's freedom, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force. I am happy to recall ~~today~~ that ~~when~~ Lieutenant Peter Lehman received his wings ~~I~~ I had the honour of ~~pinning~~ welcoming to the Capital of Canada his father and mother at Uplands, near Ottawa.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is ~~gladly~~ fully recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a great and healing work for humanity. For UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity for humanitarian needs of many nations banded together. It is based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself.

D 48108

We in Canada remember today that, thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have contributed so considerably to the Allied effort throughout the war, shall soon be fully mobilized as well for the necessary tasks of helping to build a peaceable world community. We recognize that as security is indivisible, so also is prosperity indivisible. We are interested in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to help to restore their battered and unsettled economies so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and of goodwill. On such exchanges our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations". "Normal relations" as they were before the war were never good enough. We want to see, as we need to see, relations established on a new, positive footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity.

If UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace, UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, and as tangible evidence that nations can work together if they have the will to work together. ~~UNRRA is a fellowship; but it is likewise an experiment which will not succeed of itself. President Roosevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together;" and here today we are bearing witness to the rightness of his words.~~

Today the eyes of the hungry world, the dispossessed world,

D 48109

the driven but never-despairing world, are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you may make here. ~~In your deliberations you will have differences to resolve~~. The first Session of the Council at Atlantic City - despite inevitable differences of views - was able to reach unanimity on the 41 resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the administration. ~~Your~~ The task ~~today, as I understand it,~~ of this second session is to carry that agreement further; to give the Director-General and his staff the guidance and support ~~necessary~~ needed to enable them to ~~meet~~ deal with the pressing needs of relief as soon as the military situation will allow UNRRA officers to ~~take up~~ assume the responsibility. ~~The speed of victory and the conditions of peace may reduce the size of the task, but it is still a task large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination.~~ It will require the same concentration of will and genius of organization ~~as that which in war was needed to~~ has been essential imperative to turn defeat into victory.

We ought not to deceive ourselves, for a common danger has often proved a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanity or a common opportunity to serve the needs of humankind. Over all nations is humanity. The United Nations must show that a devotion to the cause of humanity does not wither away once the enemy is defeated. That devotion must continue to grow and flourish, so that our unity will be strong enough, not only to survive victory, but to march forward to

D 48110

~~"broader lands and better days".~~

~~The bond of~~ Universal danger has united us through years of unparalleled adversity. The free recognition of mutual interest and the constant application of the principle of Mutual Aid must be ~~our~~ the bond of unity in victory. ~~In the work of UNRRA we are taking the long first step in giving to victory a permanent significance.~~ The freedom which is springing up again in the hearts and minds of valiant men and women must not lack any nourishment it is in our power to provide. As you - the Council of UNRRA - address yourselves to this high calling, I greet you warmly and wish you every success.

copy for Mr Turnbull

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr Robertson:

PM's speech for UNRRA Council:

In re-reading this draft I thought I could perhaps buck it up a bit by keeping the main structure but elaborating one or two of the ideas. The result is herewith: perhaps you will have a moment to read through it.

J.A.G.

September 13, 1944

D 48111

First Revise 9:13:44

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944

D 48112

It is indeed an honour to our country and significant of the place it occupies today in world affairs that in this week, which at the beginning marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should for the second time in a little over a year be meeting in Conference at Quebec; and that the representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in this city of Montreal.

The welcome which, for the second time in the course of the present war, I have had the honour on behalf of the Government and people of Canada of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many countries here assembled. I am happy, in addition to my own greetings and good wishes, to bring to you direct, greetings equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day and to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples in war-stricken lands.

D 48113

Redraft :: 12:ix:44 (JAG)

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackeznie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944.

Representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Nations begin today the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is with special pleasure that I welcome the members of this Council to Canada on behalf of the Government and the people of Canada. Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in the world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been disloged by frontal attacks from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed under French contro, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy og Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. The sailors, soldiers and airmen of the United Nations are sweeping back the enemy

D 48114

and are making freedom ring out again. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

It is against this background that the Council meets. It assembles at the call of humanity. The loss of life and the destruction of preperty entailed by the enemy's attempt to dominate the world has been on a scale never known before.

The agreement signed at Washington on November 9 of last year defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy. Today, and throughout the deliberations of the Council, our first thought mudt be for the millions who have been under the yoke - severe and even barbarous - of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in the occupied countries were - and perhaps still are - at the mercy of this enemy.

In this war of liberation, the tide of victory is now in high flood. Total war in Europe is leading to total liberation. Soon we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The urgency of the need of liberated peoples provides the justification for, and it must remain the keynote of, this meeting.

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to move into action. This meeting is the first large meeting of the representatives of the United Nations and

D 48115

and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. I speak for every Canadian when I say how glad we are that this meeting is taking place in Canada, and in the metropolis of Canada. Many of the citizens of Montreal, and of the province of Quebec, look to France as the homeland of their ancestors. It is fitting that the meeting should be convened in Montreal at the moment when France is being freed and is moving once more to take her rightful place among the freedom-loving nations of the world.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director-General who is presiding at this meeting. The Honourable Herbert Lehman, who was unanimously chosen to direct the Administration, brings to the work of UNRRA an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to him we are proud to remember that his son, who gave his life in the common cause, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is gladly recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a great and healing work for humanity. For UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity for humanitarian needs of many nations banded together. It is based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself.

D 48116

We in Canada remember today that, thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have contributed so considerably to the Allied effort throughout the war, shall soon be fully mobilized as well for the necessary tasks of helping to build a peaceable world community. We recognize that as security is indivisible, so also is prosperity indivisible. We are interested in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to help to restore their battered and unsettled economies so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and of goodwill. On such exchanges our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations". "Normal relations" as they were before the war were never good enough. We want to see, as we need to see, relations established on a new, positive footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity.

If UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace, UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, and as tangible evidence that nations can work together if they have the will to work together. UNRRA is a fellowship; but it is likewise an experiment which will not succeed of itself. President Rossevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together;" and here today we are bearing witness to the rightness of his words.

Today the eyes of the hungry world. the dispossessed world,

D 48117

the driven but never-despairing world, are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you may make here. In your deliberations you will have differences to resolve. The first Session of the Council at Atlantic City - despite inevitable differences of views - was able to reach unanimity on the 41 resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the administration. Your task today, as I understand it, is to carry that agreemenf further; to give the Director-General and his staff the guidanc e and support necessary to enable them to me et the pressing needs of relief as soon as the military situation will allow UNRRA officers to take up the responsibility. The speed of victory and the conditions of peace may reduce the size of the task, but it is still a task large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination. It will require a genius of organization driven by the same concentration of will as that which in war was needed to turn defeat into victory.

We ought not to deceive ourselves, for a common danger has often proved a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanityor a common opportunity to serve the needs of humankind. Over all nations is humanity. The United Nations must show that a devotion to the cause of humanity does not wither away once the enemy is defeated. That devotion must continue to grow and floutish, so that our unity will be strong enough , not only to survive victory, but to march forward to

D 48118

"broader lands and better days".

The bond of universal danger has united us through years of unparalleled adversity. The free recognition of mutual interest and the constant application of the principle of Mutual Aid must be our bond of unity in victory. In the work of UNRRA we are taking the long first step in giving to victory a permanent significance. The freedom which is springing up again in the hearts and minds of valiant men and women must not lack any nourishment it is in our power to provide. As you - the Council of UNRRA - address yourselves to this high calling, I greet you warmly and wish you every success.

First Revise 9:13:44

D 48119

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944

It is indeed an honour to our country and significant of the place it occupies today in world affairs that in this week, which at the beginning marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should for the second time in a little over a year be meeting in Conference at Quebec; and that the representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in this city of Montreal.

The welcome which, for the second time in the course of the present war, I have had the honour on behalf of the Government and people of Canada of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many countries here assembled. I am happy, in addition to my own greetings and good wishes, to bring to you direct, greetings equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day and to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples in war-stricken lands.

JAG/Z

D 48120

COUNCIL MEETING OF U.N.R.R.A.

Montreal, September 15, 1944.

I. Introduction.

2. Purpose - objective.

3. Technical skill and scientific advice -

nutrition
re-location.

4. Physical resources of countries able to provide for needs of countries long under enemy occupation.

- Canada honored by Chairmanship of Suppliers Committee.

5. Human resources of personnel -

disposition
technical competence
the compelling nature of the need.

6. The work of Voluntary Agencies.

JAG/Z

D 48121

COUNCIL MEETING OF U.N.R.R.A.

Montreal, September 15, 1944.

1. Introduction.

2. Purpose - objective.

3. Technical skill and scientific advice -

   nutrition
   re-location.

4. Physical resources of countries able to provide for needs of countries long under enemy occupation.

   - Canada honored by Chairmanship of Suppliers Committee.

5. Human resources of personnel -

   disposition
   technical competence
   the compelling nature of the need.

6. The work of Voluntary Agencies.

JAG/Z

D 48122

COUNCIL MEETING OF U.N.R.R.A.

Montreal, September 15, 1944.

I. Introduction.

2. Purpose - objective.

3. Technical skill and scientific advice -

nutrition
re-location.

4. Physical resources of countries able to provide for needs of countries long under enemy occupation.

- Canada honored by Chairmanship of Suppliers Committee.

5. Human resources of personnel -

disposition
technical competence
the compelling nature of the need.

6. The work of Voluntary Agencies.

JAG/Z

D 48123

COUNCIL MEETING OF U.N.R.R.A.

Montreal, September 15, 1944.

I. Introduction.

2. Purpose - objective.

3. Technical skill and scientific advice -

nutrition
re-location.

4. Physical resources of countries able to provide for needs of countries long under enemy occupation.

- Canada honored by Chairmanship of Suppliers Committee.

5. Human resources of personnel -

disposition
technical competence
the compelling nature of the need.

6. The work of Voluntary Agencies.

JAG/Z

D 48124

COUNCIL MEETING OF U.N.R.R.A.

Montreal, September 15, 1944.

I. Introduction.

2. Purpose - objective.

3. Technical skill and scientific advice -

nutrition
re-location.

4. Physical resources of countries able to provide for needs of countries long under enemy occupation.

- Canada honored by Chairmanship of Suppliers Committee.

5. Human resources of personnel -

disposition
technical competence
the compelling nature of the need.

6. The work of Voluntary Agencies.

JAG/Z
30-8-44

D 48125

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis.. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

D 48126

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great egency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

JAG/Z
30-8-44

D 48127

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

JAG/Z
30-8-44

D 48128

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

D 48129

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great egency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

D 48130

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great egency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

JAG/Z
30-8-44

D 48131

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

D 48132

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great egency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

JAG/Z
30-8-44

D 48133

I. Introduction

It is with special pleasure that I bid a warm welcome today to delegates to this second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This welcome is one which will be echoed by my colleagues in the Government of Canada, and by the people of Canada as a whole.

Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since this Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been subjected to frontal assaults from the North, from the South, and from the East. Much of Italy has been liberated; most of France has passed to French control, and the uneasy satellites of Hitler's Reich have sought release from their obligation to fight for the Axis. War from the air has continued to harass the internal economy of Germany, while on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies has kept open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

D 48134

In short, the war for the world's freedom has entered upon a stage in which we may say that the issue is no longer in doubt nor the outcome uncertain. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, more immediate.

This great agency which has already become well known through its initials, U.N.R.R.A., has launched upon its humanitarian work with many advantages.

D 48135

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

D 48136

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

D 48137

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

D 48138

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

D 48139

2. Purpose and Objective

To begin with, it has a resolute purpose and a clearly defined objective.

The needs of many millions of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, have become painfully apparent in the course of more than five years of war. The physical task to be attempted in restoring a minimum of standard of well-being for these millions - deprived of homes and livelihood and cruelly persecuted in body and mind - is evidently great. The planning necessary to provide effective assistance in restoring the shattered economies of countries long under an enemy yoke is monumental in its scope. The humanitarian urgency for concerted action by some international agency has been reflected in the promptness with which the planning has been taken in hand, and in the alacrity with which agreement has been reached upon the main tasks confronting U.N.R.R.A. Already it is a working model of international co-operation of a substantial and helpful kind.

Mr Gibson

Copy as received in the light of Pearson's corrections.

D 48140

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

by Rt. Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada

to the Second Session of the Council of the

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Montreal, Friday, September 15th, 1944.

Representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Powers begin to-day the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is my pleasant duty to welcome the members of this Council to Canada. The Council meets at the call of humanity. In their efforts to conquer the world, our enemies have spread destruction across the globe. The loss of life, liberty and property has been on a scale never before known. The agreement signed at Washington on 9th November, a year ago, defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy.

To-day and throughout the deliberations of the Council our first thought must be of the millions who have been under the yoke of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in occupied

countries were at the mercy of the enemy. The sailors, soldiers and airmen of the United Nations are sweeping the enemy back and making freedom live again.

This is the War of Liberation. The tide of victory is in high flood. The rapid march of operations has added significance and urgency to this meeting. A year ago the enemy still held sway in every occupied country. To-day our total war in Europe is resulting in total liberation. Tomorrow we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The urgency of the need of the liberated peoples must be the keynote of this meeting.

UNRRA was the first ~~organ~~ executive agency of the United Nations to be set up. This meeting is the first meeting of representatives of the United Nations and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. I speak for every Canadian when I say how glad we are that it was decided to hold this meeting in Canada. In the name of the Government and people of Canada I extend to the Council of UNRRA the warmest possible welcome. Most of the citizens of Montreal and Quebec look back to France as the home of their ancestors. It is particularly fitting that the meeting should take place in Montreal at the very moment when France has been freed to take her rightful place among the nations of the world.

The arrangements for this meeting in Montreal have been made by the Director General and his staff; but the people of Canada would wish me to say that this government is ready to do everything possible to facilitate your work and to make your stay in Canada as enjoyable as war conditions will permit.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director General who is presiding at this meeting. The Honourable Herbert Lehman was unanimously chosen to Direct the Administration. In selecting him the Council recognised an exceptional combination of qualities. Governor Lehman is particularly welcome in Canada because his son, who gave his life in the common cause, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The importance of the meeting is shown by the very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries. Its importance is recognized in Canada. Like other nations Canada is interested in UNRRA as a great work for humanity, the greatest single co-operative activity of a large number of nations for humanitarian purposes based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself.

Thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of Freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have played a not

inconsiderable part in war, will be fully used for peace. We recognize that as security is indivisible, so is prosperity also indivisible. We are interested, selfishly interested if you will, in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to restore themselves so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and goodwill. On such exchange our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations". Normal relations as they were before the war were not good enough. We want to see relations established on a new footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity. Canada is ready to meet every nation and all the nations more than half way.

The Parliament of Canada has already recognized the importance of UNRRA. The measure which authorized the Government to fulfill its obligations was supported by all parties.

UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace. UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, as tangible evidence that nations can work together. President Roosevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together".

UNRRA has been described as a corporation, a partnership, a world community chest; it is also a fellowship; but it is also an experiment which will not succeed of itself. UNRRA is our creation and it will only work for the nations if the nations make it work.

For the reasons I have suggested, the eyes of the world are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of millions of mankind depend upon the decisions you will have to make. In your deliberations various points of view will quite properly be put forward and you will have differences to resolve. Despite daily reports of differences at Atlantic City the first Session of the Council was able to reach unanimity on the forty-one resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the Administration. I understand that your task to-day is to carry that agreement further and to give the Director General and his staff the guidance and support necessary to enable them to meet relief needs as soon as the military authorities hand over the responsibility. The speed and conditions of victory may reduce the size of the task, but it is still large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination. It will require a genius of organization driven by the same concentration of will as that needed in war to turn defeat into victory.

D 48145

Let us not deceive ourselves. A common danger is a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanity / or a common opportunity. The United Nations must show that our devotion to the cause of humanity is not exhausted by the defeat of the enemy. Our unity must be strong enough to survive victory.

We have been united in adversity by the bond of universal danger. We must stay united in victory through the recognition of mutual interest and the application of the principle of Mutual Aid. In the work of UNRRA we are taking the first step in making victory permanent.

The task of UNRRA is to see that the freedom which is being born again does not lack any nourishment it is in our power to provide.

First Revise 9:13:44

D 48146

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944

It is indeed an honour to our country and significant of the place it occupies today in world affairs that in this week, which at the beginning marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should for the second time in a little over a year be meeting in Conference at Quebec; and that the representatives of forty-four of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled in the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in this city of Montreal.

The welcome which, for the second time in the course of the present war, I have had the honour on behalf of the Government and people of Canada of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many countries here assembled. I am happy, in addition to my own greetings and good wishes, to bring to you direct, greetings equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day and to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples in war-stricken lands.

P 48147

Redraft :: 12:ix:44 (JAG)

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944.

Representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Nations begin today the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is with special pleasure that I welcome, the members of ~~this~~ Council ~~to Canada~~ on behalf of ~~the~~ Government and ~~the~~ people ~~of Canada~~. Our welcome is the warmer because of the tremendous advances which have been made in the world-wide battle for freedom and liberation. Since ~~this~~ Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been disloged by frontal attacks from the ~~North~~, from the South, ~~and from the East~~. ~~Much of Italy~~ has been liberated; ~~most of~~ France ~~has passed~~ under French control, ~~and~~ the ~~enemy~~ satellites of Hitler's Reich ~~have sought release from their obligation to fight~~ for the ~~Nazis~~. War from the air ~~has continued~~ to harass the internal economy of Germany, ~~while~~ on the sea the constant vigilance and unchallenged skill of Allied navies ~~has kept~~ open the sea routes upon which the world's freedom also depends.

~~In short,~~ The war ~~for the world's freedom~~ has entered upon a stage in which ~~we may say that~~ the issue is no longer in doubt, ~~nor the outcome uncertain. The sailors, soldiers and airmen of the United Nations are~~ sweeping back the enemy

~~at London~~ for the second time in a little more than a year, and that the representatives of 44 of the United Nations and associated powers ~~who are~~ have now been assembled ~~in this city of Montreal~~ on the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in this city of Montreal. ~~I am in~~ for the second time in the course of the present war I welcome Mr Roosevelt and his Government and people of Canada, I extend ~~in~~ most cordial ~~welcome~~ greetings to the representatives of the many countries here assembled.

I am happy to be in addition ~~to~~ the privilege and pleasure ~~I have had as a citizen of the United States~~ of welcoming the President, ~~and of the United States~~ and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. (reading equally warm from ~~the~~ his colleagues in Roosevelt & the Cabinet)

Nothing could ~~be~~ more fortuitous ~~than~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~meeting~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Council~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~held~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~City~~ ~~of~~ ~~Montreal~~ ~~from~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~Expedition~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~Axis~~ ~~was~~ ~~launched~~ to the pursuits of peace ~~and~~ more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory as the earliest possible date, and to relieve as the earliest possible date the suffering and need of ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~countries~~ ~~which~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~overrun~~ the peoples in war stricken lands.

D 48149

and are making freedom ring out again. But for this very reason the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become, if anything, more clear, more urgent, and more immediate.

It is against this background that the Council meets. It assembles at the call of humanity. The loss of life and the destruction of property entailed by the enemy's attempt to dominate the world has been on a scale never known before. The agreement signed at Washington on November 9 of last year defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy. Today, and throughout the deliberations of the Council, our first thought, all assembled here must be for the millions who have been under the yoke of the enemy. Many of you in this room have carried on the fight while your wives and children in the occupied countries were - and perhaps still are - at the mercy of this enemy.

In this stage of liberation, the tide of victory is now in high flood. Total war in Europe is leading to total liberation. Soon we may hope for total liberation in the Pacific. The immediacy of the need of liberated peoples provides the justification for, and it must remain the keynote of this meeting.

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to move into action. This meeting is the first large meeting of the representatives of the United Nations and

and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. I ~~speak for every Canadian when I say how glad~~ we are that this meeting is taking place in Canada, ~~and in the metropolis of Canada~~. Many of ~~the~~ citizens ~~of Montreal,~~ and ~~of~~ the province of Quebec, look to France as the homeland of their ancestors. It is ~~fitting~~ that the ~~meeting~~ should be ~~convened~~ in Montreal at the moment when France ~~is being~~ freed and is ~~moving~~ ~~once more~~ to ~~take~~ her rightful place among the ~~freedom-loving~~ nations of the world.

I am particularly glad to welcome the Director-General, who is presiding at this meeting, The Honourable Herbert Lehman, ~~who~~ was unanimously chosen to direct the Administration ~~being~~ to the work ~~of UNRRA~~ an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to ~~him~~ we are proud to remember that his son, who gave his life in the ~~common~~ cause, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force. The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is ~~gladly~~ recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a great and healing work for humanity. For UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity for humanitarian needs of many nations banded together. ~~It is based on the principle that he is helped best who is enabled to help himself~~.

D 48151

We in Canada remember today that, thanks to the combined resistance of the forces of freedom, our country has been neither bombed nor starved. We are resolved that our resources, which have contributed so considerably to the Allied effort throughout the war, shall soon be fully mobilized as well for the necessary tasks of helping to build a peaceable world community. We recognize that as security is indivisible, so also is prosperity indivisible. We are interested in UNRRA as a means of enabling nations to help to restore their battered and unsettled economies so that we can exchange with them surpluses of goods and of goodwill. On such exchanges our welfare in Canada depends. I do not speak of resuming "normal relations". "Normal relations" as they were before the war were never good enough. We want to see, as we need to see, relations established on a new, positive footing of co-operation for peace and prosperity.

If UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace, UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, and as tangible evidence that nations can work together if they have the will to work together. ~~UNRRA is a fellowship; but it is likewise an experiment which will not succeed of itself. President Roosevelt said before your last meeting: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together;" and here today we are bearing witness to the rightness of his words.~~

Today the eyes of the hungry world, the dispossessed world,

D 48152

the driven but never-despairing world, are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you may make here. ~~In your deliberations you will have differences to resolve.~~ The first Session of the Council at Atlantic City - despite inevitable differences of views - was able to reach unanimity on ~~the~~ 41 resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the administration. ~~Your~~ The task ~~today, as I understand it,~~ of this second session is to carry that agreement further; to give the Director-General and his staff the guidance and support ~~necessary~~ needed to enable them to ~~meet~~ undertake the ~~pressing~~ work needs of relief as soon as the military situation will allow UNRRA officers to ~~take up~~ assume their the responsibility. ~~The speed of victory and the conditions of peace may reduce the size of the task, but it is still a task large enough and complex enough to stagger the imagination. It~~ This will require a genius of organization, ~~driven by~~ and the same concentration of will as ~~that which in war was needed~~ has been manifested in war to turn defeat into victory.

We ought not to deceive ourselves, for a common danger has often proved a more effective bond of unity than a common obligation to humanity or a common opportunity to serve the needs of humankind. Over all nations is humanity. The United Nations must show that a devotion to the cause of humanity does not wither away once the enemy is defeated. That devotion must continue to grow and flourish, so that our unity will be strong enough, not only to survive victory, ~~in~~ but to march forward to

D 48153

"broader lands and better days".

~~The bond of~~ universal danger has united us through years of unparalleled adversity. The free recognition of mutual interest and the constant application of the principle of Mutual Aid must be our bond of unity in victory. ~~In the~~ work of UNRRA we are taking the long first step in giving to victory a permanent significance. The freedom which is springing up again in the hearts and minds of valiant men and women must not lack any nourishment it is in our power to provide. As you - the Council of UNRRA - address yourselves to this high calling, I greet you warmly and wish you every success.

Second Revise 14:ix:44 D 48154

It is with special pleasure that I welcome to Canada today, ~~on behalf of its Government and people~~, members of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. ~~The beginning~~ of this week marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into ~~teh~~ war. It is an honour to our country that the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs ofStaff, should, ~~for the second time in a little over a year~~ be meeting in conference at Quebec. It is likewise significant of Canada's place in world affairs that in this ~~same~~ week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Powers should be assembled ~~in~~ the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible ~~date~~ than the conferences which have been taking place in the ancient capital ofCanada. Nothing could ~~prove~~ more eloquently the resolve of ~~these same~~ nations to relieve at the earliest possible date the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands.

The welcome which, for the second time in the present war, I have had the honour of extending to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. In addition to my own greetings and good wishes, I am happy to bring you greetings equally warm from ~~the~~ Mr Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date September 20, 1944

D 48155

Subject

"The Universal Recognition of Our Common Humanity"

In his address of welcome to the UNRRA council, Prime Minister King referred to the principle of mutual aid which has found expression in Canada's gifts of billions to her Allies, and which lies at the root of future relief and rehabilitation. He told the council that "the hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you make. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationships. The doctrine of mutual aid signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need rather than human greed."

Mr. King was speaking of international relationships. But the doctrine is as important intranationally—within the nation—as it is internationally, that is, in nations' relations with each other. The prime minister said: "The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations. The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity." That is true of a nation's obligation to its own people as it is true of a nation's obligation to other peoples. It is true of a nation's obligation to its own children, as it is true of its obligation to children elsewhere. Mr. King was talking internationally, and therefore did not mention children's allowances, but all that he said applies to these with equal force. They are a form of mutual aid within the nation.

In support of his thesis, the prime minister quoted lines written by Elizabeth Barrett Browning which Mr. Main Johnson referred to on the financial page yesterday, but which will bear repetition. We here preface Mr. King's extract with two lines which are in the Browning poem, but which he did not quote—they so round out the quotation in its application to the family allowances act:

. . . "A child's kiss
Set on thy sighing lips shall make thee glad.
A poor man served by thee shall make thee rich;
A sick man helped by thee shall make thee strong.
Thou shalt be served thyself by every sense
Of service which thou renderest." . . .

"This," said Mr. King, "is the law of mutual aid. It is as true of nations as it is of individuals." It is, moreover, equally true of a nation's service to its own people, its own children. And true, of course, of an individual's service to his fellow nationals. The coming campaign of the United Welfare Fund in Toronto is an instance of mutual aid.

There is, then, the mutual aid which an individual voluntarily renders to his less fortunate fellows in the form of personal benefactions. There is the mutual aid which the state renders to those in its midst whose burdens are heaviest. And there is the mutual aid which engages the attention of the UNRRA—that which one nation or a group of nations may render to others. They all embody the principle so happily phrased by Mr. King: "The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity."

D 48156

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada to the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration,
Montreal, Friday, September 15, 1944.

It is with special pleasure that I welcome to Canada ~~today members~~ of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The ~~beginning of this week~~ marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war. It is an honour to our country that, in ~~this~~ anniversary week, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should ~~be~~ ~~meeting~~ in conference at Quebec. ~~This~~ is, as you are aware, the second such conference to be held in Canada in a little over a year. It is likewise significant of Canada's ~~place~~ in world affairs that in ~~this~~ anniversary week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and Associated Powers should ~~be~~ assembled here in this city of Montreal. ~~This~~ is the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at ~~the earliest~~ possible day than the conferences which ~~have been taking place in the ancient capital of Canada~~. Nothing could manifest more eloquently than this meeting the resolve of the free nations to relieve ~~at the earliest possible date~~ the suffering

D 48157

the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands. This is the largest and most representative war-time gatherings of the United Nations.

The welcome which ~~for the second time in the present war~~, I ~~have~~ had the honour of extending to ~~Mr.~~ ~~Roosevelt~~ and ~~Mr. Churchill~~ I extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. ~~In addition to my own greetings and good wishes, I am happy to~~ bring you greetings ~~equally warm from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.~~ This is the first full meeting of representatives of the United Nations and Associated Powers to be held outside the United States. ~~I need not say how pleased we are~~ that ~~this meeting~~ is taking place in Canada. Many of our citizens, and especially those of the province of Quebec, look to France as the homeland of their ancestors. It is therefore doubly pleasing that the Council should be opening its proceedings in Montreal just at the moment when France has been freed and is striving to regain her rightful place among the nations of the world.

I am particularly glad to welcome, as the Director-General of UNRRA, and as an old friend, the Honourable Herbert Lehman ~~who is presiding at this meeting.~~

D 48158

Mr. Lehman ~~was unanimously chosen to direct the administration of UNRRA.~~ ~~He~~ brings to ~~its~~ this work an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to Mr. Lehman, we are proud to remember that his son, who ~~gallantly~~ gave his life in the cause of the world's freedom, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force. I ~~am happy to~~ recall that on the day Lieutenant Peter Lehman received his wings at Uplands, near Ottawa, I had the honour of welcoming his father and mother to the Capital of Canada.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is fully recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a ~~great and~~ healing ~~work for humanity~~. ~~For~~ UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs.

Since the Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been disloged by frontal attacks from the East, from the West, and from the South. France today is under French control. Nearly all of Belgium has been liberated. The satellites of Hitler's Reich are ~~today fighting against~~ rather than for the Nazis. It is against this background that the Council meets.

D 48159

~~In this stage of liberation,~~ In Europe, the tide of victory is now in high flood. Total war ~~in Europe~~ is leading to total liberation. ~~We may soon hope for total liberation in the Pacific.~~ For these ~~very~~ reasons, the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate. The immediacy of the need of liberated peoples is an added justification for ~~this~~ the present meeting. It must be the keynote of its proceedings.

UNRRA was the first executive agency of the United Nations to move into action. The agreement signed at Washington on November 9 of last year defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy. ~~Today, and~~ Throughout the deliberations of the Council, the first thought of all assembled here must be of ~~the millions~~ the victims who have been under the yoke of the enemy.

If UNRRA is important as a bridge from war to peace, UNRRA is also important as a signpost to the future, and as tangible evidence that nations can work together if they have the will to work together.

Today the eyes of the hungry world, the dispossessed world, the driven but never-despairing world, are focussed on Montreal. The hopes of ~~millions~~ as millions of men and women, the

livelihood

D 48160

livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you may make here.

The first Session of the Council at Atlantic City - despite inevitable differences of views - was able to reach unanimity on 41 resolutions dealing with the organization and main lines of policy of the administration. The task of this Second Session is to carry that agreement further; to give the Director-General and his staff the guidance and support needed to enable them to undertake work of relief as soon as the military situation will allow UNRRA officers to assume that responsibility. This will ~~require~~ the same concentration of will and genius of organization as ~~has been imperative~~ to turn defeat into victory.

Universal danger has united us through years of unparalleled adversity. The free recognition of mutual interest and the constant application of the principle of Mutual Aid ~~must be~~ the bond of unity in victory.

D 48161

INSERT @

I should like also to ~~take this opportunity~~ to express my congratulations to ~~the Hon'. L.B.~~ Pearson upon his election as Chairman of ~~the Second~~ Session of the Council. Mr. Pearson's ~~is widely esteemed throughout this Continent for his work~~ as Chairman of the Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. It is an honour to Canada and a tribute both to his capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of ~~this agency~~ that he has been chosen ~~unanimously~~ to fill this office.

D 48162

I should like also to express my congratulations to Mr. Pearson upon his election as Chairman of this session of the Council. Mr. Pearson's services as Chairman of the Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture have been widely recognized. It is an honour to Canada and a tribute both to Mr. Pearson's capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of UNRRA that he has been chosen to fill this high office.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is fully recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ~~healing~~ administration on an international scale. UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs. Social service in times of peace is the moral equivalent of military service in times of war

Since the Council last met, the German hold upon western Europe has been dislodged by frontal attacks from the East, from the West, and from the South. France today is under French control. Nearly all of Belgium has been liberated. The allied armies are freeing the soil of the Netherlands. For the most part, the satellites of Hitler's Reich are betraying and opposing, rather than fighting for, the Nazis. It is against this rapidly changing background that the Council meets.

In Europe the theatres the tide of victory is now ~~in~~ advancing high flood. Total war is leading to total liberation.

D 48163

For these reasons I have mentioned, the tasks of the agencies of rehabilitation and relief have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate. The immediacy of the need of liberated peoples is an added justification for the present meeting. This must be the keynote of its proceedings.

Today the eyes of ~~the~~ hungry ~~world~~ peoples, ~~the~~ dispossessed ~~world~~ peoples, ~~the~~ driven but never-despairing ~~world~~ peoples, are focussed on Montreal. ~~The agreement signed at Washington on November 9 of last year defined the object of UNRRA as the provision of relief to the peoples of territories liberated from the enemy.~~ Throughout the deliberations of the Council, the first thought of all assembled here must be of those who have been under the yoke of the enemy. The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you may make ~~here~~. This will ~~need~~ demand the same concentration of will and genius of organization as were ~~required~~ needed to turn defeat into victory.

In victory ~~our concern~~ must ~~be for~~ proceed along the way of Reason as opposed to the way of Force. We must substitute co-operation for coercion. Mutual Aid must become the guiding principle in every aspect of ~~our~~ international relationships ~~together~~.

Mutual Aid is based upon the precept that "no man liveth to himself alone" and that, whether as nations or as men, "we are members one of another." The doctrine of Mutual Aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of Force. It is founded

D 48164

on a conception of Right in contrast to a belief in Might. It signifies brotherhood, not fratracide. It considers human need, rather than human greed.

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations. The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity. In these years of war, Mutual Aid has enabled the United Nations to defeat their common enemy. The principle of Mutual Aid, widely and wisely applied in the years of transition from war to peace, ~~will~~ should enable the free nations to lay the foundations of a new world order. ~~To lay the foundations so surely and firmly that the new order will become an enduring order.~~ The supreme task of UNRRA, it seems to me, is to make so apparent to ~~mankind~~ all nations the benefits of Mutual Aid, ~~universally applied~~, as to render enduring the New World Order which we so fervently pray may succeed the old. No lesser vision will serve to achieve our common aim. No lesser service to humanity will be worthy of the sacrifices of those ~~who, in war, have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom.~~ whose lives have been taken in the world's struggle for freedom. Let the nations united today in this cause of freedom, remain united in their service to mankind

D 48165

~~Even~~ In victory our concern must be for the way of Reason as opposed to the way of force; ~~the way of co-operation and not the method of coercion. We shall have to direct our efforts unceasingly to see that principles of Mutual Aid are carried into operation~~ in every aspect of our relationships together, ~~no less as nations in the world community than as citizens of the free nations themselves.~~

There is in UNRRA a great opportunity - an exceptional opportunity - to provide food and physical comfort for millions of people whose bodies and whose souls have been cruelly oppressed. To feed their bodies we can draw upon the resources of many lands, among which Canada must be counted one of the most favoured of all. The task at this stage is to find the most equitable distribution of the resources which are available within the capacities of particular supplying nations, and to apportion them wherever the need is greatest as promptly as may be possible. Of all of this, you, as representatives of many nations to the Council of UNRRA, are well aware. You realize, as thinking humanity has come to realize, that the work of repairing the ravages of war will not of itself be sufficient. You realize, I am persuaded, that all our humanitarian efforts fail if the nations of the world content themselves simply with the feeding of the bodies of men. The world will have to use its natural resources to conserve human resources and to

D 48166

promote the health and happiness of all the people. We cannot expect that prosperity and contentment can be created or can eudure unless provision is made on a world-wide seale to safe-guard the lives and the welfare of the many, and to protect from injustice and misfortune the homes of the humble of every land.

This is partly a matter of machinery and of organization. But it is much more a question of the attitudes and the outlook of men and women. The world has it in its power to root out and obliterate forever the gnawing, cankerous causes that have brought on the holocaust of death and destruction which is total war. The world can build a society of peace and order if it has a will to peace and order

D 48167

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48108

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 18/44

3172/45

Premier Mackenzie King's Text of Welcome

FOLLOWING is the address of welcome delivered today by Premier Mackenzie King on behalf of the Canadian Government and people, to the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration meeting in the Windsor Hotel:

It is with special pleasure that I join with others who have already extended greetings in welcoming to Canada all who are present at this meeting of the council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I had hoped to be among the first to extend a welcome. The welcome which I now extend on behalf of the Government and People of Canada is all the greater in the light of the circumstances which unavoidably delayed the opening of your proceedings.

The week of September 10 marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war. It is an honor to our country that, in that anniversary week, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should have met in conference in Quebec. It was, as you are aware, the second such conference to be held in Canada in a little over a year.

It is likewise significant of the place Canada has today in world affairs, that in that Anniversary week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and associated powers should have assembled here in this city of Montreal, in what is the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free Nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day than the conference which has just concluded at Quebec. Nothing could manifest more eloquently than this meeting the resolve of the Free Nations to relieve as quickly as possible the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands. Of wartime gatherings of the United Nations held thus far this is the largest and most representative.

Leaders Send Wishes

The welcome which I had the honor, on behalf of the people of Canada of extending to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom a week ago today, I now extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. Had it been possible, both the President and Mr. Churchill would have come to Montreal for the opening meeting. They asked me to convey their best of wishes for its proceedings.

I am particularly glad to welcome, both as the Director-General of UNRRA, and as an old friend, Hon. Herbert Lehman. Mr. Lehman brings to the work of UNRRA an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to Mr. Lehman, we are proud to remember that his son, who gave his life in the cause of the world's freedom, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force. I recall that on the day Lieut. Peter Lehman received his wings at Uplands, near Ottawa, I had the honor of welcoming his father and mother to the Capital of Canada.

I should like also to express my congratulations to Mr. Pearson upon his election as chairman of this session of the Council. Mr. Pearson's services as chairman of the Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture have been widely recognized. It is an honor to Canada and attribute both to Pearson's capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of UNRRA that he has been chosen to fill this high office.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is fully recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ministration on an international scale. UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs. The service of relief and rehabilitation in times of strain is the moral equivalent of military service in time of war.

German Losses Mount

Since the Council last met, the German hold upon Western Europe has been dislodged by frontal attacks from the East, from the West, and from the South. France today is under French control. Nearly all of Belgium has been liberated. The Allied armies are freeing the soil of the Netherlands. For the most part, the satellites of Hitler's Reich are betraying and opposing rather than fighting for the Nazis. In European theatres the tide of victory is now approaching high flood. Total war is leading to total liberation. It is against this rapidly changing background that the Council meets. For the reasons I have mentioned, the tasks of the agencies of relief and rehabilitation have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate. The immediacy of the need of liberated peoples is an added justification for the present meeting. Their need must be the keynote of its proceedings.

Today the eyes of the hungry peoples, of dispossessed peoples of driven but never-despairing peoples, are focussed on Montreal. Throughout the deliberations of the council, the first thought of all assembled here will be of these who have been under the yoke of the enemy.

The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you make. This will demand the same concentration of purpose and genius of organization as are needed to turn defeat into victory.

Mutual Aid Needed

To ensure an enduring peace, the world must learn to proceed along the way of reason and good-will. Men and nations must substitute co-operation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationships.

You will recall the well-known lines from one of Elizabeth Browning's poems:

"A poor man served by thee
shall make thee rich;
A sick man helped by thee,
shall make thee strong.
Thou shalt be served thyself
by every sense
Of service which thou renderest."

This is the law of mutual aid. It is as true of nations as it is of individuals.

Mutual aid is based upon the precept that "no man liveth to himself alone" and that, whether as nations or as men, "we are members one of another." The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force. It is founded on a conception of right in contrast to a belief in might. It signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need, rather than human greed.

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations. The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity.

In these years of war, mutual aid has enabled the United Nations to defeat their common enemy. The principle of mutual aid, widely and wisely applied in the years of transition from war to peace, should enable the free nations to lay the foundations of a new world order. The supreme task of UNRRA, it seems to me, is to make the benefits of mutual aid so apparent to all nations as to render enduring the new world order which we so fervently pray may succeed the old. No lesser service to humanity will be worthy of the sacrifices of those who have helped to preserve the world's freedom in the present war. Under the banner of the new order, let the nations united today in the cause of the world's freedom remain united in their service to mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 19 1944

D 48169

PREMIER LAUDS UNITED NATIONS ON RELIEF AIMS

King Opens UNRRA Council Session—Lehman Stresses Europe's Needs

Direct from an international conference to plan a mutual program to wage world war, Prime Minister Mackenzie King came yesterday to Montreal officially to open an international conference on the best means of binding the world-wide wounds of war.

Opening the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the Windsor Hotel, Mr. King lauded the humanitarianism of UNRRA proposals as an essential part of modern world relationships. "With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ministration on an international scale," he said. "UNRRA represents the growing cooperative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs. The service of relief and rehabilitation in times of strain is the moral equivalent of military service in time of war.

"We are members one of another," he said, and continued, "The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force . . . it signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need, rather than human greed."

Mr. King spoke in the main conference hall at the top of the open square of tables that seated the heads of the 44 national delegations to the council of UNRRA before a bank of flags of the United Nations. He began by remarking that he had hoped to be among the first to welcome the Council to Canada, and while he had been delayed, "the welcome which I now extend on behalf of the government and people of Canada is all the greater in the light of the circumstances which unavoidably delayed the opening of your proceedings."

The Prime Minister then pointed out that in the week of September 10th, which marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, Canada had been honored by first the Quebec Conference between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, and then in Montreal, the second session of the UNRRA Council.

"Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day than the conference just concluded at Quebec," he said. On the other hand, he pointed out, "nothing could manifest more eloquently than this meeting the resolve of the free nations to relieve as quickly as possible the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands."

The welcome he had extended to the British Prime Minister and the American President a week ago, Mr. Mackenzie King declared, "I now extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled." He said that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill would have been present had that been possible; instead, at their request, he brought their best wishes for the proceedings.

Mr. King welcomed particularly the director-general of UNRRA, Hon. Herbert Lehman who, he said, "brings to the work . . . an exceptional combination of qualities." He also expressed his congratulations to L. B. Pearson, Canadian Minister at Washington, who has been elected permanent chairman of this session of the UNRRA Council. "It is an honor to Canada and an attribute both to Mr. Pearson's capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of UNRRA that he has been chosen to fill this high office."

Mr. King remarked that the very full attendance of representatives demonstrated the importance of the meeting. Canada too fully recognized that importance, he said. Surveying the world since last the Council met, the Premier said that in European theatres the tide of victory was approaching high flood.

'Total war is leading to total liberation," he went on, and "the tasks of the agencies of relief and rehabilitation have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate."

These needs must be the keynote of the UNRRA proceedings, he said. "The eyes of the hungry peoples, of dispossessed peoples, driven but never despairing peoples, are focussed on Montreal," Mr. King said, and added, "the first thought of all assembled here will be of those who have been under the yoke of the enemy."

The hopes of millions depended upon the decisions made here in Montreal, Mr. King went on, and these decisions "will demand the same concentration of purpose and genius of organization as are needed to turn defeat into victory."

Enduring peace could only come when the world learned to proceed along the way of reason and goodwill, the Premier emphasized. "Men and nations must substitute cooperation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationship."

The Prime Minister declared that the era of freedom would only be achieved when social security and human welfare became the main concern of men and nations. "The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity." He pointed out that in the years of war, mutual aid had enabled the United Nations to defeat the common enemy. Similarly the same principles of cooperation "widely and wisely applied . . . should enable the free nations to lay the foundations of a new world order. The supreme task of UNRRA is to make the benefits of mutual aid so apparent to all nations as to render enduring the new world order which we so fervently pray may succeed the old," he declared.

Mr. King indicated his opinion that no less service to humanity would be worthy of the sacrifices of those who had helped to preserve the world's freedom in the present war. "Under the banner of the new order let the nations united today in the cause of the world's freedom remain united in their service to mankind," he concluded amid prolonged applause.

L. B. Pearson, who presided by virtue of his recent election as permanent chairman, after thanking the Prime Minister in the name of the Council, then asked Mr. Lehman to read his report as director-general. Then ensued a slight delay caused by the technicians, because Mr. King's speech had been broadcast. When it was learned that a wait of some three minutes must intervene before the next speech, Mr. Pearson declared himself quite unable to "ad lib" for that period. He suggested that the Council compose itself in patience for the remaining time. However Mr. King benignly rose to his feet with the request that he might be permitted to welcome the Council less formally than in his set speech. With a series of felicitous phrases he filled in the blank time until the director-general's report could be received.

MISSION TO MOSCOW.

Mr. Lehman said that he hoped shortly to leave for overseas because he was determined that the administration of UNRRA should be as near as possible to the problems it was engaged in solving, and announced that an UNRRA mission would proceed to Russia immediately after the council meetings were concluded. He also said that an UNRRA office would be set up in Sydney, Australia, to deal with the war problems—particularly health questions—created in the South Pacific and that are already existing in Chungking. He warned that the world should not be deceived by the optimistic reports coming from certain liberated nations as to the scope of the work ahead. "These reports are far outweighted by others which indicate that the enemy has been even more ruthless in his treatment of the occupied countries than has been known or anticipated."

He went on to say that as the enemy was driven out of certain

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 19 1944

D 48169

PREMIER LAUDS UNITED NATIONS ON RELIEF AIMS

King Opens UNRRA Council Session—Lehman Stresses Europe's Needs

Direct from an international conference to plan a mutual program to wage world war, Prime Minister Mackenzie King came yesterday to Montreal officially to open an international conference on the best means of binding the world-wide wounds of war.

Opening the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the Windsor Hotel, Mr. King lauded the humanitarianism of UNRRA proposals as an essential part of modern world relationships. "With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ministration on an international scale," he said. "UNRRA represents the growing cooperative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs. The service of relief and rehabilitation in times of strain is the moral equivalent of military service in time of war.

"We are members one of another," he said, and continued, "The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force . . . it signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need, rather than human greed."

Mr. King spoke in the main conference hall at the top of the open square of tables that seated the heads of the 44 national delegations to the council of UNRRA before a bank of flags of the United Nations. He began by remarking that he had hoped to be among the first to welcome the Council to Canada, and while he had been delayed, "the welcome which I now extend on behalf of the government and people of Canada is all the greater in the light of the circumstances which unavoidably delayed the opening of your proceedings."

The Prime Minister then pointed out that in the week of September 10th, which marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war, Canada had been honored by first the Quebec Conference between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, and then in Montreal, the second session of the UNRRA Council.

"Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day than the conference just concluded at Quebec," he said. On the other hand, he pointed out, "nothing could manifest more eloquently than this meeting the resolve of the free nations to relieve as quickly as possible the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands."

The welcome he had extended to the British Prime Minister and the American President a week ago, Mr. Mackenzie King declared, "I now extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled." He said that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill would have been present had that been possible; instead, at their request, he brought their best wishes for the proceedings.

Mr. King welcomed particularly the director-general of UNRRA, Hon. Herbert Lehman who, he said, "brings to the work . . . an exceptional combination of qualities." He also expressed his congratulations to L. B. Pearson, Canadian Minister at Washington, who has been elected permanent chairman of this session of the UNRRA Council. "It is an honor to Canada and an attribute both to Mr. Pearson's capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of UNRRA that he has been chosen to fill this high office."

Mr. King remarked that the very full attendance of representatives demonstrated the importance of the meeting. Canada too fully recognized that importance, he said. Surveying the world since last the Council met, the Premier said that in European theatres the tide of victory was approaching high flood.

'Total war is leading to total liberation," he went on, and "the tasks of the agencies of relief and rehabilitation have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate."

These needs must be the keynote of the UNRRA proceedings, he said. "The eyes of the hungry peoples, of dispossessed peoples, driven but never despairing peoples, are focussed on Montreal," Mr. King said, and added, "the first thought of all assembled here will be of those who have been under the yoke of the enemy."

The hopes of millions depended upon the decisions made here in Montreal, Mr. King went on, and these decisions "will demand the same concentration of purpose and genius of organization as are needed to turn defeat into victory."

Enduring peace could only come when the world learned to proceed along the way of reason and goodwill, the Premier emphasized. "Men and nations must substitute cooperation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationship."

The Prime Minister declared that the era of freedom would only be achieved when social security and human welfare became the main concern of men and nations. "The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity." He pointed out that in the years of war, mutual aid had enabled the United Nations to defeat the common enemy. Similarly the same principles of cooperation "widely and wisely applied . . . should enable the free nations to lay the foundations of a new world order. The supreme task of UNRRA is to make the benefits of mutual aid so apparent to all nations as to render enduring the new world order which we so fervently pray may succeed the old," he declared.

Mr. King indicated his opinion that no less service to humanity would be worthy of the sacrifices of those who had helped to preserve the world's freedom in the present war. "Under the banner of the new order let the nations united today in the cause of the world's freedom remain united in their service to mankind," he concluded amid prolonged applause.

L. B. Pearson, who presided by virtue of his recent election as permanent chairman, after thanking the Prime Minister in the name of the Council, then asked Mr. Lehman to read his report as director-general. Then ensued a slight delay caused by the technicians, because Mr. King's speech had been broadcast. When it was learned that a wait of some three minutes must intervene before the next speech, Mr. Pearson declared himself quite unable to "ad lib" for that period. He suggested that the Council compose itself in patience for the remaining time. However Mr. King benignly rose to his feet with the request that he might be permitted to welcome the Council less formally than in his set speech. With a series of felicitous phrases he filled in the blank time until the director-general's report could be received.

MISSION TO MOSCOW.

Mr. Lehman said that he hoped shortly to leave for overseas because he was determined that the administration of UNRRA should be as near as possible to the problems it was engaged in solving, and announced that an UNRRA mission would proceed to Russia immediately after the council meetings were concluded. He also said that an UNRRA office would be set up in Sydney, Australia, to deal with the war problems—particularly health questions—created in the South Pacific and that are already existing in Chungking. He warned that the world should not be deceived by the optimistic reports coming from certain liberated nations as to the scope of the work ahead. "These reports are far outweighted by others which indicate that the enemy has been even more ruthless in his treatment of the occupied countries than has been known or anticipated."

He went on to say that as the enemy was driven out of certain

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 48170

Subject .....

parts of Europe calculated efforts had been made to destroy the resources of occupied countries and to inflict the most horrible punishments on those daring to join in the fight against the Germans.

Governor Lehman assured the people of occupied countries that a substantial portion—"though unfortunately less than all"—of the supplies needed would be forthcoming. However, he warned of possible shortages of meats, fats, textiles, clothing and other manufactured articles. He said that every effort must be made to tap every source of supply in order to make these necessities available to the weary millions of occupied Europe.

Remarking that the first half of the year of the administration had seen a steady growth in cooperation, he pointed out that ". . . I should say with equal candor that greater cooperation is still to be desired. UNRRA can fulfil its tasks only with the most wholehearted and vigorous support of its member nations, from which it derives its powers, its resources, and its personnel."

Mr. Lehman said the first session of the council approved an administrative budget of $10,000,000 for the calendar year of 1944 and the remainder of 1943. To July 17, a total of $7,565,650 had been received from 30 of the 44 member governments, with 25, including Canada, having paid their contributions in full.

Contributions to operating expenses on the basis of one per cent. of the national income for the year ending June 30, 1943, had been approved by Ireland, United Kingdom, United States and Canada, he said. Arrangements for their contributions were being made by Liberia, South Africa, Australia and Uruguay, while others had indicated steps would be taken, he declared.

Mr. Lehman said that a tentative estimate had been made that from $1,800,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 would be the total amount required for operating expenses. However a large number of the member governments had not made arrangements to create credits for operating contributions and had not indicated the amount they would provide. He urged that immediate action be taken if the administration was to be able to meet relief and rehabilitation needs as they arose.

The director-general said that the administration desired a statement of policy from the council on the care to be given displaced persons in United Nations territory which had never been occupied by the enemy. The cost would be great, but there were urgent cases, he said, such as that of the Greeks and Yugoslavs in the Middle East, which required the administration's assistance.

As of June 30 the UNRRA staff consisted of more than 985 persons at the headquarters office in Washington and in London, Cairo, Chungking, Algiers, Casablanca and Geneva. Nationals of 20 countries were represented. It was urged by Mr. Lehman that diplomatic immunity or some such arrangement be made for UNRRA staff, particularly in the matter of taxation.

Immediately after Mr. Lehman's report Mr. Pearson announced the agreed program for the afternoon and, there being no more business before the Council, declared the meeting adjourned until 10.30 this morning. Prime Minister King gave a reception in the name of the Government of Canada in the Green Room, the Windsor Hotel, following the morning sessions of the Council.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 18/44

D 48171

Premier Mackenzie King's Text of Welcome

FOLLOWING is the address of welcome delivered today by Premier Mackenzie King on behalf of the Canadian Government and people, to the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration meeting in the Windsor Hotel:

It is with special pleasure that I join with others who have already extended greetings in welcoming to Canada all who are present at this meeting of the council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I had hoped to be among the first to extend a welcome. The welcome which I now extend on behalf of the Government and People of Canada is all the greater in the light of the circumstances which unavoidably delayed the opening of your proceedings.

The week of September 10 marked the fifth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war. It is an honor to our country that, in that anniversary week, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, together with their Chiefs of Staff, should have met in conference in Quebec. It was, as you are aware, the second such conference to be held in Canada in a little over a year.

It is likewise significant of the place Canada has today in world affairs, that in that Anniversary week representatives of 44 of the United Nations and associated powers should have assembled here in this city of Montreal, in what is the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Nothing could more convincingly demonstrate the determination of the free Nations to achieve total victory at the earliest possible day than the conference which has just concluded at Quebec. Nothing could manifest more eloquently than this meeting the resolve of the Free Nations to relieve as quickly as possible the suffering and want of the peoples of war-stricken lands. Of wartime gatherings of the United Nations held thus far this is the largest and most representative.

Leaders Send Wishes

The welcome which I had the honor, on behalf of the people of Canada of extending to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom a week ago today, I now extend with equal pride to the representatives of the many nations here assembled. Had it been possible, both the President and Mr. Churchill would have come to Montreal for the opening meeting. They asked me to convey their best of wishes for its proceedings.

I am particularly glad to welcome, both as the Director-General of UNRRA, and as an old friend, Hon. Herbert Lehman. Mr. Lehman brings to the work of UNRRA an exceptional combination of qualities. In our welcome to Mr. Lehman, we are proud to remember that his son, who gave his life in the cause of the world's freedom, served for a time in the Royal Canadian Air Force. I recall that on the day Lieut. Peter Lehman received his wings at Uplands, near Ottawa, I had the honor of welcoming his father and mother to the Capital of Canada.

I should like also to express my congratulations to Mr. Pearson upon his election as chairman of this session of the Council. Mr. Pearson's services as chairman of the Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture have been widely recognized. It is an honor to Canada and attribute both to Pearson's capabilities and to his devotion to the humanitarian work of UNRRA that he has been chosen to fill this high office.

The very full attendance of distinguished representatives of many countries demonstrates the importance of this meeting. That importance is fully recognized in Canada. With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ministration on an international scale. UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity of many nations banded together for humanitarian needs. The service of relief and rehabilitation in times of strain is the moral equivalent of military service in time of war.

German Losses Mount

Since the Council last met, the German hold upon Western Europe has been dislodged by frontal attacks from the East, from the West, and from the South. France today is under French control. Nearly all of Belgium has been liberated. The Allied armies are freeing the soil of the Netherlands. For the most part, the satellites of Hitler's Reich are betraying and opposing rather than fighting for the Nazis. In European theatres the tide of victory is now approaching high flood. Total war is leading to total liberation. It is against this rapidly changing background that the Council meets. For the reasons I have mentioned, the tasks of the agencies of relief and rehabilitation have become more clear, more urgent and more immediate. The immediacy of the need of liberated peoples is an added justification for the present meeting. Their need must be the keynote of its proceedings.

Today the eyes of the hungry peoples, of dispossessed peoples of driven but never-despairing peoples, are focussed on Montreal. Throughout the deliberations of the council, the first thought of all assembled here will be of these who have been under the yoke of the enemy.

The hopes of millions of men and women, the livelihood of countless numbers of children, will depend upon the decisions you make. This will demand the same concentration of purpose and genius of organization as are needed to turn defeat into victory.

Mutual Aid Needed

To ensure an enduring peace, the world must learn to proceed along the way of reason and good-will. Men and nations must substitute co-operation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationships.

You will recall the well-known lines from one of Elizabeth Browning's poems:

"A poor man served by thee
shall make thee rich;
A sick man helped by thee,
shall make thee strong.
Thou shalt be served thyself
by every sense
Of service which thou renderest."

This is the law of mutual aid. It is as true of nations as it is of individuals.

Mutual aid is based upon the precept that "no man liveth to himself alone" and that, whether as nations or as men, "we are members one of another." The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force. It is founded on a conception of right in contrast to a belief in might. It signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need, rather than human greed.

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations. The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity.

In these years of war, mutual aid has enabled the United Nations to defeat their common

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 48172

enemy. The principle of mutual aid, widely and wisely applied in the years of transition from war to peace, should enable the free nations to lay the foundations of a new world order. The supreme task of UNRRA, it seems to me, is to make the benefits of mutual aid so apparent to all nations as to render enduring the new world order which we so fervently pray may succeed the old. No lesser service to humanity will be worthy of the sacrifices of those who have helped to preserve the world's freedom in the present war. Under the banner of the new order, let the nations united today in the cause of the world's freedom remain united in their service to mankind.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

D 48173

Notes for Dinner for Press - 16.IX.44

Hearty appreciation of self as Prime Minister and on behalf of Government as a whole;

of services of press during Conference,

restraint and discretion;

interest in presenting fair picture of Conference proceedings so far as they can be made public.

Function of Press

to make other people talk,

not intended this evening - which is "Saturday Night"

no formal speeches, nothing "on the record".

QUEBEC - Old in Canadian history,

Battle of Plains of Abraham, 1759; (last Wednesday, September 13, 185th anniversary of Battle).

Young in terms of history as some European nations now being liberated.

D 48174

How much history has been written
by Quebec Conference, 1943,
" " 1944,

still remains to be seen;

some of it evident during
last 12 months;

much more before another 12 months
have gone by.

Quebec Conferences of the future -

Would hesitate to say it will become
annual event;

would be pleasant if it did
(for reasons mentioned by the
President and Mr. Churchill
this afternoon).

In any event, Canada may be expected
to be scene of future gatherings
on international scale;

Hope to have other opportunities
to welcome the press as a body;

proud of their craft
and of their importance in
present-day democracy.

Good Luck and God Speed.

D. 48175

Notes for Dinner for Press - 16.IX.44

Hearty appreciation of self as Prime Minister and on behalf of Government as a whole;

of services of press during Conference,

restraint and discretion;

interest in presenting fair picture of Conference proceedings so far as they can be made public.

Function of Press

to make other people talk,

not intended this evening - which is "Saturday Night"

no formal speeches, nothing "on the record".

QUEBEC - Old in Canadian history,

Battle of Plains of Abraham, 1759; (last Wednesday, September 13, 185th anniversary of Battle).

Young in terms of history as some European nations now being liberated.

D 48176

How much history has been written
by Quebec Conference, 1943,
" " 1944,

still remains to be seen;

some of it evident during
last 12 months;

much more before another 12 months
have gone by.

Quebec Conferences of the future -

Would hesitate to say it will become
annual event;

would be pleasant if it did
(for reasons mentioned by the
President and Mr. Churchill
this afternoon).

In any event, Canada may be expected
to be scene of future gatherings
on international scale;

Hope to have other opportunities
to welcome the press as a body;

proud of their craft
and of their importance in
present-day democracy.

Good Luck and God Speed.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

PA/LAB
4.10.44

D 48177

NOTES FOR ADDRESS TO
TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS
Oct. 23rd, 1944

Section I

Happy to extend congratulations to Trades and Labour Congress on 60th birthday.

Happy, too, to be with so many old friends on this occasion.

(P.M. to introduce personal references? Also perhaps regrets that old friend Tom Moore, past president of T. & L. Congress, is prevented by illness from attending?)

Have watched growth of Trades and Labour Congress throughout the greater part of its life.

My own active concern with labour matters -- beginning ~~when~~ before I was appointed Canada's first Deputy Minister of Labour in 1900 -- covers nearly three quarters of the sixty years since Trades and Labour Congress was founded.

The Trades and Labour Congress is to be felicitated not only on its own immense growth, but on having pioneered the whole movement by trade unionism in Canada.

The trade union movement has grown in the past sixty years until today more than 690,000 workers are members of trade unions in Canada.

D 48178

• •

The Trades and Labour Congress can indeed be proud that, as Mr. Percy Bengough has just told you, more than 320,000 of these workers, or over 45% of all the trade union members in Canada, belong to the Trades and Labour Congress. I understand that this represents a virtual doubling in membership in the past year, and upon this achievement I congratulate you very heartily.

(Confidential figures - to be released by Mr. Bengough at the meeting on Oct. 23rd.)

Growth of trade union movement on sound lines is of vast importance in making possible the partnership of Labour, Industry, Capital and the Community.

The war has shown us how much that partnership can achieve.

Because these four great elements co-operated to the utmost in the war effort, Canada, 35th in population among the 44 United Nations, ranked fourth in volume of production of munitions and supplies of war. And measured by the yardstick used at the recent Bretton Woods' Conference to estimate the "economic" importance of world countries in order to allocate quotas for subscription to the proposed World Bank and the proposed Exchange Stabilization Fund, Canada was given seventh place among the 44 United Nations.

(From Financial Post -Sep.30th, 1944)

(From Financial Post - Sep.30th, 1944)

D 48179

These four major elements in the state -- Labour, Industry, Capital and the Community -- have shown how much they can accomplish in wartime by co-operation. I am confident they can continue these achievements if they maintain that co-operation in time of peace.

Viewing Labour as one of the four partners in the country's productive effort, it is obvious that Labour benefits not only from legislation affecting it directly, but also -- and often even more -- from legislation affecting the nation as a whole.

Labour is vitally concerned with government's whole programme of legislation already enacted to effect a transition from war to peace, and to maintain employment in the post-war era.

I should like ~~this evening~~ to discuss this programme for the post-war era, but before I do so, may I review briefly what the Liberal party has done for Labour since 1900. It will then be seen that the recent legislation is simply the logical outcome of Liberal thought and action over many years.

D 48180

Section II

The Liberal Party and Labour

I need hardly recall to you that the Dominion Department of Labour was established by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government in 1900. My old friend, the late Sir William Mulock, administered the Department, and I, as you know, was its first Deputy Minister. In 1909, the Laurier government gave fuller recognition to the interests of Labour by the appointment of a Minister holding no other portfolio and I had the honour to be the first to receive that appointment. Labour legislation enacted by the Laurier government, between 1896 and 1911 included:

The Conciliation Act

establishing the Department and providing for conciliation work done by officers of the Department in case of industrial disputes.

The Railway Labour Disputes Act

designed to promote the settlement of disputes between railway companies and their employees.

The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act

providing further machinery for the prevention and settlement of labour disputes; particularly those in mines and public utilities.

The Alien Labour Act

to protect Canadian workmen from the competition of alien workmen brought to Canada under contract

The Lord's Day Act

Ensuring rest on Sunday to the great majority of workers

The Fair Wages resolution

of the House of Commons in 1900 is the basis of the Government's policy by which contractors for Dominion Government works and supplies are required to pay the rate of wages prevailing in the district where the work is done.

The Government Annuities Act

passed in 1908, was designed primarily for the advantage of persons of small and moderate incomes who wished to secure for their old age an assured income.

D 48182

In passing, I might mention that the statute prohibiting the manufacture and sale of matches made from white phosporus although not enacted until 1914, was actually drawn up and passed by the House of Commons in 1911, but was not finally disposed of before the general election in that year.

After the accession of my first administration to office in December 1921, legislative and other action was taken to promote the welfare of the workers.

Grand Trunk Railway Trainmen

who had been deprived of pension and seniority rights following trainmen's strike of 1910, were restored to their former status in 1922, through the efforts of the government.

The Winnipeg Postal Employees

who were required after the strike of 1919 to accept the minimum rate of wages for new men, were granted the regular rates payable for work done, by a statute of 1929.

Representation on Board of C.N.R.

Labour was given representation on the Board of Directors in 1922 when Mr. Tom Moore was appointed a member of the Board

D 48183

Among many other achievements of the Liberal Government of more or less direct value to labour, are the following:

The Fair Wages Policy, adopted in 1900, was made more effective by orders in Council passed in 1907, 1922 and 1924. The fair wages policy of the Dominion Government for the protection of workers engaged in the execution of federal contracts has been copied in most of the provinces and by many municipal authorities and other public bodies in Canada.

The protection of union labels,

long desired by organized labour, was secured by a measure enacted in 1927.

A Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider Industrial and International Relations

was appointed, 1924, on the motion of the Prime Minister.

The Technical Education Act, although enacted in 1919 under the Conservative regime, bases its provisions on the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Technical Education appointed by the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1910.

Old Age Pensions

On my own motion, a special committee of the House

D 48184

was appointed in 1924, to make an enquiry into the need for old age pensions in Canada and legislation based on the report of this committee, after correspondence with the provinces, was passed in 1927. Subsequent amendments to this act have broadened its application and made pensions payable also to blind persons over 40 years of age.

The Unemployment Insurance Act

was passed in 1940 in the darkest days of the war, This afforded its protection to more than 4,600,000 Canadians - over 2,000,000 workers and their dependents. This measure was taken at that time to anticipate the changes likely to follow the ending of war work, and to act as a buffer against possible upsets. Being enacted so early, it will be all the more effective. The building up of the necessary fund during the wartime period of full employment has created a substantial backlog to meet post-war emergencies.

D 48185

The Battle Against Inflation.

Determined to curb the menace of inflation which inevitably accompanies war and which, as the records show, always bears heavily on the working classes, the government took wide-ranging measures against it:

An Excess Profits Tax of 100 per cent was imposed to preclude the making of excess profits on war contracts;

Income Taxes were sharply Increased particularly on large and medium incomes, to higher levels than ever before in the history of our country.

Price Control. It was found impossible to combat inflation effectively simply by big increases in taxes and borrowings. It was necessary to establish control over most of the things we buy - and sell. This meant putting a price ceiling on most products. It also necessitated the stabilization of wages and salaries. If any substantial increase in wages had been allowed, it would have been reflected quickly in increased prices. And experience has shown that in this run uphill, wages never keep up with prices.

D 48186

Thanks to the loyal co-operation of labour and of consumers of all classes in helping to make these measures effective, Canada leads all other countries in price control and the battle against inflation.

National War Labour Board.

To administer the policy of wage control, National and Regional War Labour Boards were established on which employers and labour are represented equally.

National Wartime Labour Relations Board.

A code of labour relations was prepared to apply to wartime industries. This code defines and prohibits unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, provides for compulsory collective bargaining. For the enforcement of this code, the government established the National Wartime Labour Relations Board.

D 48187

SECTION III

Post-war Programme

Every step taken by government to help to ensure full employment and high level of income after war, is of vital concern to labour.

In order to do everything possible to ensure better future for people of Canada, the government has undertaken wide-ranging programme of action, in external as well as in domestic affairs.

Recognizing that Canada's prosperity is bound up with that of other countries and restoration of world trade, the government is actively pressing for action to promote world trade and to maintain and expand Canada's markets abroad as well as at home.

To assist in developing post-war markets abroad, export credits are to be guaranteed or insured by the government.

In the domestic field, important measures have been taken in revising and extending credit facilities. Not only has the maximum rate of interest and discount

D 48188

been reduced, and loan procedure simplified, but special measures have been enacted to meet the special needs of farmers and fishermen. Of special note is the establishment of the Industrial Development Bank as a subsidiary of the Bank of Canada. This will provide additional credit facilities to aid in conversion of war plants to peace-time uses and to assist in development of small and medium size industries.

Appreciating importance of large-scale housing programme in helping to maintain employment, national housing legislation was amended and its scope extended.

Not always easy to draw sharp line between wartime legislation and legislation planned to prepare nation for readjustments which must be made when victory is won.

Have already mentioned Unemployment Insurance, enacted early in war, as one important measure to ease period of transition.

Other measures which will do much to maintain a large volume of buying power in Canada after the war are those taken in the field of social security.

D 48189

In this field, there are measures to protect all who, whether because of extreme youth, old age or ill health are unable to protect themselves. Since money spent for social security will be spent in Canada, it should be of great help in giving employment to large numbers of workers. The additional buying power thus created will in turn give employment to still other workers.

No need to recapitulate in detail arguments advanced by government which won all parties to support of bill providing for family allowances. Worth recalling, however, that I pointed out in House of Commons that 84 per cent of the 3,500,000 children in Canada under sixteen years of age are dependent upon only 19 per cent of the gainfully employed. This means that the major burden of raising the next generation and perpetuating the Canadian nations falls upon less than one-fifth of our working population. It is only fair that the financial burden of this national service should be shared by all. We cannot have one section of the nation under-nourished, ill-clothed and unequal to its daily tasks and not have the rest of the nation sooner or later suffer as a consequence.

D 48190

If the war has shown one thing more than another, it has shown the importance of a revitalized citizenry.

Perhaps I should add that the fundamental basis for children's allowances is that the wage system takes no account of the family status of the wage-earner, and that over a considerable sector of Canadian industry the wages being paid are not sufficient to give a worker with a family an income which will keep that family in health and decency according to any reasonable standard. In such cases the family income must be supplemented. Allowances paid for all children afford the simplest, wisest and cheapest way of supplementing the family income.

I wish to emphasize the fact that family allowances have never been intended as a substitute for higher wages nor will they serve as such. Through creating a demand for commodities of all kinds, they will create a demand for labour. This, if it has any effect at all, will tend to send wages up rather than send them down. This has been the experience in countries where family allowances have been part of the economy.

D 48191

Regarding provision for those handicapped by age or infirmity, I wish simply to point out that the maximum amount of pension for <u>old age</u> and <u>blindness</u> was increased in 1943, and that in 1944 the maximum total income which a pensioner could receive from all sources was likewise increased.

Another measure which indirectly affects all workers through maintaining buying power and easing the transition from a wartime economy and which affects directly all those with sons, brothers, comrades in the armed forces is the <u>War Service Grants Act</u>. This provides (1) for a cash gratuity to every member of the armed forces for general service; and (2) for a re-establishment credit which will fill in the gaps in the re-establishment programme.

I am proud to say that this provision is the most comprehensive any country has ever made. "With the War Service Grants Act crowning the measures previously enacted, Canada leads the world."

D 48192

To administer this large programme of legislation which the government has already enacted, three new departments are being established:

The Department of Reconstruction is designed to promote and co-ordinate planning for national development and post-war planning.

The Department of Veterans Affairs will have charge of rehabilitation and re-establishment of members of the armed forces, and the administration of veterans' pensions and allowances.

The Department of National Health and Welfare will organize and assist in administering activities of the federal government in the field of health and social insurance.

D 48193

If I have not described in detail every measure the government has taken, I have at least given you a broad outline of its comprehensive programme for building a new and better order in Canada when victory is won.

You will, I am sure, appreciate the immensity of the task which the Government has imposed upon itself in that, during the arduous years when it was building up the war effort, it was also planning ahead to prevent the deflation, with all its cruel suffering for the masses, which, in the past has invariably followed great wars.

At the same time, may I remind you that just as no man can live unto himself, so no nation can live unto itself. We are all members one of another. To achieve prosperity in one country, we must seek to achieve a greater measure of well-being in all countries.

The government therefore has shown its concern for the future welfare of the people of Canada not only in the measures designed to benefit them directly, but likewise in the part it has taken in international affairs.

You all know how extension of the mutual aid appropriation has been made to cover Canada's contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

D 48194

You know too that the government has put itself definitely on record as approving of Canadian participation in the establishment of an international organization to further national security through international co-operation.

No people of any nation can hope to enjoy for long the blessings of peace and prosperity if these are denied to others.

Let it be our pride as Canadians that we are doing what we can to fashion a new order, not only for ourselves but for our comrades in all the United Nations.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: D 48195

Re speech to Trades and Labour Congress

Attached are the notes prepared by Mr. Acland, to which I referred this morning.

Mr. Acland reports that he has been in touch with the Department of Labour, and that the librarian expects to be able to provide the information regarding early congresses you attended personally, and a set of the early proceedings of the Trades and Labour Congress, on Monday.

W.L.P.

October 14, 1944.

Labour K-box
Reconstruction

D 48196

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Prime Minister

re Trades and Labour Congress

Despite the small likelihood, I thought-
material should be available if a
chance offered.

I attach accordingly

1. An outline of a speech
2. My own elaboration of various
topics under the headings in no 1.
(I did not attempt the first part-
entitled "Sixty years of Organized labour"
as I thought you would want
to make that rather personal)
3. Mackenzie's draft on
which my elaboration (in all
its later sections) is largely
based.

If this material cannot be used for
the T.L.C. I hope it may serve some
other purpose.

W.L.M.K.

21.x.44

D48197

Trades and Labour Congress

Topics for a Speech

1. Sixty years of Organized Labour in Canada.

2. Contribution of Labour to the War:
    1. Recall theme of warrior and worker in partnership.
    2. Magnitude of productive achievement: contribution of labour-management committees.
    3. Freedom from strikes; labour statesmanship.
    4. Acceptance of wage stabilization as essential to control of the cost of living.
    5. Voluntary activities of organized labour - victory loans, salvage campaigns, Red Cross, etc.

D 48198

3. Relations between organized labour and the government.

    1. Growth of consultation in wartime, culminating in full discussion in advance of the Labour Relations Code.

    2. Increased representation of organized labour on governmental agencies, including the Boards of Directors of Crown Companies.

    3. Invaluable assistance of organized labour in the operation of National Selective Service.

4. Wartime gains of labour.

    1. Vast extension of collective bargaining.

    2. Full employment.

    3. Security afforded by Unemployment Insurance.

5. The two great fears and evils of industrial society:

    1. WAR

    2. MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

D 48199

6. Unity on a common objective required:

    1. To gain victory in war.

    2. To provide security against future wars.

    3. To prevent mass unemployment.

7. Meaning of "Reconstruction".

    To establish lasting peace and to assure general prosperity.

8. The secret of successful Reconstruction, like the secret of success in war: to pursue a single end with a great variety of means:

    1. Danger of cure-alls, panaceas and simple remedies for complicated diseases - e.g. public ownership, "funny money" or free enterprise.

    2. Necessity of struggling for full employment, maximum production and a higher standard of living on every possible front. Like Naziism, the "dragon of depression" must be encircled and destroyed.

D 48200

9. Immediate problems of Reconstruction:

    1. Demobilization
    2. Reconversion.
    3. Employment
    4. Social security

10. Demobilization and Re-establishment.
    (very brief outline of legislation)

11. Reconversion
    (Munitions and Supply and Reconstruction Depts.)

12. Employment, roads to:

    1. External trade - 30% of employment, methods of restoring and expanding.
    2. Speedy re-conversion and research into new industries - credit for small industries.
    3. Housing.
    4. Farm improvements.
    5. National development and public works.
    6. Maintenance of domestic consumption through social security payments.

D 48201

13. Social security and equitable distribution of the national income:

    1. Foundation laid by control of cost of living in wartime.

    2. Unemployment insurance.

    3. Floors under farm and fish prices.

    4. Old Age Pensions and Pensions for the Blind.

    5. Family Allowances.

14. Long-range programme for international and domestic security and prosperity:

    1. Peace and prosperity indivisible - principle of mutual aid.

    2. Encouragement of enterprise and equality of opportunity in Canada.

    3. Integrated national and provincial scheme of social insurance, including health insurance.

D 48202

4. Bold measures for the conservation of national resources both human and material.

5. Common national objectives for peacetime on which all can concentrate.

15. First, the war must be won:

Tribute to Armed Forces.

Appeal for Unity and Utmost Continuing Effort at Home.

D 48203

2. The Contribution of Labour to the War.

Two years ago, I spoke in this City to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour. I should like to recall to you today one statement I made to that great assembly with which the Trades and Labour Congress is so intimately associated. I was speaking of the key to victory. Victory then seemed very far off. Now victory has, fortunately, appeared on the horizon. But the key to victory, now as then, is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker.

The warriors could not have won the great battles of the past two years without the weapons, the munitions, the supplies and the foodstuffs produced by the workers. You will notice that, among the workers I include the farmer and the fisherman who produce the food, no less than the workers in mine and forest, in shop and factory.

I do not need to tell the workers that they could not have escaped a return to serfdom, but for the valour of the warriors of the forces of freedom. The warriors, in the main, are the sons and brothers of the workers, in the wider sense in which I have used the term "workers". Because the vast majority of Canada's fighting men are workers in arms, no less than because of the nature of their service, the

D 48204

workers at home will, I know, expect me to pay my first tribute to the fighting forces. Theirs is the highest service. We readily acknowledge that nothing we endure can compare with the readiness of the soldiers, sailors, airmen and merchant seamen to offer life itself, if need be, for our freedom. But the fighting men themselves would be the first to acknowledge that the victory being won on the battlefields of Europe and the Orient is the result of the combined efforts of the fighting brotherhood of warriors and the producing brotherhood of workers.

My next word is a deep and sincere tribute to the workers of Canada for the magnitude and the excellence of their productive achievements in this war. I do not need to recite the record of that achievement; most of you know some part of it from your own personal experience. The contribution by Canada of ships and planes, of tanks and guns, of intricate scientific and technical equipment, of munitions and supplies of all kinds has been felt on every battlefront around the world. By their will and their skill, the workers of Canada have had a very real share in saving the freedom of mankind. In the development of Canada's war production, the government has watched with satisfaction the steady growth of co-operation between Labour and Management. Two years ago I expressed the hope that

D 48205

Labour-Management Committees would be established in all industries. Today I congratulate both Labour and Management on the progress already made and renew my appeal for the extension of this form of fruitful co-operation in production.

I wish also to express appreciation of the splendid record of Labour in avoiding strikes and stoppages of work throughout the war. Canada's freedom from strikes owes much to the understanding and the patriotism of the rank and file of workers in the trades and labour unions. But it owes much, too, to the statesmanlike leadership given to the workers of Canada by their trade union leaders. The people of Canada have every reason to be proud of the sense of responsibility and the patriotism of organized labour. It is a satisfaction for me to express that pride at this annual Convention of the Trades and Labour Congress.

I gratefully acknowledge the co-operation the government has received from organized labour in maintaining wage stabilization as one of the pillars on which the price ceiling has rested. Wage control for its own sake the government did not expect Labour to like. But the government did not like or undertake wage control for its own sake. We recognized that wage stabilization was

D 48206

essential to real and effective control of the cost of living and we have been immensely gratified by the understanding and co-operation received from the workers and their leaders. Without your help, the cost of living in Canada could not have been controlled and the basic standard of living would not have been safeguarded.

May I add a word of appreciation of the willing co-operation of organized labour in every phase of voluntary war service. A word of appreciation is especially fitting at this time, when the trades unions of Canada are lending such active and effective support to the Seventh Victory Loan campaign.

D 48207

3. Relations between Organized Labour and the Government.

I shall not pretend that the relations between organized Labour and the Government have been marked by unbroken harmony throughout the war. Amid the terrific pressure for immediate action in urgent matters, there were times when the Government failed to consult organized Labour when such consultation would have been helpful on both sides. But I believe I can claim with justice that the habit of consultation has grown, and that, as consultation has grown so has harmony. Moreover, the Government has the duty to consider the interests of other elements of the community no less than those of labour and it would be a miracle if organized Labour and the Government always saw eye to eye. But it has been gratifying to watch the area of understanding and agreement widening steadily. And for myself personally, it was a source of deep satisfaction that the Government was able, early in the present year, to institute a wartime Code of Labour Relations with the unanimous approval of the Canadian Trade Union movement.

The co-operation of organized Labour has been increasingly sought and willingly given in many fields. Leading trade unionists have contributed to the administration of many governmental agencies, particularly crown companies

D 48208

directing war production, through membership on their boards. The assistance and support received from organized Labour in the administration of National Selective Service has been invaluable to the government and has added immeasurably to the total productive effort of our country.

D 48209

4. Wartime Gains of Labour.

The workers of Canada have accepted many additional burdens during the war, but Labour has also made great gains. The most important of all has been the achievement of full employment and all that its attainment has taught us of the possibilities of social security and a rising standard of living after the war.

In the realm of organization and in the extension of collective bargaining, the gains of Labour have been remarkable. Mr. Bengough has already given the figures which show the growth of the unions affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress. On that growth, I extend warm congratulations. It will be an added strength to the workers in the day of peace.

Looking ahead to the unevitable difficulties and dislocations of the transition from a war economy to a peace time economy, Labour has gained the protection and security afforded by Unemployment Insurance. That alone is no small gain to have made in the midst of the greatest of all wars.

D 48210

5. Two great evils and fears of industrial society.

The greatest of all the evils and fears which afflict mankind is war. The frightful possibilities of was have rapidly increased with the development of modern industry. The robot bomb has given us a nightmare vision of what a future war would mean for every continent. Victory in the present war will be but a bitter fruit unless, with victory, we can find the means of eliminating the evil of future wars and all the fears which belong to war.

In preparing for the post-war period, the most vital of all the tasks of the government is to ensure that Canada does everything possible to help in laying the foundations of an enduring peace. The dangers of future aggression can be removed, and world security attained, only by a general international organization of peace-loving nations. At the last session of Parliament that belief was expressed in the Speech from the Throne. General approval was expressed of Canadian participation in the establishment of an international organization to further national security through international co-operation. The government welcomed the progress made towards world organization in the recent discussion of the four greatest

D 48211

powers at Dumbarton Oaks. Nothing is more important for the workers, nothing is more important for all the people of Canada than the establishment of effective machinery to prevent or stop aggression, and to give security from recurring wars to all nations, large and small.

Next to the evil of war, the greatest evil of industrial society is mass unemployment. As the war draws to a close, the haunting fear of unemployment is in the back of the mind of almost every worker. The two evils of war and mass unemployment are closely related. Mass unemployment helps to create conditions out of which wars are bred. The fear of war, in turn, creates conditions of insecurity and lack of mutual confidence which bring about unemployment. The removal of these two evils and the fears they breed is the great task of statesmanship which now faces humanity.

D 48212

6. Unity on a common objective.

We are all justly proud of what Canada has done in this war. We have been able to accomplish so much because practically everyone was united in the determination to work for the common objective of victory in war.

Nothing on earth can prevent Canada from equally great achievements after the war, provided we can reach the same measure of unity on common objectives after the war. But if we fritter away our unity in quarrels between race and race, between class and class, or between province and province, our energies will be absorbed in factional strife. A divided Canada will contribute nothing to the establishment and maintenance of a durable peace. A divided Canada will not only contribute little or nothing to the establishment of world prosperity, but, by our divisions we shall assure our own people of a lot of poverty, misery and depression. Now is the time, while we still enjoy the heightened unity of purpose our country has gained in war, to find agreement and unity on our national objectives for peace. I suggest that there are two objectives on which the great mass of Canadians should be able to agree, and I believe they are the two most important

D 48213

objectives we can set for ourselves in the years immediately following the war. One is to help in providing security against future wars; the other to do everything possible to prevent mass unemployment. I do not need to tell this audience that both those aims are of the utmost importance to Labour.

D 48214

7. Meaning of Reconstruction

The common objectives I have suggested - security against future wars and against mass unemployment - are what the government really understands to be the aims of reconstruction, using the word in its broadest sense. But it is better, I believe, to put the aims of reconstruction positively rather than negatively. Reconstruction is more than preventing war and unemployment; it is - or it should be - establishing peace and prosperity. We all know that peace is indivisible: no nation has been successful in avoiding the effects of this universal conflict. During the war I have said over and over again - and I do not believe it can be said too often - that prosperity, too, is indivisible. No nation, however varied its resources and however talented its people, can isolate itself from depression. The only chance of lasting prosperity is to be found in promoting prosperity everywhere. I believe that the right road to Reconstruction is to be found through mutual aid and co-operation among nations. We have seen what they can mean in war; have we not also caught a vision of what they could mean in peace?

D 48215

8. The Secret of successful Reconstruction.

In war, we are finding that the secret of success is to pursue the single end - victory - with a great variety of means. We have made every aspect of our national life contribute directly or indirectly to a total effort for victory.

It is my conviction that the secret of successful Reconstruction is likewise to pursue a single end: in this case, peace and prosperity, with the greatest possible variety of means.

Just as in war, we need the army, the navy, the air force, the merchant marine, the means of production and transport of weapons, munitions, foodstuffs and supplies of all kinds, and the careful regulation and control of the whole economy, so in the period of Reconstruction shall we need to act, with the different means, of course, on a wide variety of fronts, if we are to have any hope of achievement.

The great danger in war is that enthusiasm for a particular weapon or arm will result in neglect of other and equally important means of winning through to victory. In the period of reconstruction, the great danger is that enthusiasm for some single means of achieving peace and

D 48216

prosperity will result in the neglect of other equally necessary action. In reconstruction, as in war, we shall need a balanced national effort.

No panacea or cure-all has ever been found for all diseases. It is equally a mistake, and often a fatal mistake, to accept simple solutions for complicated problems. They are almost always wrong.

There are those who believe that all the ills of society can be cured by public or social ownership of the means of production. Few would deny today that social or public ownership in some fields is beneficial to the community. But beware those who say public ownership is the only thing required to give universal peace and prosperity.

Others say that we should do away with all public ownership, all social control or what they like to call bureaucracy, and get back to private enterprise. Then, they say, the era of peace and plenty would dawn for all. By all means let us have all the private enterprise possible. Without a great deal of private enterprise, the possibility of achieving anything like full employment in Canada would be very remote. But beware those who say that a return to unrestricted private enterprise would solve all the problems of mankind.

D 48217

Still others maintain that nothing is required to solve all our economic or social problems except "debt-free" money or some form of manipulation of money or credit. By all means let us use monetary and fiscal policy boldly in peace as we have used them boldly in war. And let no one tell you that Canada's wartime finance has been orthodox, in the sense of being old-fashioned or out-of-date. Throughout the war financial considerations have never prevented Canada from undertaking and achieving whatever we had both the national will and the physical means to accomplish. And in Reconstruction that will continue to be true. So long as the necessary material and human resources are available, we shall be financially able to do whatever the people of Canada are united in wishing to do. But beware of those who say that mere tinkering with money will provide plenty for all.

Successful reconstruction will require expanding private enterprise, flexible public investment in public works and national development and the most expert and intelligent monetary and credit policies. But reconstruction will demand more than that. It is true that we have no problem of physical reconstruction of bombed houses, factories, docks and railways like the people of Britain and of Europe. We have, of course, a considerable problem of physical rehabilitation resulting from the enforced neglect of wartime.

D 48218

Our houses, our farm buildings, our railways, our factories, our shops need repairs or re-conditioning. Many of them need to be re-built. Much new construction is needed. But most pressing of all will be a swift change in the direction of our industry from war to peace. Under governmental direction, nearly half our energies and output are absorbed directly in the making of war. These energies and this output must be rapidly converted so as to extend the opportunities for employment, the standard of living, and the health, welfare and security of our people. And nearly two million of our men and women in the armed forces and in industry must be assisted in re-directing their energies into new and useful channels.

The struggle for full employment, maximum production and a higher standard of life must be waged on all fronts and with every useful weapon. If peace and prosperity are to be the lot of mankind, we must be ever ready to meet at once the threat of aggression and the threat of depression.

D 48219

9. Immediate Problems of Reconstruction

I shall concentrate, in this address, on the problems of reconstruction involved in attaining full employment, leaving for another occasion the even greater problems of establishing a durable peace.

Four immediate problems have to be and are being faced in preparing for the close of hostilities.

The first is the demobilization, as military necessities permit, of the men and women in the armed forces, and assistance, in a variety of ways, in preparing all who are able, to re-establish themselves in useful civilian activities.

The second is the re-conversion of industry from war production to production for civilian needs, either at home or abroad. This includes the re-establishment and expansion of peacetime markets for agricultural and other primary products, as wartime markets decline or disappear. Closely related to re-conversion is the resumption of the expansion and development of industry which was necessarily interrupted or delayed by the war.

The third is the placement and employment of the men and women who have served in the armed forces or worked in war industries. In the placement and employment there are bound to be delays. Time will be lost by individuals

D 48220

in seeking the opportunities for which they are best suited. The conversion of plants will not be accomplished overnight. New markets will not appear by magic.

Therefore, the fourth problem will be the maintenance of a tolerable minimum of security of income during the period of transition. This is a phase of what is usually called social security.

10. Demobilization and Re-establishment

The actual demobilization of the men and women in the armed forces is the task of the National Defence departments. Plans for orderly demobilization at the close of hostilities are now being worked out. Under the War Service Grants Act provision has already been made for war service gratuities as well as for re-establishment credits on a more liberal scale than in any other country.

The rehabilitation and re-establishment of ex-servicemen and women is administered by the newly established Department of Veterans Affairs. The programme of re-habilitation and re-establishment has been under preparation almost from the start of the war. Except for a few details, it is now complete.

The central purpose of the programme is not a futile attempt to provide monetary rewards for sacrifices which cannot be computed in coin. It is rather the re-introduction of men and women into civilian life under conditions and with assistance which will enable them to use to the full their capacities and the training which many of them have acquired in the forces and to become full partners in shaping the future of the country whose freedom they have helped to save. The amendments to the Pensions Act provide a scale of pensions

D 48222

for disabled persons and the dependents of those who have been disabled or have given their lives not exceeded in any other country. The reinstatement in Civil Employment Act has assured the ex-serviceman's right to his job on demobilization. The Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order makes generous provisions by which the ex-serviceman may resume his interrupted education or undertake any vocational or professional training for which he is qualified. It places the ex-serviceman who enters insurable employment in the position he would have been in had he been a contributor to the Unemployment Insurance Fund from the time of his enlistment or the establishment of the Fund. It provides similar out-of-work benefits for others. Provision has been made for expanding the facilities for re-training under the Vocational Education Co-ordination Act. The Veterans' Land Act affords means by which those who wish and are fitted for agriculture may acquire farms under terms which will make it possible for them to establish themselves securely.

For those who need neither training nor assistance in the purchase of land, the War Service Grants Act, passed at the last session of Parliament makes generous provision. In addition to War Service Gratuities based on length of service, those who do not make use of the educational provisions or the Veterans' Land Act are entitled to a re-establishment grant of equal amount available over a period of years for a

D 48223

variety of purposes from building or modernizing a house to providing capital for a trade or business. The whole process of rehabilitation and re-establishment has been mapped out so as to ensure that each ex-serviceman may take advantage of the opportunities best suited to him. It seeks to ensure that he will be demobilized into training or into remunerative occupation or employment. In taking advantage of the provisions of the whole series of measures for their own re-establishment, ex-servicemen and women will at the same time be increasing employment for others.

D 48224

11 and 12. Reconversion and Employment.

In the field of employment the department of Veterans Affairs is broadly concerned with the training and preparation of veterans for suitable employment, and assistance to them in their establishment in jobs or on their own, in farms, fisheries, small businesses etc.

The provision of opportunities for useful and remunerative employment for veterans, war workers and others is broadly the field of the new Department of Reconstruction. That is the cardinal reason why the same man is at once Minister of Reconstruction and Minister of Munitions and Supply.

The Department of Munitions and Supply mobilized Canadian industry for war. It is the duty of the Department of Reconstruction to help industry re-convert, when the time comes, as quickly as possible, for peace.

Full employment is the aim of the government, both in the period of transition and for the long-range future.

You will want to know what we are doing to promote full employment, and what conditions are necessary if full employment is to be achieved. These questions I shall try to answer.

First of all we shall need unity of purpose,

D 48225

and confidence in ourselves and in each other. We shall also need a considerable number of policies and measures all directed to the same end.

External Trade.

Only some of the policies designed to promote full employment are exclusively national in scope. I have already stressed the importance of an assurance of world peace and security to Canadian prosperity. I have pointed out that the prosperity of other countries contributes to our own prosperity through expanding our external trade. On the orderly resumption of external trade and its expansion far beyond the impoverishing limits reached in the decade before the present war, depend the prosperity of agriculture, the forest industries, mining, fishing, and many of our enlarged manufacturing industries. The Government will make every effort to lay the basis for expanding our trade; we must also assist other countries to expand their export trade by increasing our imports from them.

Many of Canada's war measures will contribute to the orderly resumption of trade. At an early date in the war, the Government and Parliament decided that Canada would not contribute to the building up of inter-governmental debts. We remembered what a handicap war debts were to normal trade and

D 48226

what a source of bitter controversy they proved after the war of 1914-18. In the development among the United Nations of the system of Mutual Aid, which has for one of its objects the avoidance of unwieldy debts between governments, Canada has taken a foremost part. Canada's foreign exchange control and price control have placed our country in a position where trading relations can be resumed without the disturbing re-adjustments of prices which followed the last war.

During the war, it has been necessary to restrict trade severely in accordance with changing conditions of foreign exchange and shipping. The allocation of supplies by international boards has been essential to the successful supplying of the battlefronts. The Government has already removed some of its domestic restrictions. It is the intention to remove others just as rapidly as circumstances permit. It is our aim to join with other nations in a progressive freeing of world trade from the whole network of quotas, payments agreements and other similar restrictions. We shall strive for a progressive reduction of tariffs by all the leading trading nations.

In the city of Montreal a few weeks ago, there was a meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is the function of that organization to assist the populations of occupied Europe to work out their own rehabilitation with the help of nations

D 48227

which have not suffered the horrors and deprivations of enemy occupation. Wherever possible, these liberated nations are paying for supplies. Where that is not possible relief will be provided on the principle of mutual aid. Every effort is being made to ensure fair distribution as between those nations who can pay and those who cannot. These arrangements should go a long way toward preventing the scramble for scarce goods which so distorted the world economy in 1919-1920 and which helped to lay the foundations of the great depression. I do not need to tell labour leaders who remember those years how gravely the inflation and the following depression disrupted organized labour in Canada.

The Government has given the fullest encouragement and support to the development of international arrangements concerning exchange, investment and trade which will make it possible for countries to pursue at one and the same time policies which will promote full employment at home and facilitate the widest possible trade abroad. Our officials participated fully at Bretton Woods in formulating the agreements on the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Bank for Reconstruction and Development which are now before governments for consideration. There is still much to be done before all the desirable and necessary arrangements can be completed, but, at no time since 1918, has there been

D 48228

as fair a promise of reaching agreements by which nations would share prosperity and not depression one with another. Without collaboration among the nations for the revival and expansion of world trade, the problems which Canada will face will be greatly increased. The Government is, therefore, prepared to undertake all appropriate obligations to promote external trade.

The promotion of external trade is of direct interest to organized labour. Export markets for our farmers and fishermen will keep up their incomes and their demand for goods made in our factories. Export markets for our timber, pulp and paper, lumber and minerals as well as for the greatly increased manufacturing industry mean employment and income for workers. In anticipation of international agreements and to stimulate and supplement the efforts of our exporters, the Export Credits Insurance Act was passed at the last session of Parliament. It has two objects. First, it offers exporters, in return for an adequate premium, insurance against the major part of any loss which they might incur in selling goods on reasonable credit terms abroad. It will enable them to compete on equal terms with the exporters of other countries and to show initiative and enterprise in opening new markets. Second, it provides for

D 48229

government loans or government-guaranteed loans to other governments in the transition period when they are re-establishing their trading position. These loans will be used to finance our customers and probable customers through a period of temporary difficulty until they are able to revive their own industries. Export credits will, in that period, support our own exports and ease the transition from war to peace.

Reconversion of war plants.

The maintenance of employment will depend also to a great degree on the orderly and rapid conversion of war plants, both large and small, to the turning out of goods and services which will be needed in peace. The problems of the conversion and expansion of our productive capacity will differ from industry to industry and they must be met in large part by industry itself. The government can and will do much to facilitate and assist in reconversion. As I have said, it is one of the major responsibilities of the Minister of Reconstruction to see that, as war production declines, there is no delay in the resumption and expansion of peacetime industry. The Department of Munitions and Supply and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board have already

D 18230

cleared the way by removing some of the restrictions on civilian production. In the Budget of last June, tax modifications were made to encourage new investment in converted and expanded plant, and to stimulate private expenditure on maintenance and repair of plants and on industrial research. During the war, business taxation has intentionally restricted the expansion of all but the most essential industries. We have already begun to reverse the direction and to prepare for the expansion of civilian production and employment.

Housing.

In other fields also, the Government has taken steps to encourage expenditures of a capital nature which will enlarge civilian employment. The revised and enlarged National Housing Act makes financial provision on generous and practical terms for the building of houses by home owners, for building houses for rent and, particularly, for the carrying out of low rental housing projects, for the improvement of rural housing and the development of better and more suitable housing equipment in rural areas, for grants for slum clearance projects and for the resumption of home improvement loans. Wartime savings together with

D 48231

the provisions of the National Housing Act furnish the basis for a volume of house building even greater than available materials and labour are likely to permit in the immediate post war period.

Farm Improvement Loans.

Similarly, the Farm Improvement Loans Act will make available to farmers financial resources for the improvement of their houses and farm buildings, for the purchase of equipment to improve their efficiency, to improve their stock, and add to the amenities of rural life. Expenditures on farm improvements mean employment in the forests, the lumber mills, the mines, the factories and the railways.

Industrial Development.

The Industrial Development Bank has been established to fill a gap in our financial system and to assist in the conversion and expansion of industry, particularly small and new industries which may be expected to increase employment opportunities for the future.

These are all measures to stimulate private investment so that employment and income may be maintained

D 48232

as war expenditures decline. Private investment in improved and enlarged facilities for producing the goods and services will promote a high standard of living.

National Development and Public Works.

There is a second part of the government's programme which it will be one of the duties of the Minister of Reconstruction to press forward. During the war, many desirable and useful public works have been deferred because workers and resources were more urgently needed for war work. Such deferred public works will be organized and undertaken at the times and places where they will provide needed employment. Beyond this, it is desirable that there should be a long-range public investment programme directed particularly to the development and conservation of our natural resources on which the future income of the country depends. It will be part of the immediate tasks of the Government to undertake the ground work which is required to develop such a programme in close co-operation with the provinces and local authorities, and to work out ~~develop~~ an arrangement by which development projects can be speeded up or slowed down in accordance with the needs of employment.

D 48233

Civil Aviation.

You have probably noticed that the Minister of Reconstruction has a special responsibility for the development of civil aviation. Under the government's policies, a part of the civil aviation field is reserved for public development and another part of the field is left to private enterprise. There is every reason for confidence in Canada's future in civil aviation and of the place it will have, directly and indirectly, in the adding to the sum total of employment.

Research

The Minister of Reconstruction has also been given a special responsibility in connection with the National Research Council. It will be years before the full story is told of the contribution of Canadian research to the struggle for freedom. Research must and, I am confident, will make an equally great contribution to the struggle for full employment by opening a new frontier for industrial development.

Social Security and Employment.

The measures designed to provide what is commonly called social security have also a very important bearing

D 48234

on employment. In the wider sense, of course, the most important of all means of providing social security is to ensure remunerative employment. But, in a constantly changing world, we cannot afford to lose sight of the effect upon stability of employment of direct social security payments in the form of veterans pensions, unemployment insurance benefits, old age pensions, and other forms of social insurance, and of family allowances. By maintaining income or purchasing power and the demand for goods and services, social security payments are a direct source of employment. While the primary aim of social security measures is individual human welfare, ~~this~~ their indirect economic effects may well prove equally important to the welfare of the nation as a whole.

D 48235

13. Social Security and the Equitable Distribution of the National Income.

At the beginning of the war, the government laid the foundations for a great advance towards social security and a more equitable distribution of the national income. We knew that, apart from the terrible cost in human life and suffering, war would bring inevitable scarcities and deprivations. We sought by our methods of taxation and borrowing, by controlling the cost of living and, where necessary, by rationing and other regulations to distribute the burden of scarcity and deprivation as fairly as possible. By preventing undue hardship for the economically weak, we have made the whole nation stronger. By avoiding inflation we have avoided one of the main causes of social strife and have increased our national solidarity. In war, we have sought to share fairly the limited quantities of the good things of life which were left after meeting the huge demands of war. Most of us, in doing so, have come to see that sharing fairly is a good thing in itself. All of us are better off and the whole nation is stronger and healthier. That knowledge has made us readier to welcome positive measures for social security than we were before the war.

The government has not been content with foundations. We believe that the building on that foundation of the

D 48236

structure of a new social order should be advanced before the war ends. Our objective is a comprehensive national scheme of social security in which federal and provincial activities will each have their appropriate place. We knew too, that such an objective could not be attained at one fell swoop. It would require long negotiations and consultations. Meanwhile the government was determined to make all the progress we could with specific measures which could later be fitted in to the general scheme.

During the war, we have sought to protect the weak by limiting the consumption of the strong. After the war, we shall carry the principle a stage further by striving to assure a guaranteed minimum standard of security and welfare to all Canadians.

Unemployment Insurance.

All measures which improve markets, increase the efficiency of our industries, provide expanding employment opportunities and stimulate enterprise contribute to real social security. But, in a world subject to many unforeseen changes, provision for special needs and compensation for risks inherent in employment are also necessary to avoid irreparable damage to individual and family life. To meet one of these risks, the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed,

D 48237

after agreement with the provinces in 1940. There are, at present, upwards of 2,000,000 workers covered by unemployment insurance. Many thousands in the armed forces will have their contributions paid up as soon as they establish themselves in insurable employments. The accumulations in the Fund amount to more than $225 million and can be used for the sole purpose of paying benefits to the insured persons. The Act is capable of improvement and extension but its enactment in the first year of the war has proved an act of foresight. The government proposes to examine the question as to whether there is need for an additional measure providing assistance to those who may exhaust their benefits under the Act or whose employments may not be insured.

Family Allowances

At the last session of Parliament, a great social measure was enacted in the form of the Family Allowances Act. Family Allowances will have permanent and far-reaching results in promoting child welfare and in providing better care and greater opportunities for children. Family Allowances will facilitate and not replace the work of all child welfare agencies. In the transition period after the war, family allowances will support family incomes and the standard of living, and, in so doing, contribute in turn to the maintenance of employment.

D 48238

Floor under Farm and Fish Prices.

There is another measure which is less directly interesting to this audience, but whose indirect effects will be very important to both employers and employees in industries. By legislation at the last session of Parliament, the Government was empowered to maintain floor prices for the prices of agricultural and fishery products. It is not only manufacturing industries which face conversion. When their very great war achievements are over, agriculture and the fisheries must also re-adjust themselves to the needs of peace-time markets. Floor prices are intended to protect producers against serious declines in prices which might result from changes in post-war markets. By protecting the incomes of farmers and fishermen, we shall indirectly be helping to protect the employment which is provided by their demand for goods.

Health Insurance and Contributory Old Age Pensions.

The government is also preparing, when suitable agreements can be reached with the provinces, to provide for federal assistance in a nation-wide system of health insurance and to institute a national scheme of contributory old age pension. The pensions themselves would, of course, be on a more generous scale than the present non-contributory pensions. All contributors would receive the pensions as a matter of right.

D 48239

Economic Advantages of Social Security.

Social Security through health and welfare measures is, as I have said, desirable from an economic point of view no less than from the social and humanitarian standpoints. The provision of social security forms an essential element of a national programme designed to lift our post-war economy to a new level of productivity and prosperity. By assuring a large and stable basic demand for goods and services social security provides important insurance against depression, and provides a background against which both individuals and businesses are better able to take the risks involved in making rapid progress. By providing more real equality of opportunity, the provision of social security, and this is particularly true of family allowances, will uncover new springs of ability and initiative which up until now have been wasted.

It is sometimes said that social security cannot be provided unless there is full employment. Surely if there is not full employment, the case for social security is all the stronger. If there is not full employment, that means that labour and other productive resources are idle. If labour and resources are idle, there can be little or no excuse for not putting men and resources to work to supply the unfilled wants of the least fortunate members of the community. Surely

D 48240

social security measures designed to transform those unfilled wants into an effective demand should not have to wait until full employment is attained, when they will, in fact, contribute greatly to full employment.

14. Long-range programme for security and prosperity.

I have outlined, in some detail, the immediate programme of the government for meeting the transition from war to peace. But the immediate programme must always be related to a longer vision of the future of Canada and its place in the world. I should like to conclude by sketching out the broad lines of a long-range programme without attempting to fill in the details.

Such a national programme should include a full and active Canadian contribution to the creation and maintenance of a stable and progressive world order. In the new world order, the lessons of our wartime experience in the collaboration of the United Nations should be applied, not for war and destruction, but for peace and welfare. The long-range programme should be directed to attaining a progressive and secure standard of living based on remunerative employment for all who are able and willing to work, and expanding markets at home and abroad for an efficient agriculture. It should include the systematic and intelligent development and conservation of our natural and other resources and the fullest application of our scientific knowledge. In such a national programme, there should be an enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development and the fullest encouragement of enterprise, whether in its appropriate field that

D 48242

enterprise be public or private. Through a comprehensive system of contributory social insurance, the community should share with the individual the risks of variations of income and expense to which conditions of employment, family status, health and old age render us all liable. Improved standards of nutrition, housing, health and social amenities for both urban and rural populations should be prominent among the objectives of Canada's programme for building a better social order.

This programme the government proposes to elaborate and initiate. In an orderly world, it is well within the grasp of this country with its increased competence, confidence and experience. But though a new world is born in hearts and minds, it can come to maturity only under the hand of a people who have the unity of purpose, the national solidarity, and the collective intelligence to grasp the realities firmly and to strive for a common goal.

 First: The War must be won. D 48243

I have spoken of the plans which are being prepared for directing, at the appropriate time, the energies of this country from the tasks of war to those of peace. It is necessary that such plans should be completed against the day when they will be needed. But let us not forget that the major task of this country and of the Government is still the prosecution of the war.

The war is not over. It is in its most critical phase. The United Nations are engaging the enemy on ever widening fronts. The long and bold preparations are yielding abundant fruit, and it is bitter fruit for the enemy. The pace of the European war is mounting to a great climax. No patriotic Canadian need conceal his pride and confidence in the contribution Canada is making to ultimate victory. The material products of our hands and brains fight for us on every continent and every sea. Our superbly trained and equipped army has won the admiration of its allies and the respect of its foes. Our navy, immensely practical in its conception, has performed a vital task in the long continued Battle of the Atlantic. To the power and daring of the R.C.A.F. and to the genius of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, there is by day and night over Germany and her ill-gotten territories a great cloud of witnesses.

Bitter and bloody fighting still lies ahead. Those who carry it on in person must still be supported without the

D 48244

slightest relaxation. But this is the most critical period of the war for another reason. With victory within our grasp, we can so easily slacken our efforts, break our ranks, clutch greedily for immediate advantage or quarrel among ourselves over slogans and fail to convert the possibilities of a military decision into the realities of an ordered, prosperous and peaceful nation in an ordered, prosperous and peaceful world.

In close co-operation with other nations, we must win this war with confidence in ourselves, in the goodwill and integrity of our fellow-Canadians and in our native capacity to solve our problems in a world in which we must play a larger part than ever before. In that world Canada will be one of the most fortunate of nations.

By W.L. Mackenzie

DRAFT OF SPEECH TO THE TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS OF CANADA

D ~~8245~~

When I have spoken in the past five years to audiences of national importance such as this, I have necessarily given my attention to the progress of the war, to the reasons behind the development of our enormous war organization or to the wartime policy of economic stabilization. I need not report today on the progress of the war. You are receiving daily the full reports which the able and gallant band of war correspondents are sending to the press of this country. Our war organization is complete though adjustments will be necessary as needs change. Our economic stabilization policy, which has at times been the subject of bitter controversy, is now in my belief more widely accepted and appreciated than ever before. The wartime object of that policy in conjunction with our taxing and borrowing program, is to maintain a broad equity among the people of our country in meeting the inescapable sacrifices of war. In addition, it has an equal justification in providing a known and stable base from which to embark on the policies of reconstruction. It is post-war problems and policies that I am going to discuss today.

In this country we have no bombed houses, factories, docks and railways to rebuild and physical rebuilding is but a small part of reconstruction. For us, reconstruction means, in the first instance, a swift change in the direction of our governmental and economic organization from war to peace. At present, we are so organized that nearly half our efforts go into the operations of war. There is a time coming (not, perhaps, as soon as some people think, but, nevertheless, coming nearer) when our efforts must be re-directed, in an ordered and peaceful world, to the extension of opportunity, welfare and

security

D 48246

security among the Canadian people.

There will be no disagreement about this, but, believe me, the problems involved are immenzely practical and difficult. Without question, they can be mastered just as we mastered what many believed were the hopeless problems of the war. They can be mastered if they are squarely faced, if we unite in our efforts and don't waste the critical months in wrangling about political and economic doctrines. There are some who tell you that by adopting this or that belief the task will be accomplished. If there are particular services or industries which would be better operated under government ownership, or nationalization as it is now called, let us by all means examine them objectively and make up our minds on the evidence, but do not let us delude ourselves that, by changing from private to government ownership, or, for that matter, from government to private ownership, we s~~i~~a ll increase the number of jobs. By all means, let us use monetary and fiscal policy boldly as effective aids in attaining our ends, but let us not fall into the state of mind in which we believe that by some simple tinkering with the money which goes into our pay envelopes and in which we hold our savings, we can avoid the problems which confront us.

Broadly, we have, both at home and internationally, two great groups of problems to meet. The first embraces the demobilization, as military necessities permit, of the men and wo~~e~~m of the armed services and war industry and their transfer to remunerative peacetime employment suited to their skill and capacities. It includes the re-establishment and expansion of peacetime markets for primary products as wartime markets diminish. Included also is the conversion of a large section of wartime industry back to its peacetime production and the resumption

of

D 48247

of the expansion and development which has had to be deferred during the war. It will take time to accomplish these things, more time in some instances than in others. It is not realistic to assume that there will be no delays, no time lost by any individuals in finding their best opportunities for earning their livelihood, and no jolts in the transfer from war to peace markets. It will be necessary, therefore, for the Government to be prepared to give such assistance as is required in the maintenance of income and employment during this period.

This is the first group of problems. What has the Government done and what is it prepared to do about them?

The first consideration is the men and women in the armed forces. Thanks to the splendid work of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation under the late General McDonald and that of the Department of Pensions and National Health, this program is practically complete. Only a few matters of procedure remain to be determined. The central purpose of the program is not a futile attempt to provide monetary rewards for sacrifices which cannot be computed in coin, but the re-introduction of men and women into civilian life under conditions and with assistance which will enable them to use to the full their capacities and the training which many of them have acquired in the forces and to become full partners in shaping the future of the country they have helped to save. The amendments to the Pensions Act provide a scale of pensions for disabled persons and dependents not exceeded in any other country. The Re-instatement in Civil Employment Act has assured the ex-serviceman's right to his job on demobilization. The Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order makes generous provisions by which the ex-serviceman may resume his interrupted

education

D48248

education or undertake any vocational or professional training for which he is qualified. It places the ex-serviceman who enters insurable employment in the position he would have been in had he been a contributor to the Unemployment Insurance Fund from the time of his enlistment or the establishment of the Fund. It provides similar out-of-work benefits for others. Provision has been made for expanding the facilities for re-training under the Vocational Education Co-ordination Act. The Veterans' Land Act affords means by which those who wish and are fitted for agriculture may acquire farms under terms which will make it possible for them to establish themselves securely.

For those who need neither training nor assistance in the purchase of land, the War Service Grants Act, passed at the last session of Parliament makes generous provision. In addition to War Service Gratuities based on length of service, those who do not make use of the educational provisions or the Veterans' Land Act are entitled to a re-establishment grant of equal amount available over a period of years for a variety of purposes from building or modernizing a house to providing capital for a trade or business. The whole process of demobilization has been mapped out so as to ensure that each ex-serviceman may take advantage of the opportunities best suited to him and that he will be demobilized into training or into remunerative occupation or employment. In taking advantage of the provisions of the whole series of measures for his own re-establishment, the ex-service man and woman will at the same time be increasing employment for others.

For the ex-serviceman and the war worker alike, the cardinal need is useful and remunerative employment or independent occupation. The Government

accepts

D 48240

accepts this as the prime requisite of a postwar policy and as a first obligation of the Government and the people of this country, both for the period when peacetime production is being resumed and for the future. How can it be done? Certainly not by simple conversion to faith in "nationalization" or "debt-free" money or the setting of group against group and the spreading of distrust. We shall need unity of purpose, confidence in ourselves and in each other, and a considerable number of policies all directed to the same end.

Only some of these policies are national. It goes without saying that assurance of world peace and security are essential to Canadian prosperity. But prosperity in the modern world is indivisible and the prosperity of other countries contributes to our own through expanding our external trade. On the orderly resumption of external trade and its expansion far beyond the impoverishing limits reached in the decade before the war, the prosperity of agriculture, the forest industries, mining, fishing, and many of our enlarged manufacturing industries depend. The Government will make every effort to lay the basis for expanding our trade; we must also assist other countries to expand theirs by increasing our imports from them.

Certain of our war policies will contribute to the orderly resumption of trade. At an early date in the war, the Government took a decision that it would not contribute to the building up of inter-governmental debts which were such a handicap to normal trade and such a source of bitter controversy after the war of 1914-18. In the development among the United Nations of the system of Mutual Aid, which has for one of its objects the avoidance of unwieldy debts between governments, Canada has taken a foremost part. Further, our exchange control and price control policies have placed us in a position

where

D 48240

accepts this as the prime requisite of a postwar policy and as a first obligation of the Government and the people of this country, both for the period when peacetime production is being resumed and for the future. How can it be done? Certainly not by simple conversion to faith in "nationalization" or "debt-free" money or the setting of group against group and the spreading of distrust. We shall need unity of purpose, confidence in ourselves and in each other, and a considerable number of policies all directed to the same end.

Only some of these policies are national. It goes without saying that assurance of world peace and security are essential to Canadian prosperity. But prosperity in the modern world is indivisible and the prosperity of other countries contributes to our own through expanding our external trade. On the orderly resumption of external trade and its expansion far beyond the impoverishing limits reached in the decade before the war, the prosperity of agriculture, the forest industries, mining, fishing, and many of our enlarged manufacturing industries depend. The Government will make every effort to lay the basis for expanding our trade; we must also assist other countries to expand theirs by increasing our imports from them.

Certain of our war policies will contribute to the orderly resumption of trade. At an early date in the war, the Government took a decision that it would not contribute to the building up of inter-governmental debts which were such a handicap to normal trade and such a source of bitter controversy after the war of 1914-18. In the development among the United Nations of the system of Mutual Aid, which has for one of its objects the avoidance of unwieldy debts between governments, Canada has taken a foremost part. Further, our exchange control and price control policies have placed us in a position where

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 48219

where trading relations can be resumed without the disturbing re-adjustments which followed the last war.

During the war, it has been necessary to restrict trade severely in accordance with changing conditions of foreign exchange, shipping and the allocation of supplies by international bodies. The Government has already withdrawn some of these restrictions, and it is the intention to withdraw others just as rapidly as circumstances permit and join with other nations in a progressive freeing of world trade from the whole network of quotas, payments agreements and other similar restrictions and in a progressive reduction of tariffs.

In the city of Montreal a few weeks ago, there was a meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is the function of that organization to assist the populations of occupied Europe to work out their own rehabilitation with the help of nations which have not suffered the horrors and deprivations of enemy occupation. Wherever possible, these liberated nations are paying for supplies and where that is not possible relief will be provided. Collaboration with other agencies is being arranged to ensure fair distribution as between those who can pay and those who cannot and these arrangements should go a long way toward preventing that scramble for goods which so distorted the world economy in 1919-1920 and ignited the great European inflation. And I might add also which so gravely disrupted organized labour in Canada.

The Government has given the fullest encouragement and support to the development of international arrangements concerning exchange, investment and trade which will make it possible for countries to pursue at one and the same time policies which will promote full employment at home and facilitate the widest possible trade abroad. Our officials participated fully at Bretton Woods

in

D 48[illegible]

in formulating the agreements on the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Bank for Reconstruction and Development which are now before governments for consideration. There is still much to be done before all the desirable and necessary arrangements can be completed, but it is my view that at no time since 1918 has there been as fair a promise of reaching agreements by which nations would share prosperity and not depression one with another. Without collaboration among the nations for the revival and expansion of world trade, the problems which this country will face will be greatly increased. The Government is, therefore, prepared to undertake all appropriate obligations to further them.

Success in working out these international arrangements will make a powerful and essential contribution to maintenance of our exports, and, through them, of employment and income in this country. In anticipation of such arrangements and to stimulate and supplement the efforts of our exporters the Export Credits Insurance Act was passed at the last session of Parliament. It has two objects. First, it offers exports, in return for an adequate premium, insurance against the major part of any loss which they might incur in selling goods on reasonable credit terms abroad. It will enable them to compete on equal terms with the exporters of other countries and show initiative and enterprise in opening new markets. Second, it provides for government loans or government-guaranteed loans to other governments in the transition period when they are re-establishing their trading position. They will be used to finance our customers andprobable customers through a period of temporary difficulty until they are able to revive their own industries. It will in that period support our own exports and ease the transition

from

D 48252

from war to peace. It will supplement what will be done by other countries and by international action.

The maintenance of employment, as the demands of war decline, will depend also to a great degree on the orderly and rapid conversion of plants, both large and small, and manpower to the turning out of goods and services which will be needed in peace. The problems of the conversion and expansion of our productive capacity will differ drom industry to industry and they must be met in large part by industry itself. The government can and will do much to facilitate and assist this important work. It is one of the major responsibilities of the Minister of Reconstruction to see that as war work is finished there is no delay in the resumption and expansion of peace-time industry. The Department of Munitions and Supply and The Wartime Prices and Trade Board have already cleared the way by removing some of the restrictions on civilian production. In the Budget of last June, fiscal provisions were made for the encouragement of new investment in converyed and expanded plant, of extended maintenance and repair expenditures and of expenditures on industrial research. During the war, business taxation has intentionally been such as to restrict the expansion of any but the most essential industries. Steps have now been taken to reverse the emphasis and prepare for the expansion of civilian production and employment.

In other fields also, the Government has taken steps to encourage expenditures of a capital nature which will enlarge civilian employment. The revised and enlarged National Housing Act makes financial provision on generous and practical terms for the building of houses by home owners, for building houses for rent and particularly for the carrying out of low rental housing

projects

D 48253

projects, for the improvement of rural housing and the development of better and more suitable housing equipment in rural areas, for grants by the Dominion for slum clearance projects and for the resumption of home improvement loans. Wartime savings plus the provisions of this Act furnish the basis for a volume of house building even greater than available materials and labour are likely to permit.

Similarly, the Farm Improvement Loans Act will make available to farmers financial resources for the improvement of their house and farm buildings, for the purchase of equipment to improve their efficiency and add to the amenities of rural life and improve their stock.

The Industrial Development Bank has been established to fill a gap in our financial system and to assist in the conversion and expansion of industry particularly small and new industries which may be expected to increase employment opportunities for the future.

These are all measures to stimulate private investment as war expenditures decline so that employment and income may be maintained. That private investment will be in improved and enlarged facilities for producing the goods and services which are needed for a high standard of living.

There is a second part of the government's program which is less well advanced and which it will be one of the duties of the Minister of Reconstruction to press forward. During the war, many desirable and useful public works have been deferred because workers and resources were more urgently needed for war work. Such deferred work will be organized and put into effect at the times and places where it will provide needed employment. Beyond this, it is desirable that there

should

D 48254

should be a long-range public investment program directed particularly to the development and conservation of our natural resources on which the future income of the country depends. It will be part of the immediate task of the Government to undertake the ground work which is basic to the execution of such a program and to develop the arrangement by which it can be speeded up or slowed down as the needs of employment dictate.

A third group of measures have to do with what is commonly called social security. All measures which improve markets, increase the efficiency of our industries, give expanding employment opportunities and stimulate enterprise contribute to real social security. In a world subject to many unforeseen changes, however, provision for special needs and compensation for risks inherent in employment are also necessary to avoid irreparable damage to individual and family life. The government is committed to the building up of a comprehensive system of social insurance as one part of a program to improve standards of living and of opportunity. In 1940, the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed. There are at present upwards of 2,000,000 workers ensured and many thousands of the armed forces will have their contributions paid up as soon as they establish themselves in insurable employments. The accumulations in the Fund amount to more than $225 million and can be used for the sole purpose of paying benefits to the insured persons. The Act is capable of improvement and extension but its enactment in the first year of the war has proved an act of foresight. The government proposes to examine the question as to whether there is need for an additional measure providing assistance to those who may exhaust their benefits under the Act or whose employments may not be insured.

At the last session of Parliament, a great social measure was enacted in the form of the Family Allowances Act. It will have permanent and far-reaching results

D 48255

results in promoting child welfare and in providing better care and greater opportunities for children. It will facilitate and not replace the work of all child-caring agencies. It will in the transition period after the war still further support incomes and the standard of living and in so doing contribute in turn to the maintenance of employment.

There is another measure which is less directly interesting to this audience, but whose indirect effects will be very important to both employers and employees in industries. By legislation at the last session of Parliament, the Government was empowered to maintain floor prices for the prices of agriculturel and fishery products. It is not only manufacturing industries which face conversion. When their very great war achievements are over, agriculture and the fisheries must also re-adjust themselves to the needs of peace-time markets. Floor prices are intended to protect producers against serious declines in price which might result from changes in post-war markets.

These are among the major steps which the Government has taken or proposes immediately to take to meet the problems of the period of demobilization and transition to the conditions of peace. They are the most urgent of the provisions for reconstruction and those for which the Dominion Government has the fullest responsibility. The preparations are in hand and new Departments of government have been assigned their responsibilities. The execution of the policies will proceed as the end of the European war and the progress of the Japanese war make it possible.

Beyond these, it will be necessary to build more permanent policies designed to strengthen,

broaden,

D 48256

broaden, and quicken the whole fabric of our national life. In the long view, these are more important than the transitional policies but there is time to plan them with care as well as with boldness. I shall not try to do more than sketch them here, but shall content myself with pointing out some of the lines they must follow.

Such a national program must be associated with a full and active Canadian contribution to the creation and maintenance of a stable and progressive world order in which the lessons of our wartime experience in the collaboration of the United Nations shall be applied, not for war and destruction, but for peace and welfare. It must be directed to attaining a progressive and secure standard of living based on remunerative employment for all who are able and willing to work, and expanding markets at home and abroad for an efficient agriculture. It must include the systematic and intelligent development and conservation of our natural and other resources and the fullest application of our scientific knowledge. In such a national program, there must be an enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development and the fullest encouragement of enterprise whether in its appropriate field that enterprise be public or private. Through a comprehensive system of contributory social insurance, the community must share with the individual in meeting the variations of income and expense to which conditions of employment, health and old age render us all liable. Improved standards of nutrition, housing, health and social amenities for both urban and rural populations must be equally objects of such a program.

This program the Government proposes to elaborate and initiate. In an orderly world, it is well within the grasp of this country with its increased competence, confidence and experience. But though a

new

D 48257

new world is born in human hearts and minds, it can come to maturity only under the hand of a people who have the unity of purpose, the national cohesion, and the intelligence to ignore the controversial slogans and grasp firmly the realities.

I have spoken of the plans which are being prepared for directing, at the appropriate time, the energies of this country from the tasks of war to those of peace. It is necessary that such plans should be completed against the day when they will be needed. But let us not forget that the major task of this country and of the Government is still the prosecution of the war.

The war is not over. It is in its most critical phase. The United Nations are engaging the enemy on ever widening fronts. The long and bold preparations are yielding abundant fruit, and it is bitter fruit for the enemy. The pace of the European war is mounting to a great climax. No patriotic Canadian need conceal his pride and confidence in Canada's part in this. The material products of our hands and brains fight for us on every continent and every sea. Our superbly trained and equipped army has won the admiration of its allies and the respect of its foes. Our navy, immensely practical in its conception, has had its full share of glory in the Battle of the Atlantic. To the power and daring of the R.C.A.F. and to the genius of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, there is by day and night over Germany and her ill-gotten territories a great cloud of witnesses.

Bitter and bloody fighting lies ahead. Those who carry it on in person must still be supported without the slightest relaxation. But this is the most

critical

D 48258

critical period of the war for another reason. With victory within our grasp, we can so easily slacken our efforts, break our ranks, clutch greedily for immediate advantage or quarrel among ourselves over slogans and fail to convert the possibilities of a military decision into the realities of an ordered, prosperous and peaceful world and nation.

In close cooperation with other nations, we must win this war with confidence in ourselves, in the goodwill and integrity of our fellow-Canadians and in our native capacity to solve our problems in a world in which we must play a larger part than ever before and in which Canada will be one of the most fortunate of nations.

October 17, 1944.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

Mr Bamburk
48259 21097

CANADA AND THE WAR

LINO ROOM

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

Broadcast by

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

Delivered over the national network of C.B.C.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1944

at 9.30 p.m. (E.D.T.)

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1944

R/Pol. 37a
76-81

D 48260

CANADA AND THE WAR.

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

Broadcast by

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

Delivered over the national network of C.B.C.,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1944
at 9.30 p.m. (E.D.T.)

I am going to speak to you tonight of Canada's support of our army overseas.

The government has been giving the closest attention to all the available facts. We have been examining the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. We have been considering particularly the methods of supplying reinforcements required by the army. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety we have taken the time needed to look at all the facts. In war time conditions change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught us all that nothing is more uncertain than war.

I emphasize the question of reinforcements because no other question is more important to our fighting men. The government is fully aware of the public concern about reinforcements.

Let me begin by placing the question in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is about three-quarters of a million. All but 68,000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than twelve millions, particularly when account is taken of the manpower required for war production and vital civilian services.

The problem of reinforcements concerns only one of the three armed services. The navy and the air force have no such problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks,

Total Military Effort

D 48261

has passed the peak of its manpower requirements. For that, we should all be thankful. The reason is that air force casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than were anticipated.

The present strength of the army including the draftees is over 455,000 men. Of this number, about 390,000 are volunteers. Over 45,000 men have volunteered for general service since January 1st of the present year. Most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

Training of Reinforcements

It is against this background that we should examine the statement that reinforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian army is a huge organization. At one time or another, more than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of Canada's army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of our army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since they went into action in July, 1943, our troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the army is not being adequately supported.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. When we speak of the number of casualties, this does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, and also those who because of sickness or other incapacity are not available for immediate combat.

Reinforcements and Casualties

The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be in northwestern Europe. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the probable nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and

D 48262

higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June. The army has been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements. This procedure is known as "remustering". Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm. But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

Reserve of Reinforcements

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of reinforcements for the army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to reinforcements for the infantry. Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the army overseas, Colonel Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates, the flow of infantry reinforcements from Canada should be accelerated. One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential reinforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. Because we cannot tell how long the war may last, we must, as long as a possible need may arise, continue to recruit men for the army to keep up the supply of reinforcements. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained.

Colonel Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which had to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

Question of sending draftees overseas

The question many of you will ask at once, is: why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. It is not, however, in accord with the policy of keeping our army overseas a 100 per cent voluntary army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war. We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country would be more united in their support, if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He considered, therefore, that he had no alternative but to recommend that draftees should be sent overseas as reinforcements. The acceptance of this recommendation would have required agreement by the government that no alternative existed to a resort to conscription for overseas service. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. Days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of all possible alternatives.

When I realized that unless Colonel Ralston's recommendation were accepted by the Cabinet, his resignation would follow, I felt it to be my duty, as Prime Minister, to seek the most expert advice I believed to be available. I accordingly consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, I knew, ~~there was~~ no man ~~who~~ had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted.

GG Ralston succeeded by General McNaughton — Resignation of Colonel Ralston

The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted. Following his resignation, General McNaughton assumed the duties of Minister of National Defence.

I regret deeply the difference which led to Colonel Ralston's resignation. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war. In this matter Colonel Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience in what he feels he owes to his pledged word.

I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

Significant Facts and Figures

Let me give you some facts and figures which were before the government in reaching its decision.

There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay, and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect. The facts are quite different.

In March, 1941, we began to call up men for compulsory service in Canada for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total

number of men enrolled as draftees is about 68,000. Of these some 9,000 are on extended leave, on compassionate or other grounds. Many of them are unsuited for military duties. Of the so-called "home defence" force the effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000.

Here I pause to correct one widespread false impression about the draftees. Of the 60,000 only 23,000 are from the Province of Quebec, and only 25,000 from all Canada are French speaking.

Voluntary response of draftees

You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000 including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers. About 6,000 draftees have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force. The largest group, about 43,000 have enlisted as volunteers for General Service in the army. General Service includes service overseas. In the army overseas fighting today are many thousands of men who were once draftees.

The "home defence" army is not a static force. Its composition is constantly changing. This year, nearly 15,000 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees, and more than 10,000 draftees have volunteered for General Service. Since the landing in France in June voluntary enlistments for overseas from the "home defence" troops have been higher than the numbers called up and accepted as draftees.

From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. The military authorities report that enlisting gives the draftees a new outlook, new self-respect, and a determination that comes from having made a great decision. That is bound to make them better soldiers. This is very important, because we are as much concerned with the quality, as with the numbers, of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

The question of ~~Voluntary system~~ vs. Conscription

We must remember that if draftees are sent overseas before they volunteer, they will not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. Over and over again it has been said that conscripted men would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent overseas to join. It is also said that the presence of conscripts would constitute a source of division, and possible dissension, in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would have to take, if it were necessary to enable Canada to bear her just share of the load in the winning of the war.

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. There are,

D 48265

in addition, many thousands of volunteers in training in the army in Canada. Every day draftees are volunteering for overseas service. We believe their number can be increased by emphasizing anew the need and the opportunity for overseas service.

We had to ask ourselves one other question: How many additional men would be immediately available if compulsion were resorted to in order to send draftees overseas? I have told you that the present effective total of draftees in the army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry. It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date.

Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. The voluntary system has not broken down. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home, in the period immediately ahead, particularly to provide personnel in an advanced stage of training.

How great the difficulties would be in substituting conscription for overseas service for the voluntary system no one knows. But everyone who is honest with himself knows that there would be genuine difficulties and that they might be very grave. Instead, we are redoubling our efforts to meet the existing situation by the voluntary method. In these efforts, I appeal for the patriotic co-operation of all Canadians.

Many of you will ask why, if they are not to be sent overseas, the draftees are not disbanded? There are several reasons. One is that ever since early in 1942 draftees have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands. Many more are trained, and will wish to volunteer for service overseas now that it is clear that the need for "home defence" has passed. Another reason is that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it has been decided to follow the principle that those men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be given the first opportunity of demobilization. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service.

But this does not mean that draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and certain other non-operational duties.

D 48266

Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are being performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of these duties will necessarily continue to be discharged by draftees.

While we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, compulsion where necessary will continue to be used to ensure that fit men of military age perform national service required by our war effort. Draftees employed in national service will remain in the army under discipline at army rates of pay. Obviously, it would not be fair to allow draftees preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Another reason why draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded, is that so long as they are in the army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered.

To increase the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army we shall intensify our effort to encourage voluntary enlistment. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every volunteer who is fit for combat duty. We shall continue to draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service.

We shall make every effort to have all draftees told individually of the need for their services. We shall also make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful re-establishment in civil life. In this we shall follow the principle set forth by General McNaughton: "You cannot drive men of spirit but you can encourage and lead them."

The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air and on every fighting front is there by his own choice. In this world conflict Canada has produced a race of noble warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to destroy that magnificent record. It is the hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men, in the army and outside its ranks.

I would ask my fellow Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party to join with me in the appeal which I now make for full support to Canada's army overseas. I ask all to join no less

D 48267

unitedly than we have joined in the appeal for the Victory Loan. This is a higher call, and it should bring forth an even greater response.

No pride could be greater than our pride in what our armed forces are doing to help win the war, and to give Canada a foremost place among the free nations of the world.

The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today and to those men and women who are giving them full support. They will be the leaders of our country through years to come.

~~The~~ A special appeal for Volunteers

To you, young men, who are serving in Canada's "home defence" forces, I should like to make a special appeal. Because of the training you have already received, you are in an exceptional position to give service which is particularly needed at this time. I have told you of the need. Let me emphasize the opportunity—the greatest you will ever have— to further serve your country and bring honour to yourselves and your families. You will never regret the decision to do all you possibly can to support Canada's fighting army. In doing that, you will be helping to destroy the enemy of mankind and to provide security and opportunity for yourselves, your children and your fellow-men. You will be doing more than that. You will be helping to remove a source of misunderstanding, bitterness and division in our own country and to preserve its strength through years to come. You will be helping to lay the foundations of a better world.

15

I appeal no less earnestly to the friends and families of our young men to help and encourage them in a decision which will mean everything to them through the rest of their lives.

It is the government's responsibility to make the decision as to the best methods of supporting Canada's army overseas. No decision could possibly please everyone. We have made the decision which we believe will best support the army and contribute most effectively to an utmost national effort in the winning of the war. But to achieve these ends, we shall need the help and co-operation of the people as a whole. Partisan controversy and division at this time will weaken, not strengthen Canada's war effort. If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

D 48268

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 8, 1944

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1944

D 48269

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

Broadcast by

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

Wednesday, November 8, 1944

I am going to speak to you tonight of Canada's support of our army overseas.

The government has been giving the closest attention to all the available facts. We have been examining the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. We have been considering particularly the methods of supplying reinforcements required by the army. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety we have taken the time needed to look at all the facts. In war time conditions change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught us all that nothing is more uncertain than war.

I emphasize the question of reinforcements because no other question is more important to our fighting men. The government is fully aware of the public concern about reinforcements.

The Problem of Reinforcements as Related to Canada's Total Military Effort

Let me begin by placing the question in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is about three-quarters of a million. All but 68,000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than twelve millions, particularly when account is taken of the manpower required for war production and vital civilian services.

The problem of reinforcements concerns only one of the three armed services. The navy and the air force have no such problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements. For that, we should all be thankful. The reason is that air force casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than were anticipated.

The present strength of the army including the draftees is over 455,000 men. Of this number, about 390,000 are volunteers. Over 45,000 men have volunteered for general service since January 1st of the present year. Most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

Concerning the Training of Reinforcements

It is against this background that we should examine the statement that reinforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian army is a huge organization. At one time or another, more than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of Canada's army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of our army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since they went into action in July, 1943, our troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the army is not being adequately supported.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. When we speak of the number of casualties, this does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, and also those who because of sickness or other incapacity are not available for immediate combat.

The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be in northwestern Europe. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most

careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the probable nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June. The army has been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements. This procedure is known as "remustering". Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm. But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

Concerning the Reserve of Reinforcements

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of reinforcements for the army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to reinforcements for the infantry. Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the army overseas, Colonel Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates, the flow of infantry reinforcements from Canada should be accelerated. One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential reinforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. Because we cannot tell how long the war may last, we must, as long as a possible need may arise, continue to recruit men for the army to keep up the supply of reinforcements. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained.

Colonel Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which had to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many of you will ask at once, is: why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. It is not, however, in accord with the policy of keeping our army overseas a 100 per cent voluntary army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war. We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country would be more united in their support, if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Concerning the Change of Minister of the Department of National Defence

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He considered, therefore, that he had no alternative but to recommend that draftees should be sent overseas as reinforcements. The acceptance of this recommendation would have required agreement by the government that no alternative existed to a resort to conscription for overseas service. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. Days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of all possible alternatives.

When I realized that unless Colonel Ralston's recommendation were accepted by the Cabinet, his resignation would follow, I felt it to be my duty, as Prime Minister, to seek the most expert advice I believed to be available. I accordingly consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, no man, I knew, had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted.

The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted. Following his resignation, General McNaughton assumed the duties of Minister of National Defence.

I regret deeply the difference which led to Colonel Ralston's resignation. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war. In this matter Colonel Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience in what he feels he owes to his pledged word.

I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

Continuance of Voluntary Enlistment Preferable to Resort to Conscription

Let me give you some facts and figures which were before the government in reaching its decision.

There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay, and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect. The facts are quite different.

In March, 1941, we began to call up men for compulsory service in Canada for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total number of men enrolled as draftees is about 68,000. Of these some 9,000 are on extended leave, on compassionate or other grounds. Many of them are unsuited for military duties. Of the so-called "home defence" force the effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000.

Here I pause to correct one widespread false impression about the draftees. Of the 60,000 only 23,000 are from the Province of Quebec, and only 25,000 from all Canada are French speaking.

You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000 including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers. About 6,000 draftees have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force. The largest group, about 43,000 have enlisted as volunteers for General Service in the army. General Service includes service overseas. In the army overseas fighting today are many thousands of men who were once draftees.

The "home defence" army is not a static force. Its composition is constantly changing. This year, nearly 15,000 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees, and more than 10,000 draftees have volunteered for General Service. Since the landing in France in June voluntary enlistments for overseas from the "home defence" troops have been higher than the numbers called up and accepted as draftees.

From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. The military authorities report that enlisting gives the draftees a new

B 48274

outlook, new self-respect, and a determination that comes from having made a great decision. That is bound to make them better soldiers. This is very important, because we are as much concerned with the quality, as with the numbers, of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

We must remember that if draftees are sent overseas before they volunteer, they will not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. Over and over again it has been said that conscripted men would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent overseas to join. It is also said that the presence of conscripts would constitute a source of division, and possible dissension, in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would have to take, if it were necessary to enable Canada to bear her just share of the load in the winning of the war.

Concerning Numbers of Trained Men Available and Effect thereon of Resort to Conscription

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. There are, in addition, many thousands of volunteers in training in the army in Canada. Every day draftees are volunteering for overseas service. We believe their number can be increased by emphasizing anew the need and the opportunity for overseas service.

We had to ask ourselves one other question: How many additional men would be immediately available if compulsion were resorted to in order to send draftees overseas? I have told you that the present effective total of draftees in the army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry. It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date.

Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. The voluntary system has not broken down. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home, in the period immediately ahead, particularly to provide personnel in an advanced stage of training.

How great the difficulties would be in substituting conscription for overseas service for the voluntary system no one knows. But everyone who is honest with himself knows that there would be

D 48275

genuine difficulties and that they might be very grave. Instead, we are redoubling our efforts to meet the existing situation by the voluntary method. In these efforts, I appeal for the patriotic co-operation of all Canadians.

Concerning the Position of Men Drafted for National Service in Canada

Many of you will ask why, if they are not to be sent overseas, the draftees are not disbanded? There are several reasons. One is that ever since early in 1942 draftees have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands. Many more are trained, and will wish to volunteer for service overseas now that it is clear that the need for "home defence" has passed. Another reason is that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it has been decided to follow the principle that those men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be given the first opportunity of demobilization. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service.

But this does not mean that draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and certain other non-operational duties. Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are being performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of these duties will necessarily continue to be discharged by draftees.

While we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, compulsion where necessary will continue to be used to ensure that fit men of military age perform national service required by our war effort. Draftees employed in national service will remain in the army under discipline at army rates of pay. Obviously, it would not be fair to allow draftees preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Another reason why draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded, is that so long as they are in the army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered.

D 48276

Means to be Employed to Increase the Flow of Infantry Reinforcements

To increase the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army we shall intensify our effort to encourage voluntary enlistment. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every volunteer who is fit for combat duty. We shall continue to draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service.

We shall make every effort to have all draftees told individually of the need for their services. We shall also make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful re-establishment in civil life. In this we shall follow the principle set forth by General McNaughton: "You cannot drive men of spirit but you can encourage and lead them."

The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air and on every fighting front is there by his own choice. In this world conflict Canada has produced a race of noble warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to destroy that magnificent record. It is the hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men, in the army and outside its ranks.

Appeal for Full Support to Canada's Army Overseas

I would ask my fellow Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party to join with me in the appeal which I now make for full support to Canada's army overseas. I ask all to join no less unitedly than we have joined in the appeal for the Victory Loan. This is a higher call, and it should bring forth an even greater response.

No pride could be greater than our pride in what our armed forces are doing to help win the war, and to give Canada a foremost place among the free nations of the world.

The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today and to those men and women who are giving them full support. They will be the leaders of our country through years to come.

To you, young men, who are serving in Canada's "home defence" forces, I should like to make a special appeal. Because of the training you have already received, you are in an exceptional position

D 48277

to give service which is particularly needed at this time. I have told you of the need. Let me emphasize the opportunity—the greatest you will ever have—to further serve your country and to bring honour to yourselves and your families. You will never regret the decision to do all you possibly can to support Canada's fighting army. In doing that, you will be helping to destroy the enemy of mankind and to provide security and opportunity for yourselves, your children and your fellow-men. You will be doing more than that. You will be helping to remove a source of misunderstanding, bitterness and division in our own country and to preserve its strength through years to come. You will be helping to lay the foundations of a better world.

A Victorious Canada, Free, United and Strong

I appeal no less earnestly to the friends and families of our young men to help and encourage them in a decision which will mean everything to them through the rest of their lives.

It is the government's responsibility to make the decision as to the best methods of supporting Canada's army overseas. No decision could possibly please everyone. We have made the decision which we believe will best support the army and contribute most effectively to an utmost national effort in the winning of the war. But to achieve these ends, we shall need the help and co-operation of the people as a whole. Partisan controversy and division at this time will weaken, not strengthen Canada's war effort. If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Nov 8/44

Subject

5166/44

48278

No New Policy Expected in Talk

Prime Minister Mackenzie King is going on the air tonight to give what is described in advance as a "factual picture of the reinforcement situation." Mr. King is not to outline any new policy. That has been done already by the new minister of national defence and, incidentally, it has provoked high controversy over the relative merits of volunteering and conscription. Anything which Mr. King has to say about that will be confirmatory of Mr. McNaughton position.

What, according to the information, is to be dealt with particularly in the broadcast, is the overseas situation in respect of reinforcements. It will be an endeavor to meet the widespread demand for information on that point. This demand was intensified by the retirement of Col. Ralston.

Mr. King, according to the report, is to give an account of the situation overseas, an estimate of the requirement for reinforcements, the number of men now available in Great Britain and in Canada to supply the need and relevant information.

As Gen. McNaughton has indicated, there will be a campaign for voluntary enlistment.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date NOV 9 1944

Subject

D 48279

5166/44

TEXT OF KING STATEMENT ON REINFORCEMENTS

Ottawa, November 8.— (CP) —Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address follows:

I am going to speak to you tonight of Canada's support of our army overseas.

The government has been giving the closest attention to all the available facts. We have been examining the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. We have been considering particularly the methods of supplying reinforcements required by the Army. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety we have taken the time needed to look at all the facts. In war time conditions change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught us all that nothing is more uncertain than war.

I emphasize the question of reinforcements because no other question is more importance to our fighting men. The government is fully aware of the public concern about reinforcements.

Let me begin by placing the question in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly 1,000,000 men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is about 750,000. All but 68,000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than 12,000,000, particularly when account is taken of the manpower required for war production and vital civilian services.

ARMY ONLY

The problem of reinforcements concerns only one of the three armed services. The Navy and the Air Force have no such problem. The Navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. The Air Force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements. For that we should all be thankful. The reason is that Air Force casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than were anticipated.

The present strength of the Army including the draftees is over 455,000 men. Of this number, about 390,000 are volunteers.

Over 45,000 men have volunteered for general service since January 1 of the present year. Most of the men now in the Army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

It is against this background that we should examine the statement that reinforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian Army is a huge organization. At one time or another, more than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

HIGHLY TRAINED

The record of Canada's Army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of our army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since they went into action in July, 1943, our troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties.

The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the Army is not being adequately supported.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. When we speak of the number of casualties, this does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, and also those who because of sickness or other incapacity are not available for immediate combat.

The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be in northwestern Europe. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the probable nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

BELOW ESTIMATES

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June.

The Army has been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements. This procedure is known as "remustering." Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm.

But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of reinforcements for the Army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to reinforcements for the infantry. Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the Army overseas, Col. Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates, the flow of infantry reinforcements from Canada should be accelerated.

One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential reinforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. Because we cannot tell how long the war may last, we must, as long as a possible need may arise, continue to recruit men for the Army to keep up the supply of reinforcements. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained.

Col. Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which has to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many of you will ask at once, is: Why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. It is not, however, in accord with the policy of keeping our Army overseas a 100 per cent. voluntary Army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war.

FAVORS VOLUNTEERS.

We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country woud be more united in their support, if we continued to rely upon

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date NOV 9 1944

D 48279

5166/44

TEXT OF KING STATEMENT ON REINFORCEMENTS

Ottawa, November 8.— (CP) —Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address follows:

I am going to speak to you tonight of Canada's support of our army overseas.

The government has been giving the closest attention to all the available facts. We have been examining the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. We have been considering particularly the methods of supplying reinforcements required by the Army. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety we have taken the time needed to look at all the facts. In war time conditions change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught us all that nothing is more uncertain than war.

I emphasize the question of reinforcements because no other question is more importance to our fighting men. The government is fully aware of the public concern about reinforcements.

Let me begin by placing the question in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly 1,000,000 men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is about 750,000. All but 68,000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than 12,000,000, particularly when account is taken of the manpower required for war production and vital civilian services.

ARMY ONLY

The problem of reinforcements concerns only one of the three armed services. The Navy and the Air Force have no such problem. The Navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. The Air Force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements. For that we should all be thankful. The reason is that Air Force casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than were anticipated.

The present strength of the Army including the draftees is over 455,000 men. Of this number, about 390,000 are volunteers.

Over 45,000 men have volunteered for general service since January 1 of the present year. Most of the men now in the Army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

It is against this background that we should examine the statement that reinforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian Army is a huge organization. At one time or another, more than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

HIGHLY TRAINED

The record of Canada's Army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of our army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since they went into action in July, 1943, our troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties.

The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the Army is not being adequately supported.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. When we speak of the number of casualties, this does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, and also those who because of sickness or other incapacity are not available for immediate combat.

The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be in northwestern Europe. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the probable nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

BELOW ESTIMATES

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June.

The Army has been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements. This procedure is known as "re-mustering." Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm.

But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of reinforcements for the Army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to reinforcements for the infantry. Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the Army overseas, Col. Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates, the flow of infantry reinforcements from Canada should be accelerated.

One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential reinforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. Because we cannot tell how long the war may last, we must, as long as a possible need may arise, continue to recruit men for the Army to keep up the supply of reinforcements. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained.

Col. Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which has to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many of you will ask at once, is: Why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. It is not, however, in accord with the policy of keeping our Army overseas a 100 per cent. voluntary Army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war.

FAVORS VOLUNTEERS.

We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country woud be more united in their support, if we continued to rely upon

REPEAT
REPETITION

the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Col. Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He considered, therefore, that he had no alternative but to recommend that draftees should be sent overseas as reinforcements. The acceptance of this recommendation would have required agreement by the government that no alternative existed to a resort to conscription for overseas service. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. Days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of all possible alternatives.

When I realized that unless Col. Ralston's recommendation were accepted by the cabinet, his resignation would follow. I felt it to be my duty as Prime Minister, to seek the most expert advice I believed to be available. I accordingly consulted Gen. McNaughton. As the builder and first commander of the Canadian Army I knew there was no man who had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. Gen. McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted.

The recommendation made by Col. Ralston was not accepted. Following his resignation, Gen. McNaughton assumed the duties of Minister of National Defencce.

RALSTON LAUDED.

I regret deeply the difference which led to Col. Ralston's resignation. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war. In this matter Col. Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience in what he feels he owes to his pledged word.

I need not give assurance of Gen. McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the Army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present minister have precisely the same objective in view: They differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

Let me give you some facts and figures which were before the government in reaching its decision.

There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay, and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect. The facts are quite different.

In March, 1941, we began to call up men for compulsory service in Canada for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the Army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total number of men enrolled as draftees is about 68,000. Of these some 9,000 are on extended leave, on compassionate or other grounds. Many of them are unsuited for military duties. Of the so-called "home defence" force the effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000.

'FALSE IMPRESSION'

Here I pause to correct one widespread false impression about the draftees. Of the 60,000 only 23,000 are from the Province of Quebec, and only 25,000 from all Canada are French-speaking.

You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000, including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers. About 6,000 draftees have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force. The largest group, about 43,000 have enlisted as volunteers for general service in the Army. General service includes service overseas. In the Army overseas fighting today are many thousands of men who were once draftees.

The "Home Defence" Army is not a static force. Its composition is constantly changing. This year, nearly 15,000 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees, and more than 10,000 draftees have volunteered for general service. Since the landing in France in June voluntary enlistments for overseas from the "Home Defence" troops have been higher than the numbers called up and accepted as draftees.

MORE SELF-RESPECT.

From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. The military authorities report that enlisting gives the draftees a new outlook, new self-respect, and a determination that comes from having made a great decision. That is bound to make them better soldiers.

This is very important, because we are as much concerned with the quality, as with the numbers, of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

SAYS DRAFTEES DISLIKED

We must remember that if draftees are sent overseas before they volunteer, they will not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. Over and over again it has been said that conscripted men would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent overseas to join. It is also said that the presence of conscripts would constitute a source of division, and possible dissension, in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would have to take, if it were necessary to enable Canada to bear her just share of the load in the winning of the war.

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. There are, in addition, many thousands of volunteers in training in the Army in Canada. Every day draftees are volunteering for overseas service. We believe their number can be increased by emphasizing anew the need and the opportunity for overseas service.

We had to ask ourselves one other question: How many additional men would be immediately available if compulsion were resorted to in order to send draftees overseas? I have told you that the present effective total of draftees in the Army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry.

ONLY 8,000 TRAINED.

It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date.

Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small, indeed. The voluntary system has not broken down. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home, in the period immediately ahead, particularly to provide personnel in an advanced stage of training.

How great the difficulties would be in substituting conscription for overseas service for the voluntary system no one knows. But every one who is honest with himself knows that there would be genuine difficulties and that they might be very grave. Instead, we are redoubling our efforts to meet the existing situation by the voluntary method. In these efforts, I appeal for the patriotic cooperation of all Canadians.

Many of you will ask why, if they are not to be sent overseas, the draftees are not disbanded? There are several reasons. One is that ever since early in 1942 draftees have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands. Many more are trained, and will wish to volunteer for service overseas now that it is clear that the need for "home defence" has passed.

Another reason is that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it has been decided to follow the principle that those men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be given the first opportunity of demobilization. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 48281

Sul

POSITION OF DRAFTEES.

But this does not mean that draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an Army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and certain other non-operational duties.

Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are being performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of these duties will necessarily continue to be discharged by draftees.

While we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, compulsion where necessary will continue to be used to ensure that fit men of military age perform national service required by our war effort. Draftees employed in national service will remain in the Army under discipline at army rates of pay obviously, it would not be fair to allow draftees preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Another reason why draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded, is that so long as they are in the Army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered.

To increase the flow of infantry reinforcements for the Army we shall intensify our effort to encourage voluntary enlistment. The existing establishment of the Army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every volunteer who is fit for combat duty. We shall continue to draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service.

TRY FOR VOLUNTEERS

We shall make every effort to have all draftees told individually of the need for their services. We shall also make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful reestablishment in civil life. In this we shall follow the principle set forth by Gen. McNaughton, "You cannot drive men of spirit but you can encourage and lead them."

The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air and on every fighting front is there by his own choice. In this world conflict Canada has produced a race of noble warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to destroy that magnificent record. It is the hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men in the army and outside its ranks.

I would ask my fellow Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party to join with me in the appeal which I now make for full support to Canada's army overseas. I ask all to join no less unitedly than we have joined in the appeal for the Victory Loan. This is a higher call, and it should bring forth an even greater response.

No pride could be greater than our pride in what our armed forces are doing to help win the war, and to give Canada a foremost place among the free nations of the world.

The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today and to those men and women who are giving them full support. They will be the leaders of our country through years to come.

APPEAL TO DRAFTEES

To you, young men, who are serving in Canada's "Home Defence" forces, I should like to make a special appeal.

Because of the training you have already received, you are in an exceptional position to give service which is particularly needed at this time. I have told you of the need. Let me emphasize the opportunity—the greatest you will ever have—to further service your country and bring honor to yourselves and your families. You will never regret the decision to do all you possibly can to support Canada's fighting army.

In doing that, you will be helping to destroy the enemy of mankind and to provide security and opportunity for yourselves, your children and your fellow-men. You will be doing more than that. You will be helping to remove a source of misunderstanding, bitterness and division in our own country and to preserve its strength through years to come. You will be helping to lay the foundation of a better world.

I appeal no less earnestly to the friends and families of our young men to help and encourage them in a decision which will mean everything to them through the rest of their lives.

It is the government's responsibility to make the decision as to the best methods of supporting Canada's Army overseas. No decision could possibly please everyone.

We have made the decision which we believe will best support the army and contribute most effectively to an utmost national effort in the winning of the war. But to achieve these ends, we shall need the help and cooperation of the people as a whole. Partisan controversy and division at this time will weaken, not strengthen Canada's war effort.

If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star 5166/44

Date November 9, 1944 D 48282

Subject

No Compulsion As Yet

In his address last night Premier King reminded the country that the draftees are not an unmoving pool of trained men, but a constantly changing reservoir from which the active army is continually being fed enlistments, and which, in turn, is itself being fed by new call-ups. From this reservoir of draftees the army has received 43,000 men, the navy and air force 6,000. Apart from men on leave, etc., the present draftee strength is 59,000. Of these, only 42,000 are suitable for infantry service, which is the one service requiring reinforcements, and of the 42,000 only 16,000 have been trained as infantrymen. Of the 16,000, only 8,000 have sufficient training for combat duty.

That these or some other reinforcements are soon to be required by the infantry overseas, Mr. King made quite clear. He said: "Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to met the requirements to date." But he admitted "a possible shortage in the next few months." He declared that the highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that the reinforcements so far utilized have been well trained. "A few may have failed to receive all the training required," but "the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small." Some have been remustered from other services for infantry reinforcements, but all these have had basic infantry training and also training in their particular arm. In addition, "they are given further special infantry training before being sent into combat."

That, then, is the situation as Mr. King sees it, and he is not prepared, for the present, to send the draftees overseas; nor does he think they should be discharged into civilian life, for the time may come when they will have to be used, and their discharge would fill positions which should be available to the active services. The Prime Minister thinks that the utilization of the draftees at present would incur a grave situation at home, and he is therefore adopting the course advised by General McNaughton—a new appeal to draftees to join the active infantry voluntarily in greater numbers, and a culling out or remustering of active servicemen for service at the front.

It should not be long before the success or failure of this plan is demonstrated. If it succeeds, Canada will be saved the grave situation which Mr. King foresees if compulsory service for overseas is inaugurated. But if the plan adopted by the government is not a success, the draftees will have to be used.

While emphasizing the disturbance at home, and in the army itself, which would result from the incorporation of draftees in the volunteer forces, Mr. King said: "That is nevertheless a risk the government would have to take, if it were necessary to enable Canada to bear her just share of the load in the winning of the war."

National Archives of Canada | Archives nationales du Canada

Canada

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHENTICITY

CERTIFICAT D'AUTHENTICITÉ

This is to certify that the microphotographs appearing on this film-file starting with

La présente certifie que les microphotographies faisant partie de ce fichier et allant de

MG 26, J 5 VOL 76 pages D-47335

and ending with

à

MG 26, J 5 VOL 77 pages D-48282

are accurate and complete reproductions of documents in the custody of the National Archives of Canada as delivered in the regular course of business or photographing.

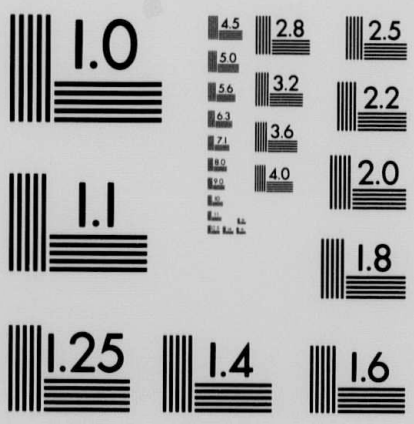
sont des reproductions exactes et intégrales des documents confiés à la garde des Archives nationales du Canada et livrés pour être photographiés.

Date produced — Date d'exécution		
Day / Jour ▶ 05	Month / Mois ▶ 10	Year / Année ▶ 2000
Camera location — Emplacement de la caméra: 625 Boul du carrefour Gatineau P. Québec		
Camera operator — Opérateur de la caméra: Sylvie Crête		

ARC-0740 (r. 97/02)

END OF REEL

FIN DE LA BOBINE



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)